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The Early Dutch Sinologists : a study of their training in Holland and China, and their functions in the Netherlands Indies (1854-1900)

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The Early Dutch Sinologists

The Early Dutch Sinologists
A Study of their Training in Holland and China, and their Functions in the Netherlands Indies (1854–1900)
Pieter N. Kuiper
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Part II: Henri Borel with members of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan, Semarang, 1906 (detail of illustration 24, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).

The Early Dutch Sinologists

A Study of their Training in Holland and China, and their Functions in the Netherlands Indies (1854–1900)

PROEFSCHRIFT

Ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,

op gezag van de Rector Magnificus Prof. Mr. Dr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,

volgens besluit van het college voor promoties te verdedigen

op dinsdag 16 februari 2016

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in 1951

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	mr. dr. A.W. Bedner

"Alleen wezenlijke voorliefde voor de beoefening der Chinesche taal
moet … de drijfveer zijn zich aan die te wijden"

(*nota* by Schlegel and Hoffmann, 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589)
(*only a genuine predilection for the study of Chinese should be the motive to devote oneself to it*)

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ABBREVIATIONS

BB	*Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (Interior Administration), regional and local government of the Netherlands Indies, or short for Department of Interior Administration
BPL	Bibliotheca Publica Latina, shelfmark prefix of the Western Manuscripts Collection, Special Collections Department, Leiden University Library.
CBG	*Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* (Central Bureau for Genealogy, The Hague)
ELO	*Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken* (Leiden Municipal Archives, formerly *Regionaal Archief Leiden e.o.*)
Exh.	Exhibitum, file prefix of incoming documents or letters without immediate response by the Minister of Colonies, placed before the *Verbalen* of each day
f	*florijn* (formal name of the Dutch guilder)
Go	Shelfmark prefix of the Go Collection, a Chinese special collection in Leiden
HBS	*Hoogere Burger School* (Civil High School)
IB	*Indisch Besluit* (Indies Decision), archival prefix of a Government decision (*Gouvernementsbesluit*), a decision by the Governor-General of the Neth. Indies
inv.	*Inventaris* (inventory)
Jhr.	*Jonkheer*, esquire
KIT	*Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen* (Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam); its Library concerning the Dutch colonies was incorporated in Leiden University Library in 2014
KITLV (van NI)	*Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië*), Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography (of the Netherlands Indies); its Library was incorporated in Leiden University Library in 2014
KNAG	*Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (Royal Dutch Geographical Society), shelfmark prefix of a Chinese special collection donated by the KNAG to the Sinological Institute in Leiden in 2004
KNAW	*Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen* (Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences)
Mr.	*Meester*, Master of Laws, LL M
NA	*Nationaal Archief* (National Archives, The Hague, formerly ARA)
NI	*Nederlandsch-Indië* (Netherlands Indies, Dutch East Indies)
NRC	*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*
OEN	*Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid* (Indies Department of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry)
Ser.	Shelfmark prefix of the Japanese and some Chinese books in Serrurier's *Bibliothèque Japonaise* (1896).
SINOL	Shelfmark prefix of all Chinese books in the East Asian Library, before 2009 referring to the Sinological Institute.
TLV	*Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography)
toegang	entry number in the National Archives, for instance Ministry of Colonies 1849–1900 has *toegang* 2.10.01
V	*Verbaal* (Ministerial file of outgoing correspondence on one day concerning one dossier)
VGK	*Van Gulik Kamer* (Van Gulik Room), shelfmark prefix of the Chinese special collection of books that were in the Library before about 1970, placed in one room of the East Asian Library together with the Van Gulik Collection.



1. Map of Southern China
Small squares (□) *indicate places where Dutch sinologists studied Chinese dialects. The distribution of Cantonese, Hakka, Hoklo and Hokkien dialects is based on* Longman's Language Atlas of China, *Map B8.*



2. Map of the Netherlands Indies (Western part)
Small squares (□) indicate places where Dutch sinologists were at some time stationed.

Part I

INTRODUCTION

The beginnings of Chinese studies in the Netherlands are unique in their kind. Early Dutch sinology was different from elsewhere, since it was not directly connected with the needs of diplomacy, commerce, mission or scholarship, and not primarily directed towards China. It began as a training course for Chinese interpreters for the colonial government of the Netherlands Indies (now Indonesia), where a large and important Chinese minority was and is living. This resulted in the unusual decision to study Southern Chinese dialects (languages) instead of the Mandarin spoken in Northern China. In the nineteenth century, all Dutch students of Chinese followed a rigorous training programme for Chinese interpreters and were appointed as such after graduation—although the position of Chinese interpreter soon proved problematic. Since they all belonged to the same corps of linguists interacting with each other over a period of half a century, this study on the first generations of Dutch sinologists has chosen the prosopographical approach. This method seemed most suitable and straightforward because it allows a description of all aspects of the life and career of the Dutch sinologists without having to confine its discourse to a Procrustean bed of theoretical questions. I firmly believe that only in this way can justice be done to an almost forgotten group of pioneers. As a result this study, which may also be seen as an homage to the early Dutch sinologists, has resulted in an extensive collective and interactive biography of the 24 young men who were trained in sinology between 1854 and 1900. Most of them first studied Chinese in Leiden, then in Amoy (Xiamen), and were finally appointed in the Netherlands Indies, where they were cast into the depths and soon discovered that the position they had been trained for was not as well-outlined as they had expected. Being intelligent and talented men, they all tried to make the best of it, and many later pursued other careers ending up in high positions, such as Vice-President of the Council of the Indies, Chief of the Opium Monopoly, Labour Inspector, or Professor of Chinese in Leiden University.

In tracing and analysing the life stories of the first Dutch sinologists, describing their studies and their careers, observing China and the world through their eyes, and reliving their experiences, a fascinating story unfolds against the background of half a century of East-West relations in the heyday of imperialism. During this period, the consolidation of the Dutch colonial empire in the East Indies had great legal, social and economic implications for the Chinese minority. In the midst of these developments, the Dutch sinologists balanced as go-betweens between East and West. As a result, the description and analysis of the studies and various functions of

the Dutch sinologists requires a multidisciplinary point of view combining history, linguistics, anthropology, and law.

In writing this thesis, I was inspired by two major works on Dutch colonial history. In the first place, C. Fasseur's *De Indologen: Ambtenaren voor de Oost 1825–1950* (The Indologists: Public Servants for the Netherlands Indies 1825–1950). This book gives an in-depth account of the discussions about and the organisation of the training of Indies colonial officials. Their training always included some basic study of languages such as Malay, Javanese, Sundanese etc. The second is H.W. van den Doel's *De stille macht: Het Europese binnenlands bestuur op Java en Madoera, 1808–1942* (The Silent Power: The Interior Administration by Europeans on Java and Madura, 1808–1942), giving a similar in-depth description of the discussions on and organisation and workings of the regional colonial government in the Netherlands Indies. Compared with the relatively large numbers of indologists and Indies officials, the number of sinologists was of course very small, and they were trained as language specialists, not as administrators. Therefore a description of the studies, lives and work of all incumbents has been possible, and more attention is here paid to details of their linguistic training and work, and to cultural aspects. Similarly to the aforementioned studies, this thesis concentrates on the Dutch system, referring only where necessary to the colonial administrations or sinological training of Britain and France. In nineteenth-century discussions about the organisation and training of Dutch sinologists, reference is but rarely made to similar enterprises in other countries. Moreover, to my knowledge there exist no in-depth studies like the present one in English and French historiography.

My thesis also attempts to provide a history of nineteenth-century sinology at Leiden University, including student life, ending with an overview of Dutch sinology in the first half of the twentieth century with respect to the Indies. In this area, a third major source of inspiration has been W. Otterspeer's dissertation *De wiekslag van hun geest: De Leidse Universiteit in the negentiende eeuw* (The wingspan of their minds: Leiden University in the nineteenth century).

In a nutshell, then, this study endeavours to answer the following questions:

1. For what purpose and in what manner did sinology as an academic study come into being in the Netherlands?
2. How was the training of sinologists organised at Leiden University and in China: recruitment, background, and character of the students;
3. What was the curriculum and the level of competence in Chinese attained in Leiden and in China?
4. Which Chinese dialects were studied and why?
5. What was the nature of the work that was assigned to the sinologists in the Indies: interpreting, translation, and advising; special assignments?

6. What was the role of the Chinese teachers/clerks assigned to the interpreters in the Indies?
7. How did the sinologists-at-work manage to combine the needs of the administrative and judicial colonial authorities with the exigencies of scholarship (or their aspirations), in particular when these requirements seemed to be at loggerheads?
8. What scholarship was produced by the sinologists in direct connection with their work in the Indies? What was the quality and impact of these works?
9. Why, in the course of time, was the function of interpreter of Chinese in the Indies not a success and was their statutory number reduced from ten to four?
10. What remedies were created by the sinologists themselves to improve their difficult situation and to make their work more fulfilling? What other careers were pursued by those who left the interpreter corps?
11. What was the Dutch sinologists' perception of and attitude towards the Chinese and Chinese culture, and what did the Chinese think of them?
12. To what extent did the sinologists contribute to a better understanding of the Chinese minorities in the Indies on the part of the government, the judiciary and the public?

Chapter One introduces the beginnings of Dutch sinology (1849–55). Six of the fifteen chapters are about the study of the Chinese language. Three of these concern the organisation, recruitment, study programmes, and student life of three cohorts of students trained by Hoffmann in 1854–65 (Chapter Two) and by Schlegel in 1873–8 (Chapter Eight) and 1888–95 (Chapter Nine); one is about the temporary training in Batavia (1864–77) (Chapter Seven), and two are about the studies in China of Hoffmann's (1856–67) (Chapter Three) and Schlegel's students (1877–80 and 1892–8) (Chapter Ten). Two Chapters, respectively Four and Eleven, deal with special topics: the collecting of flora and fauna specimens in China (1857–64) and the compilation of three Chinese dictionaries. Six chapters focus on the interpreters at work: De Grijs' activities for the conclusion of the Sino–Dutch Treaty of Tientsin of 1863 (Chapter Five), their teachers/clerks in the Indies (Chapter Six), their interpreting and translation work in the Indies (Chapter Twelve), advisory functions (Chapter Thirteen), publications and missions (Chapter Fourteen), and other administrative functions and careers (Chapter Fifteen). The Epilogue gives an overview of later developments in Dutch sinology in 1900–54. The Conclusion gives a thematic summary of the major findings of this dissertation. Personal backgrounds and details on individual careers are described in the short biographies in Appendix A.

In addition, there are some twenty appendices containing tables and lists (for instance of terminology), and three Dutch texts of regulations concerning the sinologists' training and work; there are also two maps, one graph, 45 illustrations, and a general bibliography.

It was at the suggestion of my doctoral supervisor, Leonard Blussé, that I started my research on this thesis. We already knew each other from our studies in Leiden, where he was five years my senior. In 1989 he had asked me to do the final editing of the Chinese version of his history of Sino–Dutch relations, *Tribuut aan China* (Tribute to China), which was being translated by our Chinese students of Dutch, resulting in *Zhong-He jiaowang shi* 中荷交往史 (A History of Sino–Dutch Contacts). In the same year Blussé published his pioneering article "Of Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water: Leiden University's Early Sinologists (1853–1911)." Originally he wished to work out this theme in a larger study himself, but some time afterwards he suggested that this might be a suitable topic for a doctoral dissertation by me. He handed me his notebook containing the sources and basic information for his article. A few years later, when I still had not yet started working in earnest, I began to feel embarrassed. But when I returned the notebook to him, he refused to accept it and gave it back to me, urging me to give the project a second thought. At the time I was working on a catalogue of Chinese and Sino–Western manuscripts in the Leiden University Library, which included documents left by some early Dutch sinologists. This turned out to be an excellent preparation for the present monograph. When the catalogue was finished in 2003, I finally started working on my doctoral research. I first investigated who these early sinologists were, and collected materials for the draft biographies. Then I wrote the first draft of Chapter Eleven (dictionaries), a subject that Blussé told me to include in any case, and the first draft of Chapter Six (teachers), which is a smaller topic relatively isolated from the rest. From then on, I wrote all chapters in their present sequence. In all, I have been working on this study for twelve years.

Writing and analysing the history of Dutch sinology was for me personally an extremely meaningful activity. I always had in mind my own experiences as a student in Leiden and Taiwan, as a teacher of Mandarin, as an interpreter/translator of Mandarin and Cantonese, and as a trainer of courtroom interpreters.

The original plan was to cover a longer period, from the beginnings of Chinese teaching in Leiden in 1854 until the major reorganisations of 1916–9, which marked a change in the orientation of Dutch sinology towards China instead of the Indies and the introduction of Mandarin as the main dialect taught. But after I had finished about ten chapters, it became evident that the dissertation would become much too long. At my supervi-

sor's suggestion I decided to stop at 1900, leaving out De Groot's students (1907–14) and the Chinese Emancipation Movement in the Indies (after 1900), keeping those studies as possible nest-eggs for future publication. Vestiges of the earlier plan can be seen in appendices B and H, which cover the period until 1917.

This dissertation aims to study the beginnings of Dutch sinology in the context of the sinologists' training in the Netherlands and China and their later functions in the Indies. It is almost completely based on primary sources, namely the archive of the former Ministry of Colonies in the National Archives in The Hague, and letters, diaries, and publications by the sinologists themselves in libraries and other archives, to which were added data from the digitised Dutch newspapers from the Indies and the Netherlands (now on www.delpher.nl). Unfortunately, no use could be made of possibly still-extant sources in Indonesia. The main secondary sources are studies on the history of the Netherlands Indies and of Sino–Dutch diplomatic relations. Names of important archives and internet sources, and all titles of books and articles that are referred to at least twice, can be found in the general bibliography.

The following choices were made as to the spelling of geographical and personal names. For geographical names in China, usually the most common old standard spelling is used, so as to make it easier to consult sources and to search old maps. Some nineteenth-century geographical names have disappeared, such as Kia Ying Chow—in modern *pinyin* spelling: Jiayingzhou—which since 1912 is called Meixian; it would be impossible to find the name 'Jiayingzhou' on any contemporary map. Modern spellings in *pinyin* are used for less frequently appearing geographical names or in case the pronunciation has changed, such as modern Gulangyu versus old Kulangsu (Gulangxu). For geographical names in the Indies, mostly the modern Indonesian spelling is used. Some exceptions to this rule are well-established names such as Batavia (Jakarta), Borneo (Kalimantan), and Atjeh (Aceh). A list of variant spellings can be found in Appendix I (letter I).

Similarly, names of Chinese in the Indies are spelled in the Hokkien or Hakka pronunciation as they appear in the old texts, but characters are added if known. Transcribing these names in Mandarin (if the characters are known at all) would make them unrecognisable. But names of which only Chinese characters are known are transcribed in Mandarin. Names of Chinese in China are usually spelled in the modern Mandarin spelling, but the older spellings are added in a note. This results in a mixture of spelling systems, but it seems the most practical solution to connect past and present.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS OF DUTCH SINOLOGY

Historical and legal context

In European history, the year 1848 is known as the year of democratic revolutions, which were liberal and nationalistic in nature.[1] The so-called February Revolution in Paris and its aftermath brought about political reform in France and many other European countries. In the Netherlands, it was the year of the new Constitution (*Grondwet*), which was promulgated on 3 November as a revision of the previous constitutions of 1814 and 1815. In the revised Constitution of 1848, the personal regime of the King came to an end and the power of Parliament (*Staten-Generaal*) was established. Parliamentary monarchy was born. From that time on, it was also Parliament that came to have the final word on the colonial affairs of the Netherlands.

In the Indies, from the legal point of view, the year 1848 was also a year of reform, although this reform had been prepared for almost ten years following similar reforms that had taken place in the mother country. When in 1838 the Dutch Civil Code (*Burgerlijk Wetboek*) came into effect in the Netherlands, replacing Napoleon's *Code Civil*, preparations were being made for a similar codification of the law system in the colonial possessions.[2] Until 1848, the old Dutch–Roman law of the Dutch Republic (1588–1795) was still in force in the Netherlands Indies. But on 1 May 1848, many new laws came into effect, mostly for the Europeans living in the colony: for example the *General Regulations of Legislation*, the *Regulations on the Judiciary System and Judicial Policy*, the *Civil Code*, the *Commercial Code*, and *Regulations concerning Crimes Perpetrated on the occasion of Bankruptcy, Evident Incapacity and Suspension of Payment*,[3] and also the regulations of civil and criminal procedure and *Regulation of some Items of Penal Law which Need Immediate Provision* etc.[4] The dualistic system of law and courts was maintained; there was one system for Europeans (from 1854 on officially including Eurasians), and another for natives (*inlanders*, including *vreemde oosterlingen* or 'Foreign Orientals,' such as Chinese). The colonial local civil government also kept an important role in the administration of justice regarding minor offences. But at the same time it was stipulated that the Governor-General was authorised to declare parts of the Civil Code or Commercial Code applicable to the native population.[5] This article would soon have far-reaching effects on the legal position of the Chinese in the colonial possessions. Alongside the colonial administration and the judiciary system, the native population

and also the Chinese enjoyed a certain degree of self-government, in particular in civil affairs. Civil cases and minor penal cases among the Chinese of Batavia and a few other cities on Java were dealt with by their own chiefs, the Chinese officers of the Chinese Council. It took some more time before the Penal Code was promulgated, replacing the above-mentioned *Regulation of some Items of Penal Law*; the Penal Code for Europeans came into effect on 1 January 1867, and one for the native population on 1 January 1873.[6] The idea of unification of the dualistic system of law only became an issue after 1900, and did not materialise until 1915, when a general penal code for all ethnicities was promulgated (in effect as of 1918),[7] and in 1917, when European Civil and Commercial Law were made applicable to the Chinese (in effect as of 1919).[8]

In 1849, the journal *Het regt in Nederlandsch Indië* (Law in the Netherlands Indies) was launched, containing important judgements by the High Court of the Netherlands Indies, and in 1863 it was followed by *Het Indisch weekblad van het regt* (Indies Law Weekly). In 1854 the new Government Regulation (*Regeringsreglement*),[9] the 'constitution' of the Netherlands Indies, was promulgated. This was also a formal law approved by Parliament, and it was based on the new Dutch constitution of 1848. For the Chinese, the ordinance of *Staatsblad* 1855 no. 79 was of great importance,[10] because parts of the civil and commercial codes and other regulations, on bankruptcy crimes among other things, were made applicable to the Chinese.

It is in this legal context that the demand for the training of European interpreters for the Chinese language should be seen.

Another important factor was the influx of Chinese coolies to the Indies after China was forced to open its doors by the Treaty of Nanking, which brought the Opium War to an end in 1842. From the 1850s on, Chinese coolies were only hired for work in the tin mines of Banka and Billiton. But around 1870, when the so-called 'cultivation system' (*cultuurstelstel*) of obligatory cultivation of certain agricultural export products by the native Javanese population for the European market was gradually abolished, a plantation system run by European private entrepreneurs was introduced on Java. While on Java there was a sufficient labour force available for the sugar plantations, on the sparsely populated East coast of Sumatra, Chinese coolies were in great demand for developing the tobacco plantations in Deli and elsewhere. This would later increase the need for European interpreters of Chinese.

The need for a university chair for Chinese

On 10 April 1849, Professor P.J. Veth[11] gave a lecture at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Amsterdam, the predecessor of the Netherlands Acad-

emy of Arts and Sciences, in which he pleaded for the establishment of a chair for Chinese and Japanese at a Dutch university.[12] He mentioned several reasons for such a chair: the enormous size of the Chinese population, the propagation of the Gospel, the promotion of world trade, and the extension of the boundaries of scientific and scholarly knowledge. Other nations had already shown great progress in the study of Chinese, such as the British (Morrison, Medhurst, Marshman), the French (Fourmont, Abel Rémusat, Stanislas Julien), and the Germans (Gützlaff, Neumann, Endlicher), while the Dutch had done nothing so far, despite the fact that they also hoped to spread the Gospel and reap profits from the China trade. Furthermore, he argued that the Dutch overseas possessions had a population of almost half a million Chinese settlers (*volksplantelingen*). The Chinese were generally praised as industrious and useful inhabitants, provided that they were supervised by and known to the authorities. Yet there were also among them treacherous, crafty, egocentric, and greedy people, without any depth of feeling, and almost without religion. Not bound by any ties to the Dutch colonial administration, they helped each other and were bound by secret societies. It was believed that the Chinese could jeopardise the interests, the peace and the maintenance of Dutch authority on Java,

> as long as their language and queer writing system pose an insurmountable barrier between them and us, as long as we lack the means to understand their mysterious nature.[13]

Veth stressed that one should not say the Chinese did not meddle in political affairs. While in the Indies, some people were worried about the effects of increased freedom of the press, the Chinese actually already had complete freedom in this respect, because no one could understand "their hieroglyphs." As an example of a political opinion, Veth mentioned the British traveller Beete Jukes, who had heard in Eastern Java that a Chinese newspaper criticised the war of the British against China, falsely claiming that the British had been beaten time and again. Veth pointed out that the British had established the Anglo–Chinese College in Malacca and another such institution in Singapore, while in the Netherlands and the Indies there was a startling lack of governmental interest in the study of the Chinese language. Finally, he noted that there was an excellent specialist in the Chinese and Japanese languages in Leiden, who was as modest as he was learned and who would be most suitable as a professor in those languages. He did not mention his name: J.J. Hoffmann, a German.

In the same year, W.R. van Hoëvell[14] published a review of this lecture in the *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, thereby also making it known in the Indies.[15] In 1838 he founded the *Tijdschrift voor Neêrland's Indië*[16] (Journal for the Netherlands Indies), in which he vented his criticism of

the autocratic colonial government. For a long time, an important issue was the monopoly on training of government officials at the Royal Academy in Delft, instead of in Batavia; another issue was the lack of secondary education in the Indies. In 1848, after the fall of the conservative government in the Netherlands, a small-scale 'revolution' occurred in Batavia during a heated discussion held in the club 'de Harmonie.' Afterwards, Van Hoëvell was falsely accused of having let Eurasians take part in this meeting, and he was obliged to repatriate to the Netherlands, having been notified of the dissatisfaction of the government. However, after his return to the Netherlands he was completely rehabilitated. From 1849 to 1862 Van Hoëvell was a member of Parliament, and later of the Council of State (*Raad van State*). He had great influence on colonial policy; for instance, he was in favour of the abolition of slavery,[17] and in 1860 he stated in Parliament that Multatuli's novel *Max Havelaar*, which criticised the exploitation of the native population on Java, 'made the whole country shiver.'[18]

In his review of Veth's lecture, Van Hoëvell added some opinions of his own. On the question of the freedom of the press, he explained how easy printing was for the Chinese. They just carved the letters or rather words in a soft kind of wood, smeared it with ink, put a sheet of Chinese paper on it, rubbed it once or twice, and it was finished. No workshop, machines, or special arrangements were necessary. On Java, texts were also published in this manner;[19] for instance, commercial advertisements in the *Javasche Courant* were translated into Chinese and published. As examples of the troubles that could develop owing to lack of information and communication, and which could have been avoided if the Chinese situation had been better known, he mentioned the Chinese massacre in Batavia in 1740 and another more recent revolt of Chinese at a plantation in which many people were killed in 1832.[20] Early efforts in 1845 to study Chinese had been frustrated by the government, for instance in the case of Kussendrager.[21] According to Van Hoëvell, the spirit of indifference of the government towards Chinese studies should give way to great interest. In the Indies, youngsters should be trained to serve as interpreters or translators for the government. Then it would not be necessary to translate government decisions first into Malay and subsequently by Chinese into Chinese, while no one was able to judge the correctness of the translation. Needless to say, there were also problems in legal affairs because of the complete lack of knowledge of Chinese. In his review, Van Hoëvell did not mention the 'excellent specialist in the Chinese and Japanese languages' Hoffmann.[22] A few years later he conceded that a professorship for Japanese could be useful, but above all he hoped some kind of school for the study of Chinese could be established in the Indies.[23]

Veth's plea for a university chair for Chinese was also supported by Dutch missionary circles, who were actively propagating the China mission

in the 1850s. When the charismatic Karl Gützlaff[24] visited the Netherlands in 1850, he inspired many men and women to establish local China Committees to start fundraising in various places in the Netherlands. Later that year, H.C. Millies,[25] Nicolaas Beets,[26] and others combined these China Committees into one general society, the Society for the Propagation of Christianity among the Chinese (*Vereniging tot bevordering des Christendoms onder de Chinezen*), which published a journal from 1852 to at least 1864.[27] This society sent two missionaries to China, one of whom was H.Z. Kloekers (*see* below), and supported missionaries working with the Chinese in the Indies as well. In the early 1850s, the board of directors wrote an address to the Minister of Home Affairs about the need to establish a chair for Chinese language and literature at one of the universities.[28] However, because of lack of success in China and dissent among Dutch Christians, the China fervour died out in the 1860s; in retrospect, it had not been more than a 'flash in the pan' (*stroovuur*). After 1864 the Society stopped its Chinese activities, and their Christian mission concentrated on the Dutch colonies.[29]

In 1851, in his preface to the Dutch translation of *Gützlaff's History of the Chinese Empire*, Millies pleaded for a chair of Chinese and indirectly recommended Hoffmann for that position. He used arguments similar to Veth's, writing that many European countries, even smaller ones such as Bavaria, had chairs for Chinese

> while our country possesses a man who should be counted among the best scholars of Chinese in Europe, as the famous Stanislas Julien recently assured me, but still nowhere is Chinese taught at a Dutch university.[30]

A regional government report from Batavia

In the beginning of the 1850s, the Netherlands Indies government began to feel the need for European interpreters and translators. On 26 March 1852, P. van Rees, Resident of Batavia,[31] wrote a letter to Governor-General Duymaer van Twist, suggesting to encourage some Christian youngsters to learn the Chinese language both in spoken and written form, because the local Chinese translators could not always be trusted. He also reported the foundation of the weekly *Samarangsch Advertentie-blad* (Semarang Advertiser), which planned to publish a supplement with advertisements and announcements in all languages, including Chinese, concerning shipping, market prices, rental and sale of *proas*,[32] public auctions, etc.[33] A specimen copy in Chinese characters was added. The colonial government, always wary of supposed seditious tendencies in the press, would have been even more suspicious of this supplement in Chinese characters, incomprehensible to any European in the Indies. This was just a few years before the

severe *Drukpersreglement* (Press Regulation) of 1857[34] was promulgated which restricted the Netherlands Indies press in a way that would have been unthinkable in the Netherlands.

In answer to Van Rees' letter, the General Secretary asked him to explain and study this matter further on 4 April 1852. Almost a year later, on 3 March 1853, Van Rees complied with this request and sent the first well-argued report on the matter to the Governor-General. He began by recalling that only a few years earlier, in 1846, a serious endeavour of a European youngster to study Chinese had been frustrated by the government's decision not to offer financial support. Copies of some correspondence on this case were added as an appendix. On 14 July 1846, C.S.W. van Hogendorp,[35] president of the Main Commission of Education (*Hoofdcommissie van onderwijs*) wrote to the Governor-General that the most advanced pupil at the government primary school of Batavia, R.J.M.N. Kussendrager, son of the teacher R.J.L. Kussendrager at the same school,[36] on his own initiative was showing a desire to learn Chinese[37] and had been taught for some time with success and remarkable progress.[38] He stressed that there had long been a need for European translators of Chinese. He stated:

> We should not remain dependent on the Chinese any more; that would be contrary to our interests. But the difficulties and lesser financial benefits seem to attract few students to study that language.

Van Hogendorp then requested the appointment of Kussendrager jr. as 'pupil for the Chinese language' (*élève voor de Chinesche taal*) on a monthly stipend of *f* 20, under the supervision of his father, to subject him to a yearly examination and to appoint him as a translator in the future. Upon approval from the government of the Netherlands, this stipend should become a fixed item on the budget. The Council of the Indies[39] was asked for advice, but it replied only that nothing was known of any initiatives or efforts to replace the Chinese officers as translators by Europeans. Moreover, it was believed that the government of the Netherlands would not give its approval to such an initiative. All that could be done was to give this pupil a grant from the School Fund.[40] In reaction to this, Van Hogendorp stated that in the past the missionary W.H. Medhurst[41] had done translation work for the administration, and he asked the question: why should we forever remain tributary and dependent upon the Chinese officers? Van Hogendorp believed that such dependence was not without dangers.

> The Chinese follow the progress of our times in a rather practical manner, and learn or see things from us, with noticeable consequences; but in our relations with them we try to stay in the high position where we are now and where we were two centuries ago.[42]

He also felt that a grant from the School Fund was not suitable, as this Fund was not meant for public education. In the end, the request for a stipend was refused by Governor-General Rochussen.[43] Later, another pupil, a certain Lubeck, started to learn Chinese and wished to continue his study in Canton, but this effort also came to nothing because he moved to Sydney.

In his report, Van Rees repeated that the need for well-trained translators was becoming more urgent by the day. His first argument for training Europeans as translators was that the Chinese were not always reliable, as had recently been seen in a case on the island of Banka. Since this case illustrates many aspects of the urgent need for European translators, it will be described here in detail.

The Banka case and other arguments

On Banka two Chinese miners, Bong Liang (also: Liong, in Chinese possibly 黃良) and Tjongman, had attempted to run away ('desertion') from the tin mine where they were working, which was considered a disturbance of the peace and could be punished by the *poenale sanctie*.[44] When they were caught, two Chinese letters were found in their possession, which were translated by a Chinese officer in Mentok. According to the translation, these letters gave orders to a secret society based in Malacca to kill the person in Singapore who had persuaded Bong Liang to go to Banka. This was in revenge for the disappointments and bad treatment he had suffered afterwards. According to the head of the Chinese in Mentok, this letter had been written by the second Chinese, Tjongman. After the Administrator of the tin mines at Merawang (Soengei Liat), J.L.E. Schepern,[45] had the suspects punished, he sent both men to Batavia.[46] This was probably because they were to be extradited on suspicion of having ties with a harmful secret society. Such behaviour was prohibited since 1851 (*see* below). The Resident of Batavia asked for the original Chinese letters to be sent from Banka, and had them translated again by a Chinese officer in Batavia. He then had the suspects heard, and sent all documents to the Procurator General (*procureur-generaal*) J.O. Wijnmalen at the High Court to ask for his advice. The latter found that the new translations were quite different from the ones from Mentok and contained little proof of any connection with a secret society or orders to kill. But there was little reason to believe that the translations from Mentok were less reliable than the Batavian ones. From the several interrogations of Bong Liang, no ties with a secret society could be deduced. On the other hand, it was clear that both suspects were victims of cruel and inhuman treatment, for which no legal basis existed, by the Administrator Schepern. There was also no proof of

Tjongman's complicity as the writer of the letters. That suspicion was only based on a statement by the leader of the Chinese in Mentok, 'because he is a bad guy' (*slecht sujet*).[47]

The Council of the Indies also found no reason to give more credence to the translation from Mentok than that from Batavia and considered it objectionable to have a third translation made. Yet for the sake of maintaining authority, it advised against sending the two Chinese back to Banka.[48]

Finally, Governor-General A.J. Duymaer van Twist decided in the first place to acquiesce in their having been sent to Batavia, although he was not convinced that they had criminal ties with a secret society; secondly, to allow them to remain in Batavia or return to China at the first opportunity, if necessary at the government's expense; thirdly, to write to the Resident of Banka to express the government's dissatisfaction with the former Administrator at Soengei Liat, J.L.E. Schepern, because of the imposition of illegal and inhuman sanctions; and fourthly, to request the High Court to take certain measures to prevent such incidents in the future.[49]

In the same report of 3 March 1853, the Resident of Batavia also stressed that a guarantee was needed for the correctness of translations in Western Borneo, in particular of contracts, and in both directions (Chinese to Dutch and Dutch to Chinese) because of the political situation on that island. From 1850 to 1855, a war was going on in Western Borneo between the Netherlands Indies government and several Chinese kongsi of gold miners which refused to accept Dutch authority and taxation.[50] There was no lack of confidence in the honesty of the Chinese officers in Batavia, but this was no guarantee for the future either. Unreliable translations could mislead the government.

The Resident believed that Chinese should be studied in the country of origin, just as a certain Schaap had done thirty years earlier when he went to Malacca to study Malay.[51] He stressed the difficult pronunciation and writing of Chinese and added that in Batavia, there were only two literate Chinese at hand (*sic*).[52] Furthermore, in Batavia students could only learn one dialect, while they should learn the dialects of three or four places. The Resident therefore suggested asking the Netherlands Consul in Canton for advice. Perhaps two or three youngsters could be sent there and be taken care of by the consulate.

In answer to the letter of Governor-General Duymaer van Twist and the Resident of Batavia of 14 March 1853, the Vice-Consul in Canton, Frederic King, wrote on 16 June 1853 that Macao would be the best place to study because of its climate and freedom and also because it was the least expensive place. True, the Fujian dialect (Hokkien) was spoken in Amoy, but teachers of this dialect could be found in Macao too. Amoy itself was an expensive and undesirable place of residence. In Macao, the costs were

calculated to be $2,500 per year (including $300 for two teachers, that is $12.50 per month for each). The suggested study period of three years was perhaps a little short, unless a student possessed extraordinary aptitude, but one could acquire a tolerable knowledge (speaking ability) in one year. The greatest difficulty, however, was the written language and the characters.

Finally, on 19 September 1853, Governor-General A.J. Duymaer van Twist sent a letter to the Minister of Colonies, Ch. F. Pahud, in which he added a few other arguments, saying:

> For a considerable time now, the desirability has been recognised of appointing European interpreters of the Chinese language.
>
> As Your Excellency knows, in the absence of such translators, the government has to depend on Chinese, who have to translate the writings presented to them into Malay, the only language understood by them.[53]
>
> As a matter of course, such translations can only be defective.
>
> The need for reliable European interpreters for Chinese has become more urgent as gradually more is getting to be known to the government about deeds and activities of the Chinese residing in the Indies which are not permissable in an ordered society.
>
> That need was felt in particular during the deliberations which led to the proclamation of the prohibition concerning the well-known Chinese brotherhoods (*hui's*); see the publication of 8 November 1851 (*Staatsblad* no. 65).[54]
>
> It was also felt during the entanglements with the Chinese on the West Coast of Borneo, as well as the sending of two Chinese from Banka, who according to two Chinese letters found in their possession, were members of a secret society in Malakka.
>
> …
>
> Finally the need for a European translator of Chinese is also being felt, not only during the trial of cases in which Chinese are involved or are to be heard as witnesses, but also in particular for a correct judgement of what is published by Chinese printing offices: for it is stated that in Batavia a Chinese Newspaper is regularly being published; but the government is not able to deny or to acknowledge that statement; and still less to judge whether its contents are harmful or not.[55]

Duymaer van Twist also sent copies of earlier correspondence on the training of youngsters and stressed the urgency of the matter; the government should not be taken aback by the expenses. He then mentioned the suggestion of the Resident of Batavia and the Consul: to send two or three European youngsters to Canton, connect them with the consulate, and give them a solid training. The costs would be $2,500 per year according to the Consul, but for three years it would be *f* 22,500.[56] He further advised: first, always to send new students to China to guarantee success; secondly, to arrange appointments in government service upon their return; thirdly, to allocate fixed items in the budget; and fourthly, to ask Royal Approval for this proposal. Upon their return to the Indies after finishing their studies, they should be able to teach others, so that no

fixed item in the budget was necessary. Students should be sent every year for four or five years.

Before answering the Governor-General, Minister of Colonies Pahud asked the advice of 'Dr. J.J. Hoffmann,'[57] who had been appointed as Japanese translator of the government of the Netherlands Indies since 1846,[58] but was living in Leiden. On 9 December 1853, Hoffmann wrote a detailed report, which Leonard Blussé[59] has called the master plan for the study of Chinese, most of which was carried out in the ten years that followed.

Hoffmann's report (1853)

In his report, Hoffmann wrote that, since the need for Chinese interpreters in the Indies had been recognised, and Canton had been chosen as the place for training them, there were three questions for him to answer. I. What was most important in Chinese studies? II. Where and how should one study? III. How much time should be needed?

In order to answer the first question, Hoffmann gave a brief introduction to the Chinese language. The peculiar relation between writing and pronunciation made studying Chinese completely different from other languages. Those who knew the language considered the characters the basis: one should first learn the characters and their meaning, and secondly their pronunciation. Complete knowledge of Chinese includes these three aspects, and Hoffmann disagreed with the opinion, expressed now and then, that learning only the spoken language would be sufficient.

Hoffmann noted that Western sinologists[60] who were in direct contact with the Chinese naturally stressed the importance of pronunciation, while scholars of Chinese in Europe concentrated on the study of Chinese literature. However, the practical and theoretical schools were not antagonistic, and had indeed profited from each other; in particular, the practical school profited from the results of the theoretical one.

The Chinese writing system was the same in the whole Empire, and was also understood in Japan, Korea, and the Ryukyu Islands. The Chinese dictionary of the Kangxi Emperor had the same authority there as in China. But the pronunciation in the various Chinese provinces was so different that a native of Peking could not, or could hardly, understand one of Canton.

In order to communicate, a common 'official language' (*ambtstaal*) or 'Mandarin language' (*guanhua* 官話, *Mandarijnentaal*), based on the Northern Chinese dialect of Shandong, had long ago been adopted. The Chinese compared this dialect with a national road (*guanlu* 官路), while the local dialects were comparable to provincial roads. Every Chinese who

took the national examinations to qualify as an official, should completely master the Mandarin dialect. And anyone who claimed to have any literary education tried to learn it to a certain extent. Therefore the situation in China was similar to that in Germany, where High German had been adopted as the language of polite society while the other dialects continued to exist as popular languages without the least impediment.

This led to the conclusion that Europeans wishing to study Chinese should start by learning the official national language. Other interpreters had done so, for instance R. Morrison,[61] W.H. Medhurst, K. Gützlaff, and Harry S. Parkes.[62] With the latter three Hoffmann had had personal conversations. If it were impossible to start with Mandarin, one could start with Cantonese but that would be more difficult. Another reason for beginning with Mandarin was that in all language tools and reference works compiled by Europeans, Mandarin, the language of officialdom, was considered to be the general language, while the dialects were of secondary importance. Should one start with another dialect than Mandarin, one would have little profit from these tools and would get deficient, one-sided knowledge, not much better than that of an illiterate. Hoffmann mentioned these arguments because it had been claimed here and there that if one were proficient in certain dialects, knowledge of Mandarin would be redundant. Although this might make sense for missionaries in view of their particular sphere of activities, it did not apply to government officials, who would be in charge of official contacts between the Netherlands and China.

The interpreter should be familiar with the Mandarin dialect (*Mandarijnen tongval*) as standard pronunciation, and

> when he associates it with the main types of the other dialects as variations, he will soon understand their mutual relations, get to know the special dialects easily according to fixed rules and be able to expand his knowledge constantly because it has a good basis.[63]

For a Dutchman wishing to study Chinese, knowledge of English and French was also essential, in particular the former, because of the dictionaries and other tools in these two languages.

As to the question of where and how to study, Hoffmann also considered Canton the most suitable place because of the lack of capable Chinese teachers in the Netherlands Indies. Qualified teachers should be selected with the help of the Consul. Another reason for going to Canton was that the students would have an opportunity to associate with other Europeans who could understand Chinese; they could also meet with Chinese officials and graduated literates. Success would be dependent on the following conditions:

1. Students should start very young, when 13-15 years old. In Hoffmann's

own experience a boy of 9 [Schlegel] learned faster—both in writing and pronunciation— than a young man of 18-19 [probably Kloekers, who was 23 at the time; De Grijs had not yet begun studying].
2. Since in Hoffmann's opinion Chinese was the most difficult language of all, the candidates should have an aptitude for languages, which could be seen from their ability to learn English. They also should have some pleasure in learning it, or this pleasure should be stimulated.
3. They should also have a good memory, particularly because of the writing system.
4. Capable teachers and good tools should be chosen. Hoffmann was willing to ask his scholarly friend Harry Parkes to offer help in finding suitable teachers.

The method of teaching should be left to the teacher to decide. In eight to ten lessons, general ideas of the writing system and language could be taught; afterwards one should proceed to systematic study. As tools, Hoffmann mentioned:

a. Abel Rémusat, *Élémens de la grammaire Chinoise*, Paris 1822.[64]
b. *The Notitia linguae Sinicae of Prémare* [Knowledge of the Chinese language], translated into English by J.G. Bridgman, Canton 1847.[65]
c. Robert Morrison, *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*, Serampore 1815.

At the same time, Hoffmann took the opportunity to warn against using Stephan Endlicher's *Anfangsgründe der Chinesische Grammatik* (Vienna 1845), which had too many and too serious mistakes.[66] He also sent offprints of his Dutch and French reviews of this book (1846).

Other literary tools were the works by Stanislas Julien:[67]

a. Meng tzeu vel Mencium (Latin and Chinese text of *Mengzi* 孟子), 1824–26.
b. Le Tao-te-king, ou le livre de la raison suprême et de la vertue, par Lao-tsèu (French and Chinese text of *Daodejing* 道德經), 1842.
c. Le livre des recompenses et des peines (*Kan-ing-piën*, Chinese and French text of *Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇), 1835.
d. Examen critique de quelques pages de Chinois relatives à l'Inde, 1841.
e. novels and plays translated into French (for instance *Blanche et Bleue, ou les deux couleuvres-fées* (*Baishejing ji* 白蛇精記, 1834); *Hoei-lan-ki, ou l'histoire du cercle de craie* (*Huilanji* 灰闌記, 1832); *Tchao-chi-kou-eul, ou l'Orphelin de la Chine* (*Zhao shi gu'er* 趙氏孤兒, 1834), etc.).

Hoffmann pointed out that the Chinese language is divided into classical and modern Chinese:

> Because the former is the basis of the latter one usually begins with the former. And when one on this basis is sufficiently acquainted with the Chinese character writing to be able to translate Chinese texts with the help of a dictionary, one usually goes on to the new literature and studies the colloquial

> language in order to give a practical direction to the knowledge gained. So if the teacher in Canton should take the same course, I intend to defend him beforehand against the possible reproach that through this method the actual aim, the training of capable interpreters for practical use, has been lost from sight.[68]

As to the third question, Hoffmann believed that for a suitable and diligent student with a good teacher, four years would be sufficient to acquire enough knowledge as a basis on which to perfect himself by continued study. He suggested first sending four or five youngsters to China and waiting two years for another group of four to five: if one started with a new group every year, there would be too many groups. After four years, two or three students should return to Java to begin their official careers and continue their studies at the same time. One or two of them could stay in Canton to help the next group.

Hoffmann concluded that this basic plan should be adapted later according to circumstances. He recapitulated the main points as follows:

> The youngsters who wish to study in Canton to become interpreters for the Chinese language, should in particular be skilled in English; they should start with the Chinese writing system and regard the so-called Mandarin language as their point of departure, from which they will proceed to the study of the other dialects.

Finally, and most importantly, Hoffmann reported on his own 'endeavours' in teaching Chinese.

Hoffmann's earliest students

Hoffmann's first student was Gustaaf Schlegel, whom he had been teaching for four years since 13 November 1849, twice a week and free of charge. Schlegel was now 13 years old and a pupil at a *gymnasium*. He could read and translate texts on Chinese natural history and by Confucius. He learned to write Chinese characters very fast[69] and he had a good memory. Moreover, he was pleased with learning Chinese and quite proficient in the modern languages: French, German, and English. He therefore showed promise of becoming an excellent scholar and student of Chinese language and literature. For this purpose, his teacher asked for an appropriate subsidy in order to have him receive private secondary school education, but with the obligation to serve the country later. In a later letter Hoffmann was more specific, indicating that Schlegel still needed five and a half years of gymnasium education, which could be shortened to three years if he were to be given private instruction. He would have enough time to continue his studies of Chinese and later also to learn Japanese. For private instruction in the classical languages, *f* 300 per year would be needed (that

is, *f* 25 per month); for the modern languages, especially English, and mathematics, as well as books for his Chinese studies, another *f* 200 would be necessary. It was probably the Minister who wrote in the margin: "I think we should keep to *f* 300," and that was the amount given to him.[70]

Hoffmann's second student was the Dutch missionary H.Z. Kloekers, whom he taught for one and a half years from about July 1851 to November 1852.[71] In 1850, after an appeal by Gützlaff, H.C. Millies[72] had already asked Hoffmann whether he would be willing to train a missionary. The following year, he was again asked by Millies on what conditions he would accept. He answered that he was willing to help talented youngsters with their studies as far as his other work allowed him to do so and as a private affair between himself and the student. As translator for the Japanese language (with a yearly salary of *f* 1,800), he felt obliged to teach Japanese and Chinese without charge.[73] Soon after, probably in July, Kloekers started coming twice a week, and starting in September he came once a week since he went to study in the Missionaries House (*Zendelingenhuis*) in Rotterdam. After one year he was advanced enough to study the Chinese translations of the Bible. But to Hoffmann's chagrin, Kloekers' Chinese studies were discontinued as of November 1852 because they were considered to prevent his studying on an equal footing with the other students in the Missionaries House. In his report, Hoffmann explained that his purpose was to teach him the Chinese writing system. Kloekers could analyse characters and look them up in a dictionary. He had a general understanding of the grammar and Hoffmann just at that time wanted to begin a systematic study of grammar, by which he probably meant the study of Rémusat's grammar. As a souvenir, Hoffmann was presented by the Missionaries House with a mantel clock (*kamerpendule*), which he accepted. Hoffmann suggested that after finishing his studies in Rotterdam, Kloekers could return to Leiden to study with him for several weeks in order to get to know the tools for further study, to distinguish the solid from the superficial and to learn the main grammatical characteristics.[74]

There had been other requests for the teaching of Chinese, but there were no other students as the education at the gymnasium left them too little time.

Finally Hoffmann mentioned a third (potential) student, C.F.M. de Grijs. De Grijs was born and grew up in Leiden, where his father had a haberdashery and drapery shop. From 1849 to 1853, he studied at the Pharmaceutical School in Utrecht, preparing for a career in the Indies. After graduation in Utrecht, he became a pharmacist of the third class in the Netherlands Indies Army. Starting on 1 September 1853, he was stationed in Leiden for four months to study the collections of animals and minerals in the Museum of Natural History in Leiden—of which Herman Schlegel, Gustaaf's father, was a curator—and also of tropical plants in

the National Herbarium. In this case the reason for studying Chinese was again different. Stimulated by Hoffmann, De Grijs had already decided a few years earlier that he would like to study Chinese. He would have begun already if it had not interfered with his work in Leiden. Hoffmann wished to give him a basic knowledge of Chinese. Therefore he requested that De Grijs should be allowed to stay for another three to four months in Leiden so that Hoffmann could teach him enough Chinese to enable him to continue his studies by himself with European tools on Java.

Hoffmann argued that it would be very useful for a government official trained in natural history to have some knowledge of Chinese, since the collection of flora, fauna, and minerals from China could only yield its full value if the native names and some Chinese information were added. The Chinese names added to the objects were the key to the little-used treasure of the Chinese natural sciences (*natuurkunde*), and literature on art and industry. This literature would be accessible to sinologists if they could find more information on the names of the objects.

This was, moreover, a subject into which Hoffmann himself had delved before. The first article he published on a Chinese subject was on Chinese botany (in 1837), and in 1853 he published a long article on plant names[75] and a short one on Chinese medical use of opium, as an appendix to J.C. Baud's history of opium in the Indies.[76] At the time, Hoffmann was considered an authority not only on Chinese and Japanese languages but also on Chinese natural sciences.

The beginning of sinology and japanology as an academic study

The Minister of Colonies, Pahud, agreed with Governor-General Duymaer van Twist's and Hoffmann's proposals. With foresight, Pahud mentioned a special reason to agree with the latter, namely that in this way a successor to Hoffmann could possibly be found, in case he should retire as Japanese translator of the Netherlands Indies government.[77] On 11 January 1854, Pahud asked for Royal Approval to authorise the Governor-General to provide for training of interpreters in China, and for a temporary payment to Schlegel of a monthly stipend of *f* 25 to encourage and support him in his Chinese studies—all to be paid from the Colonial budget. The next day, King William III approved both requests, and on 17 January Minister Pahud notified Duymaer van Twist and Hoffmann. At the same time, Pahud allowed De Grijs to study in Leiden for the next four months. Hoffmann was asked to write regular reports on their progress. From 1 January 1854, Schlegel received a monthly stipend of *f* 25, and from 1 February 1854, De Grijs was allowed to study full-time with Hoffmann. This is the moment at which the study of Chinese officially

was launched in Leiden, in combination with the practical interest in Chinese natural history.

Initially there was no connection between Hoffmann and Leiden University. It would take another year before sinology and japanology obtained their first foothold at the University. On 5 December 1854, during the debate on the national budget of 1855 in the Lower house of Parliament (*Tweede Kamer*), Baron B.W.A.E. Sloet tot Oldhuis,[78] a headstrong liberal with a critical interest in the Indies, recommended to the Minister of Home Affairs C.G.J. van Reenen to establish a chair at Leiden for Chinese and Japanese, and to appoint Hoffmann in that position. His arguments were that no country had as many Chinese subjects as the Netherlands—on Java alone 120,000—while there was not even one European official who could speak Chinese. And for centuries the Netherlands had been the only country having trade relations with Japan. In this country there were more resources for studying these languages than anywhere else in Europe.[79] While in Paris and Petersburg there were chairs for Chinese and in Kazan perhaps for Japanese,[80] in Leiden there was none. Moreover, knowledge of both languages was of great scholarly value, and could shed a new light on the history of East Asia. Now the Netherlands had the privilege of possessing Mr. Hoffmann who knew both languages, a combination that was extremely rare. Hoffmann's astonishing erudition was only matched by his great modesty. In the past, he had refused honourable and lucrative offers from other countries out of love for his second fatherland. Finally, the establishment of a chair in Leiden would advance the scholarly fame of the Netherlands and add lustre to Leiden University.

At the same meeting, this proposal was warmly supported by J.C. Baud (1789–1859), one of the foremost Dutch statesmen of the first half of the nineteenth century, who as (acting) Governor-General of the Indies (1833–6) and Minister of Colonies (1840–8) had great influence on colonial policy.[81] Although he represented the old order from before 1848, he was highly respected by his opponents, including the liberal Thorbecke. Baud pleaded both for the *matter* and the *person*, repeating some of the earlier arguments. He first mentioned the unruliness (*alles behalve rustig*) of the Chinese, instancing the troubles on Borneo and the new restrictions on Chinese residence on Java. No one would dispute the need to have a means of communication with these often so 'turbulent' subjects. Now the Government could make known its orders only in Malay, which was sometimes badly spoken and understood by the European officials, often still less well by the Chinese. Moreover, there was no way of checking possibly dangerous Chinese writings that circulated on Java, other than with help of a Chinese with whom one could hardly communicate and who might even be a member of a secret society. In these circumstances, conspiracies could remain concealed and the government's orders could be misunder-

stood, causing unrest instead of peace. Therefore it was desirable that the government should arrange to teach Chinese to one or more Dutchmen.

For Japan the situation was similar. Since there was the prospect of more trade with that country,[82] means should be found to communicate with the Japanese government. For centuries there had existed a corps of Japanese translators who had learned Dutch, but one could not judge the correctness of their translations of warrants or notices from the Japanese government. It was therefore very important for the government to have someone who knew Japanese and could be fully trusted.

Hoffmann had been employed to assist Von Siebold in writing *Nippon* and other works on Japan, and when that position ended, so did Hoffmann's means of subsistence (in 1846, when Baud was Minister of Colonies). Since Hoffmann was known for his expertise on Japan and China, he was offered attractive positions in the main capitals of Europe, but he preferred to stay in the Netherlands. Several learned men, who highly esteemed Hoffmann (such as C. Leemans), asked the government to make his continued stay in the Netherlands possible. Just at that time the Dutch government was planning to give a friendly advice to the Japanese *shōgun*, for which Hoffmann's help was needed, and it was expected that he would be needed more in the future. Thereupon Hoffmann was appointed as Japanese translator, and he untiringly continued to enlarge his knowledge of Chinese and Japanese. At the same time he also worked on his Japanese dictionary, which he wished to publish in the Netherlands. However, Hoffmann's continued presence was needed not only for practical reasons but also for the scholarly fame of the Netherlands. Hoffmann himself also wished to stay, Baud thought, although he had never made known any wish to obtain a high scholarly rank. The best means to keep him would be to confer on him a scholarly title that would bind this meritorous man forever to the Netherlands. Therefore Baud warmly supported Sloet tot Oldhuis' proposal to establish a chair for Hoffmann. At the end of this session in Parliament, Minister Van Reenen did not immediately react in his concluding remarks, which were rather short because of the late hour.[83]

One reaction came two weeks later on 18 December 1854, when Pahud wrote a letter to Van Reenen, asking him to establish such an affiliation by appointing J.J. Hoffmann as titular professor.[84] Possibly this action was influenced by Hoffmann's earlier request to prolong De Grijs' studies with him and his report on Schlegel's progress of 22 November 1854.[85]

In his letter, Pahud first reminded Van Reenen of Hoffmann's special position and unique qualities. In 1846 Hoffmann had been appointed as Japanese translator for the Netherlands Indies Government at a yearly salary of *f* 1,800. The reason was that other seafaring nations were trying to get contacts with Japan and the Dutch needed a translator who was able to read Japanese official letters that were sent to the Netherlands,

because of its special relationship with Japan. The position of government translator was given him in order to prevent him from accepting offers of university chairs in France and Britain. As a translator Hoffmann several times rendered useful services to the Ministry of Colonies, and he was now even teaching Chinese to two students. Since experts in Chinese and Japanese were rare, and Hoffmann's qualities were well known, it would not be surprising if other nations would offer him a more permanent position. Although the time might not yet have come for the establishment of a chair for these languages at Leiden University, Hoffmann could be given the title of professor (*titel van hoogleeraar*) because of his ability to teach Japanese and Chinese. Pahud asked Van Reenen to consider this option seriously and to cooperate in its realisation.

Van Reenen very quickly, on 26 December 1854, sent a letter in which Pahud's arguments were duly transferred to the Board of Trustees (*College van Curatoren*) of Leiden University. The only difference with Pahud's letter was that Van Reenen now asked for a position of extraordinary professor (*buitengewoon hoogleeraar*). Moreover, as an appendix, he added the original letter from the Society for the Propagation of Christianity among the Chinese which had arrived a few years earlier. It had pleaded for a chair in Chinese language and literature (*leerstoel voor de Chinesche taal- en letterkunde*) at one of the universities.[86] Apparently, this letter had not been taken too seriously before Pahud's request.

On 23 January 1855, the Board of Trustees sent their answer. They wrote that it was not clear to them whether the Minister wished to establish a *chair* for Chinese and Japanese, or just to affiliate Hoffmann with the University to teach those who wished to learn Chinese and Japanese, in which case special instructions for him were needed. In any case, the Board agreed with the suggestion to create a position for Hoffmann to prevent him from going elsewhere. However, it proposed not to offer him the status of extraordinary professor, which was usually reserved for young scholars at the beginning of their scholarly career. This title would not suit the present position of Hoffmann, who had acquired a well-deserved name and already rendered important services to the country. They therefore suggested making Hoffmann a [full] professor of the Japanese and Chinese languages at Leiden University, at a proper salary, at the same time letting him continue his position as Japanese translator for the Netherlands Indies government. Moreover, it should be stipulated that he would be wholly on his own, and would not have a seat in the Senate or Faculty. Only on ceremonial occasions should he have a seat in the Faculty of Arts according to seniority. In case he would be obliged to give public lectures, these should be announced in the *Series Lectionum* (programme of courses) of the Faculty of Arts. In this way, Hoffmann would obtain a position commensurate with his rare qualities. All petty indecorousness and quarrels which his

slightly peculiar relation with the University could easily give rise to could then be avoided. And finally, if necessary, he might have to be naturalised as a Dutchman in order to be appointed.[87] In other words, they suggested making him a normal professor under special conditions.

On 1 February 1855, this letter was forwarded to Pahud, who asked Hoffmann's opinion. Hoffmann replied on 10 February that a position as honorary professor (*honorair hoogleeraar*) at Leiden, assigned to teach Japanese and Chinese, would be an improvement only if he received a higher yearly salary. Pahud informed Van Reenen on 28 February.[88]

Van Reenen answered on 2 March that there was no objection against Hoffmann's proposal. If only the title were given, Hoffmann would not be a national civil servant (*landsbeambte*) and naturalisation was not necessary. Pahud replied on 5 March that this arrangement would completely satisfy Hoffmann. If he would be naturalised in the future, an appointment as full professor (*gewoon hoogleeraar*) could be considered.[89]

Subsequently, Van Reenen proposed to the King, who gave approval by Royal Decree[90] on 21 March 1855 that

> J. Hoffmann, living in Leiden, who by Royal Decree of 11 December 1846 has been appointed as Japanese translator for the Government of the Netherlands Indies, be given the title of professor (*titel van hoogleeraar*).[91]

Both the Trustees and Hoffmann were informed of this Royal Decree, and a few weeks later, on 5 April, Pahud sent a second proposal to the King. He wished to give Hoffmann a raise of *f* 1,000 so that his salary would be equal to that of a full professor, to be paid by the Ministry of Colonies, and to stipulate his teaching obligations.[92] On 9 April 1855, the King gave approval by Royal Decree:

> to raise the yearly salary of *f* 1,800 … by *f* 1,000, … and therefore to confer the full sum of *f* 2,800 per year as from 1 April 1855, under the obligation to teach Japanese and Chinese without pay also to those who may be assigned to him by the Government.[93]

In this way, Hoffmann became the first professor of Chinese in the Netherlands, but at the same time he became the first professor of Japanese in the whole Western world.

Pahud again informed Hoffmann, who was extremely grateful for both the title of professor and the raise in salary. He would continue his teaching with the utmost exertion, while his raise in salary would contribute to the flourishing of Chinese and Japanese studies.[94] These were no idle words, since Hoffmann would indeed continue to lay the basis for Dutch sinology and japanology.

Plans and preparations in Batavia

On 17 January 1854, when Minister Pahud wrote to Hoffmann about the allowance for Schlegel and permission for De Grijs to study Chinese, he at the same time informed Governor-General Duymaer van Twist, permitting him to send two students from Batavia to Canton. This was his response to Van Twist's letter of 10 September 1853, in which a plan and budget for sending two or three youngsters to Canton had been proposed. Pahud now also sent a copy of Hoffmann's advice and asked Van Twist to inform him of the measures that he would take. However, implementation proved difficult, eventually taking about two years.

Van Twist forwarded Pahud's decision and Hoffmann's advice to the Council of the Indies, which on 14 April 1854 asked the Resident of Batavia for his opinion on how the training of interpreters should be organised.[95] At that time, P. van Rees had just resigned as from 1 May; he was succeeded by A.H.W. de Kock.[96] On 4 May the new Resident already sent a detailed report to the Council of the Indies, commenting on Hoffmann's advice. He stated that the costs were no problem and that he agreed with Hoffmann that four years of study would be better than three; therefore the total costs would amount to *f* 22,500 + *f* 7,500 = *f* 30,000. Sending four or five students would not be excessive, since interpreters were needed in the three towns of Java—Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya—on the East Coast of Sumatra and the Moluccas, and eventually also elsewhere. But it would be better not to send four to five from the start because of the costs and the probable difficulty of engaging that number of students. Preferably, the students should be of European descent (the previous Resident of Batavia was of the same opinion), and they should be skilled in languages. Since it would not be easy to engage youngsters of 14 to 16 years, the Resident proposed to do an experiment with two students only. A notice should be published in the *Javasche Courant*, and if necessary, the Minister of Colonies should be asked for help in searching for candidates in the Netherlands, where advanced and educated youngsters surely could be found. Housing, livelihood, necessary care, etc. should be provided by the Consul, who could take other measures if the actual costs exceeded $1,250 per year. As a stimulus for engagement the students should, after completing their studies, be accorded the *radicaal* (qualification) of third- or second-class officials, be put at the disposal of the government and be appointed. All they would have to do in return was to serve the government as sworn translators without fee; translations for private persons could be remunerated for the same fees which other local translators charged according to existing regulations. The Consul should also be asked to send a report every six months on the progress of the students in Canton.[97]

In a second letter of 26 May, the Resident recommended a proposal by A.P.G. Abels, English translator in Batavia.[98] This proposal can better be understood in the context of the discussion on the monopoly of the Royal Academy[99] in Delft, the training college for East Indies officials.

The problem was that in principle (there were many exceptions), starting from 1843, all East Indies officials had to be educated in Delft, in order to obtain the *radicaal* of first-class (judiciary, having a degree in law) or second-class (administrative) officials. This was a heavy financial and emotional burden for East Indies officials and their families. Moreover, as there existed no secondary education in the Indies, their children had to be sent to boarding schools in the Netherlands to get a proper education. In 1848, this conflict had contributed to the Batavian 'revolution.' A decade earlier, from 1832 to 1842, (some) East Indies officials had been trained at the Institute for the Javanese Language in Surakarta, but this school was abolished in 1842 and succeeded by the Royal Academy in Delft. In Delft, courses were given in subjects such as literary Javanese and Malay, geography, and ethnology of the Netherlands Indies, and Islamic law, but also in secondary-school subjects. It was considered that this training could better be given in the Netherlands because of the lack of scholarly education and even secondary education in the Indies, and because it was felt that the future officials should have close ties with the mother country. Moreover, there was a general prejudice against youngsters who were born and bred in the Indies, whether of European or of Eurasian descent: they were found "lazy, dissolute, less intelligent and not able to express themselves correctly in Dutch." These prejudices were not entirely without reason. In the 1840s and 1850s, there were many discussions on what would be the best way to discipline the students, who were usually 16 when they entered, in particular those from the Indies.

In the end, this conflict was solved in 1864 when the Royal Academy in Delft was abolished. The system of the *radicaal* was also abolished, and in the future officials were no longer obliged to attend any classes. They were only to pass the *groot-ambtenaarsexamen* (Higher Officials Examination) which was held yearly both in the Netherlands and in the Indies. There was also a *klein-ambtenaarsexamen* (Lower Officials Examination) for the lower functions, corresponding to the original third-class officials.[100] The training school for East Indies officials was abolished in Delft and moved to Leiden.[101] Since this was to the chagrin of the Delft Municipality, they founded a new Municipal Institution for training in the languages, geography, and ethnology of the Netherlands Indies, the so-called Indies Institute (*Indische Instelling*), which continued to attract the largest number of students.[102] In Batavia the Indies government founded a similar institution as a special section of the Willem III Gymnasium (Section B). At all three institutions, students could prepare for the Higher Officials Examination at their own expense.

Abels' proposal was favouring the European (and possibly Eurasian) community in Batavia and was drafted in the spirit of Van Hoëvell. At the beginning of 1855 some articles were published on this subject in the Netherlands, but from the point of view of Europeans on Java. An unnamed member of the Indies Society (*Indisch Genootschap*), a society for the study of economic and political questions, established in 1854,[103] gave a speech on 9 December 1854 at the general meeting in The Hague. This was published in the transactions of that year under the title "Recommendation to employ the so-called native children on Java to study the Chinese language."[104]

This speech was a reaction to Sloet tot Oldhuis' plea in Parliament four days earlier (on 5 December 1854) to establish a chair for the Chinese and Japanese languages in Leiden, to be filled by Hoffmann. Sloet's main arguments were that no other country had as many Chinese subjects as the Netherlands. And there was not even one Dutchman on Java who knew Chinese, while there were chairs for Chinese in several other European countries. In his reaction to this, the speaker wished to discuss only the Chinese language from the point of view of its practical value on Java, not for enhancing scholarly knowledge. Chairs at universities mostly had the latter purpose. He also said it was not true that no European with any knowledge of Chinese could be found on Java. Apart from the Reverend Medhurst, he mentioned in particular a young man named Carvalho, who as a child had gone to China with his parents. After his return to Semarang, he could translate some Chinese texts which appeared not to be very favourable to the government. He could also speak the language perfectly. Of course, no one would disagree with Sloet tot Oldhuis that some provision was necessary for studying the language spoken by a large group of Java's population, greatly exceeding the European population in numbers. The Chinese were privileged because they could speak, write, and print whatever they liked, while 'a leaden hand' rested on the European press in the Indies. But the speaker disagreed as to the implementation of the proposals. It would not be wise to wish to teach Chinese in the Netherlands for practical use on Java. In the Indies, only men would be useful who could speak and write Oriental languages as actually spoken and written by Orientals. The necessary practice could not be obtained in the Netherlands. Even the brightest students at the Royal Academy in Delft when they arrived on Java could not express themselves understandably in Malay or Javanese on the most simple matters. Not only did they use the wrong words, but especially their pronunciation was not understandable. They also admitted themselves that their studies in Delft had been ineffective.[105] The speaker concluded that this would be even more the case with Chinese, so that it would be a waste of time to study it in the Netherlands.

As an alternative, the speaker proposed to train 'native children' (*in-*

landsche kinderen), by which he meant Eurasian children on Java, to study Chinese. They would be most suitable since they knew the morals and customs of the Chinese very well and had had contacts with the Chinese from their earliest youth. So it would be less difficult for them to learn the language. This was the more so because they had an aptitude for learning languages and generally could write accurately and in a fair hand (they were mostly employed as clerks). A good handwriting was also a condition for being able to write Chinese with its complicated characters. This would also give them an opportunity to make themselves useful to the large population of 'native children' who were discriminated against by the government in many ways. Moreover, the customs of the 'native children' were close to the Chinese: they were satisfied with simple clothing and food and had the same amusements (later some of these are mentioned: 'cock-fighting, opium smoking, gambling and other vices'). The Chinese and 'native children' also had great trust in each other. Like the Chinese, the 'native children' were shrewd as to their own interests, and even more patient if there was a prospect of (future) material profit. The government should only have to invite candidates, let them study Chinese in their own way, organise examinations, and appoint them. This system was much to be preferred to sending students to Delft. The British had chairs for Oriental languages in British India, and it would likewise be best to establish a school on Java.

Van Hoëvell wrote a review of this in the *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*. He was not convinced that a chair in the Netherlands would not be of any use, but he pleaded for establishing a school for Oriental languages on Java, where other Oriental languages could also be taught. In another article, a few pages further, he again pleaded for using 'native children.'[106]

Abels had heard about the plans to train Chinese interpreters, and sent a detailed report to the Resident on 20 May 1854. He began by stating that when he came to the Indies in 1849 he already had noted the lack of European translators of Chinese. Because there was a large Chinese population, anyone well versed in that language could easily make a living and be very useful. He had also tried to learn Chinese but was hampered by lack of time and the defective communication in Malay which was spoken very badly by his China-born teacher. Now, after hearing of the new plans, he wished to study it again. It would not be impossible to learn the language with the existing tools, but a better-than-average talent for languages and perseverance were necessary. In particular, the beginning was difficult: getting accustomed to the sounds which were 'almost annoying' (*bijna vervelend*). And one needed much diligence and conviction to persevere in a study "which in itself held nothing of interest and nothing to make the labours pleasant."[107] Hoffmann's three to four years seemed to him very short, in particular for youngsters, who would need five to six years. He

also had his doubts as to the results to be gained by sending 13- to 14-year-old children to China; it would be beyond their capacities. They should have a good knowledge of Dutch (which might be defective for those born and bred in the Indies, especially Eurasians), and also of English and French, as they would mainly be trained by English missionaries (!) and most books were written in English. Knowledge of other languages such as French and Latin also helped. Another problem was that it was difficult to assess the stability, steadiness of character, and progress of youngsters and whether in the end they would become capable translators. Therefore Abels proposed to create an opportunity to study Chinese in Batavia: then the high expenses of youngsters in China could be avoided. There would be guarantees for both supervision and assessment of suitability, and it would be easy to increase the number of students according to need.

He proposed to go himself to China to learn the language as fast as possible and, after having gained sufficient knowledge, to return to the Indies accompanied by Chinese teachers who knew English. Then he would establish an institution (*inrigting*) in Batavia to train other students, and at the same time work as a translator. This would be the fastest way to train interpreters. There should be sufficient competition for entering into this institution. For perfecting their skills, especially in the various dialects, if necessary, the students should be sent to China for one year or so, if justified by their progress and behaviour. The advantage of such an institution would be that one could more easily assess the students' suitability and avoid useless expenses if they later appeared unsuitable. Monthly or yearly exams could also be a stimulus for the students. Also, note could more easily be taken of the development of their unstable character at that age. Studies are often pushed aside by passions. It would be difficult to influence students in a country far away, while a lot of patience and perseverance were necessary for this study. It would also be easy to enlarge the institution in Batavia; this would assure constant availability of translators. Probably the benefits to be obtained would attract many to seek admittance at their own expense.

Abels asked to be sent to China for two or three years. His former teacher told him three years would suffice as preparation for the work of a translator. Of course, he would not gain full control of the language, but the daily work as a translator would in itself lead to more knowledge. He said that he had a certain talent for and interest in learning languages. His studies would be on a scholarly level. He wished to be of use to society and at the same time assure the future of himself and his family. His conditions were that all expenses, which he estimated at $250 monthly, should be paid by the government. After three years he should have a salary of *f* 500. To guarantee his success, he was willing to accept supervision by the Consul and any other measure taken.

In its advice and considerations for the Governor-General (6 June 1854), the Council of the Indies in general agreed with the opinions of the Resident of Batavia, but not in all respects.

> This concerns the training of scholarly interpreters (*wetenschappelijk opgeleide tolken*) for the Chinese language, who are not only capable of translating, but also of transmitting their knowledge to others and training others. According to Hoffmann, a person trained to such a scholarly level should have a thorough knowledge of French and English, should learn the character script first, and then Mandarin or Cantonese. He should at the same time receive a secondary education, which does not exist in the Indies. Therefore, the Council is convinced that it is better to train them in the Netherlands. It does not support Abels' request. The reasons are that this would only entail the training of one interpreter whose later training would take place in the Netherlands Indies, where there is much less opportunity to obtain a scholarly education than in the Netherlands. Its advice is to train two youngsters in the Netherlands at the expense of the Netherlands Indies government, send them in their sixteenth or seventeenth year to the Netherlands Indies and China, and complete their studies with Mandarin or Cantonese.

The Governor-General also asked advice from Tonco Modderman[108] (letter dated 28 September 1854), who was at the time Consul in Canton. Modderman answered with a letter dated Macao, 13 November 1854. He thought it would not be difficult to train interpreters in China. It was easy to find native language teachers, who understood enough English to express their thoughts. A yearly sum of $1,250 would be sufficient. He agreed to accept students 12 to 15 years old, but they should know English. Youngsters with a quick mind and a good memory should be chosen, who had already finished their secondary schooling, since after arrival in China they could only learn Chinese. If four students were sent, he asked to send two of 12-13 years and two of 15-16 years. But he believed very few parents would be willing to send their 12- or even 16-year-old children to China. Supervision was the only problem. This could be solved by having the students live inside the consulate and make them subordinate to the Consul as aspirant-officials. "The Spanish government proceeded in the same manner for the translators that are trained here on its account." Although it did not seem an easy task, he was ready to do it. His only condition was the reimbursement of expenses at $70 monthly per student. Of the total expenses of $1,250, minus 12 × $70 = $840, there would remain $410, of which 12 × $15 = $180 was for the teacher, $25 for books and writing utensils, and for servants 12 × $6 = $72, clothing etc. $135. He was ready to receive the students as soon as the civil war in the province of Guangdong (the Taiping rebellion) had ended and foreign trade was opened again. Another advantage of studying in Canton was that the students could ask advice from the well-known English and American sinologists who resided there. Abels' proposal seemed unacceptable to the

Consul because he was too advanced in age (he was about 27), was married and with a family. This would be too expensive. It would even be more expensive if he studied in Canton, and it would be risky to make everything depend upon one person's life, health and suitability. He might pass away after three or four years of study.[109]

After Governor-General Duymaer van Twist received this letter, the Main Commission of Education (*Hoofdcommissie van Onderwijs*) was asked to search for candidates in schools and among those receiving private education with "a special talent for languages, thorough knowledge and speaking ability in English etc.," but they did not find anyone. Then A.L. Gastmann, the director of the Herwijnen Institute, a private secondary school near Bogor,[110] was also asked to search, and he did find two candidates, J.E. Albrecht and M. von Faber, who were 'suitable and willing,' and had their parents' consent.[111]

Since only two candidates could be found, the new Consul in Canton, J. des Amorie van der Hoeven,[112] suggested searching for other candidates in the Netherlands.

Apart from Abels, two other candidates sent in petitions probably asking to be sent to China: the above-mentioned R.J.M.N. Kussendrager on 4 October 1854 and G. Seel jr.[113] on 15 February 1855, but both were rejected.

Finally, on 10 October 1855[114] Governor-General Duymaer van Twist decided to send Albrecht and Von Faber to Canton to be trained in Chinese under the special supervision of the Netherlands Consul, and after finishing their studies and having obtained sufficient knowledge, to be appointed as interpreters for Chinese and to train others for the same. They would live with the Consul in Canton, and all needs would be paid for by the government, including clothing, medical care, pocket money etc., books and writing utensils, as well as passage to and from China. For expenses in China, an amount of $1,250 (or *f* 3,200 at an exchange rate of 2.56) would be available for each.

Van Hoëvell wrote in 1856 in his *Tijdschrift* that this decision was very satisfactory for many in the Indies, adding that for a long time, he had often drawn attention to the government's need for officials who could understand Chinese (for instance in his review of 1849 mentioned above), and now finally the government had accepted his advice, although without acknowledging its origin. And he was even more happy that two 'native children' (in this case, Europeans, born and bred in the Indies) were chosen. He wished them the best. They would be watched critically by those who thought that all East Indies officials should be educated in the Netherlands.[115]

However, on the same day on which the Governor-General sent the two students to Canton, he asked Minister of Colonies Pahud to train two

youngsters in the Netherlands at the expense of the Netherlands Indies government.[116]

Albrecht and Von Faber were the first Dutch students to study in China. They left Batavia on or shortly after 16 January 1856 and must have arrived in China in February 1856,[117] where they studied in Canton, Macao, and Amoy for four and a half years until the summer of 1860.

CHAPTER TWO

HOFFMANN'S STUDENTS (1854–1865)

Teaching a scientist: De Grijs (1854–1855)

Originally, the military pharmacist De Grijs was allowed to follow a crash course[1] in Chinese with Hoffmann for four months as from 1 February 1854, but this was prolonged twice, and De Grijs was able to study in Leiden for almost 1½ years. Each time Hoffmann and De Grijs asked for a prolongation, Minister of Colonies Pahud was very cooperative.

When the first period of four months almost ended, on 29 May 1854, both Hoffmann and De Grijs wrote letters to Minister Pahud explaining the situation and asking for prolongation of half a year or so. Hoffmann wrote that he had taught De Grijs every day from 1 February onwards, and that the results exceeded his expectations; a good basis had been laid by his personal teaching that was adapted to the individual; taking into account how difficult it was to find youngsters who were able and willing to study Chinese, while a real need was felt, he considered it would be best to allow De Grijs as much time as he needed to study. Under Hoffmann's guidance, De Grijs would earlier and with more certainty attain a level of Chinese on which he could continue his studies on his own. According to Hoffmann, a number of months, preferably extending until the next year, would be sufficient. De Grijs wrote in his letter that he had taken such a liking to the Chinese language that he planned to use all his leisure time after arrival on Java to study Chinese, and thus also to extend his knowledge; he asked for leave until the next year. On 7 June 1854, in an elegant bureaucratic twist, Minister Pahud decided that this request could not be approved, but also that De Grijs would not receive sailing orders for the East within six months as from 1 June.[2]

Half a year later, Minister Pahud asked Hoffmann whether there were any objections to De Grijs' sailing the next month, and on 17 November 1854 Hoffmann answered that De Grijs still needed another 2-3 months of study. Minister Pahud complied with Hoffmann's request and asked him to report when De Grijs was ready.[3]

Another half year later, the Minister asked again whether De Grijs could leave now. Hoffmann replied on 28 April 1855 that De Grijs was advanced enough to be able to do without his guidance, but that he needed books for further study which he could not afford to buy himself. In a last, half-hearted effort, Hoffmann added some ideas about the possibility of

keeping De Grijs longer, saying that with an eye toward Japan—Hoffmann always kept an eye on Japan—it could be advisable to have De Grijs stay still longer, in order to teach him some Japanese. But as this could slow down his Chinese studies, Hoffmann suggested teaching him Manchu so that he could use Manchu translations of classical and other Chinese books; in that way it would be easier to penetrate into the Chinese mind.[4] Two days later, on 30 May 1855, De Grijs wrote to the Minister expressing his readiness to go, his wish to continue his studies in the Indies and his need for an allowance for books. Hoffmann specified in a following letter (31 May) the amount of the needed allowance as *f* 524,20, adding a book list with prices. He suggested that the Minister create favourable study conditions for De Grijs in the Indies. He stated that De Grijs would also study one of the Chinese dialects, if possible Cantonese or Hokkien (Fujianese). He hoped that De Grijs would be stationed in a place where he could associate with the most civilised Chinese (meaning Batavia), and that he would not be hampered in his studies; Hoffmann would continue to correspond with De Grijs.[5] The Minister then decided that De Grijs should continue his Chinese studies on Java "in order to render service to the extension of our knowledge of Chinese products of art and nature."[6] This implied that he would no longer be kept in the Netherlands and would receive sailing orders from the military. The Minister only gave an allowance for books amounting to *f* 250, since a copy of one of the most expensive books that De Grijs needed, Von Siebold's *Nippon*, was already in the Indies.[7] The books that De Grijs needed would be bought by Hoffmann at Benjamin Duprat's bookshop in Paris and E.J. Brill's in Leiden; they would be sent later by Hoffmann.[8]

On 25 June 1855, De Grijs left the Netherlands on the ship *Triton* from Nieuwe Diep (Den Helder) on his way to the Indies.[9] More than four months later, on 1 November 1855, he arrived in Batavia and was stationed in the garrison hospital in Weltevreden (Batavia). However, the combination of his work as a pharmacist with Chinese studies proved to be hardly feasible. Two and a half months later, on 16 January 1856, Governor-General A.J. Duymaer van Twist[10] wrote to the new Minister of Colonies Mijer that the Chinese language and pharmacology were too heterogeneous and could not be studied fruitfully at the same time. Since there was a need for Dutchmen knowing Chinese—they were a great rarity—and it was not difficult to find pharmacists, he suggested that De Grijs could perhaps be sent to China, in the same way as the other two students a few months earlier. Minister Mijer agreed on 21 April 1856, as long as De Grijs was willing, but also asked what the consequences would be for his career: would he be willing to give up his military career, and could he become a translator?[11] At first the newly appointed Governor-General Pahud did not take any measures, and De Grijs was still obliged to work

in the military hospital, making pills from early morning to late evening, having no opportunity to continue his studies and being quietly laughed at by his colleagues: why should a military pharmacist wish to learn Chinese? But when Pahud, who knew De Grijs from the time he was Minister of Colonies, paid a visit to the hospital and heard about De Grijs' predicament, he promised to help him out.[12] In his decision of 26 September 1856, Pahud ordered De Grijs to proceed as fast as possible to Canton to continue his Chinese studies. At the same time, he would be kept in the military, receive the salary of a third-class military pharmacist, and keep his rights to promotion. No decision had yet been made as to whether he should become a translator. He was to receive *f* 500 for necessary equipment, and travel costs were at the government's expense.[13]

And so De Grijs became the first of Hoffmann's students to be sent to China. After his arrival in Hong Kong on 4 November,[14] he probably joined the others in Macao. Soon afterwards, he chose to go to Amoy,[15] in order to learn Hokkien, the dialect most widely spoken on Java. De Grijs arrived in Amoy on 6 May 1857.[16] The choice of Amoy by the only person who could judge this at the time was a wise one. Thus he paved the way for generations of Dutch sinologists.

The first student-interpreters for Chinese: Francken (1855–1857), Schaalje (1855–1859), and Schlegel (1854–1857)

In May 1855, while still teaching De Grijs and Schlegel, Hoffmann had with foresight and at his own initiative, probably out of a sense of obligation because of his new professorship, searched for new students at the local *gymnasium* and other secondary schools in Leiden. Probably he was helped by his friend Dr. C.A.X.G.F. Sicherer, who was a teacher of German at the *gymnasium* and lecturer at the University.[17] He found four potential candidates, two of whom gave up before they started.[18] From the beginning of July, he began to teach the two remaining students individually four times a week. These were Jan Francken and Maurits Schaalje, who were at that time 16 and 14 years old.[19] Francken was the eldest son of a Leiden bookseller, who had passed away the year before. He was a student at Dr. J.J. de Gelder's *Paedagogium*,[20] a school for classical languages (*gymnasium*), and planned to take the examination that gave entrance to the University. He "intended to study at the University and then to obtain the *radicaal* of civil official in the Netherlands Indies at the Academy in Delft." This meant he would first study law in Leiden and then be trained at the Delft Academy for two years in order to become an East Indies official of the first degree and work in the judiciary in the Indies. Schaalje was the only son of a tax collector in Zoeterwoude (a village near Leiden);

his mother had passed away when he was three years old, and in 1849 his father had remarried (but this marriage would be dissolved in 1860). He was going to school at the *Genootschap Mathesis Scientiarum Genetrix*, where he received a commercial education, and was taught subjects such as Commercial Knowledge, Algebra, Arithmetic and Free-Hand Drawing. This was the basic education of the commercial class.[21] He intended right from the beginning to study Chinese only, in order to become a translator.[22] In any case, both students planned to go to the Indies.

Although Hoffmann was a titular professor now, his students would not be formally registered at Leiden University. They were always called 'pupils' (élèves) or 'trainees' (*kweekelingen*) instead of 'university students' (*studenten*); it was only from 1894 on that all students of Chinese destined for the Indies were enrolled at Leiden University.[23]

A few months later, on 10 October 1855, Governor-General of the Indies Duymaer van Twist decided to send the first two students, Albrecht and Von Faber, to Canton to study Chinese. On the same day, he wrote to Minister of Colonies Pahud asking him to train two youngsters in the Chinese language in the Netherlands at the expense of the Netherlands Indies government, since efforts to find more candidates in the Indies had failed. This request was in accordance with the advice of the Council of the Indies to train interpreters in the Netherlands instead of Batavia (6 June 1854). Therefore, the new Minister of Colonies Mijer wrote to Hoffmann on 22 January 1856[24] about his idea to train two youngsters in the Netherlands, who would be sent to China when they were 16 to learn Mandarin or Cantonese. As Hoffmann had already taught several students of that age, Minister Mijer asked his opinion on the future to be envisioned for Francken and Schaalje.[25]

On 3 February 1856, Hoffmann answered that after he told Francken and Schaalje about the Minister's letter, Francken had abandoned his plan to study at Leiden University and the Delft Academy, and was preparing himself exclusively for an appointment as translator in the Netherlands Indies. He was continuing to study classical and modern languages at the *Paedagogium*, in order to pass the examination giving entrance to the University as far as linguistic knowledge was concerned. He would, however, not begin an Academic study, and was prepared to go to the Indies or China. In fact, the modern and classical (European) languages were mainly being studied for the sake of his Chinese and Japanese studies. He still needed to study general knowledge for 1 to 1½ years to lay the necessary foundation. Francken had exceptional talent, diligence, and desire to study, and he would soon reach a better-than-average level. Hoffmann thought Francken should concentrate on the study of Mandarin, probably because of his scholarly talents.

The other candidate, Schaalje, although two years younger than Francken,

kept up well with his fellow student. Apart from his going to the *Genootschap Mathesis*, he took private lessons in English, was advanced in French, and he had a special gift for Chinese; he enjoyed his studies and gave promise of being successful. Hoffmann planned to bring him to a level on which he could do practical work involving China and the Chinese. Schaalje also needed another 1-1½ years of study, in particular to improve his English and his general knowledge.

In another letter of December 1855, Hoffmann had already extensively reported on Schlegel's studies, concluding that he was convinced Schlegel would become one of the most excellent scholars in Chinese language and literature.[26] Probably because Minister Pahud had written earlier that Schlegel was not destined to become a translator in the Indies, but was to become Hoffmann's successor, on 12 February 1856 Minister Mijer decided that only Francken and Schaalje would be sent to the Netherlands Indies and China for further education, as soon as Hoffmann considered them ready to go.[27]

A year later, on 30 January 1857, Hoffmann reported to the Minister of Colonies that all of his students—including Schlegel—would be ready to go to China by the end of the summer. "I did all I could to teach them solid knowledge and to lead them as far as possible. And through their diligence and efforts they have obtained the best results." Hoffmann reported also on their individual progress,[28] showing that some were more ready than others, which led to a shift in candidates.

Gustaaf Schlegel (then 16½) had originally planned to study at Leiden University and take his doctorate in some subject before proceeding to the Netherlands Indies, but that would still take three to four years. On Hoffmann's advice, his parents had abandoned this plan to study at Leiden University. Hoffmann wrote about Gustaaf:

> His love for the Chinese language, his talent, diligence and intelligence are a guarantee for me that he will completely master the language through intercourse with the Chinese. He is also good at French, German and English, and very well educated in general knowledge.[29]

Francken (then 19) showed a diligence in studying Chinese that was beyond Hoffmann's praise; he had an extraordinary talent for studying in general. Hoffmann was convinced that he would become one of the most able students of Chinese language and literature.[30] He passed the examination for admission to the University with the best results, and had been studying botany with Professor W.F.R. Suringar[31] during the past year, with favourable reports.

Schaalje (16½) was also diligent and his knowledge of Chinese was sufficient, but he lacked adequate general education and lagged considerably behind Schlegel and Francken. Therefore it would be better to keep him

for another year. He lacked the necessary broad overview of the essence of etymology and logical language structure.[32] This could best be learnt by studying the basics of Latin. Knowledge of Latin would also lead to a more fundamental knowledge of the modern languages and of the mother tongue. But Schaalje needed financial compensation (*tegemoetkoming*) for taking private lessons in Latin, since his parents could not afford this.[33]

Finally, on 16 June 1857, Minister of Colonies Mijer put the best two students, Schlegel and Francken, at the disposal of the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies for training as Chinese interpreters.[34] Thus did the first two students in Leiden enter the colonial service in the manner that would be continued for the next fifty years. They were to receive free transport to Batavia (and China) as first-class government passengers, but with normal ship rations. They also received a gratification for equipment of *f* 600. Their departure should not be delayed because of the situation in China,[35] while they could also be further trained on Java for some time.

Hoffmann did all he could to compensate Schaalje, who had been pushed aside by his brighter and better-educated fellow student Schlegel. After Hoffmann sent another letter to the Minister of Colonies (13 April 1857), the Minister decided to allow Schaalje to study for another year with Hoffmann, and to give him a stipend of *f* 25 monthly, the same amount as Schlegel received.[36] This was effective from 1 June, two weeks before Schlegel and Francken entered the colonial service. Later Hoffmann tried to alleviate Schaalje's financial situation even more. He asked the Minister to pay Schaalje's monthly stipend of *f* 25 retroactively for one year previous to 1 June 1857. The final decision of the Minister was to pay the stipend of *f* 25 retroactively from June 1856 to May 1857, and raise his monthly stipend to *f* 50 as from June 1857.[37] This would be the stipend of students of Chinese in Leiden for the next fifty years.

As he had done earlier for De Grijs, on 8 August Hoffmann asked for an allowance of *f* 300 for books for Schlegel and Francken, and an advance payment of another *f* 300; both were approved.[38] These books were not only necessary for studying Chinese, but also for obtaining general knowledge without which an interpreter would not be able to perform his duties adequately. This money was to enable them to buy the scholarly apparatus which they could not afford. English sinological books, in particular, were very expensive. For instance, the indispensable Chinese–English and English–Chinese dictionaries of Morrison and Medhurst already cost *f* 200 (*f* 142 + *f* 58). As with De Grijs, the books would be sent later to the Indies by Hoffmann.[39]

On 27 October 1857, Schlegel and Francken boarded the barkship *De Commissaris des Konings Van der Heijm* and proceeded to Batavia, where they arrived more than three months later, on 5 February 1858. From 26 February to 12 March they travelled to Hong Kong. They first stayed a

few months in Macao, and arrived in Amoy on 1 June 1858, one year after De Grijs.

Meanwhile, Hoffmann intensified his lessons with his only student Schaalje, and in 1858 Schaalje was studying at Hoffmann's house daily, usually for seven hours.[40] He was receiving private instruction in Latin and English, the latter by a native teacher to acquire a pure pronunciation.[41] He probably studied Dickens' *Pickwick Papers* and *A Christmas Carol*.[42] Sometimes even Hoffmann attended these other lessons. Apart from these, Schaalje was also taught German and geography. Despite all these extra lessons to prepare Schaalje, it still took 1½ years before Hoffmann considered him ready to enter the colonial service and go to China. On 22 January 1859, Hoffmann (again) reported to the Minister of Colonies that Schaalje was ready to go, preferably on the same conditions as Francken and Schlegel. Hoffmann suggested sending Schaalje to Amoy in order to learn Hokkien, as that was the most widely spoken dialect on Java. Moreover, De Grijs, Francken, and Schlegel were already there and could offer help.[43] He was also given the same allowances and advance payment of *f* 1,200.[44] In a letter to Hoffmann, De Grijs had suggested that, for financial reasons, it would be better to sail directly to China instead of by way of the Indies. Hoffmann made the same suggestion to the Minister, but it appeared that at the Ministry no possibility of direct shipping to China was known.[45] Thereupon Schaalje did some investigation and wrote to the Minister that he had found a direct ship to China, the newly built three-masted schooner *Sophie Amalia*, which was prepared to take him to Hong Kong for *f* 800 as a government passenger. Schaalje entered the colonial service on 24 February 1859. He would leave for China about mid-April 1859. One other condition had also been met: he had no military obligations on account of the National Militia Law (*Wet op de Nationale Militie*); there was sufficient guarantee that he would pay for a substitute (*remplaçant*).[46] He arrived in Amoy before 12 July 1859.[47]

A Japanese intermezzo: Buddingh, Groeneveldt (both 1858–1861), and De Breuk (1858–1864)

On 9 July 1858, Hoffmann wrote to the new Minister of Colonies J.J. Rochussen that he again planned to train two youngsters as students (*beoefenaars*) of Chinese and later Japanese. Hoffmann wrote that both candidates had exceptional aptitude for languages (*munten uit in aanleg*). If the Minister considered this a useful training course, an allowance from the Colonial Funds would be welcome. Both students were without means, and this allowance would be necessary for them to receive proper

training and to be committed to government service. There was also a third potential student, whom Hoffmann had not yet seen.[48]

Minister Rochussen invited Hoffmann for an audience, where it appeared that he had misunderstood Hoffmann's letter and thought this training course was for private purposes. Hoffmann could only rectify the misunderstanding by paying a visit to Secretary General Keuchenius of the Ministry[49] and writing a letter to N.C. Mulder, *referendaris* at the Ministry (29 July 1858). In this letter, Hoffmann explained the matter and wrote that the two talented young men should have the prospect of a government appointment, and after a period of trial should receive the same stipend as Schaalje. Thereupon the Minister understood the case and agreed with Hoffmann's proposal to train some students, asking Hoffmann when he would begin and how many students were to come.[50] A month later Hoffmann gave the names of the three students, stating that they had done well during the trial period (25 September 1858), and a few days later, on 1 October 1858, stipends of *f* 50 were approved for all as from 1 September 1858. As before, the money was to be remitted to Hoffmann. But this time, he was not only charged with their supervision, but he would also have to send quarterly accounts of the students' expenses with receipts.[51]

However, the official correspondence of 1858 did not make clear that Hoffmann actually planned to train them as Japanese interpreters. This would lead to a protracted misunderstanding between Hoffmann and the government. Four years later, in a letter to Minister Uhlenbeck, Hoffmann gave an extensive explanation (12 August 1862). He wrote that after he had taught Chinese to four youngsters, who were sent to China for practical training (Schaalje had not yet left), and two youngsters were sent to China from Batavia with the same purpose, he thought that he should now teach Japanese to some youngsters. In his opinion it would be very important for the Netherlands and its Colonies to have Dutch officials who knew Japanese. Reasons for this were the opening up of Japan and the prospect that Japan would sooner or later again play a role as a seafaring nation and carry on trade with the Netherlands Indies. Youngsters trained in Japanese would be every bit as useful as those trained in Chinese. By saying that he would teach "Chinese and later Japanese," Hoffmann had meant that a solid study of Japanese should be preceded by an equally solid study of written Chinese, considering that knowledge of that language was necessary if one did not only wish to learn to speak Japanese, but also to read and write it.[52] In the 1830s, Hoffmann himself had also first learned Chinese and then Japanese.

For Hoffmann's new students also, it had been evident from the start that they were to study Japanese and would be sent to Japan.[53] The first two students were W.P. Groeneveldt and J. de Breuk; they were later joined by J.A. Buddingh. Willem Groeneveldt, then 17, went to school at a *gym-*

nasium in Leiden after his family moved there. His father had been at some time postmaster with the Horse Post Service, but had passed away in Gorinchem in 1855. Later his mother had a cloth shop in Leiden.[54] Jan de Breuk, then 14, was still going to school in Leiden. He was the only son of the classicist and Leiden printer Dr. H.R. de Breuk, who had left Leiden in 1856 because of political problems and commercial failure, and now worked in IJsselstein. Arie Buddingh, the third student, then 18, was the son of a Protestant minister in St. Oedenrode. His father was a brother of Cornelia Buddingh, wife of Herman Schlegel, so he was Gustaaf's cousin. One of his father's brothers was the well-known missionary in the Indies Dr. S.A. Buddingh.

After a week of preparations, Hoffmann started to teach them Chinese on 11 September 1858. At the same time he checked their level in English, French, German, and Latin, concluding that he had made the right choice for these youngsters.[55] Moreover, Buddingh and Groeneveldt had finished or almost finished the *gymnasium*—Groeneveldt would finish in the summer of 1859—and could concentrate all their energies on studying Chinese and start to study Japanese earlier. They could also take university courses in the sciences, just as Francken had done.[56] Only De Breuk would study more slowly, since he was still at school.

Student life and studies

Hoffmann did not write reports on his students' progress and curriculum as he had done before, but from his quarterly financial reports one can get a lively impression of the lives and studies of his pupils. In the first report, Hoffmann wrote that he would have preferred to limit their expenses to scholarly needs, but he could not totally exclude household necessities. One of his pupils, De Breuk, could not count on any allowance from his parents (his father and stepmother had left Leiden after the collapse of their printing business), and the other two had very meagre resources.[57] In the beginning Hoffmann's accounts were very detailed and accompanied by stacks of receipts. These were for board and lodging, household necessities, writing utensils, pocket money, books, fees for schools and other private lessons, university courses, sports, and holiday travels home or to other places.

Hoffmann was not a professional accountant, and his calculations were more than once rejected, whereupon he would be obliged to write a new balance sheet; both the old and the new sheets were preserved in the files of the ministry. But after a first corrected version by Hoffmann, sometimes leniency was applied to the remaining faults. One commentator wrote in the margin: "There is a difference of 5 cents, but after having privately

made critical remarks before, one cannot bother this learned man again with this matter."[58] Later, minor corrections were simply written on Hoffmann's sheet with a pencil.

Starting with their second year, Hoffmann often gave his pupils certain amounts for their own spending—in particular to Groeneveldt—and balance sheets and receipts were not as detailed as before.

For board and lodging, including fire and light, De Breuk at first paid *f* 25 and finally *f* 29.17 per month, more than half of his stipend, while Buddingh, who was living with his uncle Herman Schlegel, only used a *f* 50 subsidy for board and lodging for three months, one third of his stipend,[59] and Groeneveldt, who was living with his family, used nothing. As a result of this, at the end of their studies in the summer of 1861, Groeneveldt had a surplus of *f* 320, and Buddingh one of *f* 100, which Hoffmann gave them before they left for the East. As to household necessities, De Breuk owned almost nothing; for instance, in the first month he bought a seaweed and husk (*zeegras en peul*) mattress, a woollen blanket, a cotton blanket, and a thick flannel undersheet (*molton onderkleed*) for a total of *f* 24.50; two pairs of high shoes, one pair of slippers (in total *f* 7.75), and a pair of spectacles (*f* 5, on 24 October 1858). Groeneveldt bought a pair of trousers, a jacket (in total *f* 15), and a pair of shoes (*f* 3.50). As writing utensils, Buddingh first bought paper, ink, pencils, pipes of lacquer, notebooks (*cahiers*), letter paper (*catern post*), a writing board, and a Chinese inkstone (the latter *f* 0.50). Buddingh and Groeneveldt received *f* 1.25 in pocket money per week, while the three to four years younger and poorer De Breuk received *f* 0.25.

The books they bought can be divided into three categories: books necessary for their Chinese and Japanese studies, for their schools and extra lessons such as in Latin, English and other modern languages, their science courses, and books for their own general education and pleasure. The first category comprised grammars, dictionaries, travelogues and books on Chinese and Japanese history and geography; one book on Chinese chronology all students bought was Ludwig Ideler's *Ueber die Zeitrechnung der Chinesen* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1839). The second category included Latin classics such as works of Julius Caesar, Livy and Horace (the latter two for Groeneveldt only), Latin grammars and dictionaries, books on Dutch grammar and spelling,[60] English grammars (in French and in German!), dictionaries including English–German and French–Dutch dictionaries, and Dickens' *Pickwick Papers* (bought by all three in 1860, probably for their English reading lessons); there were also schoolbooks on mathematics, physics, history and geography. Finally, for their general education and pleasure they bought books on geography, Netherlands and world history, world mythology, atlasses and classical and modern literature, mostly poetry, in French, German (Schiller) and English. Receipts of books pur-

chased at Brill's bookshop in Leiden were signed by E.J. Brill himself,[61] and those bought at Kramers' bookshop in Rotterdam were signed by H.A. Kramers.[62] In particular Groeneveldt, who also had more money to spend, bought many books, often at auctions in Leiden and The Hague (for instance at Van Stockum's); he often went there together with Buddingh, who always bought less. As was usual at the time, many books were subsequently bound in hard covers, for which also receipts were added. Only once did they buy a Chinese book: the *Four Books*,[63] for which each of them paid *f* 2 to Hoffmann, and which they all had bound in two volumes for *f* 0.40 each.

From the quarterly reports, one can also see which schools they attended and what other private lessons they followed. In the beginning, De Breuk and Groeneveldt still went to school. Groeneveldt was probably doing his last year at the *gymnasium*; in any event he used his stipend to pay his tuition fee (*minerval*) for the municipal (*Stedelijk*) *gymnasium* from 1 March 1859 onwards for half a year.

De Breuk first went to a general secondary school for two years, and then to the *gymnasium*, also for two years. From October 1858 to October 1860, he was at the 'Instituut Eichman,' which was probably another name for the 'Institut Geregt,' a so-called French school, a common type of secondary school where no classical languages were taught. He paid *f* 6.25 monthly including drawing lessons. His attendance and grade reports at the 'Institut Geregt' (all in French) for October and November 1858 were added to the receipts, showing the subjects, number of hours attended, and sometimes even the number of mistakes made during that month. In October, these were: Dutch grammar (8 lessons, 26 mistakes), mathematics (38 lessons), physics (4 lessons), history (17 lessons), geography (9 lessons), and French grammar (27 lessons, 183 mistakes). The following month, 9 lessons of English grammar were added, during which De Breuk made 317 mistakes! Apparently his English was not as good as Hoffmann had described it to the ministry. This was a small school; there were only eleven pupils in his class. The second year, De Breuk also took private lessons in Latin and German with Dr. Sicherer from October 1859 to March 1860 and in the summer of 1860, for about *f* 17 monthly. From October 1860 on, he must have been attending the *gymnasium*, as he paid its tuition fee from then until the summer of 1862.

Right at the beginning, during the last quarter of 1858, all three took European calligraphy lessons (*schoonschrijven*). Buddingh did not pay any school fees, but he took 'repetitions' in the classical languages (Latin and Greek) daily in August and September 1858, and afterwards twice a week for about one year, at *f* 1 per lesson.

From October 1859 to March 1860, all three students took 'English reading lessons' from James Perrin, an English teacher at the *gymnasium* in

Leiden. In the beginning he wrote in a letter to Hoffmann that he was very satisfied with these pupils and gave a list of the dates of his lessons. They missed a lesson only once because they went to a book auction, and they all went home for the Christmas holiday. Each paid *f* 4 monthly. During the last months they probably read in *The Pickwick Papers*.

During their second year, after Groeneveldt had finished his *gymnasium*, he and Buddingh also took courses in science at the university for *f* 30 each. [64] Both followed a physics course by Professor P.L. Rijke,[65] and Groeneveldt also took a course in meteorology which was also given by Rijke.

Buddingh and Groeneveldt also took gymnastics and fencing lessons for a year during 1859 (*f* 0.50 per week including fencing sword and belt), while De Breuk had a season ticket (*abonnement*) for the swimming school (*f* 1 monthly). Later he also took fencing and even ballroom dancing lessons.

Just after Schaalje left for China, Buddingh and Groeneveldt both had Schaalje's portrait framed for *f* 0.60 (on 12 May 1859). In the nineteenth century, it was very common to give a portrait of oneself to one's friends. During the summer holidays and at Christmas, De Breuk and Buddingh travelled to visit their parents. For example De Breuk went home to his parents in IJsselstein at Christmas 1858 (*Kersvacantie* [*sic*]); he took the train from Leiden to Haarlem, from Haarlem to Amsterdam, from Amsterdam to Utrecht, and a closed cab (*vigilante*) from Utrecht to IJsselstein; the total costs (two-way) including the tip to his uncle's maid-servant were *f* 10. In 1860 Buddingh and Groeneveldt also took longer trips to an unknown destination for which they received *f* 75 and *f* 100. And in 1861, Hoffmann reported he "gave De Breuk *f* 50 in cash for a holiday of 14 days (without my escort)."[66]

An extraordinary student of Japanese: St. Aulaire (1859–1861)

In the autumn of 1858, a few months after the three students arrived in Leiden, Hoffmann also got a full-time student of Japanese, Rutger Jacob de Saint-Aulaire (called Rutger), who was then 31 and was married.[67] There was never any misunderstanding as to the purpose of St. Aulaire's studies, but since Hoffmann was never formally assigned to train Japanese interpreters, it would take some efforts from Hoffmann to get him on his way to Japan, as presently will be pointed out. He was the son of a school director (*rector*) and had had a good education at a *gymnasium*; later he studied navigation and went to sea for some time. After studying J.H. Donker Curtius' *Proeve eener Japansche spraakkunst* (A tentative grammar of Japanese) which was edited by Hoffmann (1857) at the request of

the Minister of Colonies, St. Aulaire came to Leiden in November 1858 to ask Hoffmann some questions. When Hoffmann noticed that he had completely mastered this grammar and had a clear understanding of it, he advised him to study Schott's *Chinesische Sprachlehre*,[68] because knowledge of Chinese was indispensable for the study of Japanese. After St. Aulaire had visited him again, Hoffmann wrote a letter to Minister of Colonies Rochussen (18 February 1859) requesting that he be given some kind of allowance for books and later a government position in Japan, where St. Aulaire could extend his knowledge and improve his practical skills. According to him, St. Aulaire would be a great asset to the government. Finally, he remarked that it would be a pity if St. Aulaire would offer his services to foreign governments, who at that time would greatly welcome persons with his qualities, in particular Dutchmen.[69] As St. Aulaire was living in Tiel (90 km from Leiden), it would be best if he could come to Leiden for at least six weeks to practice the Chinese and Japanese writing system and to profit from contacts with Hoffmann and the other students. Much could not be directly learnt from books, and sometimes a hint from the teacher was enough to get the student to make the right turn, and not the wrong one. A month later, on 16 March 1859, St. Aulaire also wrote to the Minister to ask permission to study in Leiden: he had made some progress in the Chinese and Japanese languages, and his purpose was to get a government position to serve the country. He asked for an allowance because he could not pay the costs.[70]

A few years earlier, J.H. Donker Curtius,[71] then Dutch commissioner in Nagasaki, who had been chief (*opperhoofd*) on Deshima from 1852, had asked the Governor-General to send a youngster to Japan to study Japanese and to be appointed as chancellor or secretary at the consulate.[72] After the Minister had been reminded of this by his staff, he decided to give St. Aulaire a stipend of *f* 800 per year (i.e. *f* 66.67 per month) as from 1 May 1859 in order to study Japanese, but without deciding to what position he would be appointed. At the same time he requested Hoffmann to report on his progress.[73] No account of his expenses can now be found in the archives.

In the meantime, Buddingh and Groeneveldt studied Chinese for one year. Afterwards they switched to Japanese, and only continued to study Chinese when it was necessary for their Japanese studies. All three students bought Donker Curtius' Japanese grammar from the publisher Sijthoff on 29 October 1859.[74] St. Aulaire also first studied Chinese, as Hoffmann had told him to do; after some time, when all students had reached the same level, they studied Japanese together, all preparing to go to Japan. St. Aulaire, being the oldest, was to go first. Hoffmann at one point suggested that one of the others should go with him, but in the end, he went alone.[75] During their joint studies, St. Aulaire and Groeneveldt compiled *A*

Manual of Chinese Running-hand Writing, Especially as It is Used in Japan, Compiled from Original Sources, which was published in 1861 (*see* below).

In March 1859, Minister of Colonies Rochussen had asked the Governor-General to make arrangements for St. Aulaire as soon as possible. Since in the rest of that year Hoffmann still had received no answer from the new Minister of Colonies J.R. Cornets de Groot van Kraayenburg, in January 1860 he again recommended St. Aulaire for "some government position in Japan." In the margin the Minister commented that Hoffmann did so "without awaiting information from the Dutch commissioner in Japan."[76] In any case, the new Minister Loudon wrote again to Governor-General Pahud on 25 May 1860, repeating the question, and also asking whether more Japanese interpreters should be trained by Hoffmann. It then became clear that one reason for the lack of communication was that the original letter from the Dutch commissioner Donker Curtius in Japan to the Governor-General (dated 22 July 1859) had been lost. After having again consulted Donker Curtius in Japan, Governor-General Pahud answered on 9 August 1860 that it was not clear whether any other position might be suitable for St. Aulaire except that of Japanese interpreter. Donker Curtius had written to him that although St. Aulaire was studying Japanese, it was not known whether he would be suitable as an interpreter or in any other function. No other position could be offered to him as long as nothing had been decided on the future organisation of the Dutch consulates in Japan; in case they were enlarged, he could perhaps work as a clerk and later become vice-consul. Pahud then stipulated that if St. Aulaire was appointed as interpreter, the conditions should be the same as for the Chinese interpreters Von Faber and Albrecht; that is, he should have a monthly salary of *f* 300, work minimally for five years, etc.[77] As to the second question, the Minister answered that all other students (Buddingh, Groeneveldt, and De Breuk) who were studying Chinese and Japanese, were exclusively destined for appointment as Chinese interpreters.[78] This information was not passed on to Hoffmann, resulting in a continuation of the misunderstanding. Pahud concluded that from now on, only one new student should be trained by Hoffmann as Chinese interpreter. In that way, in the end there would be ten Chinese interpreters, which should be enough to meet even the most urgent needs.[79]

St. Aulaire agreed with these conditions of appointment, and on 18 January 1861 he entered the colonial service.[80] He received the same allowances for books as the Chinese interpreters had before. His request for an extra advance payment of *f* 300 was granted.[81] He then proceeded to the Indies, together with his wife, who bore him a daughter at sea.[82] After arrival on Java on 31 July, he was sent to Japan on 15 August 1861.[83]

At that time, the relationship between the Netherlands and Japan was

going through a series of changes. For more than 200 years, the Dutch had been the only Western country with regular trade relations with Japan through their commercial settlement on the island of Deshima (Nagasaki), which was still under the authority of the Governor-General of the Indies and the Ministry of Colonies. After Japan had been forced to open its doors in 1854, and trade was opened at Yokohama, this settlement soon lost its significance. In 1860, the Dutch chief (*opperhoofd*) and later commissioner Donker Curtius was succeeded by the first Consul General K. de Wit, who was also an East Indies official. On 23 July 1862, it was decided that responsibility for relations with Japan (and China) was to be transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[84] In the same year the consulate general was moved to Yokohama, near the capital Edo (now Tokyo), but the consulate in Nagasaki was maintained. The general situation in Japan remained chaotic until the Meiji Restauration in 1868.[85]

Owing to the transfer of consulates in Japan, St. Aulaire's career did not develop smoothly. He was appointed as Japanese interpreter at the Dutch consulate in Nagasaki (on Deshima), and both successive Consuls General, De Wit, and De Graeff van Polsbroek were very satisfied with his work. After the decision on the transfer in July 1862, St. Aulaire had objections against going over to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and becoming a Netherlands government official, as he would then lose the privileges of an East Indies official as regards salary and pension.[86] The Minister found these objections not unreasonable. After some negotiation, St. Aulaire was offered the combined position of chancellor and interpreter (*kanselier en tolk*) at the consulate general in Yokohama, but he did not accept it.[87] Thereupon this function was given to another Dutchman. Starting in June 1863, when D. de Graeff van Polsboek, representing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, took over the Consulate General from De Wit, St. Aulaire's salary was for the time being paid by the Netherlands government in The Hague. But since he was an East Indies official, he would probably be called back to Java. In January 1864, at the request of the Consul General, he was allowed to stay for another six months in Japan, where there were important translation services for him to perform.[88] Half a year later, he was honourably discharged as Japanese interpreter, and allowed half pay (*wachtgeld*) for a maximum of one year in anticipation of re-employment,[89] for which he had to return to Java. Neither the Netherlands government in The Hague nor the Indies government wished to continue paying for his position in Japan. In the meantime, he had become seriously ill; when the Consul General paid him a visit in the beginning of May 1864, St. Aulaire requested sick leave to return to Java, considering that his family could not stay alone in Japan in case his illness proved fatal. This was granted by the Consul General. They left Japan on 31 May 1864. On Java, he was soon granted two years' sick leave in

the Netherlands. A few months later, on his way to the Netherlands, he passed away on board the English ship *Canton* on 5 October 1864; he was 37 years old.[90]

An unexpected reversal: from Japan to China

Three years earlier, just after St. Aulaire left the Netherlands, Hoffmann had reported to Minister Loudon on 24 April 1861,[91] that Buddingh and Groeneveldt were now advanced enough to be sent to Japan, where they would need one year of practice in conversation with the Japanese in order to attain the required standard of an interpreter, provided that they continued to study diligently. No reason was given for not considering De Breuk ready, but he was then only 17 and was still going to school.

Four days later, on 29 April 1861, Hoffmann again wrote to the Minister, mentioning that there was a wonderful opportunity (*heerlijke gelegenheid*) for the students—who had probably never met a Chinese before—to become acquainted with the Swatow (Shantou 汕頭) dialect on their way to Japan. According to Hoffmann's information, Albrecht and Von Faber had also studied that dialect. The reason was that the Chinese medical doctor Liu Noni 劉奴年[92] had arrived in Amsterdam and was looking for a chance to return to China by way of Java. Hoffmann asked the Minister to grant him a free passage, but not as a servant, and if possible also a gratification, to be paid to him on his arrival in Batavia.

The captain of the ship which had brought Liu Noni to Holland had written a letter to Hoffmann explaining his situation. Liu Noni had travelled from China to Cuba as a doctor accompanying a shipload of emigrants (coolies). After his arrival in Cuba, he had worked in Havana for a Dutchman, Michel van Osselt, owner of a candy factory (*confiturier*). Now he had come to the Netherlands on a Dutch ship, working as a steward (*hofmeester*) for bed and board, behaving very well. He was 28 years old, and in China he had a wife named A-tuan and two sons named A-nai and A-ai. Upon his return to China, he was expected to pay reciprocal services. The captain praised him as follows:

> He is an honest, sincere, good-natured and humane character, sometimes witty; a pure type of the Chinese race, not handsome by our standards, but in his manners friendly, obliging and even charming.[93]

The Minister of Colonies answered Hoffmann that he would allow free passage and the same allowances (*f* 900 + *f* 300) to the students as the others had received, and also free passage for the doctor; the decision on his gratification should be taken after arrival in Batavia. The one condition the Minister put forward for Buddingh and Groeneveldt was that their

obligations for military service should be taken care of. Buddingh and Groeneveldt entered the colonial service on 10 June 1861.[94]

Later that month (29 June), Buddingh and Groeneveldt submitted a request for an extra advance payment of *f* 300, which would raise the total allowance and advance payments to *f* 1,500. The reason was that otherwise it would be impossible to provide the necessary equipment to profit from the knowledge of natural sciences that they had acquired during their studies in Leiden.[95] This request was also approved by the Minister. From Buddingh's letters to his uncle Herman Schlegel, then director of the Museum of Natural History in Leiden, we know that they needed instruments such as skinning knives (*vilmesjes*) and substances such as arsenic and spirits for the conservation of specimens of birds (bird skins), reptiles, insects etc., and that they were planning to collect specimens in Japan for that Museum.[96] Herman Schlegel also prepared a list of animals to be collected in Japan.[97] The lists of books that they planned to buy included works on meteorology and astronomy, for the study of which they probably also needed instruments.[98]

For this extraordinary allowance of *f* 300, certificates of debt were drawn up and guarantees were signed by Herman Schlegel and the lawyer H.A. Lisman for Buddingh, and by Groeneveldt's mother Mrs. Jackson and his half-brother Aert Groeneveldt,[99] mayor of Molenaarsgraaf, for Groeneveldt. Their military obligations were also taken care of.[100] They left on 3 October 1861[101] on the barkship *Landbouw*, together with Liu Noni.

They arrived in Batavia almost four months later, on 20 January 1862. From there Liu Noni left for China. Perhaps the students did not learn much from him after all, because a month later Buddingh wrote somewhat condescendingly to his uncle Herman Schlegel that "Our Chinese is already in China; he left earlier than we did; on board he behaved charmingly."[102] In Batavia, they met with a great disappointment. On 4 February, Governor-General Sloet decided that they would be sent to Macao in China to continue their Chinese studies there, in order to become Chinese translators.[103] At the same time, Sloet wrote to the Minister of Colonies that he was surprised that Buddingh, Groeneveldt, and De Breuk had been "trained to be interpreters for the Chinese and Japanese languages." There was no need for this combination of languages, and as these languages allegedly were so difficult to learn, it would be a waste of time and money; there was no need for the Ministry of Colonies to pay for the study of an extra language, although it might be useful for scholarship. Buddingh and Groeneveldt should preferably go to China: St. Aulaire having been sent to Japan, there was for the time being little need for more Japanese interpreters. When all students now in China arrived in the Indies, there would be eight interpreters, which would be sufficient, considering that they would be needed in the three main towns of Java, and on Riau, Banka, and Western Borneo.[104]

Ten days later, on 14 February 1862, Buddingh and Groeneveldt raised objections to this decision, stating that they were extremely surprised and disappointed for two reasons. The first was that they had studied Japanese for more than two years, and Chinese only to the extent that it was necessary for their Japanese studies. They had learnt Chinese only as a preparation for the study of Japanese. From the start, Hoffmann had told them they were destined to study Japanese, and would go to Japan. Moreover, they had bought many books for their Japanese studies and lacked many necessary Chinese books. Since all other promises such as yearly stipends of *f* 600, free passage and allowances had been fulfilled, they had reason to believe Hoffmann, who was their intermediary with the Ministry of Colonies. Their fellow student St. Aulaire, who joined them after some time, was indeed sent to Japan. The second objection was that their present and future incomes were not indicated, while St. Aulaire had been immediately told about his financial position. Hoffmann had assured them that this problem would be solved before their arrival in the Indies, but that proved not to be the case. In their conclusion, they requested to cancel the decision of 4 February and to send them to Japan on the same conditions as St. Aulaire. These were much more advantageous than those of the student-interpreters in China, who only received pocket money. In the meantime, they would proceed to Macao in good hope of reasonable redress.

On their way to China, Buddingh wrote to his uncle from Singapore on 21 February 1862:

> Within eight days we will go by steamship to Hong Kong and then to Macao, because they want to use us as Chinese translators, but we have protested against this. It is all our own fault; we should not have trusted the words of Dr. Hoffmann, but should have taken care that our appointments were written down as: 'for further training as Japanese translators' and not 'as Chinese and then Japanese interpreters,' which is now stated in our letter of appointment. I expect that the Professor will use every means to have us sent to Japan. Otherwise, we will have to make do.[105]

They first travelled to Macao, where the Dutch consul J. des Amorie van der Hoeven resided. Buddingh then went to Canton to visit his cousin Schlegel and the other student-interpreters Francken and Schaalje, while Groeneveldt returned to Hong Kong. Then they travelled together from Hong Kong to Amoy, where they arrived in the beginning of May 1862.[106] After receiving the students' request, Governor-General Sloet wrote again to the Minister of Colonies (now Uhlenbeck) on 27 February 1862 stating that in the Minister's decision on the stipends of 1 October 1858 nothing had been mentioned about the purpose of their studying Chinese and Japanese. Since there was a greater need for Chinese interpreters, he could only send them to China in the usual way. On the other hand, their objections seemed justified, seeing that they had always been called 'students

of the Chinese and Japanese languages.' Sloet did not consider himself authorised to approve their request, so he asked for authorisation (*magtiging*) or an explanation. If authorised, and if Buddingh and Groeneveldt should go to Japan after all, Hoffmann should arrange for De Breuk to study Chinese and go to China. In that case, there would be one Japanese interpreter more than needed, because there were positions only in Nagasaki (Deshima) and Kanagawa (Yokohama).

On 14 June 1862, Minister of Colonies Uhlenbeck sent Hoffmann a copy of both letters from the Governor-General and the students' request. Two months later, a little belated because Hoffmann was busy with the first Japanese delegation that visited Europe and the Netherlands,[107] he replied on 12 August 1862. He argued that according to the original plan Buddingh and Groeneveldt were students of Japanese, and that their destination should be Japan, in order to continue their studies in practice, either as aspirant translator and interpreter,[108] or in any other capacity at the Netherlands consulate in Japan. In the first year of their studies, they had learnt the written Chinese language with Mandarin pronunciation, but from the second year they had started to learn Japanese, and Sino–Japanese pronunciations were used for the Chinese characters. The student of Japanese who studied in this order—as Hoffmann himself had done—would, like any Japanese who had learned Chinese at school, understand written Chinese and be able to express his thoughts in Chinese, so he could also function as a translator for Chinese. But this would not mean that he could speak Chinese, nor act as Chinese interpreter. For that purpose, he should study the spoken language, either Mandarin or one of the many dialects. The European translator of Japanese was therefore also a translator of Chinese, as long as it was restricted to written communication. His major specialism should be: translator and interpreter of Japanese. Hoffmann considered it not his task to investigate how many interpreters were needed for present or future contacts with the Japanese in order not to lag behind other nations.[109] His task was only to train youngsters so that they could become capable officials in case of continued study in Japan. And taking account of the possibility that some of them could be lost through death—in those days not an unusual thought—or for other reasons, he thought that he should teach at least three students. If the Minister of Colonies, in the light of Hoffmann's explanation, should decide that Buddingh and Groeneveldt were after all destined for Japan, then their studies in China should not be considered a waste of time: better knowledge of Chinese would be of great advantage in Japanese studies. As to De Breuk, Hoffmann planned to teach him Chinese for another year in connection with the Japanese language—probably meaning he would mainly teach him Japanese—and then to propose sending him to the Netherlands Indies. Some friends in the Japanese delegation had told

Hoffmann confidentially that the Japanese government intended to invite teachers of foreign languages, including Dutch, to come to Edo.[110] In that case, a person who had prepared himself as De Breuk had, would be the first to be qualified, and this would also be an opportunity to continue his Japanese studies.

Finally, there was one important question for each student of Japanese, namely what kind of Japanese he should study. Hoffmann had asked the opinion of Fukuchi Genichirō, secretary of the Japanese embassy, who wrote and told him that in addition to the local dialects spoken all over Japan, there was also a general colloquial of the civilised class (*beschaafde stand*), which was the colloquial of the capitals Miyako (Kyoto) and Edo (Tokyo), in particular Edo. Hoffmann noted that this colloquial was also used in his *Winkelgesprekken / Shopping dialogues*, published in 1861. For communication with the local population of Nagasaki or Hakodate (on Hokkaidō), one should know the local dialects, but for communication with the civilised class, the Edo language should be used. Dutch officials who would have contact with the civilised class should concentrate on that language, which they could learn in Kanagawa (Yokohama). However, in Nagasaki and Hakodate where local dialects were spoken, one could also find persons willing to teach the Edo language.

Minister of Colonies Uhlenbeck made a final decision on 29 August 1862:

> I do not wish to revert to this matter that cannot be undone, nor to investigate in detail whether the meritorious Dr. Hoffmann because of his interpretation, a consequence of his warm interest in Japanese language studies, has gone further than the Minister intended, but I have to confess that given that interpretation there is some ground for objections.[111]

After the transfer of responsibility to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was out of the question to use colonial means for the training of Japanese interpreters. Therefore there was no prospect for an appointment as Japanese interpreter for Buddingh or Groeneveldt. On the other hand, it would be regrettable if nothing was done with their knowledge, which could be very useful in the Indies. The Minister suggested that after they finished their studies in China, they could perhaps be sent to Japan, for instance to Kanagawa, to practice their Japanese for one year, and then be appointed in the Netherlands Indies. As to De Breuk, the Minister agreed with Hoffmann's idea that he could be sent to Japan as a teacher of the Dutch language; his place could then be taken by Meeter. Finally, the Minister remarked that according to Governor-General Sloet eight Chinese interpreters would be enough, but on 9 August 1860 the previous Governor-General Pahud needed ten interpreters. Therefore, before the letters of February 1862 were received, it had already been decided to accept another student

(Meeter). If De Breuk would go to Japan, there would be nine interpreters. The result of all this was that Buddingh and Groeneveldt would remain in China. Fortunately, two years later they wrote to Hoffmann that they had become quite happy with their studies and fully accepted the decision of the Governor-General.[112]

The shift of responsibility for Japanese affairs also had consequences for Hoffmann's own position. Minister Uhlenbeck therefore also wrote to Hoffmann that the title conferred on him, Japanese translator of the Netherlands Indies government[113] should be cancelled, to which Hoffmann would probably have no objections, but the Minister would propose to the King to change his other title to "professor charged with the training of interpreters for the Chinese and Japanese languages."[114] However, the Minister believed that Hoffmann would continue to be willing to translate Japanese and Chinese documents for the government. The word 'Japanese' mentioned in this new title did not mean that the Minister intended to charge him with the training of Japanese interpreters (the contrary was true); it was added here on the one hand because Hoffmann might still be asked to do so in the future, but on the other hand, and mainly, because the Minister assumed Hoffmann would be pleased with this title, being so diligent in Japanese studies.[115] A week later, Hoffmann accepted the change of title, since his relation with the Ministry would remain the same.[116] Hoffmann's titles were changed accordingly by Royal Decree as from 1 January 1863.[117]

From 5 to 15 June 1863, a second Japanese delegation consisting of fifteen students visited Leiden; they were the first Japanese sent abroad for study. De Breuk and his fellow student Meeter acted as guides for the Japanese guests. This delegation included Nishi Amane 西周 and Tsuda Mamichi 津田真道, who would study law in Leiden with Professor Simon Vissering[118] for two years. Later they became famous reformers in Japan.[119]

The next year, after De Breuk had studied for almost six years, Hoffmann considered him ready to be sent to the Netherlands Indies or China. Since the plan of the Japanese government to invite Dutch teachers had not been realised, De Breuk could only be sent to China.[120]

On 4 April 1864, De Breuk entered the colonial service.[121] Thereupon the same procedures were followed as with the other sinologists: he received an allowance of *f* 900 + *f* 300 advance payment for books (but no advance payment for buying scientific equipment).[122] He was exempted from military service because of myopia (*bijziende*)[123] and therefore did not have to pay for a substitute. Hoffmann requested the Minister to allow De Breuk to travel by overland mail via Suez instead of 'by sea.' According to a calculation made by De Grijs, the normal sea voyage (around Africa) would cost *f* 600 from the Netherlands to Java, and another *f* 600 from

Java to Hong Kong, and would take four months, excluding the time spent on Java. The 'overland' voyage meant taking the overland route by train (in use since 1859) from Alexandria to Suez.[124] In that case, the voyage by Messagières Impériales to Hong Kong would cost *f* 1,190 (Rotterdam – Marseille *f* 115, and Marseille – Hong Kong *f* 1,075) and would take only six weeks. In that way, De Breuk would arrive faster and more cheaply at his destination Hong Kong. He would like to take the ship leaving 19 June from Marseille. The Minister had no objections[125] and Royal permission was obtained.[126] Later all Dutch sinologists travelled by this route. On 10 June 1864, De Breuk left the Netherlands on his way to Hong Kong, where he probably arrived by the end of July. The Consul in Hong Kong, A.W.P. Kup, was charged with receiving him and giving him necessary help.[127] Since De Grijs had already left Amoy in 1863 and the other three students left in the summer of 1864, De Breuk studied mainly in Macao.

Competition for the last chance: Meeter (1862–1865)

The possibility of studying Chinese and Japanese with Hoffmann gradually became more widely known, but the students were still only recruited through personal connections. For the last chance, Hoffmann did not need to search for a candidate: by 1862 there were already three candidates whose parents submitted requests to the Minister to allow their sons to study with Hoffmann.[128] Nothing is known about their motivation. It may have been that some candidates thought they would be studying Japanese and subsequently go to Japan, as in their requests they wrote "the Chinese and Japanese language." Perhaps others were attracted to the subsidised study and the promise of a well-paid appointment in the Indies, or they became interested through the enthusiastic stories that they heard from earlier students.

Minister Uhlenbeck wished to have only one other Chinese interpreter trained besides De Breuk who was still studying in Leiden, and asked Hoffmann to investigate the suitability of the candidates. At first, there were the requests from J. Kuneman, a shopkeeper in Alkmaar, of 26 July 1859, and from A. Hakbijl, custos of the Von Siebold Japanese Museum in Leiden,[129] of 1 November 1861. They asked to have their sons trained as translators for the Chinese and Japanese languages. Later it developed that the mother of H.M.J. Francken had also submitted a request.[130] Hoffmann investigated the matter, and on 23 February 1862 he wrote a report on these candidates to Minister Uhlenbeck.[131]

The first candidate, Gerrit Cornelis Kuneman, then 21 years old, from Alkmaar, had already applied in 1859 through a request by his father, but he was not admitted at the time though note was taken of his request.[132]

Therefore Hoffmann now asked Dr. J.J. de Gelder, director (*rector*) of the *gymnasium* in Alkmaar, for his advice. The answer was that Kuneman had already been studying surgery for two years and that he was no longer available.[133] However, De Gelder recommended another student, Pieter Meeter, son of the well-known educator Andries Meeter, then director of the reformatory institution for boys in Alkmaar, who would finish his *gymnasium* in August of that year. On Hoffmann's question whether this youngster should start studying Chinese right away or should finish school first, De Gelder was in favour of the latter. Hoffmann agreed with this, since in that case Meeter could attend science courses at the university just as Francken, Buddingh, and Groeneveldt had done. He should study for two to three years in Leiden in order to receive a complete education. "A pure language study is insufficient,"[134] Hoffmann added; "the sphere of skills should be wider." Whenever possible, Hoffmann encouraged the young sinologists to study one of the sciences.

The other two candidates were still attending the Leiden *gymnasium*. They were Henri Marie Josephus Francken (then 16), a younger brother of J.J.C. Francken, and Abraham Hakbijl (then 17), who were expected to finish school in 1864 and 1865. Hoffmann considered it better to have them finish school first; otherwise there would be too little time left for Chinese. In the past, he had taken youngsters from the *gymnasium* and other schools because he had to accept every student he could find.[135] Later he could get youngsters who had finished the *gymnasium*. His former student J.J.C. Francken agreed with Hoffmann that the *gymnasium* should be finished first before his brother studied Chinese. He hoped that he would be stationed in Batavia, where he would train other interpreters, including his younger brother, who was making very good progress and had an ear for music. However, Henri Francken's mother wished him to start now. Hoffmann would await the decision of the Minister.[136]

Hakbijl was in the same situation as Henri Francken. In 1859, Hoffmann had already advised him to finish the *gymnasium* first. That level of education was necessary for any profession. Now he made inquiries with his teachers, who reported that Hakbijl's diligence and behaviour were both good, but his intellectual capacities were very mediocre. After Buddingh and Groeneveldt had left, Hoffmann had advised Hakbijl to choose another profession, for instance to attend a teacher's training college (*kweekschool*). When the Hakbijls stuck to their opinion, Hoffmann told the father that he could submit a request to the Minister of Colonies, which he did.

Not surprisingly, the Minister chose Meeter.[137] The following month, he decided that Meeter could study Chinese as from 1 August 1862 with a stipend of *f* 50 per month. He wrote to Hakbijl's father and Francken's mother that there was no opportunity for their sons now, and that it was impossible to tell when new interpreters would be trained.[138] Moreover,

the young Hakbijl would only be allowed to submit a new request if he finished the *gymnasium* cum laude.[139]

After Meeter started his studies, Hoffmann again had to write three-monthly financial reports, but only a few very succinct reports on Meeter can be found in the archives. His lodgings and boarding cost him *f* 31.25 per month, and for 'fire and light' during October-March he paid another *f* 7 to 9, amounting to almost 80% of his stipend. He once visited the Agricultural Exhibition in The Hague (in August or September 1862, at a cost of *f* 2.50), and he took a course with professor Rijke in the Academic year 1862–1863,[140] and at some time also with Professor Van der Boon Mesch.[141] He once bought Chinese books (*Mencius*) for *f* 12.[142]

In contrast to De Breuk, who had been declared unfit for military service, Meeter had to draw a lot for conscription, and to his father's dismay, he drew a 'winning lot.' His father sent a petition to the Minister of Colonies on 15 February 1864, arguing that his son was in the midst of his studies, and that he himself could not afford a substitute, and would request exemption. The Minister answered that he could give neither any advice nor any assistance.[143] A few years before, Groeneveldt had submitted the same request with success. Meeter's father then wrote to the Minister of Defence, who refused his request for an indefinite leave; they had to pay for a substitute.[144]

On 12 February 1865 Hoffmann asked Minister Fransen van de Putte to allow Meeter to go to China,[145] two and a half years after he had begun his studies. On 15 March 1865, Meeter entered the colonial service. He received the same allowances and advance payment[146] as De Breuk, and also travelled by overland mail directly to China. According to Hoffmann, he was to concentrate on the Hakka dialect. Like De Breuk, he studied for most of the time in Macao.[147] Before leaving the Netherlands, the 'aspirant-interpreter for the Chinese language'[148] as he was called, also had to sign a contract. It was stipulated that he would have to reimburse all stipends, allowances, and passage fees if he were to leave government service within five years after appointment, either at his request or as a result of willful disobedience (*dienstweigering*) or other reprehensible behaviour.[149] Meeter arrived in Macao on 30 May 1865.[150]

From this point on, Hoffmann's task of training sinologists was at an end. The plans were that in the future, interpreters would be trained by his former students in Batavia.

There was still one belated request from someone who wished to study Chinese with Hoffmann in 1866, showing that a subsidised study and assured position could be attractive to ambitious youngsters without means. On 16 December 1866, F.H. van den Brink, proprietor of a boarding school in St. Oedenrode, wrote to Minister of Colonies Mijer that as legal guardian of the minor Eduard Adriaan Cabell, he wished him to be eligible

as student-translator of Chinese in the Netherlands East or West Indies. Van den Brink probably knew about this possibility from J.A. Buddingh's father, who was a Protestant minister in St. Oedenrode. In his letter, Van den Brink explained that E.A. Cabell was a son of E.F. Cabell, physician (*geneesheer*) in Beneden-Commewijne district in the colony of Suriname. His pupil had originally intended to study at the Royal Military Academy (KMA) but had been rejected in June because of a slight myopia, and now he was cut off from a military career. His father did not have ample resources, and he had many children for whose future he had to take care. Therefore there were impediments in the way of a scientific education at a university (*Hoogeschool, Polytechnische School*), while return to the colony in its present condition was inadvisable for anyone without the prospect of a position. In the past, several youngsters had been appointed as student-translators of Chinese, but according to Professor Hoffmann, there had not been any recently. Van den Brink ended with an urgent appeal to the Minister to help guarantee the future of a youngster without means but with ambition. The Minister's answer came four months later. It was short and clear: this request could not be taken into consideration, because student-interpreters were no longer trained in the Netherlands—just a week before, the Minister had given permission to train interpreters in Batavia[151]—and no interpreters were to be trained for the West Indies.[152]

As another consequence of the decision to train interpreters in Batavia, on 29 April 1867 the Minister of Colonies suggested transferring Hoffmann's salary to the national budget. He wrote to the Minister of Home Affairs, asking him to establish a chair for Chinese for Hoffmann at Leiden University as from 1 January 1868, noting that this had already been considered in 1854. If approved, Hoffmann's yearly salary of *f* 2,800 should then be on the national budget rather than that of the Ministry of Colonies.[153] The Minister of Home Affairs had objections against establishing such a chair and putting his salary on the national budget for 1868, since a new law on higher education was expected within a few years. In 1868, Hoffmann's salary was to be paid by the Minister of Colonies.[154] It probably continued to be paid by that Ministry.

Hoffmann's later students: Vissering, Maclaine Pont, and Serrurier

After the last sinologist had left, Hoffmann did not completely stop teaching. In 1873, despite his bad health, he was teaching Chinese and Japanese to three students, W. Vissering and P. Maclaine Pont, who were also regular students of law at Leiden University, and to the candidate notary L. Serrurier.[155]

Willem Vissering (1851–1931) was a son of Simon Vissering (1818–88),

professor of law in Leiden, who taught the first two Japanese students Nishi Amane and Tsuda Mamichi in Leiden in 1863–5.[156] Willem Vissering was educated at the high-class boarding school Noorthey near Leiden under J.H. Kramers, and he registered in Leiden University as a student of law on 25 September 1869. From 1872 on, he also studied Chinese. His doctoral thesis comprised a translation and study of Ma Duanlin's 馬端臨 "Qianbi kao" 錢幣考 entitled: *On Chinese Currency: Coins and Paper Money* (Leiden, 1877), for which he received his doctorate in Law on 27 June 1877.[157] At one time he planned to work at the Dutch Consulate General in Yokohama, but was obliged to give up this plan for personal reasons.[158] Later he worked as a lawyer in Amsterdam.[159]

Pieter Maclaine Pont (1850–1926) also was a student of Law at Leiden University starting in 1868. He studied Chinese with Hoffmann together with Willem Vissering. Both began in 1872 and intended to use their knowledge of Chinese when employed in the Indies. Maclaine Pont became *cum laude* doctor in Law on 6 December 1873. From 1875 to 1893 he worked as a lawyer (*advocaat en procureur*) in the Indies, and from 1878 as a barrister at the High Court of the Indies.[160]

Lindor Serrurier (1846–1901) first received several other kinds of professional training, including that of notary. When the Japanese government made an appeal to young Dutchmen capable of working for the reorganisation of new ministries in Japan, Serrurier decided to learn Japanese.[161] Thereupon he studied Chinese and Japanese with Hoffmann. Later, he was registered as a student of Law in Leiden University on 23 September 1874; he became a doctor in Law on 5 October 1877. In 1877 he became curator and in 1881 director of the Ethnographic Museum in Leiden. From 1887 he was also lecturer in Ethnology and Japanese at Leiden University.[162] In 1896 he resigned from both positions and went to the East Indies, where he became a teacher of the geography and ethnology of the East Indies in Section B of the Willem III Gymnasium in Batavia; this was a training college for East Indies officials similar to the one in Delft. He edited parts of Hoffmann's Japanese-Dutch and Japanese-English dictionaries[163] and published a catalogue of Japanese books in Leiden (*Bibliothèque Japonaise: Catalogue raisonné* etc.). He wrote a very personal obituary of Hoffmann.[164]

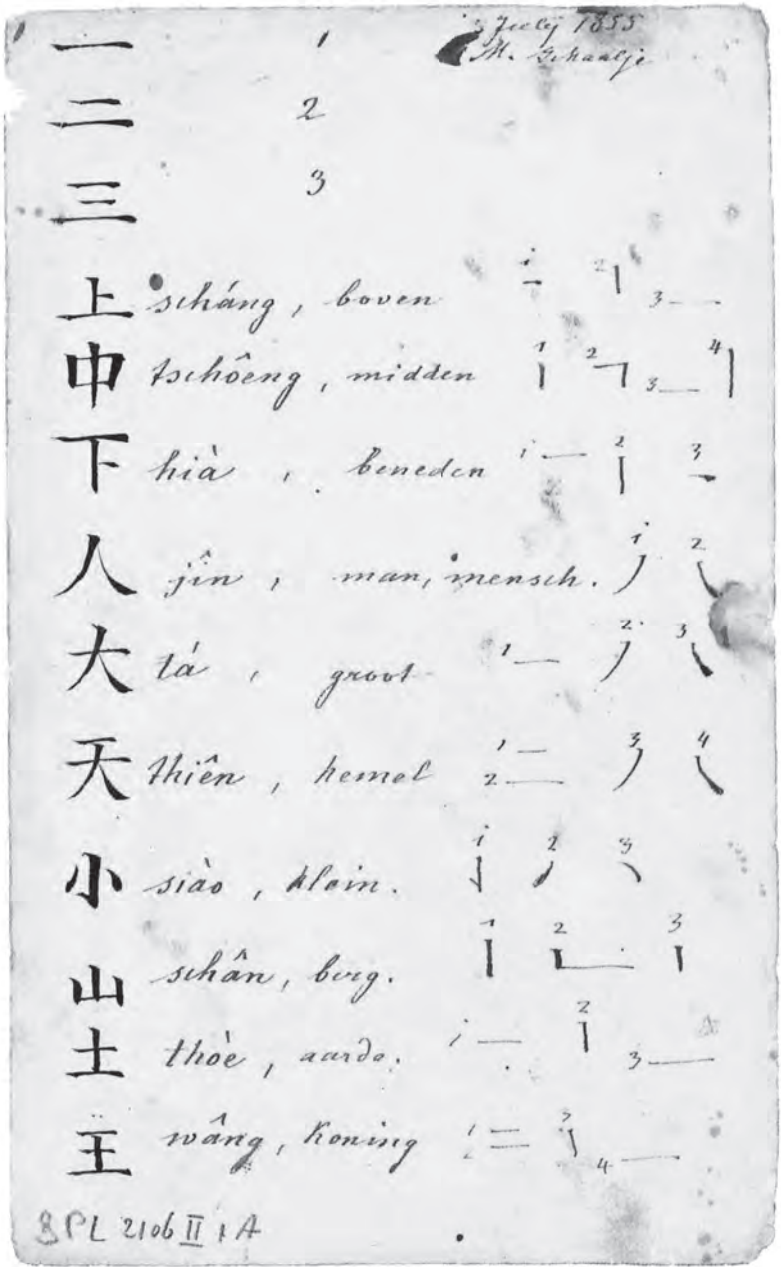
Hoffmann's teaching methods

Hoffmann's teaching methods can be deduced from several sources: (1) in the first place from his master plan and his reports on the progress of Schlegel, De Grijs, Francken, and Schaalje, and his financial reports on Buddingh, Groeneveldt, De Breuk, and Meeter, which are all kept in the

Archives of the Ministry of Colonies; and (2) in the second place from some of Hoffmann's teaching materials, and from his students' notebooks and study materials that are now mainly kept in the BPL documents in Leiden University Library and in the Hoffmann Collection in Utrecht University Library.

Hoffmann taught his students individually in tutorials lasting two to three hours at his home, as was usual at the universities. Schlegel first came twice a week, but starting in November 1854, he came three times a week,[165] and from 1 October 1855 on,[166] four times a week. Francken and Schaalje also came four times a week.[167] In March 1856, Hoffmann taught Francken, Schaalje, and Schlegel four times a week, each time for four consecutive hours, requiring at least two hours of preparation for each day,[168] but it is not clear whether he taught all three students at the same time. De Grijs, who only had a short period in which to study, even came five times a week. Hoffmann mostly taught his students individually, adapting his teaching method to each student, but after some time, he sometimes taught two or three students together when they had reached the same level. For instance, he taught Schlegel and De Grijs from January to May 1855, and Buddingh, Groeneveldt, and St. Aulaire from 1859 onwards. He also asked students to help each other, for example asking Schlegel to help De Grijs with his writing exercises in 1854. In his last year, Schaalje studied at Hoffmann's home for seven hours per day, but he probably studied most of the time by himself. At first, Hoffmann lived at Hogewoerd 124, and from October 1856 at Hooglandse Kerkgracht 23 in the house now named 'Kikkerberg.' There he lived with the family of Dr. C.A.X.G.F. Sicherer, teacher of German at the *gymnasium* and lecturer in German language and literature at the university.[169] In 1856 Dr. Sicherer had four children aged 1, 3, 6 and 8 years; two children born in 1857 and 1860 both passed away in 1860.[170] Hoffmann was always very fond of children, but he was unmarried, having a maidservant (*dienstbode*) living in.

Hoffmann probably taught his students according to his master plan and began with eight to ten lessons on general ideas of the writing system and language, as in the introductory chapter in Rémusat's Chinese grammar. He first taught them a lot of characters, which was done with great speed. In the Schaalje Collection there is a small piece of paper with a list of thirteen basic characters and their stroke order written by Hoffmann, on which was written "M. Schaalje 3 July 1855" (*see* illustration 1). This was probably the day Schaalje started to learn Chinese. There is also a list of the 214 radicals in lithography by Hoffmann, with translations written by Schaalje, dated 10 August [1855].[171] De Grijs had the most intensive course; in the beginning, the writing system caused him great difficulties, but after a week (!) he overcame them. Within three and a half months, De Grijs learnt the forms, pronunciation and meaning of 316 characters.



1. Basic character strokes by Hoffmann for Schaalje, 3 July 1855 (BPL 2106 II 1A).

He reviewed the characters three times a week by doing writing exercises together with Schlegel, from which both profited. He also composed sentences using these characters according to the rules of the language, and learnt many other things through his conversations with Hoffmann.[172]

The most complete syllabus of Hoffmann's teaching can be found in a stack of cards among W. Vissering's papers. Hoffmann taught Vissering the basics of Chinese many years later, in 1872–4, but his methods were probably the same as before. He first explained the structure of the six types of Chinese characters, for example 明 (sun and moon) *ming* 'light', 仙 (man and mountain; immortal) *siĕn* (Dutch *bergman*), 林 (two trees) *lin* 'forest.' Then he taught the radicals, strokes, some simple sentences, and sentences explaining the structure of characters, such as: 東字從日在木中 "The character 'east' comes from 'sun' in a 'tree'." Subsequently he taught sayings, beginning with: 不入虎穴，不得虎子（安得虎子)。"If one does not enter the tiger's lair, one cannot catch the tiger's cubs (how can one catch the tiger's cubs?)". 一言已出四馬不追。 "A word once given cannot be retracted even by four horses." 見人之得，如已之得。 見人之失，如已之失。 "If you see another person win, consider it your own winning; if you see another person lose, consider it your own loss." For a beginning student, trying to understand such complicated sentences must be more like solving puzzles than learning a language, but it would probably be very entertaining. Soon afterwards, Hoffmann began teaching grammar including various particles, principles of word order, etc. From these cards, one can see that Hoffmann sometimes explained words in a humorous way, for instance the word *fei* which can both function as a negation and denote disapproval. He wrote on one card in Dutch: "非 *feî* (also *fi, fûî*) = a disapproving 'foei'!" … The reading *fûî* is the Hakka pronunciation of Hoffmann's teacher Ko Tsching-dschang. It would be similar to the Dutch word *foei* ('fooey!'), which is an exclamative denoting disapproval.[173]

It is touching to read in Hoffmann's reports how each of his students became very fond of Chinese after some time. After three and a half months of study, De Grijs was "now very pleased with his studies, which is a guarantee for me that he has been won for Chinese studies."[174] Another six weeks later, he had become so fond of the study of this language that he planned to use all his spare time in Java to study Chinese.[175] Schlegel also showed an "extraordinary pleasure with this specialism."[176] Schaalje and Francken "were soon pleased with the Chinese writing and language."[177]

Writing and pronunciation

Hoffmann liked drawing, and he had a good hand in writing Chinese characters. He was very meticulous in getting every stroke right, and he

mastered several styles of writing, using both a pen and a writing brush. This can be seen in his manuscripts,[178] but also in lithographs drawn by him, for instance the *Edict of Toleration* (Edict of toleration of Christianity) of Shaoxing Fu of 1848.[179] In his students' notebooks, the characters were also written very meticulously. It was doubtless on his orders that Schlegel, Buddingh, Groeneveldt, and De Breuk took European calligraphy lessons. But it is curious that in normal writing, Hoffmann and his students used the style of printed Chinese characters, the so-called Song style,[180] not that of written characters (*kaishu*); in other words, they copied the characters from printed books and not from written calligraphy—in contrast to the Chinese, who would always use calligraphic styles for writing and would never dream of using the printed style. Therefore their characters, although the strokes are correct, appear somewhat disharmonious and awkward, having thin horizontal strokes written perfectly horizontally, and fat vertical strokes; there were also other characteristics of the printed style; on the other hand, there were variations in thickness in strokes bending leftward (*pie* 丿) and rightward (*na* 乀) as in calligraphy (*see* illustrations 1-6). Judging from the specimens of their writing still extant, they sometimes used a broader pen for writing large characters. At least one of Hoffmann's students also used a writing brush; Schaalje wrote the characters in his list of classifiers with a brush and India ink (*Oostindische inkt*).

Groeneveldt and St. Aulaire also felt the need to learn the running-hand writing (*xingshu*). Since no guide to this had been published before in the West, they compiled their own manual, which they finished in March 1861, shortly before St. Aulaire left, and which they published themselves.[181] They received full support from Hoffmann, who gave them his copy of the Japanese dictionary *Banpō setsuyō fukizō* 萬寶節用富貴藏.[182] The students cut this book up into 45,000 pieces, from which they selected and rearranged about 5,000 characters, each in standard and cursive script (*kaishu* and *xingshu*), according to the number of strokes in standard script. They also made a second list arranged according to the first and the last stroke in calligraphy. The characters were beautifully reproduced in lithography by P.W.M. Trap. They spent a lot of time compiling this manual, but certainly learned much while doing so.

About 1844, the Chinese texts of the treaties with foreign countries of 1842–4 were published together with the English and French texts[183] and were received with great interest. Hoffmann therefore decided to publish also the Japanese texts of Japan's treaties with five foreign countries of 1858. These had been printed in Japan in 1859 in the Japanese official style of running script. Hoffmann had prepared lithographic facsimile publications before, but this time he had his students Groeneveldt, St. Aulaire, and Buddingh copy the Japanese texts with a writing brush, thereby practicing their writing skills. After they left for the Far East, Hoffmann

took care of the lithographical printing in 1862. In his introduction, Hoffmann praised the result as follows:

> Although the gentlemen who prepared their fac-similes,—Dutch students of the Chinese and Japanese languages,—had, at the time they performed this work, never been in Japan, the copy is so correct that no native of Japan would hesitate in acknowledging the writing to be truly Japanese; and that is enough.[184]

In his teaching, Hoffmann used a transcription system that he may have devised himself. His system was based on the French system of Prémare, Rémusat, and Julien, but adapted to his native German pronunciation.[185] In the first half of the nineteenth century, all sinologists used the so-called Southern Mandarin or Nanking pronunciation as the basis of their transcriptions. This was the standard pronunciation of Mandarin before it was gradually replaced by Northern Mandarin from Peking during the second half of the nineteenth century.[186] It was also the standard pronunciation used in native Chinese dictionaries. Southern Mandarin retained some sound contrasts that were lost in Northern Mandarin, such as *k–ts* in kîn 金 – tsîn 津 (now both *jīn*), *k'–ts'* in k'íng 慶 – Ts'îng 清 (*qìng/Qīng*), and *si–hi* in sî 西 – hî 希 (*xī*).[187] In order to be able to use foreign dictionaries and grammars, Hoffmann's students also had to learn the various transcription systems in French, English, and German that were adapted to the pronunciation rules of these languages. For instance, the Mandarin word *shu* 書, "book", could in these three languages be transcribed 'chou,' 'shoo' and 'schu.'

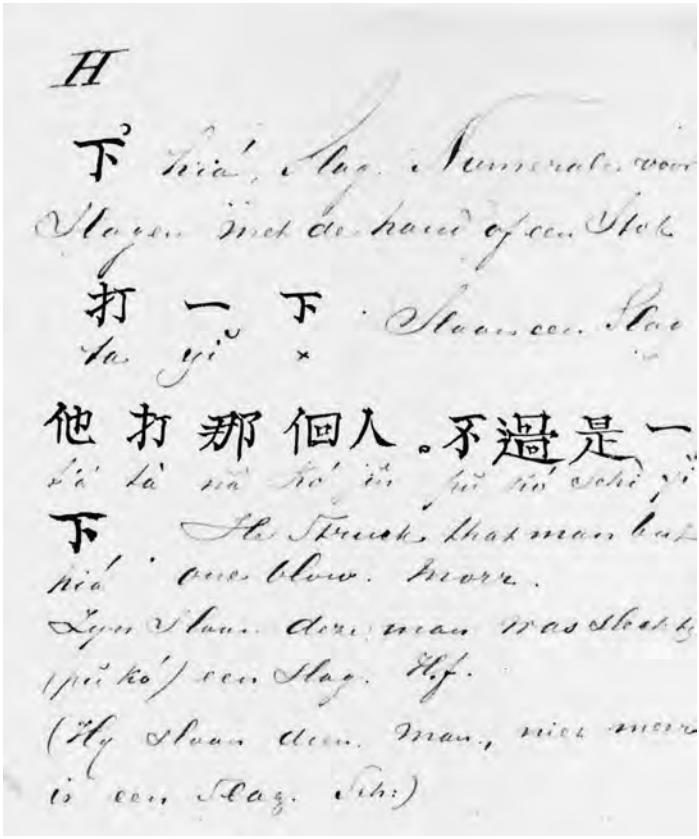
Hoffmann stressed the importance of learning Chinese characters, their meaning and to a lesser extent their pronunciation. Hoffmann originally was a talented opera singer, and he must have had more than average awareness of the peculiar pronunciation of Mandarin, such as the tones. A good feeling for music was considered a favourable condition for learning Chinese. Hoffmann had never been in China, so from whom did he learn to pronounce Mandarin? His teacher Ko Tsching-dschang (Guo Chengzhang), who was in Leiden in 1830–1835, was a Hakka from Eastern Guangdong, who could speak Malay, but probably not Mandarin. In his manuscript dictionary, Hoffmann added Mandarin and some Cantonese transcriptions of the characters, but he sometimes also referred to the Hakka pronunciation of Ko Tsching-dschang which was written in red ink. He probably learnt how to pronounce from the description of the sounds in books. In his reports on students, he seldom referred to the quality of the pronunciation. He only once stated that Schlegel was very fast in learning "both the characters and the pronunciation." Knowing the 'pronunciation' of a character probably meant not much more than knowing its transcription and being able to utter sounds vaguely reminiscent of the Mandarin

pronunciation. This was probably similar to the way in which European classical languages such as Latin and Greek were pronounced by modern Europeans—that is, according to conventions, not according to the original sounds which were actually unknown.

Grammars and dictionaries

Probably after the students had learnt enough characters and read basic texts, Hoffmann taught Chinese grammar in a systematic way, making use of Abel Rémusat's *Élémens de la grammaire chinoise*, together with Prémare's *Notitia* and Morrison's *Grammar*. As Rémusat's grammar was out of print in 1855, Schlegel copied it for himself by hand, together with Hoffmann's notes. In those days, the students wrote an attractive hand—if not, they took calligraphy lessons—and they did of lot of copying. In the end of 1855, Hoffmann compiled a manuscript grammar with criticism of the earlier grammars for Schlegel, with many examples from the older and newer literature,[188] which was later also studied and copied by other students. After Schott's *Chinesische Sprachlehre* was published in 1857, Hoffmann first used that grammar in his teaching. Buddingh, Groeneveldt, and De Breuk bought Schott's grammar first and Rémusat's grammar a few months later. Some chapters of a later version of Hoffmann's grammar copied by Schaalje are still kept in the Leiden University Library. One of these is dated 10 February 1859. These chapters contain very detailed explanations of the uses of some classical and modern particles (於, 之, 可, 所, 以, 而, 得, etc.); often references are made to other Chinese grammars and to other languages such as French, German, English, Latin, and Japanese. Schaalje also copied an alphabetic list of Mandarin classifiers with explanations and examples (*see* illustrations 2-3).[189] Another, shorter grammar is a partial Dutch translation of Schott's grammar with notes by Hoffmann, which is also dated 1859. It is in Groeneveldt's elegant handwriting and bound between the pages of Schott's grammar.[190] From 1858 on, Hoffmann also used Edkins' grammar, a copy of which was sent to him by De Grijs from Amoy. He even preferred this grammar to Prémare's *Notitia*.[191] With his classical training, Hoffmann was expert at grammatical analysis, and thus he gave his students a powerful instrument with which to understand Chinese texts. Forty years later, Groeneveldt would state that he continued to have great profit from Hoffmann's lessons.[192] On the other hand, some of his elaborate discussions on grammar with quotations from various scholars seem to make the language more complex than it actually is.

In his master plan, Hoffmann made a clear distinction between the classical and the colloquial language, but in his teaching, both were con-



2. From Schaalje's list of measure words (BPL 2106 I 4).

sidered mere variants of the written language. In his reports he seems to refer to this distinction only once, when he wrote that he would teach De Grijs "the characteristics of different branches of Chinese literature, in particular what one should learn to be able to read Chinese books on natural history."[193]

The real colloquial, spoken language was not taught by Hoffmann, who had never been in China and could not speak any Chinese dialect of the colloquial language.[194] There is a touching anecdote which substantiates this. When Hoffmann met the Chinese doctor Liu Noni in Amsterdam in 1861, at first neither uttered a word of greeting. They could only communicate in writing. Hoffmann wrote a Chinese greeting with chalk on the table, whereupon Liu Noni, who had not been able to speak with anyone for months, almost cried with joy.[195]

Hoffmann compiled an elementary Chinese–Dutch dictionary for Schlegel and De Grijs. Like his Chinese grammar, it only existed in man-


§.d.

Het lijdende iets kan wanneer het onderwerp is, ook 者 tschè, als Exponent van zijne logische waarde na zich hebben. Vergel. 者 §. ...).

所 貴 者 若 遊 雲 之 飛

Sò kuéi tschè jŏ yêu yün tschī fēi Het hooge, geachte gelijkt aan een vlugt van voorbij drijvende wolken. *.

* Uit de verhaling van Horn:

"What is valued is soft as is like flaating clouds" drijvende wolken is zacht als is gelijk te worden geke,

天 之 所 日 者 順 也

Tiēn tschī sò tsú tschè schuên yè.

§ e.

Als voorwerp, na een werkwoord waarachter het lijdende wordt staat het lijdende iets indirecte. regt:

日 有 所 思 。 夜 有 所 夢

jĕ yeù sò sze ; yè yeù sò mèng.

Heeft men des daags iets waaraan men denkt, des heeft men des nachts iets waarvan men droomt. (Dat met des daags het voorwerp van den Hoop is, is des nachts het voorwerp van het droomen.)

3. From Schaalje's copy of Hoffmann's grammar, the particle suŏ 所 (BPL 2106 I 3B). "Het lijdende iets kan wanneer het onderwerp is, ook 者 tschè, als Exponent van zijne logische waarde na zich hebben."

uscript and was copied by each student. It contained the vocabulary of the texts that they had read, with Hoffmann's lexical explanations. Hoffmann's copy is still extant and has the title "*Wên tszé yáo-liŏ [Wenzi yaolüe]* 文字要略, *schinesisches Handwörterbuch.* Bearbeitet von Dr. J. Hoffmann, Leiden 1849–1854." It consists of a large stack (22 centimeters tall) of small cards, written in German. There is also one copy by a student: St. Aulaire's Dutch copy, which is also a stack (10 centimeters) of about 800 larger cards.[196] Francken's copy was donated after his death to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.[197] Studying and copying this dictionary became an important item in the study of Chinese. In February 1864, when Meeter had studied for 1½ years, his father wrote to the Minister that his son was "already studying and writing out the Chinese dictionary."[198] Besides this manuscript dictionary, they also used those by Morrison, Medhurst, and others. Buddingh and Groeneveldt bought Medhurst's dictionary from their stipends,[199] while the earlier students bought it from their book allowances (*see* Chapter Three).

Textbooks: books of sayings

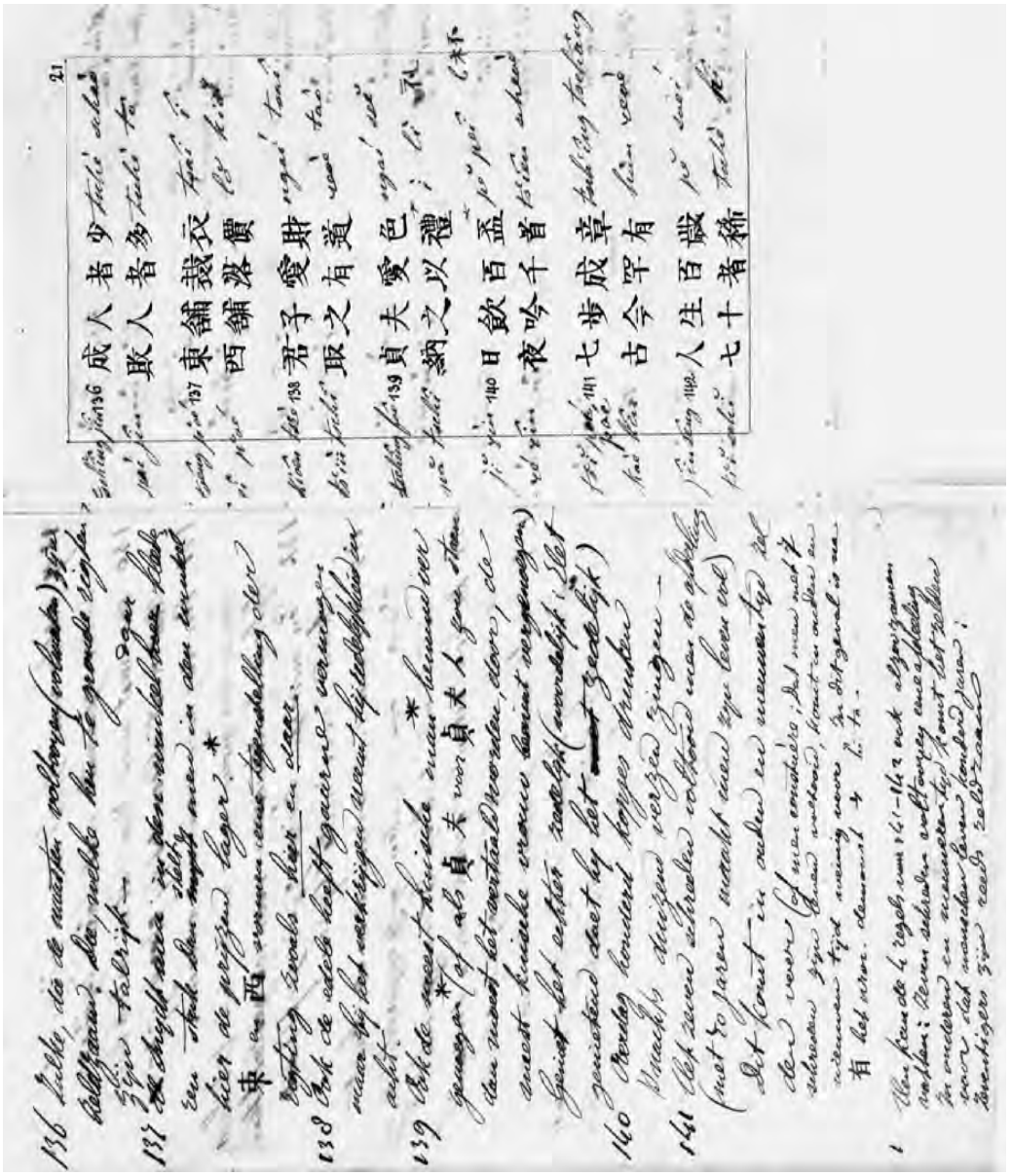
From the various sources, some of the Chinese texts which Hoffmann used are known, and his teaching methods can also be reconstructed to some extent. In his first report on Schlegel in 1853, Hoffmann wrote that he read texts on natural history and could translate some works by Confucius. A few months later, Hoffmann reported that Schlegel was studying the *Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇 and was learning it by heart as he was accustomed to do with Chinese texts.[200] This popular Taoist classic was in the nature of a collection of sayings summing up a great variety of acts of good and bad behaviour, which would be punished or rewarded in this life or within one's family. The book is ascribed to an author from the Song dynasty (960–1279). Later commentators added explanations of words, and stories as proof and illustrations of retribution. This book was also popular in the West; it had been translated and reproduced several times.[201] There were translations by Rémusat (1816), J. Klaproth (1828), Ch.F. Neumann (1830) and Julien (1835).[202] Julien's translation also contained the explanations and stories, and the main text in Chinese. The Chinese text was published also in lithography by Klaproth as the first item in the book *Chrestomathie chinoise* (Chinese anthology), Paris 1834.[203] Under Hoffmann, De Grijs also studied it and reviewed it together with Schlegel. While doing so, De Grijs copied the Chinese text and Julien's translation, adding a literal Dutch translation.[204] One method of learning Chinese was to make a new foreign-language or Dutch translation of a book that had already been translated into French, German,

or English. De Grijs used the French translation only for reference; in general he did not translate from the French, but from the Chinese. His translations were very literal and made clear the structure of the Chinese sentences. An example of this is 禍福無門, 惟人自召 "misfortune and fortune have no (fixed) gates (through which they enter); only man summons them himself" (*ongeluk en geluk (heil en onheil) hebben geene (bepaalde) poorten (waardoor zij binnendringen), alleen de mensch roept ze zelve*.) The French translation was more free and idiomatic: "Le malheur et le bonheur de l'homme ne sont point determinés d'avance; seulement l'homme s'attire lui-même l'un et l'autre par sa conduite" (no. 1). Another example shows that De Grijs' literal translation sometimes clarified the grammatical structure, but not the meaning, which is typical of the beginning student: 離人骨肉, 侵人所愛 "separate flesh and bone of others, take possession of what others like to have" (*vleesch en been van anderen vaneen scheiden, datgene bemachtigen wat andere gaarne hebben*). The French translation was again more free and idiomatic: "Séparer les parens qui sont unis comme la chair et les os, s'emparer des choses auxquelles les autres hommes sont attachés" (no. 11).

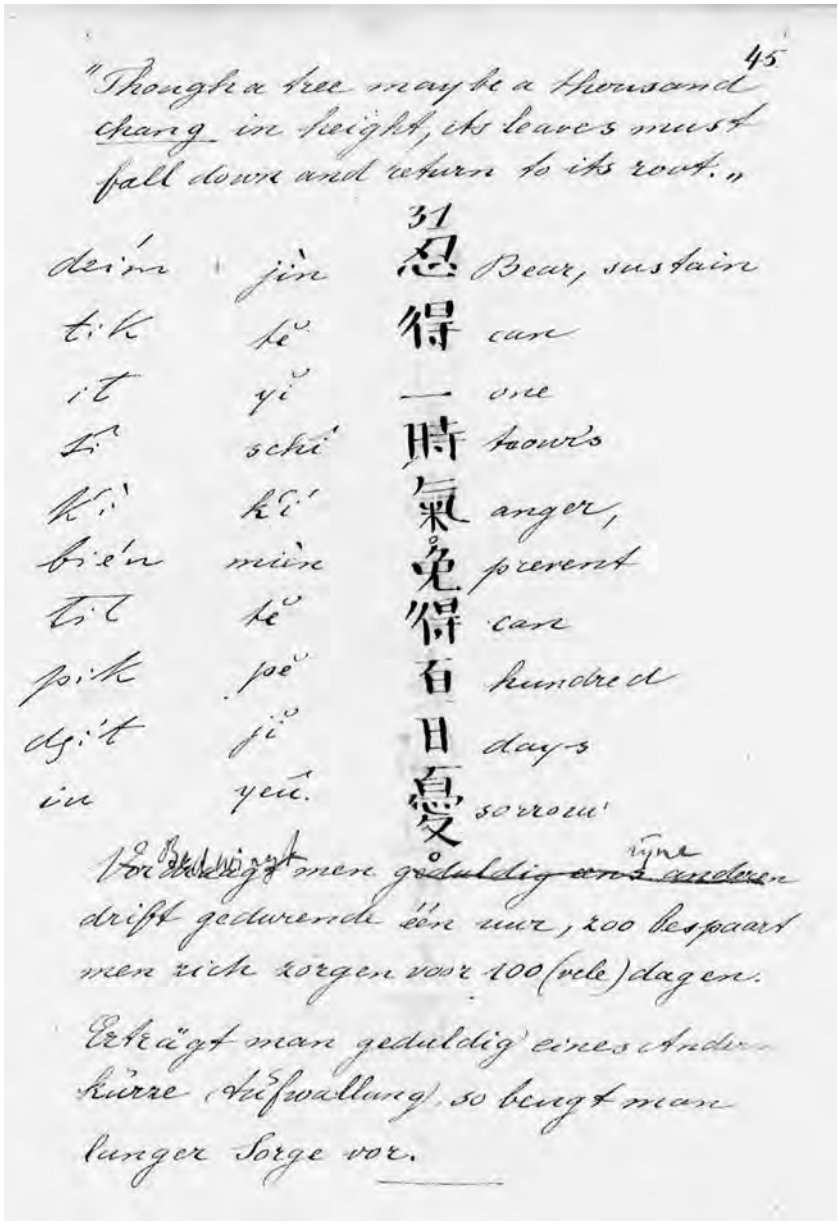
After about a year of study, De Grijs read '200 sayings.'[205] This probably refers to a collection of 198 sayings, *Xishi xianwen* 昔時賢文 (Wise words from ancient times), which Hoffmann had printed for his students in lithography, in his own calligraphy. There existed a Chinese schoolbook with the same title since the Ming dynasty. Three copies of the lithographic text are kept in Leiden University Library, one of which has also De Grijs' Mandarin transcriptions, and literal translations into Dutch on inserted leaves; in his copy two sayings were added, so the total number of sayings is 200.[206] This rather elliptic text is not always easy to translate (*see* illustration 4).

There was another collection of 200 sayings, which Hoffmann studied and retranslated with Francken and Schlegel. This was J.F. Davis' *Hien Wun Shoo* 賢文書 (A book of wise words), *Chinese moral maxims*, Macau 1823, which contained the Chinese texts and English translations of quotations collected by Davis from classical and colloquial literature.[207] The Leiden University Library has Schlegel's manuscript copy of this book, with golden rimmed pages and bound in leather. It contains the Chinese text and Dutch, German, and (Davis') English translations, grammatical notes by Hoffmann and a character index made by Schlegel and Francken dated 1857 (*see* illustration 5).

Hoffmann's introduction gives some insight into his teaching methods and the atmosphere in his classes. Hoffmann wrote that forty years after Davis' translation was published, he considered it worthwhile to make a new translation of the sayings, since French and English sinologists had in the meantime gained a much better understanding of the Chinese language



4. De Grijs' translation and transcription of Hoffmann's lithography Xishi xianwen 昔時賢文 *(BPL 1782 D).*



45

"Though a tree may be a thousand chang in height, its leaves must fall down and return to its root."

31

dein	jin	忍	Bear, sustain
tik	te	得	care
it	yi	一	one
si	schi	時	hours
ki'	ki'	氣	anger,
bi'n	mien	免	prevent
tik	te	得	care
pe'k	pe	百	hundred
dzi't	ji	日	days
iu	yeu.	憂	sorrow

Vor Beleidigt men geduldig eine andere
dritt gedurende één uur, zoo bespaart
men zich zorgen voor 100 (vele) dagen.

Erträgt man geduldig eines Andern
Kürze (Aufwallung), so bewahrt man
langer Sorge vor.

5. Schlegel's translation of Davis' Chinese Moral Maxims, *with Mandarin and later added Hokkien pronunciations; note Schlegel's correction (BPL 2044).*

and Hoffmann's own studies had also yielded (new) rules of the language (*taalwetten*). Now he and his students tried to apply these rules in a consistent way, putting them to the test at the same time, which—according to him—often resulted in better translations. His conclusion was:

> I hope that our new edition of Davis' collection may be a guide (*leidsvrouw*) for our young students of the Chinese language, that will at the same time remind them of many pleasant hours.[208]

Indeed, the literal translations by Hoffmann and his students are better than the literal ones by Davis, but not as good as his idiomatic translations. Like De Grijs' translations, Hoffmann's were more literal, more faithful to the original, and showed the grammatical structure more clearly, but they sometimes missed the point. For example: *sangtiao cong xiao rou* 桑條從小揉 "The twigs of the mulberry are bent from youth." (*De takken van den moerbezienboom worden van jongs af gebogen*). Davis translated literally: "Mulberry / slip / accords with / it's youthful / bent" and idiomatically: "As the twig is bent, the tree's inclined."[209] Many years later, Schlegel also used this book for teaching Chinese to his students, adding Hokkien transcriptions. From the 1870s on, Hokkien pronunciation was taught in Leiden, not Mandarin. He sometimes also added good idiomatic translations, showing that Dutch sinology had made some progress. In this case he added: "One should bend the twig when it is young" (*Men moet het rijsje buigen als het jong is*) and "Youngsters should be taught (bent) from youth" (*Jongelieden moeten van jongs af aan onderwezen (gebogen) worden*).[210]

Groeneveldt en Buddingh must have studied this text as well. Groeneveldt later recounted the following anecdote to his younger colleague Van der Spek:

> Once, Hoffmann sent his students to the Minister with Davis' maxims under their arm. In order to make a good impression, he first instructed them how to behave. Groeneveldt played the Minister, and Hoffmann played Groeneveldt. It was all serious.[211]

Of course, this kind of play-acting would not have contributed to clearing up the misunderstanding concerning their Japanese studies between the Ministry and Hoffmann.

Natural history, short stories, and the Four Books

Not surprisingly, Hoffmann also studied texts on natural history with his students. For instance, De Grijs read "a description of the heavens in the large Japanese encyclopaedia," and "shorter texts from the natural history of birds." These were taken from the Sino–Japanese encyclopaedia *Wa-*

6. De Grijs' translation of a text on yams 薯芋 *copied from* Wakan Sansai zue *(BPL 1782 13C).*

kan Sansai Zue 和漢三才圖會.[212] In this case, the students made original translations, not retranslations. In the Leiden University Library there are kept several notebooks by Hoffmann's students with texts on animals and plants that were copied from this encyclopaedia, with added Mandarin transcription and Dutch translation. These notebooks belonged to De Grijs, Schaalje, and St. Aulaire.[213] The translations are again very literal, but usually correct and clear. Some examples of the texts that they studied are the following. De Grijs translated a description of *shuyu* 薯蕷, 'the Chinese yam' (*see* illustration 6). This plant was recommended by some as a substitute for the potato, and in 1854, Hoffmann also wrote an article on it, making use of the same text, thereby showing that research can profit from teaching (or vice versa). De Grijs also translated a piece on *yancao* 煙草, 'tobacco,' probably an attractive subject for the older students. Schaalje translated texts on *qiuyin* 蚯蚓, 'the earthworm,' and *pugongying* 蒲公英, 'the dandelion.' St. Aulaire translated the same text on tobacco and descriptions of birds, mammals, and Japanese seafood such as *ganfu* 乾鰒 'dried awaki' (Haliotis).

De Grijs also read 'short stories,' for instance "Nian'er niang" 廿二娘[214] (Miss Number 22) from *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀. His notebook with a manuscript Chinese text, transcription, and translation is still kept in the Leiden University Library.[215] There is a similar notebook by Schaalje.[216] And there is a hard-cover notebook by Schlegel, in which he copied the Chinese text in large characters with a German translation by Hoffmann dated 1857, and another German translation by Böttger. This story had been translated before into English by Robert Thom in 1839, and that translation had been translated into German by Adolf Böttger in 1845.[217] This is another example of how Hoffmann made use of an earlier translation in his teaching. It is a typical ghost story about love and revenge, which recounted how a certain Zhang Yi stayed in a haunted room at an inn, where he was visited by a beautiful girl for three nights. Thereupon Zhang heard from the landlord that a girl had hanged herself in that room. The next night, the girl told him that she was that person. She had been a prostitute, named Miss Number 22. In the past, she had had a lover, to whom she entrusted all her savings, and when he betrayed her, she hanged herself. Then it developed that Zhang and the ex-lover were from the same town. After some time, Zhang announced that he wished to go home, whereupon she asked him to write her name on a soul-tablet and take it with him; the girl would appear as soon as he called her name in front of the tablet. When he arrived in his home town and summoned her, she told him she wished to collect a debt. That day her ex-lover, who was married and ran a prosperous shop, died of a sudden, awful disease. From then on, the ghost disappeared forever.

This was the only somewhat 'colloquial' text that was evidently read by

Hoffmann's students, apart from some colloquial sayings in Davis' *Chinese Moral Maxims*. The students must also have read other texts. In his master plan, Hoffmann mentioned some Chinese texts with French or Latin translations by Julien. These books were bought by the students from their book allowances, but there is no evidence that they read them with Hoffmann. Schlegel was also given a certain textbook for youngsters to translate independently; it is not known which book this was. In Schlegel's personal copy of the *Four Books* (*see* below), the first chapter of *Mencius* was punctuated by Hoffmann, and the *Great Learning* was crudely punctuated, probably by himself. So it can be assumed that he then studied these as well. This also applies to the last four students, who all bought copies of the *Four Books*.

Chinese books in Leiden

At this time, Leiden University Library possessed at most only about 40 Chinese books, and Hoffmann himself owned about 100 Chinese books.[218] Besides, the collection of about 500 'Japanese' books of Von Siebold described in the Catalogue by Hoffmann[219] comprised about 80 books in Chinese, of which 35 were Japanese reprints of original Chinese books. One of these Sino–Japanese books was the *Wakan Sansai Zue* mentioned above. And there was also a collection of about 40 Chinese books in the Royal Cabinet of Rarities in The Hague.

On 14 May 1855, at the meeting of Department of Arts of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences, Hoffmann[220] proposed "to purchase a selection of Chinese works and to concentrate all Chinese books in public institutions [in the Netherlands] in one place, preferably in Leiden." He also suggested publishing sinological works and purchasing a set of Chinese type for this purpose. A commission composed of T. Roorda, A. Rutgers, and C. Leemans[221] studied Hoffmann's proposals, and sent in a report on 18 June 1855. They considered it not yet urgently necessary to buy Chinese books, since there was an exquisite collection of Chinese and Japanese books, with which the most urgent needs of beginning students could be satisfied. These were kept in the Leiden University Library or were in Hoffmann's own possession or within his reach (Von Siebold's 'Japanese' books were also kept in Leiden). The rest of Hoffmann's proposal was accepted, and in 1860 Leiden would have a set of Chinese type and books could be published. But one part of his first proposal was also realised: in 1856, the Chinese and Japanese books of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences were given on permanent loan to Leiden University.[222] In 1859 the Chinese and Japanese books from the Royal Cabinet of Rarities were moved to the newly established Von Siebold Museum in Leiden, the pre-

decessor of the National Ethnographical Museum, where they were later incorporated in Von Siebold's collection in 1860.

The students had hardly any Chinese books. Sometimes Hoffmann gave his students a Chinese book as a present. For instance, he gave De Grijs copies of the primers *Sanzijing*, *Qianziwen* and *Youxueshi*, bound together in a Western-style hard cover,[223] in which he wrote in Dutch "For Mr. … F. de Grijs, from his friend Dr. J. Hoffmann, Leiden June 1st, 1855."[224] This was just after Hoffmann had decided that De Grijs could leave. A few weeks later, on 25 June 1855, he left for the Indies. A year later, on Schlegel's sixteenth birthday, Hoffmann gave him the second part of *Mencius*, which was also bound in a Western-style hard cover, with the French text "Offert à Mr. G. Schlegel, par J. Hoffmann, Leide le 30 Sept., 1856."[225] In the last quarter of 1859, Buddingh, Groeneveldt, and De Breuk each bought a copy of the *Four Books* in Chinese from Hoffmann for *f* 2, which they had bound in two hard-cover volumes for *f* 0.40.[226] In 1862 De Breuk also bought a few Chinese books for *f* 1.50,[227] while Meeter later bought a copy of *Mencius* for *f* 12.[228] The fact that these were all such elementary books, reveals not only the level of these students, but also that at the time a Chinese book was a rare possession.

Japanese studies

When the students were sufficiently advanced in Chinese, Hoffmann would start teaching them Japanese; for instance, he taught Schlegel Japanese after De Grijs had left in June 1855. He first taught him the Japanese *katakana* syllabary and the method by which Chinese characters were combined with that syllabary. He also taught these to Francken and Schaalje.[229] For his later students of Japanese, he made use of Donker Curtius' Japanese grammar. De Breuk also bought Alcock's grammar in 1862.[230] After one year of Chinese studies, when Buddingh and Groeneveldt were advanced enough in Chinese to be able to read and understand texts, Hoffmann began to teach them Japanese. From then on, Chinese characters in Chinese texts were pronounced in Japanese fashion to train the students to become completely accustomed to the Sino–Japanese pronunciation. It should be noted that when these students arrived in China and started to learn Hokkien and Hakka, they certainly profited from their knowledge of these pronunciations. So from the perspective of Chinese studies, the time which they spent on Japanese was not wasted.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDYING IN CHINA (1856–1867)

Pioneers in Canton

On 10 October 1855, Governor-General Duymaer van Twist decided to send the first two students, the 17-year olds Albrecht and Von Faber to Canton, where they probably arrived in February 1856. It had been stipulated that they were to study under the supervision of the Consul and live in his house. Earlier that year J. des Amorie van der Hoeven (short form: Van der Hoeven) had been appointed as 'Consul of the Netherlands in Canton' succeeding Tonco Modderman.[1] Van der Hoeven was a scion from an old Dutch patrician family.[2] He was a merchant in ginger, spices and edible oils[3] with a trading company under his own name,[4] and had been living in Canton since 1848.[5] The students probably first lived with him at his residence in the foreign quarter. Foreigners were still confined to this quarter, where originally the thirteen foreign factories or hongs had been situated, but most of these had been burned by the Chinese during the Opium War in the 1840s.

However, the students would have to leave this location within nine months. On 8 October 1856, the *Arrow*, a Chinese vessel sailing under the British flag, was searched near Canton by the Chinese authorities, and twelve crewmen were arrested and tortured on suspicion of piracy. The Chinese refused to let the British Consul handle the matter, and although the ship's registration had just expired and it may have been smuggling, this refusal was considered an insult to the British flag. After all attempts at negotiations failed, this incident became a casus belli, and the British attacked the city on 23 October.[6] In his letter to Governor-General Pahud of 31 October 1856, the Consul stated that there was not yet sufficient reason for him to leave his post, despite the hostile attitude of the Chinese. The two students, Albrecht and Von Faber, would also for the moment continue their studies there, although provisionally without teachers. The Consul was hoping for a speedy settlement that would at least stave off the destruction of the city, which would be the inevitable result of the daily attacks by the British.[7] But a week later, in his letter of 8 November, he wrote that the foreigners were still in the same position, that there was no change in the attitude of the Chinese and that the hostilities continued. The British were bombarding the government buildings and attacking the fortresses and war junks at the river.

Although forty French marines and also Portuguese forces from Macao were added to the neutral defenders of the foreigners, the Consul considered it advisable not to have the students wait any longer for a restoration of the peace, which would probably take some time. He therefore rented living quarters for them in Macao, where they could temporarily resume their studies. They left Canton the same day, on 8 November. In the meantime, De Grijs had arrived in Hong Kong on 4 November and had decided not to proceed to Canton.[8] On 3 December the British attacked Canton for the second time, and on 14 and 15 December the foreign factories were burned by the Chinese. Dutch merchants were confronted with enormous damages to their possessions due to the bombardment and fire.[9] All foreigners had to leave Canton, and Van der Hoeven moved to Macao, where he was to remain afterwards while keeping the title of 'Consul in Canton.' In 1857, he went to live in a beautiful mansion with a large garden along the Praia Grande, where the students Albrecht and Von Faber lived on the second floor. Later students such as Schlegel,[10] Francken, De Breuk and Meeter also stayed there when they were in Macao.

The hostilities continued for several years. Canton was occupied by British and French forces from January 1858 to October 1861. In 1858 the Netherlands Indies government also sent the schooner (*schroefschooner*) *Bali* under captain J.H. van Capellen to China to protect Dutch interests.[11] In these circumstances, the students probably did not return to Canton, but for the next two and a half years continued their studies under the supervision of Van der Hoeven in Macao.[12]

In 1855, Governor-General Duymaer van Twist had decided that they were to study 'Chinese,' but the dialect was not specified. Very little is known regarding the contents of their studies. They probably had Chinese teachers who knew some English. In October 1857, Van der Hoeven wrote to Governor-General Pahud that their diligence and behaviour were beyond praise and that they were quite advanced in 'Cantonese' (*Cantonsch*), which should mean the spoken language of the city of Canton. Presumably, they used E.C. Bridgman's Cantonese *Chrestomathy* as a textbook, and later also S. Wells Williams' Cantonese dictionary; both were mentioned in a letter by De Grijs.[13] Earlier that year, De Grijs had left for Amoy (Xiamen), but Van der Hoeven found there was no need for Albrecht and Von Faber to study the Hokkien (Fujianese) dialect, as this would prolong their studies unnecessarily. As he saw it, Hokkien could just as well be learned on Java while they were in function there. He thought they could be most useful in the Outer Possessions,[14] where dialects from 'Canton' (then meaning both Guangdong province and Guangzhou city) were generally spoken instead of Hokkien.

After Francken and Schlegel had arrived in Macao in 1858, Albrecht

and Von Faber also applied for an allowance for books. In the summer of that year Van der Hoeven asked Governor-General Pahud to order sinological books in France for about *f* 150; the students needed these for their more advanced studies. The titles on the accompanying list also appear on the book lists of the students from Leiden. The Governor-General sent the request to Minister of Colonies Rochussen, who forwarded it to Hoffmann. Half a year later, Hoffmann sent the books they needed, mostly two copies of each.[15] This list contained books for learning Mandarin or with Mandarin transcription, such as Schott's grammar and Prémare's *Notitia*,[16] but the students probably only needed these books in order to learn the written colloquial language, which is close to Mandarin, without learning to speak it or even to read the characters in Mandarin pronunciation. Although Hoffmann had advised starting with Mandarin, these students probably did not do so. Van der Hoeven never mentioned their learning Mandarin; he was even opposed to them studying Mandarin. It should be noted that when at the beginning of the twentieth century Mandarin became the language of teaching in China, Chinese characters were usually taught and pronounced in the local dialect, as is still the case in Hong Kong.[17] It was therefore very well possible to learn written Chinese without learning to speak Mandarin.

The choice of dialect: Cantonese or Hokkien?

When Schlegel and Francken were sent from Leiden to China in the autumn of 1857, Van der Hoeven wrote to Pahud and raised the question which dialects should be studied. A year before, in September 1856, De Grijs had been ordered to go to China,[18] arriving in Hong Kong on 4 November, where he immediately started or continued to study Hokkien. He knew perfectly well that most Chinese on Java originated from Amoy and environs, since he had just come from Java and had studied Chinese before. He first stayed for half a year in Hong Kong or Macao, but since it was impossible to find teachers of Hokkien there, [19] he decided to go to Amoy;[20] Van der Hoeven also advised him to do so. De Grijs arrived in Amoy on 6 May 1857.[21] His allowance was almost twice as high as that of the other students: $175 per month (*f* 446,25).[22]

Around that time, in any case before 23 January 1858, De Grijs was appointed by Van der Hoeven as 'acting Vice-Consul' (*waarnemend vice-consul*) in Amoy. Van der Hoeven had been authorised to appoint 'acting Vice-Consuls,' and only needed approval from Batavia for full 'Vice-Consuls.'[23] In 1851, the British merchant James Tait had been appointed as the first Netherlands Vice-Consul in Amoy, and he kept this title until 1863,[24] but starting in 1857 De Grijs did the actual work; he was the first Dutch-

man in this capacity in Amoy. One special reason for this appointment was perhaps that in this way the higher costs of living in Amoy could be better coped with; De Grijs was allowed to keep for himself all fees received at the Vice-Consulate.[25] He was in office until May 1863, when he left Amoy and made Schaalje 'acting'; probably on 1 July 1863 he was succeeded as 'acting Vice-Consul' by Alexander R. Johnston, who was also an employee of Tait & Co.[26]

In his letter on the choice of dialect, Van der Hoeven reminded Pahud that in Chinese there were three main dialect groups: Mandarin, Canton (Guangdong/Guangzhou) and Fokien (Fujian). Students educated outside of China as interpreters or political officials usually learnt Mandarin, the easiest of the three in pronunciation, and the most frequently described dialect. However, translators in the Indies did not in the least need to know Mandarin: it was never spoken in the Netherlands Indies, since the Northern Chinese did not emigrate to Southeast Asia. Van der Hoeven had not heard of any arguments against the choice of Canton before; in any case the basic condition was only that the students should study under his supervision. However, he had advised De Grijs to go to Amoy. On Java the Amoy dialect was spoken, but those who were born on Java spoke broken Amoy mixed with Malay. In the Outer Possessions, usually 'Cantonese' was spoken, according to his information.[27] The choice of dialect should therefore be determined by the place of stationing. But, according to Van der Hoeven—rather optimistically—one should not worry too much about this, because every Chinese could read and write, even the simplest coolie (!). The student should learn the classical and colloquial languages (that is the written colloquial, which was basically written Mandarin) and one dialect. Later, when appointed, he could learn the more or less impure local dialect. De Grijs was now in Amoy and on the right track; he was a diligent and energetic student, who pursued his studies with pleasure. Because now more students were being sent, Van der Hoeven wondered whether it would be preferable to have them study in Amoy. For interpreters on Java, it would certainly be best to go to Amoy; it would cost less time. But in that case, another financial decision should be made and special measures taken for a decent and safe stay there; this would probably not be so easy to arrange. Van der Hoeven had written to De Grijs inquiring into the possibility of finding a teacher who could come to Macao to work under the supervision of the Consul; this had been tried before without success. If the students came to Macao, they could not stay at the Consul's home, probably because Albrecht and Von Faber were already staying there; it would also be difficult to find a teacher from Canton. While writing this letter, Van der Hoeven was waiting for an answer from De Grijs.[28]

A few weeks later, De Grijs answered from Amoy that, after all, he

could find two good Amoy teachers for Macao now. He was waiting for a message from Van der Hoeven to engage them. However, his advice was to have the new students study Cantonese instead of Hokkien. At least one of the future interpreters should study Hokkien—which he was doing himself. Studying Cantonese had many advantages. One was that it would often be sufficient to have a Cantonese interpreter even for people from Amoy.[29] Another reason was that there were many Europeans who spoke good Cantonese, and there was a wide choice of textbooks. For the Amoy dialect, there were only Medhurst's Hokkien dictionary and Doty's vocabulary. These were inadequate, since they did not contain sentences, only words and meanings, and Medhurst's dictionary was already outdated. Moreover, the Amoy dialect was much more complicated than Cantonese. It comprised two completely different languages: the spoken and the written, also called colloquial and literary.[30] Insufficient knowledge of this would lead to misunderstandings. In Cantonese these colloquial pronunciations also existed, but only for a limited number of words. Apart from these two 'languages' of Amoy, the student should also master the considerable differences with which the Hokkien dialect was spoken a few miles from Amoy in the variants of Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou) and Tsoantsiu (Quanzhou). Local people could understand each other, but they did not speak the same dialects. They were used to it because of constant intercourse, but it was not realistic to expect this from someone who had only studied the Amoy variant. In the Netherlands Indies there were many people from these three regions. Finally, De Grijs mentioned the importance of learning the Swatow dialect (from Eastern Guangdong province, hence also a kind of 'Cantonese'), which was a pure Fujianese dialect spoken by coolies signed up for Cuba. Their contracts were not understandable to them because they were not written in good colloquial language, according to De Grijs—thus foreshadowing the work to be done by the future interpreters in the Indies. Some knowledge of Cantonese, in particular the Cantonese sounds, would also be necessary for any interpreter.[31]

One month later, Van der Hoeven sent De Grijs' letter to Pahud. His own opinion was also that 'Canton' would be the best place to study, but that the place of future stationing should decide the choice of dialect.[32]

After Francken and Schlegel arrived in Batavia in February 1858, Governor-General Pahud decided that they, as well as De Grijs, were to be appointed in the main towns of Java. They were now sent to China; the Consul was to decide where they were to study. Albrecht and Von Faber, who were learning Cantonese, would be stationed in the Outer Possessions.[33] In spite of De Grijs' arguments for Cantonese, Van der Hoeven made the wise decision to send Francken and Schlegel to Amoy, where they arrived on 1 June 1858.

The first students in Amoy

In the Treaty of Nanjing (1842), Amoy (Xiamen) was one of the five ports opened to foreign merchants and missionaries. The town and harbour of Amoy are on the southwestern coast of the island of Amoy (128 km²); the foreign businesses were concentrated on Amoy island, while the residences and consulates were mostly on the island of Gulangyu (2 km²),[34] situated about 600 metres from Amoy. Many years later, from 1902 to 1945, Gulangyu became a foreign concession, called the International Settlement.

Through De Grijs' letters to Hoffmann, we know that he had in the meantime comfortably settled down in Amoy. Half a year after his arrival, on 23 January 1858, he sent a letter to Hoffmann telling him about his linguistic progress, his life in a household of nine Chinese, and his work as acting Vice-Consul. Hoffmann quoted him as follows:

> As to my speaking of the Amoy dialect, Thieme (a steersman) and many Dutch captains can tell you about it. Now I speak better Chinese than Malay, although my Malay is also rather fluent. I live in a household consisting of two boatmen, a cook, a coolie, two servants and three teachers; they are all Chinese. I give all my orders myself, and none of my subordinates speak English, except a boy who takes the messages from ships etc. With carpenters, bricklayers, etc. I handle everything myself and I consider myself to be speaking Chinese very clearly, because I *know the tone of every word*. On my travels in the interior, I speak Chinese, and various times I act as interpreter for the friends who go with me.
>
> My business as acting Vice-Consul brings me into contact with Chinese as a solicitor, notary and proxy. Sometimes I have to issue certificates of life or death, or hear eight to ten witnesses, who all testify in Chinese, or a Chinese comes over to hand in a petition (*bing* 稟), which I accept in a solemn manner, read aloud and answer…
>
> In the morning, at sunrise, I gather my servants who are Christians,[35] read a chapter from the Bible or some good book, and talk about it. It is remarkable what kind of Chinese expressions I collect in all these various ways.[36]

A few months later, in another letter to Hoffmann dated 26 April 1858,[37] he wrote about the preparations he made for Francken and Schlegel, who were about to arrive. At the invitation of the Consul in Canton, he would supervise them in their study of the Amoy dialect. He would receive them with pleasure and make life as agreeable as possible. Besides learning the Amoy dialect, he would also give them an opportunity to learn Mandarin—for Hoffmann this would be very pleasing to hear. De Grijs knew an old actor who spoke beautiful Southern Mandarin, and although he was no scholar, he could speak it very well, which generally would not be the case for a local Fujian Chinese who had learned Mandarin. De Grijs would give them the best teachers of the Amoy dialect, and priority would be given to the spoken language. There would be ample opportunity for

that in his house: none of his nine servants could speak English (perhaps the English-speaking boy had left). Moreover, he would introduce them to prominent Mandarins; as acting Vice-Consul he was familiar with them, and he was himself generally well respected. Until then De Grijs had been living in a Chinese house among the Chinese. Now he was to move to a better place, since the students were coming. He had rented a fine new house on Gulangyu, where they would be the only Europeans. The view was beautiful on all sides; it had an air of elegance, and that would make their stay pleasant. It was his hope that they would work hard and be happy. If not, he would not be the one to blame; he would give them as much freedom as they could bear.

In the beginning of May, Francken and Schlegel were preparing to leave for Amoy,[38] where they arrived on 1 June 1858. They were probably received by De Grijs in his new house on Gulangyu, and then started to study the Hokkien dialects of Amoy and Tsiangtsiu in the environment described by De Grijs.

When Schaalje was ready to proceed to China a year later, Hoffmann suggested that he should be sent to Amoy as well, since the Fujian dialect was spoken mostly on Java, and De Grijs, Schlegel, and Francken were already studying in Amoy and could offer help. Schaalje arrived in Amoy before 12 July 1859.[39]

A year earlier, in June 1858, Van der Hoeven had already abandoned his idea that Albrecht and Von Faber should only study one dialect. After the discussion with Hoffmann on the need to learn Mandarin (*see* below), he was of the opinion that the students should take one of the two dialects (Cantonese or Hokkien) as their main study, and possibly get to know the other through a relatively short stay in the other dialect region.[40] Therefore Albrecht and Von Faber could, during their last year in China, starting in summer 1859, study Hokkien in Amoy together with De Grijs, Schlegel, Francken, and Schaalje.[41] Financially, there seemed no longer to be any difference between studying in Canton and Amoy. Albrecht and Von Faber may also have been eager to enhance their chances for a position on Java instead of in the Outer Possessions. Having been born and bred in the Indies, they would be well aware of the advantages. Apart from Hokkien, they may also have learnt the basics of other related dialects. Hoffmann wrote that he had received information that Albrecht and Von Faber had also studied the Swatow dialect,[42] which is closely related to the Amoy dialect.

Therefore, from the summer of 1859 until the summer of 1860, there were six Dutch students in Amoy—the largest concentration of Dutch sinologists in China during the nineteenth century.

Living in the Vice-Consulate in Amoy

Possibly all of the students lived in the large house on Gulangyu that De Grijs had rented. Apart from their Chinese lessons, they would learn about China in various ways, through contacts with Westerners from many countries: British, Americans, Germans, etc. In the Western community, where English was the *lingua franca*, they met fellow interpreters such as Robert Swinhoe, George Phillips, and Fred Pedder, merchants like Albert Pasedag, and missionaries including Carstairs Douglas, James Legge, and Rudolf Lechler (the last two in Hong Kong).

This house was called the 'Dutch Consulate' by the French in 1860. After most of the students had left, De Grijs moved to another location in 1861, and in 1863 he moved to the Amoy side. Various Chinese names for the Dutch Vice-Consulate can be found in the minutes of notarial certificates made by De Grijs, and in letters in Chinese. In the beginning, De Grijs called it *Helan haiguan yashu* 荷蘭海關衙署 'Holland's Customs Office' (6 July 1858, no. 9). In letters from Chinese clients, it was called *Helan da gongsi* 和蘭大公司 'Holland's Great Company' (26 December 1859, no. 59; 24 December 1860, no. 80). This name is not surprising, since the Chinese in the Indies always used the archaic *Helan* 和蘭 for the Netherlands[43] and called their own government offices Kongsie (*gongsi*).[44] Finally, De Grijs came to use a correct and modern term for 'Consul,' but with the archaic name for the Netherlands: *Da Heguo lingshi guan* 大和國領事官 'Consul of the Great Country Holland' (14 November 1861, no. 97). In a letter to Francken in 1863, De Grijs simply referred to it as the 'hollandsche gê mên' (*yamen* 衙門) ('Netherlands government office'),[45] probably the informal Chinese name used by the teachers. As acting Vice-Consul, De Grijs had to receive the fees from Dutch ships, and as a notary he issued certificates to Dutch captains (for damages, deaths, etc.) and also to Chinese from the Indies, often in cases of inheritance and money transfer from the Indies involving the Orphans Chambers (*Weeskamer*).[46] On these occasions, students and teachers sometimes acted as witnesses. In De Grijs' book of notarial minutes dating from 24 May 1858 to 27 October 1862, the names of the following students appeared: Francken (nine times), Schlegel (six times), Albrecht (twice), Schaalje (once), and Groeneveldt (once).[47] Sometimes, students also replaced De Grijs: Groeneveldt was acting Vice-Consul on 27 October 1862, and Schaalje in June 1863 (not in these notary minutes). In these ways, the students could get some practical experience, a foretaste of their work in the Indies.

The Chinese with whom they had the most contact were their teachers and servants, but through them they probably became acquainted with other Chinese and were thus introduced into Chinese society.[48] Probably De Grijs also introduced them to local Mandarins according to his plan.

The students made excursions to the mainland, accompanying De Grijs on his plant-collecting field trips to the tea districts of Anxi and other places. At least one of the students visited Formosa (Buddingh, *see* Chapter Four). They must also have visited Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou), which was the place of origin of both Schlegel's and Francken's teachers.

Through all these formal and informal contacts, they practiced their language skills and learned about Chinese society and the Chinese way of life and thought.

In the foreign community in Amoy, there were often social gatherings with music and singing. Some of the students, such as Schlegel and Schaalje, were good singers; Francken was also good at music. But by all accounts, it is clear that they used most of their time studying. Other glimpses of their life can be seen below and in the following chapter.

A grandiloquent newspaper report and its denial

In April 1859 a report about De Grijs and the Dutch in Amoy appeared in the *Java-bode*.[49] It was written by a journalist on the basis of what a traveller who had just visited Amoy had told him. The report spoke very highly of De Grijs' linguistic qualities and the priviliged position of Dutchmen in Amoy. The name of the traveller was not disclosed, but he may have been a certain J.G. de Roever, who had arrived three days earlier in Batavia, coming from Amoy.[50]

> A traveller who recently arrived from Amoy (China) tells us that the Dutchmen there are treated with extraordinary distinction. As is known, Mr. C.F.M. de Grijs (former military pharmacist with the East Indies Army) and two Dutch youngsters have settled there with the sole intention of learning the Chinese language, which the aforesaid gentleman already diligently did in Europe. Moreover, Mr. De Grijs holds the office of Netherlands Vice-Consul. Because of his loyal character and pleasant manners, he has earned the respect of his Chinese compatriots, whose language he speaks and writes with the greatest of ease. In his official position he is often the advisor and oracle of the Chinese, who, passing up the English, turn to him, while on all occasions he always acts as interpreter during their conversations with Europeans. While it is strictly forbidden for the English to fire guns, the [Netherlands'] King's last birthday [19 February] was greeted with thundering volleys by the Dutch merchant ships that were lying off Amoy, and the Dutch Vice-Consul commemorated the birthday of his Royal Master at his house in a festive manner. Dutch seamen on shore are treated by the Chinese with the greatest consideration, while the English cannot appear in public after sunset without risking troubles and insults.[51]

This report was taken over by several newspapers in the Netherlands, including the *Algemeen Handelsblad* in Amsterdam and regional newspapers.[52]

Although some of the contents of this bombastic report coincide with what De Grijs had written a year before to Hoffmann, such as his speaking Amoy Chinese well, being well-respected among the Chinese and acting as interpreter for other Europeans (on excursions), De Grijs now disapproved of the report and wrote a letter to the editor of the *Java-bode*. The letter was dated Amoy, 13 July 1859, and it was published in the *Java-bode* on 3 August 1859 (no. 62). This letter was not reprinted by newspapers in the Netherlands. One wonders with whom this traveller may have spoken in Amoy, if it was not De Grijs. Could it be that he had met the 18-year old Schlegel, who in his enthusiasm always tended to exaggerate and often stressed the friendly relationship between the Chinese and the Dutch?

> Mr. Editor,
>
> I have learned that in the *Java-bode* of 23 April, no. 33, a traveller who recently arrived from Amoy spoke about the Dutchmen there. With all necessary respect for the good heart of that good-hearted traveller (unknown to me), I have the honour to bring forward some points for consideration and information:
>
> 1. The Dutchmen in Amoy are absolutely not treated with extraordinary distinction, but only with normal distinction.
> 2. I do not enjoy more trust from my *Chinese compatriots* (?!) than any other European, that is to say, almost none.
> 3. I never serve as an interpreter, and the English and American sinologists here in Amoy are much more knowledgeable than I am.
> 4. I *absolutely* do not write and speak Chinese with the greatest of ease; the European who does that, has still to be born.
> 5. On the King's birthday I never heard a cannon shot, still less a volley, and least of all a thundering volley.
> 6. The Dutch seafarers are treated so "sweetly" on the shore that I was given permission to prevent, as best I could, Dutch sailors from coming ashore. In Chinese eyes a sailor is and remains a red-haired barbarian (editor's note: Sic!!!), who comes ashore to get drunk, and although such a definition is not true, the Chinese still believe it.
> 7. I do not know who told our good-hearted traveller that the English cannot appear in public after sunset, but it cannot have been said by anyone having a sound mind and using it.
> 8. I politely request to be spared well-meaning words of praise.
>
> C.F.M. DE GRIJS[53]

The elimination of Mandarin studies

In his master plan of 1853, Hoffmann stated that the European students should first learn Mandarin and then other dialects, not indicating which dialects, but the students from Batavia started with Cantonese and did not study Mandarin. The question of the need to learn Mandarin was discussed in 1858. Hoffmann was corresponding with De Grijs in Amoy and must have realised that the position of Mandarin as the basis of Chinese studies

was being threatened. On his own initiative, he then wrote a sequel to his master plan of 1853, pleading for the study of Mandarin. On 27 February 1858 he sent two copies of his report with an accompanying letter to Minister of Colonies Mijer.[54] In it, he tried to answer the somewhat ambiguous question as to which Chinese dialects should be considered most important in contacts with China *and* with the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies. He asked the Minister to send the two copies of his report via the Governor-General to the Consul in Canton and to De Grijs in Amoy, "in order to put its remarks to the test of their experience." De Grijs wrote his comments on 9 June 1858, and also compiled a "Comparative table of the sounds of Mandarin and Quanzhou dialect."[55] Unfortunately, both Hoffmann's report and De Grijs' reaction including the comparative table cannot be found in the archives. Hoffmann's opinion can only be reconstructed from Van der Hoeven's comments of 20 June 1858, as follows.[56]

In his report, Hoffmann stressed the importance of learning Mandarin (*het Mandarijnsch*) for future interpreters in the Indies. Mandarin was the general colloquial language of China, the 'real Chinese language,' which grammatically—Hoffmann's favourite argument—ranked above the other dialects. He based his conclusions on the works of A. Bazin and others, and on an edict from the Kangxi Emperor from the end of the seventeenth century[57] quoted by Bazin.[58] In this edict, the Emperor criticised the people from Guangdong and Fujian for speaking an unintelligible language to him when reporting to the throne. Moreover, the lack of a common language for rulers and ruled, and the need to make use of lower officials or even domestics as interpreters, was a great impediment to good government, and the Emperor prescribed the uniformity of language in the whole empire. Therefore he ordered the establishment of schools teaching Mandarin in those two provinces. Although such schools were actually opened and still existed in Canton and the principal towns of Fujian,[59] the impact of the edict was not very great. Hoffmann based himself on Bazin's summary of this edict that, in the first place, only the two dialects of Guangdong and Fujian differed widely from the common language, and secondly, there was a really common language that was spoken all over China, except in these two provinces that were later incorporated in the empire.[60] Therefore, Hoffmann concluded that for communication with the Chinese government, knowledge of Mandarin was necessary. But on the other hand, for communicating with the population of Fujian and Guangdong, knowledge of their dialects was just as indispensable. For interpreters in the Netherlands Indies, not only knowledge of the dialects of Fujian and Guangdong was necessary, but also Mandarin. Although Hoffmann had never been outside Europe and had almost none but theoretical knowledge of China, fifty years later history would prove him to have been ahead of his time.

Van der Hoeven noted that De Grijs, in his reaction to Hoffmann's report, was of the same opinion as he himself on the nature of the Chinese spoken language and the requirements of Chinese interpreters in the Indies; he therefore felt fewer scruples in making known his own ideas, which were based on very limited experience.[61] If the Dutch government wished to use the interpreters in the service of the Netherlands Indies government for political communication with China among other things, then the conclusion of Hoffmann was correct: in the few cases in which contacts with Chinese officials descended to the level of direct talks—apparently most affairs were handled by correspondence—the Mandarin dialect was both necessary and sufficient. But if the Minister only wished to know the requirements for interpreters in the Indies, Hoffmann's opinion was incorrect, because he was writing about the contacts with civilised Chinese in China.

Van der Hoeven stated that in Canton he came into contact with many Chinese, among whom Mandarin was not in the least entitled to the name of 'general colloquial' or 'real Chinese language,' nor was it grammatically superior to other dialects. According to his information, the study of Mandarin was very limited, and only high officials were obliged to study it to any extent. It was not a requirement for a civilised or literary education.[62] Among those who migrated to the Dutch colonies, who were mostly of the lower class, and never from the regions where that dialect was indigenous, one could safely assume there was none who could understand even a single word of it. The edict of the Kangxi Emperor quoted by Hoffmann did not show that Mandarin was the general colloquial language of China, but only that the Emperor considered it the language of the court, while there was no evidence that the purpose of his order had been attained to any extent after two hundred years.

He agreed with Hoffmann's conclusion that for communication with the natives of Fujian and Guangdong, knowledge of their dialects was indispensable, but special talents and efforts would be necessary if one wished to achieve a thorough knowledge of two dialects, the more so because one would miss the advantage of local study for one of them. One could imagine that while even the most assiduous students would never reach perfection in one dialect, the more they learned of that one dialect, the less they would advance in the other. He did not agree with the final note in Hoffmann's report that interpreters destined for the Indies, should, apart from Fujianese or Cantonese, also learn Mandarin, and he did not understand why their work would make this necessary.[63] But possibly it was necessary for their work that after having chosen one of the dialects as their major, they should also get to know the other one as a minor during a relatively short stay in the place where it was spoken before leaving China forever.

Later that year, after Hoffmann had received their comments, he requested Minister Rochussen for permission to publish them with his own report in the journal *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië* of the Royal Institute (KITLV) in Delft. In his opinion, this concerned a purely scholarly subject, which had also become very important in practice as a consequence of the recent treaties between the Western powers and China. He wished to evoke comments on it from the scholarly world,[64] probably hoping for support. Hoffmann was a member of the Board of Directors of the Royal Institute from 1853 to 1859 for the usual two successive periods, and later also in 1861–4 and 1869–73. Rochussen had no objection against publication, but asked Hoffmann to return the original texts after use.[65] In the end, these reports were not published, and in the minutes of the meetings of the Board of the Royal Institute, which Hoffmann attended, nothing was recorded on this matter.[66] The defeat of Mandarin was complete.

Graduation and appointment of the first interpreters

After four years of study, on 10 December 1859, Van der Hoeven reported to Governor-General Pahud that Albrecht and Von Faber were sufficiently qualified to work as interpreters, but that in the beginning they needed the assistance of teachers from China for further study (*see* Chapter Six). The Governor-General decided on 21 April 1860 to appoint both of them as interpreters in the Indies, to allot passage fees for both and for two Amoy teachers—both were studying in Amoy at the time—and asked them to make a proposal for their salary. Pahud would then at a later date make a final decision on this issue and on their place of stationing.[67]

Thereupon the question of salary was discussed by various officials. After Van der Hoeven's reply, Director of Finance J.W.C. Diepenheim in Batavia suggested a salary of *f* 400 per month with biennial increases of *f* 50 until a maximum of *f* 800 was reached. [68] The reason was that the 'official for the Javanese language,' A.B. Cohen Stuart,[69] originally had received that salary with the same increases. The Council of the Indies advised to decide accordingly. However, Pahud took into account that first- and second-class officials had a starting salary of *f* 200 or *f* 225, to which should be added about *f* 75 for their free housing, amounting in total to *f* 300. Such a salary should be considered enough for youngsters who had been educated at the government's expense, the more so because they could also earn considerable emoluments from other services (meaning private translation and interpretation services). Accordingly, he decided that their salary would be *f* 300 per month but with the same biennial increases of *f* 50 to a maximum of *f* 800, and that both in their eighteenth and nineteenth year of

service they would receive an increase of *f* 50. In that way, they would earn the maximum of *f* 800 during their last two years of service: after 20 years of service they would be entitled to a pension. This would be the interpreters' salary for the next fifty years.[70] Moreover, the interpreters would receive half pay (*f* 150, *wachtgeld*) from the day they arrived in the Indies until the day of their entering government employment.[71]

Albrecht and Von Faber then travelled to Batavia accompanied by their Chinese teachers, Tan Kjoe Djin from Amoy and Han Bong Kie from Canton. As soon as they arrived in the Indies, on 4 July 1860, they submitted a request to be appointed in Batavia or elsewhere in the Indies. This would become the standard procedure for all interpreters. However, on 9 August 1860, their request for Batavia was rejected—they were destined by their choice of dialect for the Outer Possessions—and they were appointed in Mentok (Bangka) and Montrado (Western Borneo); but at the same time it must have been comforting to them to hear that in due time note would be taken of their wish to be transferred to Java.[72]

And so the first European interpreters for the Chinese language were appointed in the Indies.

Financial problems in Amoy

In 1857 Van der Hoeven had stated that students in Amoy, where life was more expensive than in Canton, should enjoy different financial arrangements. However, De Grijs managed to have the students live and study on the same allowance as the students 'in Canton,' that is, for $1,200 yearly. A few years later, Schlegel complained that in his and Von Faber's experience, the Consul's and Vice-Consul's management of the students' finances was not satisfactory.

> Moreover, it is not pleasant or flattering for youngsters of a certain age, who are engaged in such a serious study as the Chinese language, to be treated like children or schoolboys who are too rash to manage their own affairs.[73]

In the spring of 1860, the total amount of their allowance also proved to be highly insufficient, and Schaalje (on 9 March 1860) and possibly also the others complained to their parents. They were supported by De Grijs, who requested a raise from Van der Hoeven. Because the Consul at first did not respond, Schaalje wrote again to his father on 19 April, and was joined by Schlegel and Francken. A few months later, the parents one after another wrote petitions to Minister of Colonies Rochussen, giving various arguments which offer an interesting glimpse of the life and studies of their sons in Amoy.[74]

On 25 August 1860, Schaalje's father wrote that in the first place, the

gratification and advance payment of *f* 1,200 had not been enough to pay for the equipment and books prescribed by Professor Hoffmann, not even to mention the other extra travel expenses. He had given his son *f* 400 before he left, but his son had not received any salary during his five months' travel during which he had to eat ship's fare, and also had to stay for fourteen days in Singapore and in Hong Kong. Since his arrival in China, he had received $100 per month for food, clothing, caretaking, laundry, study, house rent, housekeeping, and other necessities. According to his son, this amount was often not enough

> because we have to keep up appearances as a decent man, as a government-paid official; and moreover, we [only] get $5 pocket money per month, which is equivalent to *f* 5, for buying cigars and other things, but not for any luxury; the most simple necessities are all extremely expensive.[75]

Their sacrifices were also considerable—for Schaalje perhaps even greater than for the others. The young Schaalje wrote:

> It's working and studying all day long. I am studying with the Chinese teachers for six hours a day. Progress is not very fast; everything about the Chinese language is difficult, even writing it, and I dare say without exaggeration that we will need four years to be able to act as government interpreters.[76]

His father added that according to his son, in the present situation in China his life could at any moment be in danger, but "if we are aware of this in time, we will *try* to reach one of the ships in the harbour."[77] Being the father of a promising child, referring to Professor Hoffmann's letters of praise, he felt the need as representative of all parents of the three youngsters to inform the Minister of their sons' predicament. There came no reaction from the Ministry.

More than two months later, on 1 November 1860, Schlegel's father, Professor Herman Schlegel, wrote a similar petition, giving some other arguments. His son had written him, and it had been confirmed by De Grijs, that $100 per month was not enough because of the high costs of indispensable necessities in that place and also because of the lower exchange rate there, resulting in a discrepancy of 17 to 20 per cent. Several necessities could not be bought there: woollen clothes (*laken kleedingstukken*), shoes, etc., which the father was obliged to send. That caused a lot of trouble, as there was no direct shipping to Amoy and there were very few ships leaving for Singapore and Hong Kong. Also, extraordinary expenses were heavy, even without mentioning the payment of a substitute for military service. He had not expected this when his son entered the colonial service. From his thirteenth year on, his son had only received half of the stipend that the others had received, and it had stopped when he left the Netherlands. It had started again after arrival in China, but it was insufficient, which "was felt by him [his son] all the more as he had to pass the

finest years of his youth in a lonely, cheerless, and extremely unpleasant place."[78] Then Professor Schlegel requested compensation for the expenses and a raise in income. Again, there was no reaction from the Ministry.

One month later, on 5 December 1860, the birthday of St. Nicholas the protector of children—an important festival in the Netherlands (*Sinterklaas*)—the widow Francken also wrote a petition to the Minister, with some new arguments. At first she had thought that her son would also receive an allowance aboard the ship, because he was allotted the normal ship's rations[79] and would have to pay if he wished to have a passenger's meals. This was unimaginable for someone who would become a useful government official in the future. Accordingly, they had not notified the Minister when the *f* 1,200 proved insufficient: they thought it would be possible, by maintaining a thrifty lifestyle and borrowing *f* 330 and another *f* 70 to spend on board, to get through well enough. It was disappointing that this had not been reimbursed. For her, a mother and widow with six children, the interest on the *f* 400 was already heavy, not even to mention the repayment of this loan. This reimbursement would be a fair reward for each government official going aboard on the King's orders.

Three months later, Minister Cornets de Groot van Kraaijenburg wrote to all the parents that he could not make an official decision on their petitions, as they were without the prescribed legal stamp (*ongezegeld*);[80] he therefore sent them to the Governor-General. In a letter to the Governor-General he repeated their requests, giving him liberty to decide after consultation with the Consul.

Almost a year later, on 18 November 1861, Minister Loudon notified the parents that their sons' stipends had already been raised by Governor-General Pahud a year before, on 7 September 1860 (IB no. 53), after having received a letter from the Consul dated 22 August 1860. The result was a raise of $100 yearly added to the $1,200; for Schlegel and Francken this went into effect retroactively from the beginning of 1859 and for Schaalje from the month of arrival in China.[81] Of course, by that time this was no longer news; the parents would have long since been informed via their sons' letters. But since only part of their request had been met with, both Schaalje's father and Francken's mother wrote a second petition to Minister Loudon, now on letters bearing a stamp. Their argument was that no decision had been made on their request for restitution for insufficient allowances for equipment and no pay during their sons' travels to the East. Schaalje's father now added a personal note: "It is for a father of advanced age a great sacrifice to have to miss his only beloved son for years, and perhaps never to see him again."[82] On 17 January 1862, Minister Loudon decided that both requests were not eligible for approval.[83]

After Schlegel and Francken had left Amoy for Canton, De Grijs asked for a raise of his allowance, thinking he might get into financial problems.

He stated that his allowance would not be sufficient because of the change in value of the Spanish dollars (*Spaansche matten*). Moreover, he would be lacking an important source of income now that Francken and Schlegel had left; they probably had contributed to the rent and other costs. On 27 July 1861, Governor-General Pahud decided to raise his allowance by $50 to $225 (*f* 573,75) monthly.[84]

The Chinese storyteller

In his essay "the Chinese storyteller," Schlegel gave some impressions of his life and study in Amoy.[85] One evening in May 1860, he returned from a visit to one of his friends living at the other end of the city of Amoy. They had been talking about birds and their habits, a subject of common interest. Perhaps this friend was Robert Swinhoe, who lived in Amoy at the same time for one and a half years. Schlegel returned in a sedan chair to his house on Gulangyu. After leaving the rice fields and trees and entering the town, he was urging his coolies to speed up; he didn't wish to stay "in the inexpressable stench that rules all Chinese towns." When they arrived at the granite stairways that abounded in the hilly terrain of Amoy, they saw a crowd of fifty or sixty Chinese barring the road. But this crowd was quiet and attentive instead of noisy, as crowds usually were. With his cane, Schlegel ticked on the shoulder of the carrier in front and asked him the reason for this crowd. The coolie answered that there was a storyteller, and that they could hardly pass, since the audience would not wish to lose the thread of the story, but that they could take a small detour to the jetty. However, Schlegel ordered to put down the sedan chair, whereupon the coolies were evidently happy to have an opportunity to listen to the storyteller. He stepped out in front and approached the crowd, tapping a few men on the shoulders, passing through the last rows of Chinese "of the dirtiest sort," and then found himself in front of a little ancestral temple. Before the entrance, there was a circle of small wooden benches on which the most respectable listeners were sitting. In the middle there was a small low table, on top of which a small stool was placed, where the storyteller was sitting and telling his stories. A servant was busy pouring tea into small cups which he offered to the sitting audience. The storyteller was an old man with a white stub of a queue, who Schlegel supposed to be a failed candidate of the official examinations, and who probably had had a miserable life and was earning a living telling the stories he used to read as a pastime in his youth. At the moment that Schlegel arrived, the storyteller finished a story and threaded on a thick metal rod the copper coins with holes that each of the listeners was supposed to pay him for this story. When he came to Schlegel, who with a few words in Chinese

had easily gained a place in the first row, Schlegel said that he did not have a copper coin, but that he would give him a silver dollar if he would immediately tell another, not too long story. The storyteller was happy to oblige, climbed with surprising suppleness onto his stool, searched in one of his books, and told the story of a young family tutor who once passed by a place called Peach Garden, where he was welcomed by a beautiful lady called Xue Tao, and fell in love with her.[86] From then on, he visited her often, explaining his absence to his father by saying he was staying at his patron's family, and telling his patron that he was spending the night at home. When his cheating came out, it turned out that he had been visiting a ghost from an ancient grave in the Peach Garden. After finishing his story, the storyteller descended from his stool, walked through the audience to collect his fee—and Schlegel gave him the promised dollar. The storyteller then suggested that he could tell Schlegel many similar stories if he would let him come to his house, whereupon Schlegel told him to come the next day. Thereupon the storyteller put his booklets in his bag, with the help of his servant brought back the benches and stools that he had borrowed from the temple, and disappeared into a dark alley.

The crowd dispersed, and Schlegel continued his journey home in the sedan chair, through narrow, winding alleys to the jetty of large granite blocks rudely thrown into the sea. He went aboard the gondola waiting for him, and was soon home and in his bed, where the image of the beautiful Xue Tao accompanied him for a long time.

The next day, the storyteller brought him a few volumes of the short stories that he told most often, and recommended another love story: "The oil vendor who alone possessed the Queen of beauty," which Schlegel read avidly. Both stories can be found in the well-known collection *Jingu qiguan*.[87] Many years later, in 1877, Schlegel translated it into French and published it together with the Chinese text. This became one of his textbooks when teaching in Leiden, and it was read by all his students.

Schlegel and Francken as interpreters in Amoy in 1860

For about half a year, from June to November 1860, Schlegel and Francken gave assistance to the staff and crew of a French warship wrecked near Amoy. In his obituary of Schlegel, Cordier quoted the following account:

> In June 1860, the war transport ship *Isère* under the commander Mr. Allègre, which was taking munitions and provisions for the Northern Army of the Franco–British expedition in China, was shipwrecked on a submerged rock in the harbour of Amoy, close to Gulangyu island. The commander of the *Isère* wished to save his vessel at any price, and gave the order to discharge the cargo on a small island off Amoy. He tried in vain to raise the sunken ship by means

of empty caissons and other devices. The mud was removed from the bottom of the ship by the crew in order to release it, but this finally caused malignant fevers among the men. Because a hospital was needed, a private house on Gulangyu was rented, evacuated and equipped as a hospital through the good offices of Mr. G. Schlegel and Mr. J.J.C. Francken (passed away in 1864), student-interpreters for the Chinese language. The ill sailors were transported there and attended by the 1st surgeon Mr. Bonnaud.

After Chinese 'stonecutters' on Gulangyu launched a nocturnal attack upon the house inhabited by some staff-officers of the *Isère*, the commander ordered some sailors to go ashore and arrest a dozen distinguished persons of Gulangyu, on information given by Mr. Schlegel and Mr. Francken, to serve as hostages until the Chinese judiciary had punished the culprits.

This measure was very effective, and after a long correspondence between the commander of the *Isère*, the consular agent for France in Amoy, Mr. Tait, and the Chinese authorities, the culprits were finally punished on the location of the offence, and the hostages were set free. The correspondence was conducted as regards the Chinese translations entirely thanks to the attentiveness of Mr. Schlegel and Mr. Francken (the French Consulate did not have an interpreter).

When the first officer of the *Isère*, Mr. Eugène Malleville, fell ill, he was received at the Dutch Consulate, where Mr. Schlegel gave up his own rooms to this officer for several weeks until he recovered.

The staff officers of the *Isère*, in particular Mr. Talexis, 2nd lieutenant, Mr. Emile Bonnaud, 1st surgeon and Mr. Armand Borchard, 2nd surgeon, Mr. Séguin and Mr. Fôlin, Sub-Lieutenants, were entertained almost every evening at the Dutch Consulate, the only establishment in Amoy where they could speak French. By their knowledge of the Chinese and French languages, Mr. Schlegel and Mr. Francken could very often clear up misunderstandings between the crew of the *Isère* and the Chinese population, which strongly contributed to good understanding between the two parties. In addition, Mr. Schlegel accompanied Dr. Bonnaud on his visits to Chinese patients on the island whom he treated, serving as interpreter between the doctor and the patients.

In November 1860, the staff of the *Isère* left Amoy for Canton, from where they embarked for France in December 1860.

In 1885, Schlegel was belatedly named Commander of the Royal Order of Cambodia for the assistance he had given to the staff of the *Isère*.[88]

From Amoy to Canton

On 9 August 1860, the same day on which Albrecht and Von Faber were appointed in the Outer Possessions, A. Loudon, Government Secretary of the Netherlands Indies, wrote to Consul Van der Hoeven that it would be desirable if all interpreters could be employed both on Java and in the Outer Possessions; their education should be arranged in such a way that this would be possible. In reply to this letter, Van der Hoeven wrote to Governor-General Pahud that it was necessary for Schlegel, Francken,

and Schaalje, who had only learned Hokkien (*Foekiensch*), also to study the Cantonese dialect (*Cantonsch*) for the Outer Possessions. Thereupon, on 12 November 1860, Pahud amended two earlier decisions. The first change applied to the basic decision to send Albrecht and Von Faber to China of 1855,[89] specifying the Chinese dialects; the students in China were now to study Cantonese and Hokkien, instead of simply 'Chinese.' The second change affected the decision that Francken and Schlegel were to be appointed on Java.[90] If needed, they could also be stationed in the Outer Possessions. At the same time, Pahud decided they were to go to Macao to study Cantonese for one year, beginning in the summer of 1861, and Schaalje would go 1½ years later, all under the supervision of the 'Consul in Canton.'[91]

By that time, Schlegel and Francken had received letters from Von Faber and Albrecht in Pontianak (West Borneo) and Mentok (Bangka), saying the dialect of the town of Canton, which they had studied, was not understood in either place, and that all their studies in China, as far as the dialect was concerned, had been wasted time. Schlegel and Francken forthwith protested to Van der Hoeven, but in vain. According to Schlegel, the result was that even before they went to Canton, they knew that they would learn a dialect that they could never use in the Indies.[92]

Schlegel and Francken arrived in Canton on 17 July 1861[93] and probably settled down in Wong Sha (Huangsha 黃沙); at least, that is the place where their Amoy teacher joined Francken on 27 July,[94] and the name also appears on the illustration of a New Year's card in Schlegel's dictionary.[95] This quarter of Canton was on the waterside northwest of Shameen (Shamian 沙面), the sandy island where six weeks later the British and French concessions were established.[96] At that time the situation in the town was still very tense, as Schlegel wrote in 1877:

> When we came in Canton in 1861, the hatred against foreigners was even stronger than before, because of the military occupation of the town by the French and British troops. We did not leave our house until after a stay of about three months, when we knew enough of the dialect to exchange some phrases with the natives.[97]

Little is known about their studies; they had one teacher for Cantonese and one for Hokkien,[98] so while studying Cantonese they probably went on improving their Hokkien, or their written Chinese through Hokkien. In his dictionary, Schlegel sometimes gave examples of Cantonese words or expressions, which shows that he studied Cantonese.[99]

After three years of study in Amoy and one year in Canton, Schlegel must have acquired a high level of comprehension in Chinese, both in Hokkien and Cantonese, and a good sense for Chinese customs and etiquette. In "A Canton Flowerboat" (1894) he wrote:

> I cannot repeat it too often, that the only key to the Chinaman's confidence is the ability to speak his tongue; for he then knows that you understand his ways and habits and have become (according to his views) civilised. By talking their language and behaving as a Chinaman, I have even been allowed favours in Chinese homes—as among others, the acquaintance of the wife and family—which would not even be allowed to a countryman.[100]

Schlegel's account of his visit to a Canton flowerboat may serve as an example.[101] It also shows that the students found time to play and have fun.

> … When a big-whiskered foreigner, armed with his inevitable stick, boarded one of these boats, the frightened girls fled into the cabin of the boat, and the men, deranged in their pleasures, only offered to the importune visitor scowling and threatening looks; and the fear of the barbarian would perhaps not have prevented the Chinese from playing a bad trick upon him. So that the foreigner went away without having seen or learnt anything.
>
> We then devised means to visit these boats in a way to see and hear everything about them; and counted thereby upon our gift of the Chinese gab, this priceless means of introduction into all Chinese circles. One fine summer-evening then, we silently boarded one of the gayest boats, and, without entering the saloon, we kept aloof upon the platform which covers the prow, and upon which, for the moment, nobody was staying, except some domestics. A numerous company of rich Chinese and fair damsels was sitting around a large marble table in the grand saloon, and though they had already perceived us, they did not derange themselves, as we kept modestly at the entrance. By way of entering into conversation, we asked—of course in Chinese—of one of the domestics to give us a light for our cigars.
>
> - Do you speak Chinese? the domestic exclaimed astonished.
>
> - Yes, a little, we answered.
>
> These few words roused an old mandarin, smoking his opiumpipe in one of the two siderooms to the right and left of the entrance, from his trance.
>
> - Who is there? he asked of the domestic to whom we had just spoken.
>
> - It are two foreigners, replied he.
>
> The old gentleman then rose, whilst we approached his couch, and asked of us in Chinese:
>
> - Who are you?
>
> - Your servants have come to China to learn the language of your honoured country, we replied.
>
> - Ah! said he, you are missionaries.
>
> - You lie under a mistake, we replied, a missionary would not venture to come into one of these boats. We are students, sent by our despicable country to China, in order to learn the language, and to serve later as interpreters to your honourable country-men living in the kingdom of Java.
>
> As soon as the old gentleman had heard these words, he jumped up, quite forgetting his opiumpipe, and cried to us:
>
> - Come in! come in! how could I leave standing at the door two Sages of the West.[102]
>
> Being now introduced by the old gentleman himself to the company, nobody was frightened. With many bows and scrapes we were invited to sit down at table and to partake of the supper. We found there a good number of literati who, wishing to make sport of us, began to interrogate us upon the

> subject of the Chinese Classics; but as we had already passed three years in Amoy in studying them, we knew enough of the subject to answer properly their questions, which highly delighted them and procured for us a real deluge of compliments.
>
> Besides there were, among the damsels of the company, several lettered women, knowing poetry and able to sing and, above all, to talk, so that we had a very agreeable conversation.
>
> As every European is supposed by the Chinese to be a sooth-sayer, these damsels asked us urgently to examine their physiognomy and their hands, and to tell them their fortune.
>
> Although we did not in the least understand chiromancy, we complied, however, with the wishes of the ladies, and brought the company into a rapture of hilarity by predicting to the young and fair ones fine husbands and illustrious sons; and to some other, more illfavoured girls, we promised that they would be, in a few years, mistresses of such a boat they were now sitting in, and profitable affairs.
>
> The girls were enchanted and invited us next morning to call upon them at 'the house'. For the flower-boats are rarely a fixed residence, but are only hired for parties and suppers.
>
> In fact we went next morning to make our morning call, and whilst assisting at the toilet of the damsels, they gave us a mass of precious information about the life they led, the circumstances which had brought them to this miserable state of existence, etc. One of them even favoured me with a fan upon which she had written a few lines of poetry in my praise."[103]

Gustaaf Schlegel must really have had a good time in Canton. This can also be seen in the letter from his cousin Arie Buddingh to his uncle Herman Schlegel. Arie Buddingh paid Gustaaf a visit in May 1862, on the way from Macao to Hong Kong:

> We arrived by steamer in Hong Kong, left for Macao, and stayed with the Consul J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, whom you know well. From there I travelled intentionally by way of Canton, while Groeneveldt went straight for Hong Kong, in order to travel together by steamer to Amoy. I only had a few days at my disposal, but I passed these joyfully with Gustaaf. At first I had difficulty in recognising him; I had expected to see that melancholic little cousin of earlier days, but no! He was changed beyond recognition. He looked more favourable than ever before, with a face radiant with joy, good cheer and enthusiasm, adorned with full whiskers. With all this, he had grown big, to a size that was frightful. I took to China immediately when I saw the 'Prosperity of Amoy,' the name that I myself had mentally invented for Gustaaf. Francken looked as if he and Schaalje had just arrived from Holland by train; they've grown a little, but lost neither colour nor flavour. We went about town every day, and both tried their best to inform me about everything; this was useful for me, because I know Gustaaf, and I know that I can rely on him. Joyful was the unexpected reunion, both for me and for him. I was sorry not to have brought them anything, but how could I know that I would meet them?[104]

Buddingh probably met Schaalje in Macao, who arrived there at the beginning of May. A few weeks later, Van der Hoeven brought Schaalje to

Canton, where he went to stay with Mr. A. Borst, next to the Dutch Consulate, at *f* 70 per month for board and bed. By that time, Schlegel and Francken had finished their studies and would soon leave for Java, each of them accompanied by a Chinese teacher engaged for them by De Grijs in Amoy.[105] They left Canton on 8 June, and China on 27 June, arriving in Batavia on 22 July 1862.[106] After submitting requests to be appointed, Schlegel was appointed as interpreter in Batavia on 20 August and Francken in Surabaya on 22 September 1862.[107] They were the second group of Chinese interpreters to be appointed in the Indies. In the same decision as that concerning Schlegel, Von Faber was transferred from Montrado to Batavia. From now on, there were two interpreters in Batavia.

Student life in Amoy in 1862–1863

When Buddingh and Groeneveldt came to Amoy in May 1862, De Grijs was the only Dutch sinologist residing there. Schlegel and Francken had left for Canton the summer before, and Schaalje had left a few weeks earlier.

During their first year, until March 1863, Buddingh and Groeneveldt lived in the (old) British Consulate in Amoy (not on Gulangyu). Just after his arrival in Amoy, Buddingh wrote the following account to his uncle Herman Schlegel and to his aunt.[108]

> Now we are in Amoy, where every European tells me pleasant memories of Gustaaf, and also the Chinese cannot forget him. Gulangyu is much better than I expected. It has been much embellished recently; maybe we will move over there later, in case we stay in China in order to go to Japan later. At the moment, we are living in the English Consulate building, with the interpreter who has one of the wings for himself. So it's English from top to toe, from the early morning to the late evening. It's perfectly suitable for me, moreover our landlord is a charming person, young and unmarried, his name is G. Phillips.[109] I have had [him] introduce me everywhere here, and all this makes our life very pleasant.[110]

He concluded his letter as follows:

> The study of Chinese is anything but easy; in Europe they have absolutely no idea of China, the country, the people and the language. The Chinese are the best people in the world, when grown-up still children in everything; they do anything you wish them to do.[111] Now that I have arrived here, I would like to stay on, especially in Amoy. And in our house that is situated just outside the town, with a beautiful view away from all Chinese filth, because the Chinese are very dirty, at home, on the streets and in the town.[112]

Relatively more is known about the life of these students through the letters of Buddingh (1862–3) and De Grijs (1863). At some time, De Grijs had left the large house rented for Francken and Schlegel, and had

taken smaller lodgings. In January 1863 he wrote: "I live in Mr. Doty's old house & have a very very small bedroom in the top of the house."[113] When Schaalje returned in January 1863, he also stayed there. In March, Buddingh and Groeneveldt had to leave the old British Consulate with its garden, which was returned to the Chinese. They moved to a place in the town, at the harbour, opposite Gulangyu.[114] Probably all the Dutchmen lived there together in this house, which had been rented from a Parsee for one year until March 1864.[115]

Two months after De Grijs had left Amoy for good in May 1863, he sold the inventory of the house to the Dutch government for $495. The inventory list shows that the students were living in a decent nineteenth-century Dutch household, with only a few exotic objects (sambal tray, joss stick holder, and sedan chairs). There were four beds, enough for all four students in 1863, but other necessities seem sufficient for three men only, so perhaps one of the students was living elsewhere or had his own furniture. In this house, they had enough chairs and glasses to entertain a large company of guests. The inventory contains the following items, rearranged according to logical categories:

> Furniture (tables, chairs, cases): 3 writing desks (*schrijftafel*), 2 small writing desks, 2 square tables, 10 dining room chairs, 4 sitting room chairs, 2 sofas (*kanapés*), 3 large chairs, 1 rocking chair (*wipstoel*), 12 rattan chairs, 12 bamboo chairs, 3 large bamboo chairs, 1 bamboo sofa, 1 book case, 1 bookshelf, 1 porcelain cupboard (side board).
>
> Bed- and bathroom furniture: 4 beds, 4 washing stands, 1 washing basin, 2 bathtubs, 2 wardrobes, 2 dressing tables with mirrors, 3 towel racks, 1 clothes rack, 3 laundry baskets, 3 washing apparatus (*waschtoestellen*).
>
> For the dinner table: 1 table carpet (*tafelkleed*), table linen (*tafelgoed*), table mats (*tafelmatjes*), 1 dinner set (*eetservies*), salt-cellars (*zoutvaatjes*), 1 sambal tray (*sambal bak*), 1 vinegar set, 1 cheese dish, 1 fruit set (*vrucht servies*), 1 sugar pot & milk jug (glass), small trays (*presenteerblaadjes*), 1 butter dish (*botervlootje*), 1 bread basket, electro-plates, tea & coffee set (*electro-platen, thee & koffy cervies*), 1 teapot, teacups, 1 coffeepot.
>
> Cutlery: 3 meat knives & forks, 3 table knives & forks, small table knives & forks, 6 soup spoons, 6 rice spoons, 6 teaspoons, 1 soup spoon & fish spoon.
>
> Drinking glasses etc.: 18 beer glasses (coarse), 12 beer glasses (cut glass), 18 Sherry glasses, 12 champagne glasses, 12 Rhine wine glasses, 6 bitter glasses, 6 Vruger [?] glasses, 3 pewter beer glasses, 2 bottle trays (*flesschen bakjes*), sodawater glasses, decanters (*wijnkaraffen*).
>
> Other utensils: 1 wall clock (*hangklok*), 3 study lamps, chamber lamps, 1 brass rack for hall lamp, 1 joss stick holder, chimney flower knives, kitchen utensils, 1 tool set, 5 spittoons (*kwispedoors*), 5 painting frames, coat-hangers (*knaapjes*), 1 bell (electro-plated) (*schel*), 1 coal box, half doors.
>
> Means of transport: 2 sedan chairs (*draagstoelen*), 1 four-oar gig, 1 iron tent for the gig.[116]

The students themselves took over De Grijs' provisions for $46.95. These included:

> 1 dozen [bottles] of claret, 31 bottles of beer, 9 bottles of Rhine wine, 2 bottles of brandy, sherry and champagne, 3 bottles of fruit in water, 11 cans of vegetables, and ham.[117]

From De Grijs' other letters, one can see how he took part in the social life of the foreign community. Some letters were written in English and directed to friends named 'Mac' and Murrack, and in these letters the names of many other Westerners whom he obviously knew are mentioned. De Grijs wrote about "Thursday meetings," which he attended less at that time. There were also musical gatherings, and he was glad when Schaalje returned in January 1863. He wrote to Francken:

> Now that Schaalje has returned, we have again a first bass and tenor, so it will not surprise you that music is rather on a high level here. Mrs. Pedder has had trouble with the nail of her little finger for the last year and cannot play. Recently, when Mrs. Vanker [?] was here, she started again [to play the piano?].[118]

And there were horse races, organised by the British. De Grijs had a pony named Dinah, a "grey Rosinante" (*een grijs ronsenant*), which won the races (Hackstakes) in the middle of January 1863. As a prize, De Grijs got a "nice silver beer vessel." He also regularly made excursions into the countryside with others, collecting specimens of plants, but most of the time he was studying very hard. Buddingh and Schaalje also continued to collect specimens (*see* Chapter Four).

The Dutch students had a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the missionaries. On the one hand, they were indebted to them for their language tools, experience, and contacts with the Chinese, but on the other hand, they found many (unspecified) reasons to criticise them. Schlegel had a low opinion of them, and would later, when teaching in Leiden, often tell his students stories of the wickedness of missionaries.[119] De Grijs, who was himself a practicing Christian, was also critical, but more detached; when he was in Tientsin, he wrote:

> The missionaries here are already the same as everywhere. Unfortunately, they leave much to be desired, but it is probably with the missionaries as it always is, one beholds the mote in the eye of others, but not the beam in our own eye.[120]

In a letter in English to 'Mac' of January 1863, De Grijs expressed his inner feelings, showing that he was unhappy and lonely.

> With the community in general I keep very little company & have not been to the Thursday meetings in 4 weeks, don't feel inclined to go, think it rather stupid. I study a great deal & as for better things than study, that looks not

> very fair, but it does look very ugly: men will be miserable although they know the way to be happy & why will they be miserable, God alone knows.
>
> Damn the philosophy that after all is foolishness, but bless the spirit of a child, my mind rebels against being a child although it is the only way to be good and happy. Man's duty is to sin as little as he can, no man but one can be without sin. I believe that a wife & children are means to keep you on the right road, but being [p. 5] alone, how difficult it is to love virtue & hate sin. Why what cowards are we, that we have not the pluck to sin & yet we sin in our hearts, if we could only keep on the right road because we love it, we should at least respect ourselves, but walking outwardly on the right road because we are afraid of sin & its consequences, must not I loathe & abhor my meanness. My dear Mac, don't think this mere fine talk. I really do hate myself. I am discontent with myself without straining every nerve to love virtue. cold cold cold.
>
> Of the embassy I hear but little. I know there is a prospect that it will come but when I don't know, if it comes, I will have lots to tell you.[121]

Early British consular officers, who were almost all bachelors, seem not infrequently to have kept mistresses,[122] but De Grijs seems to have had a girlfriend in Holland or the Indies. In a letter to Francken he wrote: "Freeman's wife is coming over in four weeks, and mine, you know she is happily married and therefore one less thing to worry about."[123] At the end of that year, soon after he returned to the Netherlands, he intimated in a letter to Van der Hoeven that he had a fiancée.[124] And in 1865, after he had come to Java, he would marry by proxy in Amsterdam. His wife joined him in the Indies and bore him three children.[125]

Sometimes there were opportunities for doing side jobs. In the following case, two of the three students were already appointed in the Indies. In January 1863, De Grijs wrote to both Schlegel and Francken on Java, suggesting that they could earn some extra money by acting as his agents (*gevolmagtigde*). In his letter to Schlegel he wrote:

> You've probably recently received the tea [which I sent you] by [the ship] *Kim-thai-hien*. Now I'll dish up something that is perhaps even more to your taste: it often happens here that Chinese have to receive money [an inheritance] from the Orphans Chamber in Batavia [being heirs to an inheritance]. Then they appoint others to receive that money by proxy, on which they often lose a lot of money. If you would be willing to become authorised agent then I could now and then consign a little Chinese to you, and methinks, that if you charge five per cent of the money received, that is 2½ per cent for you and 2½ per cent for me, we could accumulate the treasures of Peru. Recently I twice had the opportunity to let you earn between 200 and 300 guilders, but I had to desist because I did not know if you had any liking for this. Write me right away so that I can make you rich.[126]

The next day he wrote to Francken:

> Although I still have not yet received an answer to a few earlier letters, I'll have to write you again today. Among other things, because I want to ask your opinion on a dollar business. For it often happens that Chinese ask me

> to act as agent in matters of the Orphans Chamber. I always refused because I did not have any agents on Java, but it would be quite possible for you, for instance, to be the agent for my business in Surabaya and Semarang, and by collecting money 5% could be made which we could share together. I draw up the Chinese authorisation in your name, while my responsibility includes the reliability of the documents sent from China. Think about it and tell me your opinion.[127]

Unfortunately there are no other references to this affair; from 27 January to 3 May 1863, there are no letters in De Grijs' copybook.

Some students were even offered full-time jobs in China. Schlegel and Francken could get well-paid jobs at the Chinese Maritime Customs, but they refused out of loyalty to the Dutch government.[128] De Grijs wrote from Hong Kong to Schaalje who was in Amoy: "If you can get a good job in China, fine, take it, but will the government let you go, that's the question; think it over carefully. You know that Francken turned it down."[129] Indeed, the government would not let them go, and from Meeter onwards, the students who entered the colonial service had to sign a promise that they would serve the government for at least five years; if they quit earlier, they would have to repay all expenses incurred for them.[130] After De Grijs left China, he also had an opportunity to get a job in China. The year before, in 1863, Robert Hart became the director of the Chinese Maritime Customs. On 19 December 1864, he wrote in his diary: "Think of De Grijs for a Commissionership …" Three days later he wrote: "Glower has written to Vanderhoeven to inquire for De Grijs' whereabouts; I must try and get hold of a couple of people; perhaps the Spanish Consul at Shanghae, and Adkins. I am puzzled about our staff, as none of our younger ones are yet fit to take charge."[131] It was of course too late; De Grijs already had left China in October 1864.

The previous year, in May 1863, De Grijs left Amoy and joined Van der Hoeven on his embassy to Tientsin. The students Schaalje, Buddingh, and Groeneveldt were expecting to go to Hong Kong to study Hakka, but in the end they stayed in the same house, using the furniture that the government had purchased from De Grijs. They remained in Amoy until 1864, and left China in the summer of that year.

Studying the Hakka dialect

In 1862 and 1863, there were two important changes in the study programme concerning the choice of dialect and the duration of study in China. These were probably mainly caused by feedback from the interpreters in the Indies.

In November 1862, Cantonese was suddenly replaced by Hakka, another dialect from Guangdong (Canton) province. No government information

can be found on the reason which led to this decision, but one can imagine what happened. Albrecht and Von Faber, who had studied Cantonese, had realised after their arrival in the Outer Possessions that not Cantonese but Hakka was the dialect most spoken by the Chinese in Western Borneo and in the mines of Banka.[132] In their letters to Schlegel and Francken, they wrote that Cantonese was not understood in the places where they were stationed.[133] This is also corroborated by Von Faber's "Sketch of Montrado in 1861," which was an elaborate report on the Chinese in Western Borneo; it was published in 1864.[134] In this report, Von Faber stated that the Chinese on Borneo were Hakkas originating from Kia Ying Chow 嘉應州 (now Meixian 梅縣), Huizhou 惠州, and Haifeng 海豐 in Guangdong. He transcribed most Chinese characters and names according to Hakka pronunciation.[135] This shows his awareness that Hakka, and not Cantonese, was the current dialect in these Outer Possessions. It is most likely that after both Schlegel and Von Faber had been appointed in Batavia in August 1862, this information became known to Governor-General Sloet, resulting in this change of policy. No reasons were given: it must have been embarrassing for both the government and the interpreters that the latter had been studying the wrong dialect, the more so because this was already known to the interpreters in 1860.

At the same time as Schlegel and Francken, Schaalje had also been ordered to study Cantonese for one year, and in 1861 he was destined for Riau in the Outer Possessions.[136] He came to Canton in May 1862,[137] and had been studying Cantonese for half a year when, in Sloet's decision of 9 November, he was suddenly ordered to proceed to Ka ying tsiu (Kia Ying Chow) to learn the local Hakka variant, which was most widespread in the Indies. This implied that he had to stop his Cantonese studies. In the same decision, Buddingh and Groeneveldt were also ordered to concentrate on the Hakka dialect, since they were destined for the Outer Possessions. Places of stationing for the interpreters were now determined to be the three main towns of Java (Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya) and three places in the Outer Possessions (Mentok, Riau, and Western Borneo).[138]

The Hakka 客家 or Ke dialect group is one of the large dialect groups of Southern China, next to the Cantonese (Yue) and Fujian (Min) dialects.[139] The Hakkas dominate the interior of Guangdong province east of the Pearl River delta, from Xin'an (now Shenzhen) near Hong Kong to the Fujianese border, and can also be found in adjacent Fujian and in other provinces such as Guangxi, Jiangxi, and Sichuan. The heartland of the Hakkas is Meixian in Eastern Guangdong. The speakers of this dialect group call themselves Hakka or 'guest families,' because according to tradition they originated from the central plain in Northern China and came later as 'guests' to Southern China. Their dialect is closely related

to Mandarin, but it has also much in common with Cantonese. Because the Hakkas came later, they usually occupied the poorer grounds in the mountains and therefore had a lower status. Typically, Hakka women never bound their feet and worked in the fields together with the men. They were and still are a conservative, hard-working people and were sometimes called 'the Chinese among the Chinese.' Because of their low social status and poverty, they were one of the groups prone to emigrate. Many Hakkas came to the Indies, in particular to the Outer Possessions such as Western Borneo and the mine districts on Banka; in the nineteenth century these regions had a predominantly Hakka population.

For the same reasons, the Hakkas were more receptive to to the Christian mission. It was a Hakka, Hong Xiuquan, who after having received some knowledge of Christianity, and after having a vision that he was the younger brother of Jesus, launched the Taiping Rebellion which raged over southern and central China from about 1850 to 1864. This Christian-inspired movement established a new dynasty called the 'Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace' (*Taiping Tianguo*) with Nanjing as its capital. The insurrection led to an estimated twenty million dead and devastated large parts of central and southern China. It was finally suppressed by the Manchu government with the help of the British in 1864.

When Schaalje, Buddingh, and Groeneveldt were all ordered to study the Hakka dialect in November 1862, this was the first time the name 'Hakka' was mentioned in the official correspondence. The Chinese interior had just been opened up for Christian missions in 1860, and a mission post had been set up by the Basel Mission in Kia Ying Chow (Meixian). At that time, Schaalje was still studying in Canton, and if he went to Kia Ying Chow at all, he did not stay there very long.[140] At the end of January 1863 he was back in Amoy, where he would begin to study with a Hakka teacher. On 26 January, De Grijs wrote in a letter to Schlegel in Batavia: "Schaalje is now living with me and he will start to learn the Hakka dialect. Wish him good luck, but Maurits [Schaalje] is not the sharpest knife in the drawer."[141] Perhaps for this reason, De Grijs disapproved of Schaalje's studying two dialects, and he would later have the same opinion about Buddingh.[142] While studying Hakka, Schaalje compiled a word list with the pronunciations in the dialects of Tsong Lok and Ka yin tsiu (Meixian);[143] this shows that his teacher came from Tsong Lok, where the German missionary Rudolf Lechler had his mission post.[144] In any case, in June 1863, when De Grijs had left Amoy for good, all three students planned to go to Hong Kong to study Hakka. On 4 June, Buddingh wrote to his uncle Herman Schlegel that they would leave Amoy and go to Hong Kong within two weeks. He was unhappy; he did not want to go there and start to learn another dialect. He wrote to his uncle:

> We are now rather well-informed about this dialect, but as this is not our major, we'll give it up and go to another province. … I'm reluctant to go; it's so enjoyable in Amoy; the people are so nice and decent, and the country is so healthy. And now that we have come such a long way, I find it a shame to have to give it up and start with something else.[145]

At the same time, Van der Hoeven asked De Grijs, who was then in Hong Kong, whether Hakka was the language of the street in Hong Kong, and charged him to investigate the possibilities of studying Hakka and living in Hong Kong. De Grijs consulted Rudolf Lechler[146] and answered Van der Hoeven that ¾ of the population of Hong Kong spoke Cantonese (*punti*) and ¼ spoke Hakka. As to the differences between Canton and Hong Kong, he wrote that Hakka was also spoken in Canton a lot, but not as much as in Hong Kong; moreover, there were no Europeans in Canton who could speak Hakka, while in Hong Kong there were some. Finally, he wrote that Rudolf Lechler could be of great help through his knowledge of the dialect and the opportunity to meet Hakkas who gathered at his house in the morning and evening (for worship, De Grijs supposed); they lived dispersed over the town. As to lodgings, they could probably temporarily stay in the boarding house of a certain Mrs. Roberts for three to six months; they would each have a bedroom, and a private sitting room together, and there would be no expenses for furniture. Another advantage was that as "the three gentlemen would anyhow never harmonise, in a boarding house they would be free from each other." There they would be close to Lechler's home, and they could move into the boarding house right away.[147] One can imagine that the sensitive Buddingh, the energetic and ambitious Groeneveldt, and the somewhat slow Schaalje could not always get along well.

After Van der Hoeven's reply, De Grijs explained in a second letter that he had not asked Mr. Lechler to take the three students into his home, because even if he were willing, they would never be satisfied with the extremely simple lifestyle of a German missionary. If it were with an Englishman or an American, one could consider the possibility, but not with a German. It was generally known then that German missionaries, who were often of lower-class background, strove to live in the same frugal way as the Chinese, and often also dressed like the Chinese, after the example of Gützlaff.[148] De Grijs was rather sure that Lechler would not wish to have the students in his house, and moreover, he was to move to Kia Ying Chow at the beginning of the winter. Besides, Dr. James Legge, whom he met at the Dutch Consul Kup's house, had confirmed Lechler's percentage of Hakkas in Hong Kong, adding that the Hakkas were living closer together in the small villages; there Hakka would be the language of the street. Unfortunately, it appeared that Mrs. Roberts did not have enough rooms for the three students, but they could now stay with a Mrs. Vinton for $2 per

day.[149] As to the disadvantages of living in Hong Kong, De Grijs remarked that the people in Hong Kong felt a greater need of money and comfort than elsewhere, and that opportunities to go wrong were also greater than elsewhere.[150]

Van der Hoeven did not immediately approve of their coming to Hong Kong, and therefore De Grijs advised the students to send petitions to Van der Hoeven, which they did. They complained that they did not have enough time to study, because they had to share a single Hakka teacher. Van der Hoeven sent the petitions with an accompanying letter to Governor-General Sloet. The high living expenses in Hong Kong were a problem for which Van der Hoeven needed the government's approval. At the same time, he charged De Grijs with finding another Hakka teacher and sending him to Amoy.[151]

When Schaalje heard from De Grijs that he had not succeeded in making proper arrangements, he appeared to be full of reproaches. Nevertheless, De Grijs understood Schaalje's impatience.[152] Groeneveldt also felt resentment, but for another reason. De Grijs wrote to Francken:

> Last week Groeneveldt wrote me saying that he thanked me for my friendship and wished to have nothing more to do with me. This was because I had promised him earlier to charge him with the management of affairs in Amoy, while Schaalje is doing this now. I answered him with apologies and advised him not to be angry, but in case he wished to remain angry, he should do so for God's sake. I hope that Groeneveldt will get over this, for he is a bright lad and as an interpreter he will be a jewel in the crown.[153]

In any event, in July it became clear that the students would not go to Hong Kong for the time being.[154]

De Grijs sent a second Hakka teacher named Sauga to Amoy in August 1863,[155] and probably a third one as well. Two months later, on 3 October, Budding wrote to his uncle:

> Today it is just two years since I left Holland, and we will soon also leave China, because there has come a decision that instead of going to Hong Kong to learn the Hakka dialect, we will have to do so at our future places of stationing in the Indies itself, because in these places (Banjermasing, Montrado, Pontianak) there are more Chinese who speak this dialect than in Hong Kong, and "moreover the Hakka population in Hong Kong is the meanest and lowest class of people." This is completely unfair to us, and it was insinuated by the great man in Macao (the newspapers call him *angular carcass*) to the Governor-General. As a result of this, we will also have to leave China now, which will be very harmful for us, or rather for our studies and usefulness in the Indies. Now we also lack good teachers, as the ones we got from Hong Kong arranged by missionaries, are *nitwits*. We'll probably have to wait until 1865 to get better people to accompany us to Borneo; the ones we now have don't understand any books except the classics which they learned by heart at school in their youth.[156]

At that time, the only consolation seems to have been a short trip he took to Formosa (*see* Chapter Four).

In their letters to Hoffmann, Buddingh and Groeneveldt were more positive. They wrote that they were concentrating on the Hakka dialect and were quite happy with their studies, and that they were resigned to the decision of the Governor-General to send them to China.[157] Anyhow, it would soon become clear that going to Japan to study there for another year was out of the question.

Not only did they not go to Hong Kong, but soon afterwards their study term in China was shortened to half the time the others had spent in China, from four to two years. From the letter it appears that Buddingh thought they would leave in 1865, but they only had nine months to go. On 25 March 1864, Governor-General Sloet ordered Schaalje, Buddingh, and Groeneveldt to go to the Indies as fast as possible after finishing their studies.[158] The reasons for this were not made explicit, but can be guessed. In the first place, in 1857 Van der Hoeven had already remarked that the students could continue their studies in the Indies; and Buddingh also put the blame on Van der Hoeven.[159] But secondly, it was probably also a result of feedback from the interpreters working in the Indies. From Francken's and Schlegel's letters to De Grijs, it appeared that they had nothing to do for the government and would just have to see to it that they had enough private business.[160] They would have ample time to continue their studies. Moreover, experience had shown that it was possible to continue one's Chinese studies in the Indies; Von Faber learnt his Hakka in Western Borneo only, and not in China. A third reason—and this was probably decisive for Sloet on the issue—was that there were not enough interpreters in the Indies; and all three were stationed on Java. In 1862, Von Faber had left Borneo for Batavia, and in March 1864, after the death of Francken, Albrecht left Bangka for Surabaya. From then on, there was no longer a single Chinese interpreter in the Outer Possessions. Accordingly, not only in Riau, but also in Bangka, there was an urgent need for a European interpreter, and in Sloet's decision it was stipulated that as soon as there were a candidate, he would be appointed in Bangka.

The students still tried to be sent to the interior of Guangdong in order to study in a Hakka environment, but on 8 January 1864, the Consul decided it was too difficult, expensive and even dangerous to have them do so.[161] Only Groeneveldt managed to study for three months in Lilong (Lilang 李浪), Sanon (Xin'an 新安) district, a Hakka region near Hong Kong,[162] where the German missionary E.J. Eitel was his fellow student.[163] There, Hakka was certainly the language of the street. Three months after Sloet's decision, at the end of June, Schaalje and Buddingh also arrived in Hong Kong on their way to Java. Because Buddingh was ill, he stayed in Macao for a few weeks to recuperate, and Schaalje left China a little earlier

than he did. Groeneveldt would leave still later.[164] Typically, all three travelled separately to the Indies. They all employed teachers: Schaalje took Tsioe Tot Koan from Amoy, Buddingh the Hakka Tsîn Kin Sioe (on the introduction of Kup, Dutch Consul in Hong Kong), and Groeneveldt the Hakka Tsjoe Tsjoek Kong.[165]

After Schaalje arrived in Batavia, he wrote requests for appointment on 19 and 28 July. Buddingh arrived on 23 July 1864 and wrote his request on 26 July. Both were appointed on 16 August 1864, Schaalje in Riau and Buddingh in Mentok (Bangka).[166] Groeneveldt arrived in Batavia on 14 August, wrote a request on 16 August and was appointed on 20 August in Pontianak (Western Borneo).[167] They were the third group of Chinese interpreters to be appointed in the Indies. All three were stationed in the Outer Possessions.

A few months later, De Grijs also went to the Indies. He had been employed by Consul Van der Hoeven on a diplomatic mission from June 1863 to October 1864 (*see* Chapter Five). On 22 October 1864, when it became clear that this matter would still take a long time, Van der Hoeven allowed De Grijs to proceed to the Indies, since he was eager to go and Minister of Colonies Fransen van de Putte also wished him to do so. In August 1864, De Grijs already had hired a teacher named K'eng from Amoy. After his arrival in Batavia, on 19 November 1864 he sent a request for appointment. On 4 February 1865 he was honourably discharged from military service and temporarily appointed as interpreter in Semarang for a salary of *f* 600 per month. Although this was only slightly higher than his salary had been since 1861, it was equal to the salary that other interpreters would earn after twelve years of service! The periodic increases would be the same as the others received.[168] Moreover, he received a retaining salary (*wachtgeld*) of *f* 200 as from 1 December 1864. This appointment in Semarang would not prove so temporary after all—De Grijs worked there for the next twenty years. From 1865 on, there were seven interpreters in the Indies, in the three main towns of Java (two of them in Batavia) and in three places in the Outer Possessions.[169]

The last two students: De Breuk and Meeter

In 1864 and 1865, when the last two of Hoffmann's students were sent to China, De Grijs had already left Amoy, and both students stayed in Macao for most of the time, under supervision of Consul Van der Hoeven and his successor.

De Breuk was sent to Hong Kong, where Consul Kup was to receive him and offer assistance.[170] He arrived probably by the end of July. About that time, all the other Dutch students had left China, and De Breuk



7. De Breuk and Meeter with their Hakka teachers in Macao, probably 11 January 1866 (courtesy Karin Meeter, Kaag; KIT Collection).

went to study in Macao. Only De Grijs was still in China, and may have offered help. De Breuk studied Hakka. After De Grijs left, he served as Chinese secretary and interpreter of Van der Hoeven for diplomatic affairs (*see* Chapter Five). Like Buddingh and Groeneveldt, he was allowed to study in China for only two years. During the last months in China, he studied Hakka in the interior of Guangdong, possibly also in Lilang. In June 1866, he engaged a teacher named Li Phoe Nien from Amoy, presumably because he would be appointed on Java. In order to reduce the transport costs, the teacher was to travel directly from Hong Kong to Java if possible, and not with De Breuk on the expensive mail ship.[171] After arrival in Batavia, De Breuk sent a request for appointment on 16 August 1866, and he was appointed in Cirebon on Java on 9 September 1866.[172] In 1865, when Meeter had finished his studies in Leiden, Hoffmann announced that he would concentrate on the Hakka dialect.[173] In this case, the 'Consul in Canton,' Van der Hoeven, was asked to receive him and offer assistance.[174] He reported on 28 May that he had made the necessary arrangements in Macao.[175] The next day Meeter arrived in Hong Kong and was met by De Breuk. On 30 May Meeter arrived in Macao,[176] where he first studied together with De Breuk for one year (*see* illustration 7). Like De Breuk, Meeter studied in China for about two years. After arrival he was installed in one the the rooms of the Consul's house. He wrote to Hoffmann about his first days in Macao, when he felt very lonely:

> Then there came a time that did not give me much fun. I still had nothing to do because I did not yet have a teacher, was sitting all day long in a large gaunt room with bare white walls and two windows looking out on a still barer white wall. Having nothing to keep myself occupied with, I inadvertently thought of my parents and friends, and I became what among youngsters is called "down in the dumps," on other occasions it is called "melancholy." But soon I got work, because on 10 June my teacher named Then 典先生 [Schoolmaster Then] arrived. Later I also moved to a kind of little tower built on top of the roof, with eight windows, so that I not only can keep it well ventilated, but I also have a nice view of the sea and mountains, Macao, and the surrounding villages.[177]

Clearly his teacher still had to come from elsewhere, which must have been some Hakka area in the interior. In this letter Meeter also stated that he would need one and a half or two years to learn enough Hakka to finish his studies here. He would later go for about three months to the interior where Hakka was spoken, "because here in Macao they speak Cantonese."

The Prussian Consul was Van der Hoeven's business partner and was living in the same house, so at home they were speaking German all the time. In October 1865 Meeter and De Breuk went on a two-week excursion with the American and Prussian Consuls and American Navy officers. They travelled in a large Chinese boat with fifteen rowers from Canton up the West River, where they visited several places. A missionary acted as Cantonese interpreter. Meeter gave a long description of this interesting and amusing trip.[178]

Later Meeter also frequently travelled to the interior to practice his Hakka. In later articles he wrote about his visit to a missionary of the Basel Mission and to the heartland of the Hakkas, Kia Ying Chow. During these travels he was accompanied by his cook and house-boy, and he was assisted by several coolies who carried his luggage. Near Kia Ying Chow he once met a Hakka, who was a shop-owner in Semarang, accompanied by three relatives who were extremely eager to know everything about him. Later that night, urged by the Hakka from Semarang, Meeter also smoked his first pipe of opium, which gave him the comfortable feeling of a warm bath. However, except for a few pipes in China, he never smoked opium in the Indies. [179]

Van der Hoeven left on 15 November 1865 for Java, and his business partner N.G. Peter was appointed as acting Consul; Peter would become official Consul on 28 May 1866.[180] Meeter complained to Hoffmann about the bureaucratic trivialities under which he suffered, similar to Schlegel and Von Faber's complaints (*See* Chapter Seven):

> In general our situation here is bearable. But because I was accustomed to the trust and the liberal guidance of scholarly and elderly men in Leiden and Alkmaar, it was now difficult for me to be forced in a not very delicate manner to account for the costs of haircutting and tooth powder and similar trivialities

> to a young man of 26, who certainly knows infinitely much about piculs and rice and ships charters and bank discounts, but in whose experience and wisdom I have sufficient reason not to have much confidence.[181]

On the other hand, a year later, Peter was more than satisfied about Meeter's behaviour. On 11 February 1867 Peter reported from Macao "that after having finished his travels in the interior of Guangdong province, the aspirant-translator for the Chinese language P. Meeter is now ready to leave by mail ship via Singapore to Batavia." At the same time, Peter praised the manner in which Meeter had spent his time in China, both to the benefit of his studies and in the service of the Consulate through temporarily performing the function of interpreter.[182] Meeter engaged a Hakka teacher, who was to travel separately by sail to the Indies. After arrival on Java, on 28 June 1867 he was appointed as interpreter in Riau[183] in the Outer Possessions, where Schaalje was also stationed. This was perhaps because there were not enough official places of stationing at the time, and the Resident of Riau had in 1861 expressed the urgent need for an interpreter.[184] Perhaps another reason was that in this way Meeter could be further trained by Schaalje.

From 1856 to 1867, the Consulate 'in Canton' had without interruption been able to profit from the translation services of the students. Therefore, a few months after Meeter left, Peter wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs that the need was beginning to be felt at the Consulate for one or more Chinese interpreters, in particular for the Mandarin dialect (!). He mentioned the example of the interpreters for government service in the Indies.[185] The Minister of Foreign Affairs then suggested to Minister of Colonies Hasselman that one or more of these youngsters could be appointed at the Dutch consulates in China.[186] Hasselman replied that from then on the students would no longer be trained in the Netherlands, but only in the Indies and in China, that there would not be many of them, and that it was doubtful whether they could be dispensed with in the Indies. But perhaps they could be assigned to the Consul during their studies in China. Hasselman wished to consult with the Governor-General first. On the other hand, it would be reasonable if the Minister of Foreign Affairs would also pay for the training and equipment of these students, and there would possibly be objections against a transfer to Foreign Affairs because of the less favourable financial conditions. If no interpreter could be dispensed with or none were willing, one could ask Professor Hoffmann to train an interpreter at the expense of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The 'borrowing' or transfer of interpreters from the Indies government service to the consulates in China would be a recurrent theme for the next forty years. In only one case did this result in an actual temporary transfer, when Groeneveldt was assigned to work for the Dutch Consul General and Minister Resident J.H. Ferguson in 1872–4.

Study methods

Before 1843, it was forbidden in China to teach the Chinese language to foreigners; apart from the difficulty of the language, this was an extra impediment to learning Chinese. Those who wished to study Chinese did so outside China; therefore, many missionaries, such as W.H. Medhurst and James Legge, were first taught Chinese in Southeast Asia. But after 1843, missionaries, consular officials and merchants came to Hong Kong and the Chinese Treaty Ports, where they could now study Chinese in complete freedom.

So when in 1855 Albrecht and Von Faber were sent to Canton to study Cantonese and written Chinese, they were not the first foreigners to do so. They were also not the first students sent to Canton to study under a Consul's supervision: the Spanish government had done the same.[187] They could profit from the experience of others, and from the textbooks and dictionaries compiled before. They probably studied in the same way as others had done, with private teachers who probably knew some English.

The Dutch students had in common with the missionaries that they needed to learn the Southern dialects, which were spoken in the Indies. They did not learn Mandarin, while the student-interpreters of the British consular service all had to study Mandarin. From 1854 on, there was a preparatory Chinese course at King's College in London for the consular service, but this was of poor quality.[188] Almost none of the British consular officers learned the Southern dialects. As a consequence, they could not communicate with the local population; but there were some exceptions such as Thomas Wade who had also learned Cantonese, and later Robert Swinhoe and Fred Pedder who learned Hokkien in Amoy.[189] The latter two studied there at about the same time as the Dutch students.

The students from Leiden already had a sound basis in written Chinese, but in China they still experienced a culture shock in the linguistic field. When Francken and Schlegel arrived in Hong Kong in 1858, they visited the famous missionary and sinologist James Legge. Forty years later, Schlegel wrote in his obituary of Legge:

> This call, short as it was, left an indelible impression on my youthful mind,[190] and convinced me that the only way to learn Chinese was to do as he had done it—not by the aid of *pontes asinorum* called grammars, but by the somewhat more arduous but more profitable way of much reading and studying native authors.[191]

This was in stark contrast with their studies in Leiden, where Hoffmann always emphasised the importance of sound grammatical analysis.[192] In the same obituary, Schlegel also took a critical look at his education in Leiden, although he was too indebted and grateful to Hoffmann to mention his

name. His mild criticism was directed at the master of European sinology in the middle of the nineteenth century, Stanislas Julien:

> It is well nigh impossible to obtain a thorough knowledge of Chinese, without having spent several years among the people. He who, without ever having been in China, has known Chinese best of all European scholars, was certainly professor Stanislas Julien; but still there was wanting something in his understanding of the language *because he could not feel and think as a Chinaman does*.[193]

From now on, Schlegel and Francken, and the other students from Leiden, would have ample opportunity to make up for this lack in their training.

Their manner of studying in China can be somewhat reconstructed from the many manuscripts left by De Grijs and Schaalje,[194] from De Grijs' and Schlegel's Chinese books that are now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden,[195] and from Schlegel's own teaching methods many years later, which he probably in part copied from his teachers in Amoy.[196]

Teachers and Chinese names

Each student had a teacher assigned to him, for whom he paid the teacher's salary of about $12.50 per month. The students were taught individually or perhaps in small groups. Four names of teachers (*onderwijzers*) are known, because they appeared as witnesses in the minutes of notarial certificates of the acting Vice-Consul De Grijs.[197] The names were written both in Chinese characters and in Amoy transcription. These were the following:

> Ang Dzu Lam 洪汝嵐 (with tones: Âng Dzú Lâm; in Mandarin *Hong Rulan*, appearing from 3 January 1859 to 8 March 1861);
> Yû Pit Sin 楊弼臣 (or: Yong Pit Sin; with tones Yû Pit Sîn; in Mandarin *Yang Bichen*, from 23 March 1859 to 14 November 1861);
> Ang In Liong 汪寅亮 (with tones: Ang În Liōng; in Mandarin *Wang Yinliang*, from 27 July 1859 to 29 February 1860);
> Tɛ I Sin 鄭雨辰 (or: Tê/Ta O Sen; with tones Tê Í Sîn; in Mandarin *Zheng Yuchen*, from 11 November 1861 to 1 August 1862).

Few other references to these teachers could be found. One name is mentioned in Schlegel's *Hung-League* and in an article in *T'oung Pao*, and two names appear in his dictionary. Schlegel wrote that some information had been given him by his teacher Ang [In Liong], and he described him as follows:

> our old Chinese friend and teacher in Amoy, *Ang-sien-si* (汪先生), well known to Chinese students residing in that place, and better still as the scholar by whose valuable aid the excellent Bible-translation of Rev. J. Stronach was effected.[198]

Later he wrote that Ang had been clerk at the *Daotai*'s court in Taiwanfu (Tainan) for many years, and that he engaged Ang specifically for teaching Chinese civil law.[199]

Ang Dzu Lam 洪汝嵐 appears in the dictionary under the entries 'naam' and 'voornaam' as an example of a Chinese name.[200] Tɛ I Sin 鄭雨辰 appears under 'adres,' in the illustration of a Chinese envelope, with his surname 鄭 Tɛ, his title *xiucai* 秀才 (graduate), his personal name 次篆 [Tsu Toan] (*Cizhuan*) and his style 雨辰 I Sin (*Yuchen*), but not his address in the modern sense except 'Amoy.'[201] In 1863, there was a teacher surnamed Kim [金],[202] and the name of the Hakka teacher Sauga, who was sent from Hong Kong to Amoy, is known; the spelling of both latter names is uncertain. In 1865 Meeter had in Macao a Hakka teacher surnamed Then 典 (*Dian*).

The teachers used traditional Chinese teaching methods. Groeneveldt wrote almost forty years later about the limited pedagogical qualities of the Chinese teachers. This was in a letter to the Secretary General of Foreign Affairs, in which he pleaded for preparatory studies in Leiden for the future Chinese interpreters of the Dutch Legation in Peking, instead of directly sending them to China to study Chinese. He wrote about the lack of guidance and of foreign language skills of the Chinese teachers:

> These people, completely one-sided in their development, do have a large practical knowledge of their language, but cannot think of any other method of teaching their knowledge than the one they experienced themselves as children at school, and which is completely useless for Europeans who have left their childhood behind. Such teachers take a completely passive attitude towards their students. What one needs is in them, but one has to know how to get it out. The Chinese teacher does not know any foreign language in which he can communicate with the foreign student; if the latter comes to him without any preparation, the teacher will be a closed book for the student, and it will take a lot of time before regular communication and transfer of knowledge can be established.[203]

At some time, the students took Chinese names, which some of them used consistently for the rest of their lives. These names were probably suggested by the Chinese teachers. Some were according to Hokkien pronunciation, others according to Mandarin, or both. For some names, characters were seemingly chosen at random representing only the sounds, while others consisted of well-chosen meaningful characters. Apparently some teachers or students cared about the meaning of the Chinese names while others did not.[204]

De Grijs used K'ái Sū 凱士 (Mandarin: *Kai Shi*), 'the victorious knight' or 'Mr. Victorious'; his name survives on a seal imprint in one of his books and on a red Chinese visiting card.[205] One of the first notarial certificates has Chinese transcriptions for Francken as Hoan Ka 笵駕 *Fanjia* and

Schlegel as Sih Le 薛禮 *Xue Li*,[206] but these transcriptions were not used later. Schlegel wrote several different Chinese names on the covers of some of his books, as if he was trying them out: *Shilijia* 士利架, *Shi shi* 施士, and he printed seals on his books with the names *Shi Lijia* 施利加, *Shi Li* 施利 and *Shi Li* 施理. The latter name was the most elegant one, comprising the meaningful characters 'to practice reason'; this name was used most often and seems to have become his final name. He also had a style (*zi* 字) Gû-tap 漁答 *Yuda*, a transcription of Gustaaf.[207] For Francken's name, the transcription Hoa-lân-kun 花瀾君 *Hualanjun* can be found once.[208] Schaalje consistently used the Chinese name Sa Liét 沙烈 *Shalie*.[209] For Albrecht and Von Faber, only the meaningless transcriptions Pa-lát 吧力 *Bali* and Hun Hoat 紛發 *Fenfa* could be found.[210] Groeneveldt used the name K'u Bík-lîm 瞿墨林 *Qu Molin*, a combination of his last name and first name Willem. The Mandarin name *Meide* 美德, found in one book in the Leiden library, perhaps belonged to Meeter. In general, these Chinese names were not used very often (*see* Appendix C).

Learning to speak Hokkien

The students who had studied in Leiden for several years, now for the first time learned to speak Chinese. For learning Hokkien or more specifically the Amoy and Tsiangtsiu colloquial languages, there were very few study aids in Western languages. The most important one was E. Doty's thesaurus *Anglo–Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect* (Canton 1853), in which words were arranged according to semantic categories; it also contained alphabetic lists of adjectives and verbs, but neither phrases nor grammar. In addition, there was the much older and somewhat outdated dictionary by W.H. Medhurst *A Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dialect of the Chinese Language* (Batavia & Macau 1832).[211] This dictionary contained words and some literary phrases, but no colloquial sentences; all transcriptions were in the Tsiangtsiu dialect and in a transcription based on English spelling that would soon afterwards be considered awkward.

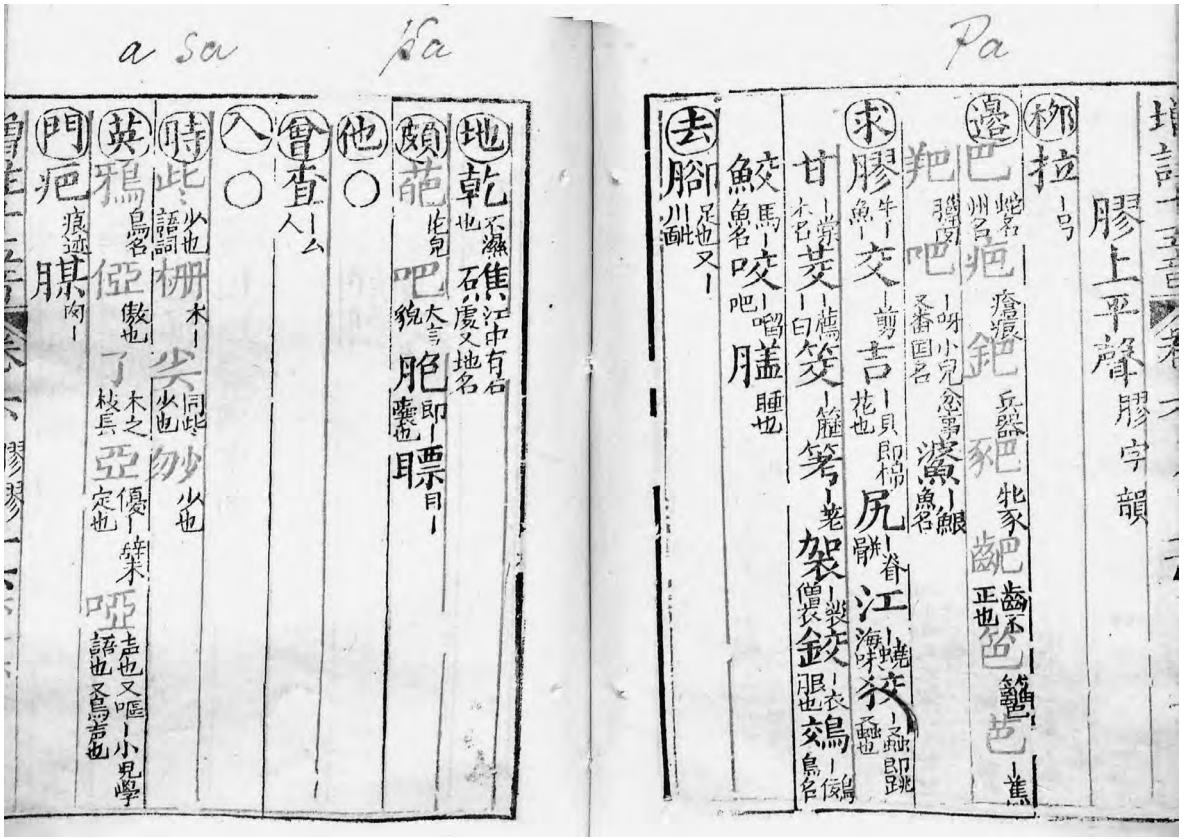
Medhurst's Hokkien dictionary was a translation and rearrangement of the rhyme dictionary *Huiji Yasu tong Shiwu yin* 彙集雅俗通十五音, "The fifteen initials accessible to both the refined and the vulgar in one collection," first printed in 1818, often abbreviated as *Shiwu yin* 十五音, in Hokkien Síp-ngó͘-im.[212] For the advanced student, this native rhyme dictionary would be an important reference work. Its purpose was to "make farmers, workers, shopkeepers and merchants [able to] look up [characters] in the corresponding section, without needing to bother bringing wine to ask about a character [from literate men, the highest

class]."[213] With this dictionary, speakers of the Tsiangtsiu or Amoy dialects could search the character for a certain monosyllabic word. The characters were arranged according to the fifty rhymes (finals) in the Tsiangtsiu variant of Hokkien, each divided among the eight tones (the two *shangsheng* tones coincided; therefore there were seven different tones), and fifteen consonants (initials).[214] The method of searching in *Shiwu yin* was as follows. For instance, if one wished to know the character for tê̲, the Hokkien word for 'tea,' one 'cut it up' into t- and ê̲, searched under the rhyme kê̲ 嘉 (the fifth final), in the lower level tone (^, *xiaping sheng* 下平聲, fifth tone) and finally the initial of tē 地 (the fifth initial) to find the character 茶, to which a synonym for 'tea,' *ming* 茗, is added giving the meaning to identify the appropriate character (*juan* 1, p. 41r). The dictionary contains characters in both the literary and colloquial pronunciations; the former (the majority) are printed in red,[215] the latter in black. Among the black ones, one could also find some dialect characters, but the Dutch students seldom used these. When learning the colloquial language, that is, to speak Hokkien, they wrote romanised Chinese, sometimes adding characters, so this dictionary was still useful for them. They probably all had a copy of *Shiwu yin*. Some students added on the cover of each volume the transcription of the rhymes it contained, for easy reference. Schlegel also added transcriptions to most entries, probably when he was working on his dictionary (*see* illustration 8).[216]

When Schlegel taught his students Hokkien in Leiden from 1873 on, he first taught them the spoken language in romanisation; only after two months did he begin teaching them characters.[217] This was in contrast with the teaching of Hoffmann, who started with characters on the first day, and never taught his students to speak. Schlegel probably copied this method from his teachers in Amoy.

One of the first things the students had to learn were the different tones of Hokkien. For this they used the list of eight rhymes under the first final in *Shiwu yin*: 君 kun, 滾 kún, 棍 kùn, 骨 kut, 群 kûn, (滾 kún,) 郡 kūn, 滑 kút.[218] This list is comparable to the well-known list of the four tones in Mandarin still used by modern students: *mā, má, mǎ, mà*.

Since these printed study tools were insufficient, the students decided to compile dictionaries from the start. They were probably inspired by Hoffmann, who had been working on his Japanese dictionary since the 1830s, and who later made a concise Chinese–Dutch dictionary that his students copied. Schlegel and Francken divided this task between the two of them: Francken started compiling an Amoy–Dutch dictionary of the colloquial language as an aid for learning to understand and speak the language, and Schlegel a Dutch–Chinese dictionary of the literary language as an aid for making written translations into Chinese. For this purpose, they decided upon a transcription system based on that used by the missionaries. It



8. Pages from Schlegel's Huiji yasu tong Shiwu yin 彙集雅俗通十五音 *(Wendetang* 文德堂*, 1861) juan 6, pp. 15v, 16r (KNAG 160). The words ryming with ka, the colloquial pronunciation of* 膠 *(literary reading kau) in the upper first tone (yinping). On these pages twelve of the fifteen consonants (Shiwu yin* 十五音*) are shown. Some transcriptions were added by Schlegel. Note in the column left of 'Pa' the character* 吧*, with the example* 番国名 *"name of a foreign country," and four columns to the left* 咬留吧 *Kalapa, both meaning Batavia.*

was similar to Doty's but better adapted to international conventions and to the traditional analysis of sounds in *Shiwu yin* (*see* Chapter Eleven). Schlegel described their working method in the introduction to his dictionary:

> The plan of both dictionaries remained the same, namely to *collect* the whole vocabulary of the language, as well in the Colloquial as in the written language; and to class all words alphabetically on loose sheets of paper. With this view we never studied or read without pen or pencil and a flyleaf at hand.[219]

Particularly for the colloquial language, this was a very slow process, because every expression, every word, had to be written down out of the mouths of the Chinese.[220] Both dictionaries were published more than twenty years later. Other students also compiled dictionaries during their studies in China that were not published. Schaalje compiled an Amoy–Dutch dictionary, which he finished in Amoy in 1864, with 9,674 entries.[221]

Apart from these dictionaries, special vocabularies or lists of Chinese sayings were also made. De Grijs compiled a list of almost 300 Amoy sayings with the title *Chineesche spreekwoorden, verzameld en vertaald door C.F.M. de Grijs* (Chinese sayings collected and translated by C.F.M. de Grijs), dated Amoy 1860.[222] Schaalje also compiled a collection of 951 sayings, entitled *Dictons van het Emoi dialect bijeen verzameld door M. Schaalje* (Sayings in the Amoy dialect collected by M. Schaalje), dated Canton 23 October 1862, revised Amoy 13 April 1863.[223] Francken made a list of more than 2,000 Amoy sayings, the manuscript of which was donated to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1866.[224] Special Hokkien vocabularies include Schlegel's list of family terminology,[225] and Schaalje's lists of family relationships[226] and surnames.[227] Schaalje also made a stack of 48 cards with riddles, adding transcription, Dutch translation and answer.[228]

Among the manuscripts that survived, there is only one notebook with Amoy phrases (apart from the sayings mentioned above). Schaalje had a notebook with practical dialogues for Westerners in Amoy, which were written down by him, but perhaps copied from another manuscript or printed book. It contained Dutch phrases with translation in romanised Amoy dialect only. These were lively dialogues about engaging a 16-year old boy as a servant for $4 per month, giving him instructions for work, and hiring a boat, etc.[229] These were probably memorised by the students, as Meeter did (*see* section about studying Hakka below). They probably practiced their Chinese first on the servants, as De Grijs suggested; this method was also suggested for Dutch officials learning Malay in the Indies.[230]

As an exercise for the colloquial language, the students also transcribed

some texts that they had already studied in Leiden, for instance "Nian'er niang" 廿二娘 ("Miss Number 22") from *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀. In this case, the characters were not literally transcribed, but the story was 'colloquialised,'[231] that is, it was adapted to the Hokkien colloquial in such a way that it became understandable when read aloud. For instance, a word such as Mandarin *tā* 他, 'he, she,' was colloquialised as i [伊] in Hokkien.[232] De Grijs translated sentences into both literary Chinese (in characters) and colloquial Hokkien (in romanisation).[233]

The students learned both the Amoy and the Tsiangtsiu variants of Hokkien. Francken and Schlegel's teachers came from Tsiangtsiu,[234] and in Francken's dictionary both variants appear. They possibly also learned something about other variants such as that of Quanzhou. In any case, they probably got used to hearing some of these variants, and learnt to understand them.

Learning to speak other dialects

For Cantonese, there were many study aids, such as phrase books, vocabularies, and dictionaries. Since Canton was the only place where foreigners were allowed to go before 1843, it was natural that that dialect would be learned first, although it was forbidden by the Chinese government. Almost nothing is known about the studies of Albrecht, Von Faber, Schlegel, and Francken in Canton and Macao. No names of teachers are known, except that of Han Bong Kie, the teacher who accompanied Von Faber to the Indies, and whose family came from Canton.

There were several study tools for Cantonese, and the students probably used Bridgman's *Chinese Chrestomathy*, S. Wells Williams' *Easy Lessons* and *Tonic Dictionary*. The first- and last-named were mentioned by De Grijs in 1857; some chapters from the second book were copied by him, and all three books were later prescribed by Schlegel and Von Faber for their students in Batavia (for learning written Chinese or Hokkien, not Cantonese).

Schaalje left many notes and notebooks for Cantonese, such as a comparative list of the eight tones in Canton and Amoy, and of Cantonese tones only,[235] Dutch lists of words and phrases with romanised Cantonese,[236] Cantonese–Dutch lists of words and phrases, with characters and romanisation,[237] and also a character text in Cantonese of a tragic story of a prostitute.[238]

In contrast to Hokkien and Cantonese, which could be learned in an environment where that dialect was the language of the street, Hakka could only be learned from teachers who had been sent to Amoy (or Macao); these teachers were introduced by the missionaries. At first, it was

considered too difficult, expensive, and even dangerous to go to the interior of Guangdong.[239] In 1864, Groeneveldt went to the missionary post in Lilong (Lilang), a Hakka village near Hong Kong, to study the local Hakka variant for three months, and later De Breuk and Meeter also studied in the interior of Guangdong for some time, possibly in the same place.

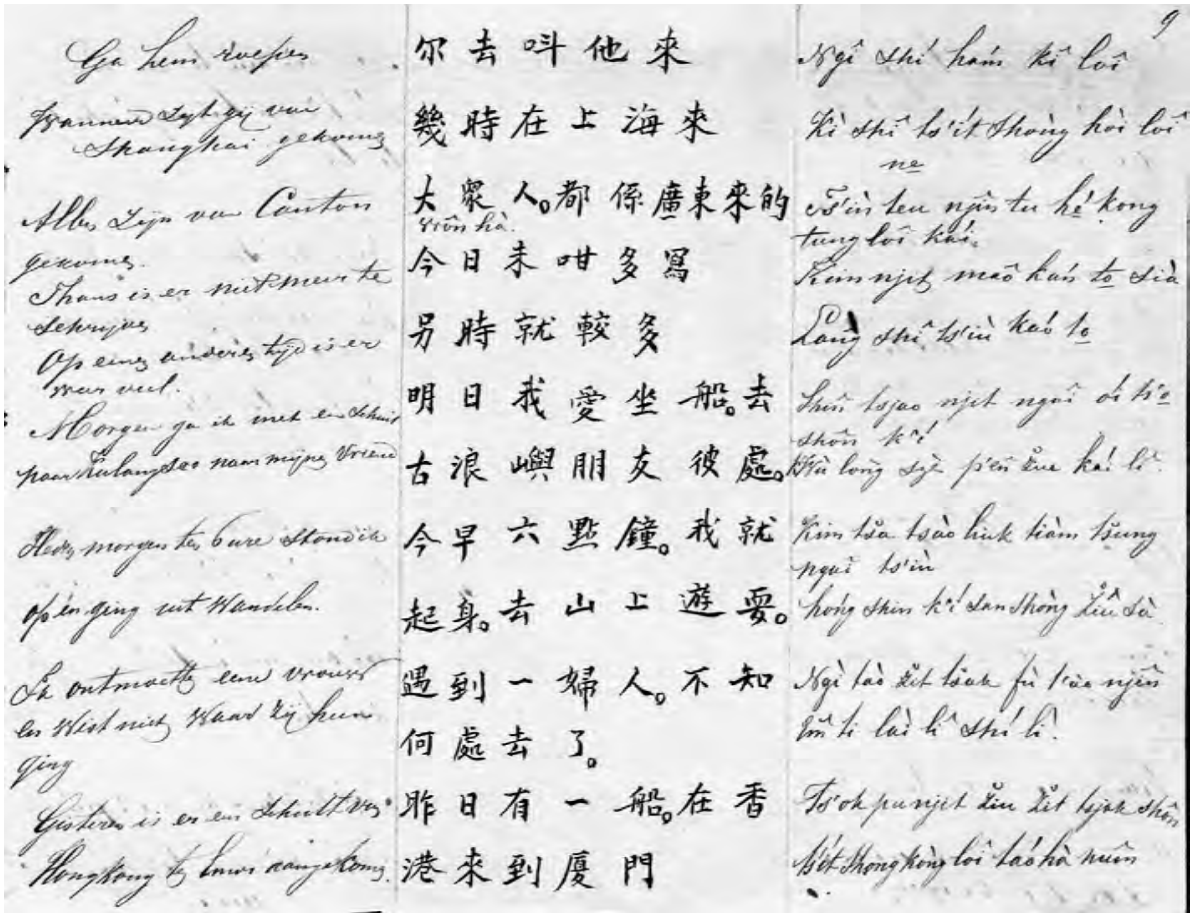
For Hakka, there was at the time only one study aid: the romanised text of the translation of the *Gospel of Matthew* by Lechler.[240] Students made their own reference works. Schaalje, who was the first to study Hakka, made or copied a Hakka translation of Doty's manual, with Chinese characters and the transcription in two Hakka dialects: in the first place that of Tsong Lok (Changle), and when different, that of Kayintsiu (Kia Ying Chow, Meixian). As in Hokkien in Doty's manual, characters often did not coincide with the Hakka words, and often were left out altogether. For instance, 'husband' is translated láo kung [老公] but with the character 夫 [*fu*], and 'coolie' is translated tà kwung njiñ, 'worker,' without characters.[241] Schaalje also had a notebook containing dialogues with a young servant from Xin'an near Hong Kong, and a description of the yearly festivals and customs of Changle and Meixian, which contained the Dutch translation, the character text written by the teacher, and romanisation (*see* illustration 9). Chinese festivals and customs were a practical subject often studied by the sinologists. One interesting expression is the translation of 'to drink coffee' (*koffy drinken*) as 食加非茶 shít ka fui ts'â ('to drink coffee-tea'), which shows that coffee was unknown to the Hakkas and was considered some kind of 'tea.'[242] When studying Hakka, Schaalje also colloquialised the story of "Nian'er niang," which he had already read and transcribed in Mandarin in Leiden, and in Hokkien in Amoy; but now he used two variants of Hakka, possibly those of Tsong Lok and Kayintsiu.[243] He also colloquialised a collection of twelve stories written with Chinese characters. Some of these were tales of the marvellous from *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋志異, rewritten in simple literary Chinese with some dialect words.[244] He mainly studied the language in romanisation, just as he did Hokkien, although Hakka, like Cantonese, could be written in characters.[245]

Much more is known about Meeter's Hakka studies from his two letters to Hoffmann. In the beginning he concentrated on the colloquial language. After two months, he reported:

> My studies till now have been entirely limited to memorising and reviewing conversation words and sentences, of which I have mastered about 700, so that I am beginning to speak quite well.[246]

He must have been studying a similar (or the same) conversation guide that Schaalje had used three years earlier.[247]

One of the problems he was confronted with—as were the other sinologists—was the dichotomy between the colloquial and literary languages,



9. Manuscript Hakka textbook used by Schaalje in Amoy in 1863-4 (BPL 2106 II 22A).

and the custom of not writing the colloquial language in characters representative of the sounds.

> The [colloquial language of] the Hakkas is called 白話 [*baihua*, spoken language] [but the pronunciation] sometimes differs greatly from the sjoe-wá [*shuhua*, 書話, book language], for instance 何如 [Hakka: *ho yî*] "why"? and 如此 [Hakka: *yî ts'u*] "therefore" are pronounced *nióng pan* [樣邊] en *kan* lî [咁裡].[248]

Meeter enjoyed his studies, developing his own study methods and also practicing his writing and reading skills. His teacher probably only spoke Chinese, and Meeter profited greatly from the Chinese characters learned with Hoffmann.

> Anyhow I am very pleased with my studies. I entirely follow my own method, and practice in my free time writing with a writing brush, the cursive script and I am making a kind of Dutch vocabulary with the Chinese characters in order to be able to speak more easily with my Sen-sang [先生 'teacher'] through writing. Others may have said that learning Chinese in Leiden does not help much, but I can state sincerely that, in particular at the beginning, I profited a lot from the characters that I learned in the fatherland under your guidance. Moreover I have the habit when I go out of writing down everything I find on posters, signboards etc., which I then translate at my leisure sitting at home.[249]

Four months later, on 29 December 1865, Meeter wrote a second letter to Hoffmann. He was now also reading a Chinese literary text, and expressed his indebtedness to Hoffmann's teaching of Chinese grammar (particles). He also continued studying the colloquial language.

> In my studies I continue to advance according to my wish. The colder season in particular had a beneficial influence on them. When reading 三國志 *Sanguo zhi* [The Three Kingdoms] the monographs about the particles 所以而者 *suo yi er zhe* that I copied from you in the past often come in very handy. The Chinese style continues to make it difficult for us. I have now learned by heart 2,000 colloquial phrases that I will not easily forget because I frequently review them.[250]

Although De Grijs had prepared a Mandarin teacher for Francken and Schlegel, they probably did not study Mandarin, since Van der Hoeven would not give his approval. Only De Grijs himself studied Mandarin for some time, probably just before his mission to Tientsin, where he had to interpret in Mandarin. As a textbook he used Thomas Wade's *Hsin Ching Lu* of 1859.[251] De Grijs and a teacher together copied part III, containing sentences with tone exercises, and De Grijs added the numbers of the tones and the Southern Mandarin transcription. He also transcribed some other texts in Mandarin.[252] In addition, he had a Chinese manual for learning Mandarin, *Zhengyin Jieyao* 正音揭要, containing words and phrases. This book was copied by hand, probably by his teacher, and

bound in Western fashion, but judging from its outward appearance, it was not intensely used.[253]

Studying written Chinese

The students from Batavia learned written Chinese through Cantonese, but the students from Leiden not only had to learn to speak Hokkien, but were also confronted with a change in their studies of the written language. From now on, all characters had to be pronounced in the Hokkien dialect, and not in the colloquial pronunciation but in the so-called Literary or Reading pronunciation. This was an older pronunciation of the characters, which preserved many characteristics of the pronunciation of Mandarin in the Tang dynasty (618–907). For instance, the Literary Hokkien goàt (modern Mandarin *yuè* 月 'moon, month') corresponds to the Colloquial géh. As one would expect, colloquial pronunciations have evolved much farther away. For those who had studied Japanese, these Literary pronunciations were less difficult to learn than for the others: Sino–Japanese readings of characters have also retained older characteristics, for instance 'moon, month' can be read in Sino–Japanese as *gatsu.* Some literary readings were close to Mandarin; for instance má 馬 (colloquial bé) is *mǎ* in Mandarin. In the twentieth century, this literary pronunciation of Hokkien went into disuse, and was replaced by modern Mandarin as the reading pronunciation. On the other hand, there remain many borrowings from the literary language in the modern spoken language, in certain expressions, in numbers and in personal names, etc. (*see* Chapter Eleven). This Literary Hokkien is also the pronunciation used in Schlegel's dictionary. Other dialects, such as Cantonese, also have a distinction between literary and colloquial pronunciations, but such double readings of characters are far less numerous than in Hokkien.

As an exercise for learning this pronunciation, texts in characters were transcribed in the literary language, for instance the Sacred Edict with Amplifications (*Shengyu Guangxun* 聖諭廣訓). This work consists of the sixteen maxims in seven characters each laid down by the Kangxi Emperor in 1670, with amplifications by the Yongzheng Emperor of 1724; they were to be read publicly on the first and fifteenth of each month. They were a part of the basic curriculum of Chinese and foreign students.[254] Schaalje's teacher copied the Chinese text in vertical columns from left to right; Schaalje added literal and free Dutch translations, and sometimes the Amoy Literary transcription.[255]

As an exercise for translating into Chinese, sometimes the peculiar method of 'translating back' was used: sentences that were originally translated from Chinese into English were to be translated back into Chinese. The

advantage of this method was that the correctness of the result could easily be checked. S. Wells Williams' *Easy Lessons in Chinese: or Progressive Exercises to Facilitate the Study of that Language, Especially Adapted to the Canton Dialect* (1842) contained such "Exercises in translating into Chinese" with the following titles: "Selections from the History of the Three States" (*Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義), "Selections from the Yuk Kiu Li" (*Yu Jiao Li* 玉嬌梨), and "Short Sentences to be Translated," containing practical sentences in English. De Grijs copied these three chapters and also S. Wells Williams' answers to the exercises, which were Chinese original sentences quoted from the two novels, and Cantonese colloquial sentences. The latter were Cantonese texts in characters, without transcription; for instance 'Explain it to him clearly, one thing at a time, and no doubt he will believe' was to be translated as 逐一逐二解明佢聽唔怕佢唔信.[256] In another notebook, De Grijs did the exercises himself. He made a translation in characters of these materials and added a Hokkien colloquialisation; for instance, he translated the sentence just quoted as 逐一逐二解明則他必信, and colloquialised it as 'tiok it tiok dzī kón kîn, i tèk kak sìn' [伊的確信]. This shows that he used these materials as translation exercises both into literary Chinese and colloquial Hokkien, but not into Cantonese.[257] Perhaps he had copied these chapters when he was in Macao in 1856–7, and did the exercises after he had studied in Amoy for some time. Apart from these exercises, De Grijs also left sheets of paper with transcribed or colloquialised Hokkien texts without characters.[258]

Translations by De Grijs

While studying Chinese, De Grijs also made Dutch translations of several books or chapters of books. For instance, he translated the sections on annual festivals in the local gazetteers of Amoy and Tangwa (Tong'an).[259] In 1858, he translated *Yinguo shilu* 因果實錄, "The true story of the law of causality." This Buddhist principle of retribution is similar to that in the Taoist work *Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇, which they had studied in Leiden. The difference was that the Buddhist reward or punishment was not considered to take place during one's life or in one's family, but in the afterlife. The original Chinese text was printed as an appendix to *Yuli chaozhuan jingshi* 玉曆超傳警世, a record of the Ten Judges in the Chinese Hell.[260] De Grijs may have studied it with his teacher first, but the translation had of course been made by himself.

In 1859, De Grijs attempted to get some translations printed in the Indies. In 1856, when he was in Batavia, he had written a short note on some Chinese coins that was published in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land en volkenkunde*, the journal of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences,

and he was praised as one of the few students of Chinese.[261] And in 1859 he offered some translations from the Chinese to this journal for publication, perhaps the texts mentioned above. The Board wished to publish these as they could shed light on the Chinese who were so numerous in the Indies, but printing would be difficult, since in Batavia there was no Chinese type nor Roman type with accents (the latter were needed for Chinese words in transcription). They asked De Grijs if he could have the texts printed in China in the format of the journal, and what the costs would be. Unfortunately, no titles of these works are mentioned in the minutes, nor is there any later mention of this matter.[262]

The largest translation project of De Grijs was that of the Qing Code (*Da Qing lüli* 大清律例), and as a supplement, the handbook of forensic medicine (*Xiyuanlu* 洗冤錄). In 1860, De Grijs informed Governor-General Pahud via the Consul that he was willing to make a new translation of the Chinese laws, if the government considered it necessary. On 12 November 1860, Pahud answered that the government would support this plan.[263] In the introduction, De Grijs explained that he had made this translation for his own use, since he had not succeeded in obtaining a copy of Staunton's very rare translation.[264] It was made independently of Staunton's work, although he sometimes consulted it. Like Staunton, De Grijs mainly translated the statutes (*lü*), not the much more numerous sub-statutes (*li*). He explained that since he was not a lawyer and one needed to be careful in the choice of equivalent expressions in a translation, he had strictly followed the original text, if necessary even to the detriment of style.[265] De Grijs also compiled an index of legal terms, arranged alphabetically according to Amoy pronunciation with numbers for reference,[266] and he added some notes. When he prepared the latter, De Grijs' teacher copied Chinese quotations and tables, on which De Grijs pasted his Dutch translations. He finished the manuscript in 1861 (the preface is dated Amoy, 1861) and, probably the same year, sent a manuscript copy of the translation on a Dutch ship to the Batavian Society on Java. Unfortunately, it was lost in shipwreck in the South China sea.[267] In June 1862, De Grijs sent his translation of the handbook of forensic medicine, which arrived safely.[268] He had originally intended to have it published as an appendix to the *Qing Code*, but the Board of the Batavian Society immediately decided to publish it in the *Verhandelingen* (Transactions) of the Society,[269] where it appeared in volume 30 in 1863 (*see* Chapter Four).

Although the copy of his translation of the Qing Code that was sent to Java was lost, De Grijs had another copy, to which he later added the title: "The Criminal Code *Da Qing lüli*, translated from the Chinese and annotated by C.F.M. de Grijs, Amoy 1863."[270] After he arrived in Java in 1864, he offered it again for publication to the Batavian Society. On 10 February 1865 the Board decided to publish it in the *Verhandelingen*. At the same time, De

Grijs was also made a full member of the Society.[271] He was asked to write an introduction and supplements about civil law, which he did.[272] But on 30 April 1865, an ominous remark was made at the meeting of the Board:

> In Chinese, these laws have the title: the fundamental laws of the Qing dynasty, to which are added supplementary laws. However, Mr. de Grijs was of the opinion that it should be named the Criminal Code of China, because all that was treated in it was solved with beatings.

Civil law was much less prominent, whereas this was of the greatest importance for the Indies.[273] Less than a year later, on 16 January 1866 the secretary, J.A. van der Chijs, announced that publication would be postponed for a long time, but without giving any reason; perhaps it was because the volume of the *Verhandelingen* for that year was already about China, including three publications by Schlegel. De Grijs was advised to offer it for publication to the Royal Institute (KITLV) in the Netherlands, which would perhaps be able to publish it sooner. He sent the manuscript to The Hague, where that Institute had been relocated in 1864, and after it was received, Hoffmann advised to publish it. However, at a meeting of the board, the majority was opposed to publication because its subject was Criminal Law as it was in force in China, of which English and French translations were available, and only a translation of civil law would be of any interest for the Netherlands Indies.[274] Since the Qing Code also contains many articles on civil law, and would later be often quoted by the sinologists when advising the government, and by lawyers in the Indies, this refusal would seem not only regrettable for De Grijs but also for Dutch sinology and the East Indies government. But considering the translation mistakes found by Meeter and Groeneveldt in the 1880s,[275] it was perhaps better for all that it was not published. The manuscript translation is now kept in Leiden University Library.[276]

Both De Grijs and Schaalje also translated short stories from the *Lan Gong an* 藍公案, "Cases of Judge Lan"—detective stories based on real cases by Lan Dingyuan 藍鼎元 (1680–1733).[277] The *Lan Gong an* is similar to other books of cases tried by famous judges such as Judge Bao and Judge Dee, but these are real case histories, and they were written for instruction rather than entertainment.[278] Translations of twelve stories were later published by H.A. Giles.[279] For interpreters at the courts in the Indies, studying these stories would of course be very instructive. De Grijs possessed a copy of *Lan Gong an* and used it in 1863 when Schaalje was also in Amoy,[280] so these translations were probably made at that time. Later, De Grijs also studied and translated other works by Lan Dingyuan, such as his biography and parts of *Dongzhengji* 東征集, "Collection on the Campaign to the East," on the expedition to Taiwan. These translations were probably made after he returned to the Netherlands in 1885.[281]

The students' libraries

All students obtained book allowances. De Grijs received a gratification of *f* 250, Albrecht and Von Faber of *f* 150, and the others received a gratification of *f* 300 and an advance payment of *f* 300 to buy books, but not all of the latter was spent on books. These books were purchased at Delprat's bookshop in Paris, and at Brill's and other bookshops in Leiden; many books were also bound in hard covers. From 1858 on, the students also bought many useful books from their monthly allowances (*see* Chapter Two). The students purchased a small library of sinological books, books on the natural sciences and for general education, and sometimes also on Japan. Some students used parts of their allowance to finance school books, and Schlegel even financed his Western calligraphy lessons (*f* 36) in this way. The prices of the books varied from *f* 1 for E. Biot's *Mémoire sur divers mineraux chinois* (De Grijs), to *f* 142 for the six volumes of Morrison's dictionary. Here no complete lists will be given,[282] but only an impression of the contents. The following table shows the numbers and total prices of books:

	China	Japan	Nature	General	total	price	rest
De Grijs	28		(2)		28	249.375	0.625
Francken	30		18	9	57	517.36	82.64
Schlegel	32	1	11	17	61	426.36	173.64
Schaalje	28		1	13	42	634.10	-34.10
Groeneveldt & Buddingh[283]	21	12	5	16	54 (58)	600	0
Groeneveldt	1	1	2	30	34 (63)	117.25	182.75
Buddingh		5	3	15	23 (52)	175.50	124.50
De Breuk	15			14	29	371.70	268.30
Meeter[284]	8		1	9	18	317.75	282.25

The sinological works include C.L.J. de Guignes' Chinese–French–Latin dictionary with Klaproth's supplement (De Grijs, Francken, Schlegel), Robert Morrison's dictionary (De Grijs, Schaalje, Groeneveldt & Buddingh), Walter Henry Medhurst's Chinese–English dictionary (Schaalje, Groeneveldt & Buddingh), works by Stanislas Julien (at first ten works, later two works), works by Antoine Bazin, E. Biot, James Legge's *The Chinese Classics* vols. I, II (Groeneveldt & Buddingh, De Breuk, Meeter), A. Böttger, *Die blutige Rache einer jungen Frau* (containing "Nian'er niang": Francken, Schlegel, Schaalje, Groeneveldt & Buddingh), works by Wilhelm Schott, etc.

Among the books on natural sciences, there was for instance Darwin's *Naturwissenschaftliche Reisen* (Francken, Schlegel, Groeneveldt & Buddingh).

Among the general works, there were dictionaries and grammars for classical and modern languages, but now including also Italian (Groeneveldt & Buddingh), Spanish (Buddingh), Russian (Groeneveldt & Buddingh), Malay (Schlegel, Schaalje), Manchu (De Grijs, Groeneveldt & Buddingh) and Mongol (Groeneveldt & Buddingh). There were encyclopaedias such as *Nederlandsch Handelsmagazijn, algemeen zamenvattend woordenboek voor handel en nijverheid* (1843; Schlegel, Schaalje, Groeneveldt & Buddingh, De Breuk, Meeter) and *Brockhaus Conversations Lexicon* (Groeneveldt & Buddingh, De Breuk, Meeter). There were various atlasses, and maps of China. From 1862 on, all students bought C.R. Lepsius, *Standard Alphabet for Reducing Unwritten Languages and Foreign Graphic Systems to a Uniform Orthography in European Letters* (London 1855),[285] which must have been an important aid when learning Hakka. Other books were A.F. Pott, *Die Ungleichheit menschlicher Rassen hauptsächlich vom sprachwissenschaftlichen Standpunkte* (1856) (Francken, Schlegel) and J.L. Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856) (Groeneveldt & Buddingh, De Breuk). They also bought poetry and novels in Dutch, German, French and English, and Latin and Greek literature. Groeneveldt also bought two collections of Dutch law, three handbooks on photography and many works of literature. Buddingh bought two books by his uncle Herman Schlegel and one by his uncle S.A. Buddingh. De Breuk bought quite a few books on history. Groeneveldt en Buddingh also each bought a Chinese translation of the Bible.

After arrival in China, all students could finally buy a small collection of Chinese books. A part of their libraries is now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden. Many of De Grijs' books and some of Schlegel's now form a part of the KNAG Collection.[286] This collection includes at least 38 books (titles) of De Grijs and 9 of Schlegel, and also a lot of later sinologists. De Grijs' library included primers such as *Sanzijing* 三字經, *Qianziwen* 千字文, *Youxue gushi qunfang* 幼學故事群芳, and *Chengyu kao* 成語考, the *Chinese Classics* and the *Four Books*, the *Sacred Edict*, the *Qing Code* and *Qing State Laws* (*Da Qing huidian* 大清會典), *Kangxi Dictionary*, small and large encyclopedias, handbooks for government officials, books on Chinese religion, on the geography of Taiwan, short stories and a novel,[287] but no poetry and history. This was probably a typical sinologist's library. Another source on a sinologist's library is the auction catalogue of Groeneveldt's Chinese books in Leiden in 1921, with titles in Mandarin transcription only.[288] He owned one of the largest Chinese libraries, but a part of it must have been acquired on his later visits to China and Vietnam.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE

From the beginning, there was a connection between Chinese studies and the study of the natural sciences. As an assistant of Von Siebold, Hoffmann studied Chinese and Japanese botanical subjects and published on them. One of his first students, the military pharmacist De Grijs, was allowed to study Chinese for the explicit purpose of learning to consult Chinese works on botany. Later, Hoffmann always stimulated his students who had finished the *gymnasium*, or passed the *admissie* examination, and were thus allowed to take university courses, to take courses in *natuurkunde*, the sciences of nature, which included not only botany but also physics and chemistry. Two students, Buddingh and Groeneveldt, even requested and obtained a special allowance of *f* 300 together to buy equipment for performing scientific research; although they originally planned to use the equipment in Japan, they probably did so in China instead.

After the students came to China, some indeed made contributions to science. De Grijs contributed to the field of botany by collecting specimens of plants and discovering some twenty new species, some of which were even named after him, and he produced at least two scientific publications. Schlegel, Buddingh, and to a lesser extent Schaalje all contributed to zoology and mineralogy by collecting large numbers of animal and mineral specimens for the Museum of Natural History in Leiden; they also discovered some new species.

De Grijs collecting flora

When De Grijs was sent to the Indies in 1855, he was explicitly charged to continue his Chinese studies for the sake of science; but when he was sent to China a year later, no such purpose was mentioned.[1] A few months after his arrival in Amoy, in October and November 1857, the British official and botanist Dr. H.F. Hance visited Amoy and collected plants in the vicinity.[2] He must have met De Grijs then; perhaps they had already become acquainted while De Grijs was living in Macao.

H.F. Hance (1827–86) had come to Hong Kong and entered the civil service in 1844. In his spare time he collected and described the plants on the island of Hong Kong. In 1854 he was transferred to the superintendancy of trade in China. Starting in 1861, he was Vice-Consul in Whampoa

for 25 years, all the while continuing his botanical research. He was helped by other foreign officials in various parts of China who collected specimens for him, which he examined and described.[3] De Grijs was one of those collectors.

In the years when he was stationed in Amoy, De Grijs often made excursions to the Nan Taiwu or Taiwu Shan hills on the mainland south of Amoy[4] and to the tea districts in Ankoe (Anxi 安溪). He often went there accompanied by other students or foreign friends from Amoy. Two such excursions are mentioned in a letter in English to a certain "Mac" from 1863:

> Life goes on quietly and studying. Sometimes I take a trip up the river, for instance a few weeks ago I went with Nicholls to the tea country. We had plenty of grub and no lack of fine scenery, so we spent the time very pleasantly. Saturday I went with Johnston, Pye and Groeneveldt to the Nam t'ai wu [Nan Taiwu 南太武]; we left Amoy at Four, arrived near Kang Beh [Gangwei 港尾] at 5½, and walked Sunday morning before breakfast to the hot springs; after breakfast we went up the Nam t'ai, and left the top about three p.m.,



10. Camellia grijsii (from website of The International Camellia Society, March 2008, photo by Yuri Panchul).

> went into the boat at six, slept not on the water, but with the boat in the mud, and left for Amoy on Monday (today) at six, arrived here at nine a.m.[5]

According to the Russian botanist E. Bretschneider, De Grijs collected 21 new species for Hance in Fujian between 1858 and 1862, some of which had already been described by others. All except two were described by Hance.[6] These new species included:[7]

Clematis caesariata
Camellia Edithae (a shrub)
Camellia theiformis (a shrub)
Zanthoxylum simulans (a thorny shrub or tree)
Prunus pogonostyla Maxim. (a tree)
Prunus campanulata Maxim. (a tree)
Rubus althaeoides (raspberry-like shrub)
Rubus jambosoides (raspberry-like shrub)
Corylopsis multiflora (a shrub blooming before it gets leaves)
Eugenia Grijsii (a kind of clove, later named *Syzygium Grijsii*)
Patrinia graveolens (a herb)
Echinops Grijsii (ball-thistle)
Vaccinium iteophyllum (a kind of blueberry)
Myrsine buxifolia (a shrub, now called *Distylum buxifolium*)
Machilus Grijsii (a tree)
Machilus oreophila (a tree, also called *Persea Grijsii*)
Elaeagnus Grijsii (a tree or shrub)
Buxus stenophylla (a tree or shrub)
Pellionia Grijsii (a tropical herb)
Iris Grijsii
Chrysopogon pictus
Alsophila Metteniana

In articles dated 1878 and 1879, Hance mentioned other plants collected by De Grijs that are not mentioned on this list.[8] For instance, *Camellia Grijsii* is missing, the best-known of De Grijs' new species, discovered in 1861.[9] It is also called *Thea Grijsii* and is distributed in China (Fujian, Hebei, Sichuan, Guangxi) and used for high-quality oil production (*see* illustration 10). *Camellia Grijsii* has great hybridising potential, and there is a double-flowered Chinese cultivar named Zhenzhucha.[10] *Camellia Grijsii* is also cultivated in Western gardens. Although De Grijs studied at the National Herbarium in Leiden, he never sent any plants to that institution.[11] Other than these contributions to science, De Grijs published very little. However, he was very active in Chinese studies and prepared several publications in manuscript,[12] but only two of them have any connection with botany. The first was a short article in Dutch, "On the preparation and use

of the green Chinese dye 綠糕 or 綠餻 [*lügao*], *Lŏ Kaô* (green cake)."[13] De Grijs also mentioned another name for this dye that was later commonly used: 綠膠 *lüjiao*, 'green paste.'[14] In the middle of the nineteenth century this expensive Chinese dye became known in Europe and drew much attention. Until then, green dyes used in silk or cloth changed in appearance under artificial light, losing their beauty, because they were composed of blue and yellow dye. But when this mysterious Chinese dye was used, silk dresses kept their lustre even under candlelight or gaslight; this was demonstrated by a lady at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1855. In France, in particular, there were scientific discussions and research was performed on the ingredients and production process of this dye. In the Netherlands, a series of articles was published in *De Volksvlijt* (National industry) on these questions in 1856–8.[15]

In the beginning, Hoffmann was also consulted, but he could not solve the problem of the ingredients on the basis of his 1853 list of Chinese and Japanese plant names (*De Volksvlijt* (1856), 419). He probably contacted De Grijs, who had just arrived in China, and who then obtained information from the French missionary J. Hélot S.J. in Shanghai. De Grijs then wrote an article explaining that this dye was made from the bark of two kinds of trees in Zhejiang, and he gave a detailed description of the production process. His article was published in *De Volksvlijt* with the help of Hoffmann, and the latter also provided the Chinese type necessary for printing the characters of the Chinese names of plants and substances. De Grijs also sent seeds and plants to the National Hortus Botanicus in Leiden in 1858 (*De Volksvlijt* (1858), 188). At the end of his article, De Grijs wrote: "My chemical and technological studies here again come in handy for me, and it is a great pleasure for me in the midst of my literary and language studies to learn something of industry as well. If there are other things you wish to be studied, I'm waiting for your questions." (p. 319). Unfortunately, De Grijs is not known to have written other similar articles.[16]

De Grijs' other scientific publication is the translation into Dutch of the *Xiyuan Lu* 洗冤錄.[17] This was a handbook on forensic medicine dating from the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), 300 years before anything comparable appeared in Europe, according to De Grijs in his introduction. His translation was published by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1863 as *Geregtelijke geneeskunde, uit het Chineesch vertaald* (Forensic medicine, translated from the Chinese).[18] De Grijs used an edition from 1830 with the title *Xiyuan lu jizheng huizuan* 洗冤錄集證彙纂.[19] Originally he meant to publish this work as an appendix to his translation of the *Qing Code* (*Da Qing lüli* 大清律例), but that translation was never published. In his introduction, De Grijs wrote: "This work is written in a clear style and the main difficulty in translating is to find European

synonyms for the Chinese names of plants, animals, stones, medicines, parts of the body, etc." He then gave a list of European and Chinese works which he had consulted, ending: "To what extent I have succeeded in finding the correct European names is up to experts to judge." In this translation, no characters were provided, and for Chinese terminology and names the reader is, most inconveniently, referred to the page and line numbers and order of the characters in Hoffmann's list of Chinese matrices of 1860.[20] In the translation, place names and names of persons are often left out, probably because they were considered irrelevant for the Dutch public. There are some consistent misspellings, for instance "Tokiën" for "Fokiën" (Fujian), "Tsoan-tsin" for "Tsoan-tsiu" (Quanzhou), "Wang-in-hoai" for "Wang Iu-hoai" 王又槐, "moch" for "moeh" 木, etc., which are due to misinterpretations of De Grijs' handwriting. Clearly, no proofreading was done by De Grijs or anyone else knowing Chinese. R.H. van Gulik had a high opinion of this translation.[21] It was later retranslated into German without correction.[22]

After his appointment in the Indies, De Grijs became a member of the Royal Association for Natural Sciences in the Netherlands Indies (*Koninklijke Natuurkundige Vereeniging in Nederlandsch-Indië*) in 1865.[23] This association, which was established in 1850, aimed to promote the natural sciences in the widest sense. No other contributions to the sciences by De Grijs are known.

Schlegel collecting fauna

Francken took a course with Professor Suringar and specialised in the study of algae.[24] Before he left the Netherlands, he bought twenty books on the natural sciences out of his book allowance, but it is not known if he collected any specimens in China.

Gustaaf Schlegel did not take scientific courses at the university, probably because he was not allowed to do so before he finished his *gymnasium* or passed the *admissie* examination. But he was the son of the well-known zoologist Herman Schlegel, who became titular professor and director of the Museum of Natural History in Leiden in 1858. Herman Schlegel was well known for his *De vogels van Nederland* (The birds of the Netherlands), first published in 1854–8, a standard work on Dutch birds illustrated with his own drawings.[25] According to Gustaaf, his father went bird hunting every Saturday and was permitted to do so for the Museum the year round, even outside hunting season and near the railroad.[26] Gustaaf was also an enthusiastic and knowledgeable birdwatcher. Before he left for China, his father instructed him on how to collect complete series of every species. According to Gustaaf, his father also presented him with a copy of Dar-

win's travel accounts as an example of how to observe nature.[27] Since the German translation of the book, entitled *Naturwissenschaftliche Reisen*[28] also appears on the list of books purchased with his book allowance, it was probably paid for in that way. It appears also on Francken's list and on the combined list of Buddingh and Groeneveldt.[29]

When in Amoy, Gustaaf met the British consular official Robert Swinhoe,[30] who was just four years older than he was. He shared with him his interest in birds, and both stayed in Amoy simultaneously for about a year and a half. During this time, Gustaaf discovered one new species that was described by Swinhoe in 1863 as *Anthus Gustavi*.

He could freely collect specimens without being hampered by the Chinese, since he knew how to explain this activity to them. He said many years later in a speech:

> When I was shooting animals and birds and collecting insects in China for the Museum of Natural History in Leiden, I only needed to make the Chinese farmers believe I was collecting these animals in order to make medicine out of them, and I was let through unimpeded.[31]

The guns were not only useful for hunting but were, according to Schlegel, also convenient for protection against pirates, thereby creating good-will for the Dutchmen among the Chinese villagers on Gulangyu:

> They also knew that when Chinese pirates would try to land on the island during the night, we would come to help the Chinese farmers with our shotguns, and just the rumour that six whites were protecting the village was enough to scare off the pirates.[32]

Gustaaf collected animals and minerals for his father's museum. He sent three shipments to Holland, comprising in total 1,922 pieces. The first shipment was sent on 2 November 1859, and it arrived in Leiden eight months later on 2 June 1860. The second and third arrived on 6 April 1861 and 20 February 1862. They included at least 22 mammals, 370 bird skins, 43 eggs, some nests, 42 reptiles, 214 fishes, 638 crustacea, hundreds of shells, 250 insects, 42 mollusks, etc.[33] He also sent specimens of earth, clay and rock from the island of Gulangyu. At least ten of the bird skins were bought in Amoy and were said to originate from China; most of the birds were probably shot by Gustaaf himself. He may also have bought other specimens such as butterflies, as he wrote in his description of his first shipment:

> A large box of insects, which seem to include a large number of new kinds, in particular among the night-moths or kinds without gaudy colours, both of which are not collected by the Chinese.[34]

Many years later, in his short biography of his father, Gustaaf mentioned some of his more important contributions. These were the *Muscicapa*

Mugimaki (a kind of flycatcher) and the very rare *Lobivanellus inornatus* (similar to the peewit, in Dutch *kievit*)—in all of Europe, only the Leiden museum possessed one specimen from Japan, and Gustaaf shot a second one in Amoy. Others were new species, such has the *Anthus Gustavi*, named after him; two new species of Pennatulides (sea pen): *Pteroides Chinense* and *Halisceptrum Gustavienum*, described by J.A. Herklots; a lot of new fishes, four of which were described by P. Bleeker in 1863, *Pteroplatea Schlegeli*, *Pseudosciaena amblyceps*, *Pseudosciaena amoyensis*, *Arius Schlegeli*;[35] and about 22 new insects.

In 1870 he had already complained in a letter to the editors of the *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*[36] that he had not received the slightest remuneration for his contributions to the Museum, which had cost him *f* 1,000; all he had received was an official letter of thanks from the director (his father). He thereupon promised himself never to offer any presents to such an ungrateful fatherland. In his short biography of his father in 1884, he even complained that he never received the slightest acknowledgement, and after his return to Holland in 1872, he found that most of his bird skins were still lying unstuffed in the storerooms.[37] He estimated in 1884 that the total value of the collection would be about *f* 5 apiece or *f* 9,610 in total, adding that the collection would have been worth much more in the past: Swinhoe's collection of birds alone, which was not larger than his own, had been sold for £ 1,000,[38] that is *f* 12,000.

His best known contribution to the sciences of nature is his discovery of *Anthus Gustavi* Swinhoe. The common English name for this bird is Pechora Pipit (Dutch: *Petsjora pieper*), which was given by the British ornithologist Henry Seebohm in 1875 after he collected (shot) five birds in their breeding ground near the Pechora River. This river lies west of the Ural Mountains and flows northward, ending in the sea just south of Nova Zembla. Upon his return home, Seebohm found that this bird had been described by Swinhoe in 1863, but its common name seems to have been provided by Seebohm.

The Pechora Pipit breeds in Northern Russia and Siberia from the Pechora to the Ob and Yenisey Rivers, and migrates via Lake Baikal, Yantai (Chefoo, Shandong) and Xiamen (Amoy) along the Chinese coast to its hibernating place in Eastern Indonesia (Sulawesi, Moluccas) and the Philippines.[39] The bird that was shot by Schlegel and sent to Leiden was a female specimen. It was on its return to its breeding ground on 20 May 1859 when Gustaaf Schlegel found and shot it on Kolongsu (Gulangyu). Gustaaf thought it was a new species and made a detailed description of it, which is still kept in the Museum Naturalis in Leiden. He must have shown it to Swinhoe, who at first thought it was an *Anthus cervinus* (Red-Throated Pipit; Dutch: *roodkeelpieper*), which passes through Europe on its way from Siberia to Africa. After shooting the bird, Schlegel



11. Stuffed specimen of Anthus Gustavi collected by G. Schlegel, 20 May 1859, Kolongsu (Gulangyu) (Museum Naturalis, Leiden).

prepared it by removing the skin with a skinning knife as usual, and sent the hide to his father in the Museum of Natural History in Leiden. Four years later Swinhoe realised it was a new species, and he named it "Gustaaf's pipit": *Anthus Gustavi* Swinhoe (*see* illustration 11).[40]

After its arrival in the Museum in Leiden, another specimen of the same kind was discovered in the collection; this had been sent by the naturalist E.A. Forsten (1811–43) from Sulawesi in 1842, but it had not yet been described. It is most curious to note that Gustaaf's father, Herman Schlegel, seems never to have understood his son's discovery. He called it *Anthus Forsteni*, which was later changed to *Anthus cervinus*. Probably it was only after Herman Schlegel's death that the official name of this specimen was finally recognised in the Museum.[41]

Gustaaf Schlegel never published his description of the *Anthus Gustavi*, nor any other article on the sciences of nature, but there are detailed manuscript descriptions of some of his donations, which are kept at the Museum.[42] In his Dutch–Chinese encyclopaedic dictionary, much attention is paid to the names of plants and animals; often various translations are mentioned, taken from the dictionaries of Medhurst, Lobscheid etc. Schlegel also often adopted and translated Chinese descriptions of flora and fauna in his dictionary, sometimes adding his own observations. For instance, in the entry on *civet-kat* (civetcat), he commented on an article by Swinhoe (part I, p. 766).

Buddingh collecting fauna

Another student who actively collected for the Leiden Museum was Arie Buddingh, Gustaaf's cousin and Herman Schlegel's nephew. He originally planned to go to Japan, and Herman Schlegel prepared a three-page list of "Animals to be collected in Japan," including extremely rare and perhaps even non-existent animals such as the Japanese wolf, but also the Hokkaido bear, seals, dolphins, etc. He and Groeneveldt also obtained an extra allowance of *f* 300 for scientific equipment. After arriving in East Asia, he wrote letters to his uncle Herman Schlegel painting a lively picture of the circumstances of his collecting; accordingly, much more is known about his collecting activity than that of Gustaaf, although his contribution to the Museum was much smaller.

During his journey to the Indies and to China, Buddingh already attempted to collect specimens. When he was in Singapore he happened to meet the famous German zoologist E.C. von Martens. On 21 February 1862, he wrote from there to his uncle Herman Schlegel:

> Dear Uncle,
>
> Although the lighting at my disposal is bad (it's a small night-light), I want to inform you a little about our journey, because the mailboat will leave tomorrow morning. Papa will certainly have informed you of our safe and sound arrival on Java; the journey produced little of importance. We have not been able to catch any fish or birds at sea, and we have not seen land on the way. But there were a lot of calms, and bad food and bad treatment on board. We only once had a storm, outside the Channel, but all ended well, and during the whole journey we had a beautiful view of the phosphorescent sea at night. The understanding among the 36 passengers was excellent, and this compensated for the bad treatment by the captain, who was otherwise a good sailor and never got angry.
>
> Java is a beautiful country. I have seen little of it. The environs of Batavia did not disappoint me—there are lots of birds and insects. I also saw the so-called walking leaf, which surpasses the boldest imagination. I offered *f* 5 apiece; they came from Bogor, but I did not get them. Collecting insects causes a lot of trouble—the heat of the day is killing for a European. We completed our journey to Singapore by mail steamer in five days. We called in at Mentok on Bangka and at Riau, both lovely islands. On this journey there were again two days of violent wind gusts which are very dangerous. The foggy weather in the Chinese sea prevented us from seeing land to maintain course and avoid the multitude of shoals and islands. Normally, the passage takes three days.
>
> Singapore is an awful place—that is, the town. The population consists of Klings or Singhalese and Chinese, some Malays, as well as Europeans, who generally live outside the town. Yesterday we arrived, and now we are staying at Hôtel de l'espérance. Today at lunch, I suddenly heard a familiar voice speaking German among the English, and looking aside and addressing him, I recognised Von Martens[43]—a pleasant encounter. Tomorrow I'll meet him again. His journey on the *Thetis* is so far successful. The loss of the *Frauenlob*

> grieved him very much. His shipments are still frequent. He praised Japan very much, but did not like China. He was sorry not to have met Gustaaf. He asked me to send his friendly regards to all. …[44]

Buddingh continued collecting immediately after his arrival in Amoy, and on 13 May 1862, he wrote to his uncle:

> And now something about collecting. I am busy with these things, but I'm afraid Gustaaf has already sent all there is here. Yesterday I again suffocated two snakes in one of the tins of Chinese brandy. That is an excellent means to kill them—within a few hours they are dead. To my disappointment, the pot of arsenic was broken on the way. They treat goods so terribly on board the ships. But I'll prepare a new one to make the skins—the rest arrived safely.[45]

Four months after his arrival in Amoy, he sent the first shipment of specimens (No. 1) with letters dated 13 and 15 September 1862. These were boxes with bird skins, butterflies, cicadas, and other insects, and nests and eggs of the tailor bird ("if the green is fresh, nothing surpasses the beauty of these nests"). There were also shells and horns (*schulpen en hoorns*), mostly bought in Singapore or found on the beach in Macao, bottles of insects in liquor, and snakes and crabs from Amoy. For the insects (cicadas, *mantis religiosa*), he included larvae and other stages. There was also a mouse from Macao and a scorpion from Batavia, and there were some insects ("blood-red when alive") from the Atlantic Ocean. Clearly Buddingh had done his best to collect anything he could lay his hands on.

Besides collection, the conservation of specimens was not without problems. Buddingh wrote:

> Because of unforeseen circumstances, half of what I collected in these summer months May-September went bad and became unsuitable for sending. May the rest be appreciated, because in a warm, or rather scorching climate, it is a hard job to collect objects during free hours, since they are not really there for the picking, as some in Europe think. On the contrary, our island is very poor. One needs to search for a long time to find anything.[46]

In the same packet, he sent a few boxes of tea. Shipment No. 1 was received in Leiden nine months later, on 1 June 1863; it included, according to a note by Herman Schlegel, 7 birds, 11 birds' eggs, 6 reptiles, 4 fishes and 3 mammals.[47]

Collecting remained troublesome. Buddingh wrote the next summer:

> I have not been able to collect a lot because of too much study, unpleasant experiences with skunks and a warm winter that made excursions impossible.[48]

But sending was equally difficult; in the same letter he wrote:

> I have until now had no opportunity to give a large chest of birds etc. to a ship to take along. The captains are sometimes such rascals that I do not trust them, and besides, there are so few ships going directly to the Netherlands by way of Java.[49]

He could, however, give a small chest to the German merchant Albert Pasedag.[50]

> Just now one of my friends from Amoy returned to Germany for good, because commerce was not up to his expectations. Of course, I could not let this opportunity go and asked him to take along some things to Leiden. I was only permitted one small chest, and therefore I have put in it the smallest and most important things that were ready for sending.[51]

This shipment (No. 2) included:

> 2 owls (of great value), 2 kingfishers, 1 sea duck (Little Grebe, which are very difficult to get; this one was shot by Schaalje and me simultaneously, each of us fired twice at this animal; an exquisite specimen of which I yield the honour of presenting it to my friend Schaalje, who offers it to you.) …[52]

He also announced another future donation:

> I now intend to prepare the skin of my weasel, which I have still kept alive. He lags behind in growth and is coloured less dark than the specimens in the wild, which can be seen but cannot be caught. I have already done new experiments, which succeeded rather well.[53]

Seemingly, he was doing scientific experiments with his weasel. The small chest also contained other goods such as tea, and six rare Chinese coins for the University Coin Museum (*Academisch Penningkabinet*)[54] of Professor P.O. van der Chijs in Leiden. This shipment No. 2 was received in Leiden two months later on 12 August 1863. Herman Schlegel noted as its contents: "7 birds."

Very soon afterwards, on 7 July 1863, there was an opportunity to send shipment No. 3, a large chest of birds, and a smaller chest, on a Dutch ship. These contained cases and bags of bird skins, many of which were sea birds such as seagulls, albatrosses, and pelicans, and also a set of shark's jaws and a tin can containing a large snake, 8 feet long and weighing 8 pounds, caught on Gulangyu, a present from Schaalje. There were also small snakes and a lot of crabs, for the conservation of which *f* 10 worth of Dutch gin (*jenever*) was necessary. Besides these, there were also pieces of coral and shells, to be given to Buddingh's father in case they were of no use to the Museum, "and finally two skins, one of a rat and one of the tame weasel, which lost its life because of an accident; its tail got lost when it was skinned."[55]

Buddingh hoped to get some instructions from his uncle. "I would like to receive a short description of the objects I sent that are not known to me, with the scientific names, also the names of the birds and whether the snakes are poisonous." He also hoped to get some comments on the quality of the treatment of the bird skins; gradually his skills should improve, although one bird differs from another when one prepares its skin.

At this time, the three students were expecting to leave Amoy and go to Hong Kong. Now that Buddingh had been living there for a year and a half, he had found a better method of collecting.

> It's a pity we are leaving Amoy, because one always has to stay for some time at a certain place to get acquainted and be known. For this purpose, I have often incurred expenses that will not yield anything for me, because one has to have everything collected by the Chinese. Collecting on one's own doesn't work—except in the wintertime—it would cost a European his life.[56]

Altogether, he had already spent $50 on behalf of the Museum, not knowing to what extent this would be refunded. If less were available, he could pay the rest himself, "in other words consider it a donation, together with the time and effort spent."

One reason that he collected less than the year before was that they had moved to other lodgings.

> It will perhaps surprise you that I collected so little compared with the collection of 1862, which is now on its way. But I am now living in the town at the harbour, opposite Gulangyu; since March, I have left the old English Consulate, and therefore the garden and environs. It returned to Chinese hands. Otherwise, I could have gone there from time to time, but now all is closed. Therefore I have not been able to collect birds' eggs, nor butterflies and insects.[57]

Apparently he had done a great deal of collecting in the old Consulate's own garden! Shipment No. 3 was received in Leiden nine months later, on 23 March 1864. Herman Schlegel only noted the receipt of a donation of 37 birds, a pair of shark's jaws and a box of insects from Buddingh and 3 birds from Schaalje.

Buddingh also made a wonderful excursion to Formosa (Taiwan):

> Recently I went to Formosa. I was in the interior for three days, but circumstances and time prevented me from collecting anything. I only brought along one bird and a few nests, besides sulphur and coal from the mines. It is a sublime country, nothing less than Java: the name Formosa doesn't suffice—this country should be called 'Formossissima.' I was delighted with the fertility, beauty, natural resources and splendour of this island. The rivers are also wonderful—we don't have anything like them in Europe. I was even more surprised at the beauty of nature, because Formosa is so near the Chinese coast, which looks like a poor orphan—particularly our bare Amoy, which is actually Gulangyu on a large scale. But Amoy has proportionally fewer trees, so it is not at all strange that there are fewer birds. But it surprised me highly that I saw so few birds on my excursions on Formosa, and I still believe there are enough of them. It is just because of the luxuriant forests that they do not appear. They do not have to search for food far away, and disquiet is unknown to them. The pheasant that Swinhoe brought to England and that was named after him, was given to him by the British consul in Tamsui, and he bought it from a Chinese from the highlands of Formosa.[58] I saw a lot of snakes on Formosa, but not of the same kind. The butterflies are beautiful, and also

> very different from those of Amoy and Gulangyu. There are also all kinds of monkeys and especially turtles. In all I was on land only for five days, and away from home for ten days.[59]

The next two shipments (Nos. 4 and 5) were sent afterwards, but there is no note of their receipt by the Museum. About the middle of November 1863, he sent No. 5, a small amount of specimens and a large package for his family (with tea, cigars, presents). These specimens included everything he had collected on Formosa (the rest had been eaten by rats on board): two nests from Tamsui including the little eggs (*met de eijertjes*), a bird skin, and pieces of sulphur. And also

> a skin of a mammal, from the interior of this province. The Chinese call it stone tiger. I consider it the skin of a civet-cat or wild cat, perhaps something new. It was skinned and dried by the Chinese—however it is all right. There's nothing lacking except the paws, and the tail is badly conserved.[60]

In the last letter present in the Museum (8 December 1863), he wrote that he had received new equipment from the Museum and announced his plan to go on collecting:

> Now that I have received the spirits, and we'll stay in Amoy for some time, I'll collect fishes, snakes, etc. according to your wishes for the Museum. I am happy to receive the skinning knives, of which I'm in great need.

Nothing is known of any later donations from China.

From these accounts, it seems that many birds were hunted by the students themselves. De Grijs possessed several shoulderarms and pistols,[61] of which the former were possibly used for hunting. But Buddingh and Groeneveldt may also have bought guns from their allowance for scientific equipment. Where there are guns, accidents tend to happen, and although there is no evidence that Groeneveldt joined the others in hunting, it is known that he accidentally shot another person named Wolff, probably a sailor, in the head. De Grijs wrote to Francken in Surabaya:

> Wolf of the Emilie [presumably the name of a ship] should now be in Java, and if you hear that he is in difficult circumstances, or perhaps dead or something, write me. You know that Groeneveldt shot a bullet through his forehead, which cost Wolf an eye when he left Amoy; but since the bullet is not yet out of his head, I'm worried ….[62]

Two weeks later, De Grijs wrote a letter in Dutch to comfort Mrs. Wolff, who was no doubt in the Indies, saying that she was taking good care of her husband, and that he would probably soon be stationed in Semarang.[63]

After Buddingh was appointed in the Indies, he also went on collecting for the Museum for some time. He sent some bird skins, mollusks and

crustacea from Bangka, dating from February 1865 to November 1866. One of the crustacea collected by him was described as a new species almost a century later in 1950.[64] He also sent many specimens of plants to the Botanical Garden in Bogor.[65]

CHAPTER FIVE

DE GRIJS AND THE SINO–DUTCH TREATY OF TIENTSIN (1863)

The need of a treaty with China

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch East India Company had sent four embassies to China to try to establish commercial relations.[1] These embassies obtained valuable information about China, and the travelogues written by them remained an important source on China for a long time. But the Chinese regarded these commercial envoys as barbarians bringing tribute to the Chinese Emperor and did not treat them on an equal basis. As a result, they did not achieve their purpose of opening up trade with China.[2] Only Canton (and of course Macao) was to a limited extent open to foreign trade, for the Dutch East India Company from 1728 onwards.[3]

In the nineteenth century, the British took the initiative to establish further commercial relations with China, and after the Opium War of 1839–42, which has been called "the most unreasonable war waged for the most unreasonable purpose," China was forced to open five "treaty ports," including Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai, and to cede Hong Kong to Britain forever. From 1856 to 1858, a second war was waged by the British, now allied with the French, resulting in 1858 in the Treaties of Tientsin with further concessions by the Chinese. These treaties were concluded with Britain, France, the United States, and Russia. When China did not act in full accordance with the treaty provisions, a second expeditionary force was sent to Northern China, which landed in Tientsin and even occupied Peking. In retaliation for the murder of British envoys by the Chinese, British, and French troops heavily damaged the Emperor's Summer Palace in Peking. This second Opium War ended with the Convention of Peking of 1860. Now more treaty ports were opened, foreign ambassadors were to be accepted and allowed to reside in Peking where they would not have to perform the *ketou* (kowtow) in front of the Emperor, and it was forbidden for the Chinese to designate the foreigners as barbarians (*Yi* 夷). There were also advantages for the Christian mission, which was also allowed into the interior of China.

The Dutch took a neutral position during these wars; this was for several reasons. By this time the Dutch were no longer the great sea power of two centuries before. Throughout the nineteenth century (until 1940),

the Netherlands in general took a neutral position in conflicts between the great powers. Moreover, the Governor-General of the Indies and the Minister of Colonies, and not the Minister of Foreign Affairs, were responsible for diplomatic and consular relations with China and Japan, and they did not wish to harm the special, age-old relationship with Japan by an aggressive policy towards China.[4] The Netherlands Indies government also had its hands full managing affairs in the Indies, where several colonial wars were waged.[5] Despite its neutral position, the Netherlands would still profit from the advantages achieved by others.[6]

In 1861, a year after the Convention of Peking, at the initiative of Prince Gong, a half brother of the Emperor, the Chinese established a ministry of foreign affairs, the *Zongli Yamen* 總理衙門, "Office for the general administration (of the affairs of all countries)," which was headed by Prince Gong.[7] This institution would play an important role not only in diplomacy but also in the modernisation of China for the next forty years. It also included a school for interpreters called the Tongwenguan 同文舘. Under Prince Gong there were two "Vice-Ministers," called Commissioners (or Superintendants) of Trade, one of the Northern Harbours, stationed in Tientsin, and one of the Southern Harbours stationed in Shanghai, who both played an active role in contacts with the Western powers.

Before the transfer of responsibility for Chinese and Japanese affairs to the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs in July 1862,[8] J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, the Dutch 'Consul in Canton,' who was actually living in Macao, wrote several letters to Governor-General Sloet on the need and methods for concluding a treaty. On 28 November 1861, he reported that Xue Huan 薛煥,[9] the Commissioner of the Southern Harbours of China, had prohibited issuing passports for sailing on Chinese rivers to ships of nations without a treaty with China, and that there was no hope that this situation would change in the near future.

Two months later, on 20 January 1862, he wrote that an effort to conclude a treaty, supported by some show of the flag to inspire respect, would now have a chance of success. He added that for negotiations with the Chinese government the assistance of C.F.M. de Grijs would be of great value; he was acting Vice-Consul in Amoy and destined to serve as Chinese interpreter in the Indies. On 23 February 1862, Governor-General Sloet decided in the first place that De Grijs should for the time being remain acting Vice-Consul in Amoy in order to be used as interpreter for negotiations, and in the second place that Van der Hoeven should draft such a treaty.[10]

Soon after the transfer of Chinese and Japanese affairs to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on 25 September 1862, Van der Hoeven sent a letter to Xue Huan asking him to beseech (*kěn* 懇) the Emperor for permission to conclude a treaty with the Netherlands. In this letter, in which his Chinese

name was translated as Fang 方, he referred to the age-old commercial relations between the two countries and the urgent need to regularise trade.

Xue Huan sent a memorial to the Emperor advising to give approval for a treaty, adding that it should be a copy of the Belgian treaty that had just been signed in Shanghai. In order to spare costs and time, the Dutch were not to send a special envoy.[11] But in his memorial he also remarked that "in the request the Dutch called their ruler the Great Emperor (*Da Huangdi* 大皇帝); in the future a way should be found to make them change this."[12] The Emperor gave his approval, but actually it was his mother, the Empress Dowager Cixi, who made the decision. At that time the Tongzhi Emperor (1857–75) was only seven years old. His reign period was 1861–75, but his Imperial seal was kept by his mother Cixi. The power of the Emperor was therefore in her hands, and she would rule China from 1861 to 1908.

The letter to which Xue Huan referred must have been translated by Schaalje, who was then studying in Canton.[13] At the time, the Chinese words for Emperor and King were often confused, as Lobscheid explained in his dictionary. At the entry "King" he added a footnote: "皇 [*huang*] means emperor and 王 [*wang*] king, a distinction, which has not always been observed when making treaties with the Chinese."[14]

When he received the Emperor's approval, the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Jhr. Mr. P.Th. van der Maesen de Sombreff[15] answered that he still wished to send an envoy and to conclude a full treaty, not a copy of the Belgian one. He considered the manner which the Chinese suggested both as contempt for the treaty and an insult to Dutch dignity.[16]

Thereupon Van der Maesen assigned Van der Hoeven as plenipotentiary. A Royal Authorisation (*volmagt*) was issued on 11 December 1862, and on 23 December Van der Maesen sent instructions to Van der Hoeven. These were that the treaty should in the first place guarantee the fulfilment of the most-favoured nation principle, both in the field of political advantages and—in particular—in commerce and shipping.[17] According to this principle, which was generally employed in European treaties at the time, the Dutch would be given all advantages that had been afforded to other nations. In other matters, Van der Hoeven was allowed, if necessary, to give in to Chinese demands. This treaty of friendship and commerce should establish consular and diplomatic relations, in the same way as other nations had done. Van der Hoeven was to proceed to China on a Dutch warship, the steamer *Vice-Admiraal Koopman*[18]—necessary for displaying the flag—and then to conclude the treaty.[19]

From De Grijs' letters, diary, and a draft article, many details are known about the history of this mission, particularly his own role, his observations, opinions, and feelings. These are supported and further illustrated by Chinese sources.[20] In the following account, the emphasis is on clarifi-

cation of what this mission meant for the interpreter De Grijs and what he meant to this mission.

Preparing for the embassy

In May 1863, Van der Hoeven and De Grijs awaited the *Vice-Admiraal Koopman*, which was returning from a mission in Japan. De Grijs had already decided to take along his teacher Ang, whose salary would be about three times as much as the normal teacher's salary of $10 to $15 per month. He wrote to Francken from Amoy:

> In the past I told you about Peking, but do you know that Ang will go there with me? He will get $35 per month from me as long as the expedition lasts, and he deserves it, because I trust him as much as a Chinese can be trusted.[21]

At the same time, De Grijs had misgivings about the mission: knowing China well, he did not approve of the aims and methods of the Dutch government. He was angry because the embassy was led by the merchant Van der Hoeven. De Grijs' anger was not unfounded; later the Chinese would also be indignant that the Dutch sent a merchant as plenipotentiary.[22] Moreover, he was eager to leave China and go to Java, and his function in the delegation was not clear. He was under great stress, and he may also have had doubts about his ability to interpret in Mandarin on this important occasion; according to Schlegel in 1872, De Grijs only spoke a little Mandarin.[23] In another private letter to Francken, he vented his emotions:

> As to the treaty business, there is nothing I can say. In the past, I imagined some decent person from Holland or Java would be sent, and therefore I stayed in China, against my interests. Now it is Van der Hoeven, and I noticed that he has depended on me for a long time. If I back out now, the stupid morons as well as the sensible lot will think—at the instigation of an ultra-conservative merchant in ginger, spices, edible oil, etc.—that I am backing out because I am afraid to make a treaty under the eyes of such a proficient China-expert as the ambassador in question. Even if the gods and goddesses were to lend me their speaking trumpets to curse with, that would not be enough to express my anger, but unfortunately, as Thomas Carlisle has said, it is a difficult operation to drive anything into a wooden head. The infatuation of the government goes so far that, of all ships in the world, they have chosen one named *V.A. Koopman* [Dutch for "merchant"], with a *koopman* [merchant] as ambassador—without a secretary, without an interpreter, without anything, because I only seem to be an adjunct for the purpose of buying Gû-bah [牛肉, "beef"][24] for them. The worst is that I cannot do anything about it! Before the treaty is settled I'll have a talk with Van der Hoeven, and I promise you that I will keep it as decent as possible.[25]

A few weeks later De Grijs went to Hong Kong, where he arrived on 1 June. On that day, he wrote to the students in Amoy that he was "rath-

er sure he would try to withdraw from the embassy."[26] Ten days later he changed his mind after Van der Hoeven offered him a possible trip to the Netherlands, a very attractive reward after eight years in the Far East. He wrote to Francken:

> I wished to go to Java now, but Van der Hoeven stopped me, saying that I will go North with him next week, and I will probably take the treaty home [to Holland] soon.[27]

The *Vice-Admiraal Koopman* under Captain J.E. Buys arrived in Hong Kong on 15 June, but went into dock at Whampoa,[28] where it was to be newly coppered (*nieuwkoperen*).[29] Again, De Grijs experienced a grudge against his fellow countrymen, which he expressed in a letter to Schaalje:

> So the *Vice-Admiraal Koopman* arrived here and has 15 officers and 175 men on board. The commander is an ultra-conservative Hollander whose heart and bosom throbs at the word 'Holland' and who reproached me after I had seen him for half an hour, that I was ashamed of Holland and was no Hollander. The officers are all true Dutch lads (jolly good fellows), and the food on board is ultra-conservative. Van der Hoeven will feel completely at home, but I, a bastard, feel out of place here.[30]

About this time, De Grijs was finally appointed by Van der Hoeven as 'Chinese Secretary and interpreter.' This was probably effective from 1 July,[31] when Johnston was made acting Vice-Consul in Amoy. De Grijs remained insecure about the future:

> I do not know what will become of me when we are finished in the North. I think I'll go to Java, or perhaps to Holland.[32]

In the meantime, apart from investigating opportunities for the three students in Amoy to study Hakka in Hong Kong, De Grijs was probably already busy making a translation of the draft treaty and preparing the official correspondence with the Chinese government. He urged Schaalje to send his teacher Ang, "the cross-eyed one" (*de scheele*), as quickly as possible, as he had a lot of writing to do. Ang's full name was probably Ang In Liong.[33] He also asked Schaalje to send books and other things that he needed on the mission: Kangxi's and Morrison's dictionaries (he had probably already taken along the much smaller dictionary by Medhurst), Biot's geographic dictionary of China (borrowing Schaalje's or Groeneveldt's copy), "the mirror's flowers" (perhaps the novel *Jinghuayuan* 鏡花緣),[34] and all books that could be stored in a book chest. Besides these, he needed his Dutch Bible and English hymnal, a French–Dutch dictionary, Brill's Dutch grammar, and writing utensils such as a box of red pencils [for correction], and a Chinese inkstone and writing brushes. Other things he needed were his cases of tobacco and cigars, his new black woolen coat (*lakenschen jas*), his overcoat and his sabre. On 28 June, Ang and De Grijs'

servant Tsaì-laî arrived in Hong Kong.[35] At that time, they expected the negotiations would take four to five months,[36] and that they would spend the winter in the North[37] since, as De Grijs wrote to Francken after arriving in Tientsin, "it always takes a few months before Chinese negotiators are appointed, while I fear that the concluding and signing of the treaty will be postponed *ad calendas Graecas*."[38]

The new coppering of the *Vice-Admiraal Koopman* could not be finished in time, so Van der Hoeven decided to take another warship, the steamer *Citadel van Antwerpen*, which happened to arrive on 10 July, returning from a mission in Siam.[39] The ship had a technical problem with its engine, but it could be repaired soon. On 29 July, the delegation boarded ship and the *Citadel van Antwerpen* left Hong Kong. Later, De Grijs wrote to an English-speaking friend, showing his own feelings and the atmosphere on board:

> After a great deal of waiting I managed to be put at last on board of the *Citadel of Antwerp* & in the hallowed expectation of spending four to five months of my earthly career in the Ultima Thule of Asia alias called the glorious city of Tientsin; really it sounds well in the ears of a Dutchman to hear *Godverdomme* here & dito there & everywhere. If I had all the shillings for profane swearing during my trip north, I would be better off than Jardine.[40]

First they went to Shanghai, where the delegation stayed from 4 to 12 August and visited the Dutch Vice-Consul, Th. Kroes. The Chinese Commissioner Xue Huan had written in 1862 that the treaty should be signed in Shanghai instead of Tientsin, which would save money and time, saying that the Dutch could just as well copy the (very short) Belgian treaty of 8 August 1862.[41] This had already been considered unacceptable, and Van der Hoeven decided to leave Shanghai and go northwards to prevent undue delay.[42] He left a letter explaining this to the new Commissioner Li Hongzhang,[43] and proceeded to the North the next day without waiting for an answer. They arrived at Dagu (Taku) off Tientsin on 19 August.

De Grijs wrote to Francken:

> Later, when we were already in Tientsin, we received a letter from the Commissioner [Li Hongzhang], in which he said that we should do it in Shanghai, that we had come *to beseech* [*ken* 懇] for a treaty, and therefore should copy the Belgian treaty, etc. etc. He ended with a most polite phrase asking us to give instructions in reply [*shi fu* 示覆], which is the usual term in letters from an inferior to a superior. I find the style rude and impolite and it is very well possible that the Commissioner did not read the letter [himself]. Anyhow, no reply was sent.[44]

The rudeness possibly referred to the word "to beseech," which had been used in a slightly different context in Van der Hoeven's first letter translated by Schaalje in 1862. De Grijs wished eagerly that the Dutch be treated

with respect, and was worried about subtle ways in which the Chinese implied superiority. Certainly the last of the following sentences of Li Hongzhang's letter was authoritarian:

> Now if Your Honourable Country concludes a treaty in accordance with the Belgian regulations, this must of course still be handled in Shanghai. There is no need to proceed to the capital. If you venture to go there, there will be no one to receive you to handle the matter. Your Honourable Minister should therefore still return to Shanghai, only then can you have a meeting with this Vice-Minister to conclude the treaty.[45]

De Grijs' supposition that Li Hongzhang might not have read the letter from the Dutch was clearly wrong, since Li quoted both Van der Hoeven's and his own letter in full in his memorial to the Emperor of 13 August.[46] In any case, Van der Hoeven decided to ignore Li Hongzhang's letter and to negotiate with the Commissioner of the Northern Harbours.

In this memorial Li Hongzhang showed wariness of possible additional requests by the Dutch, and was particularly worried that they would proceed to Peking; moreover, the stationing of a Dutch envoy in Peking should at all costs be avoided. Li also conceded the true purpose of his letter to Van der Hoeven was to keep him from going to the capital. Li noticed that the wording of Van der Hoeven's letter was different from the letter of the previous year. The earlier letter had probably been translated by Schaalje, who was then studying in Canton,[47] while this letter was translated by De Grijs. 'The Netherlands' was now translated as *Da Heguo* 大和國 instead of *Da Helan guo* 大荷蘭國. At the same time, 'King' was now translated with the neutral term *junzhu* 君主 'sovereign,' just as the British had done in their treaties with China in 1842–60. The 'King of the Netherlands' was now translated as *Da Heguo Da Junzhu* 大和國大君主. Li commented on the wording as follows:

> The character 荷 (Hé, "lotus") in the name of their country had been changed into the character 和 (Hé, "harmony"), apparently because it has the same sound. In their request of last year they called their ruler Emperor (皇帝 *Huangdi*) but in this letter they call him sovereign (君主 *junzhu*). Therefore this item has already been changed without the trouble of a forceful debate. When concluding the treaty we should of course take this text of the envoy as final.[48]

Li Hongzhang did not mention that 和 was an abbreviation of the archaic name 和蘭 from the Ming dynasty (1368–1644),[49] and he seems to have accepted this change in combination with the change from "Emperor" to "sovereign."

Van der Hoeven's name had also been changed from Fang 方 to Fan 嶅, but Li had no comments on this change. He must have assumed that these were two different persons, because they had different functions: Fang was Consul and Fan was plenipotentiary.[50] To their chagrin, the Chinese found

out in Tientsin that the envoy Fan was the same as the mercantile consul Fang from Canton.

Two years earlier, De Grijs probably had already used the name *Da Heguo* 大和國, when he designated himself as 大和國領事官 (Consul of the Netherlands). *Da Heguo* 大和國 was no doubt coined after the examples of *Da Qingguo* 大清國 (China), *Da Yingguo* 大英國 (Britain) and *Da Faguo* 大法國 (France) that were used in treaties in 1842 and later; the latter two were abbreviations of the common names at that time: *Yingjili* 英吉利 and *Falanxi* 法蘭西.[51] De Grijs probably chose the Ming-dynasty name *Helan* 和蘭 as the basis for this new name, because it was generally used on Java. As acting Vice-Consul, he often came into contact with Chinese from the Indies, who would use this name. He may also have been influenced by his teacher Hoffmann, with whom he regularly corresponded, since the Ming name was also used in Japan. Another, stylistic reason for this choice may have been that *Da Heguo* 大和國, "Great Harmonious Country" seemed a more elegant name than *Da Heguo* 大荷國, "Great Lotus Country." As a consequence, these names were used in the Treaty of 1863, and so the archaic *Helan* 和蘭 and *Da Heguo* 大和國 became the official Chinese names used in diplomacy for the Netherlands. But they were hardly used elsewhere, and the common name *Helan* 荷蘭 remained in general use in all other Chinese publications. The use of these archaic names in diplomacy continued for eighty years and was finally abolished in 1944.[52]

In Tientsin

After arrival off Taku (19 August), De Grijs went to Tientsin first to make preparations, accompanied by the naval cadet J.M. van der Wijck, his clerk Ang and Tsai Lai (and probably his boy). On 7 September 1863, he wrote to Francken:

> Having left Shanghai on 12 August, we arrived off Taku on 19 August, and the next morning I went to the coast at Taku to go overland to Tientsin. After landing I went to the French commander of the fortress [le Vicomte de la Tour du Pin], who received me most politely and arranged a beautiful hired boat for me on which I left that night at nine. I arrived the next night at half past one in Tientsin. So I sat on board that boat for more than 24 hours and had plenty of opportunity to see the river, and I can assure you it is really worthwhile. The river has so many surprising bends that the journey is lengthened excessively, while the straight distance to Tientsin [50 km] is almost half the distance on the river. Now, I could have gone by cart and horse, but because of the frequent rains, the roads were so bad that I did not take a post-chaise with two mules. In the morning I left the boat and went to look for Fred Pedder.[53]

Pedder was an old friend of De Grijs from Amoy,[54] who was now British Consul in Tientsin. In four days' time De Grijs hired a house and purchased furniture, then he left Ang as caretaker and returned to Taku.

> The next day [Friday 28 August], I left with Van der Hoeven, Colonel Mossel [Commander], and Van der Wijck, attaché, to Tientsin where we arrived in the evening on Saturday 29 August, to the great pleasure of the gentlemen, who could not stop praising the beauty of the house and the furniture, and how well it was all arranged. I told a Cantonese cook that dinner should be ready by seven o'clock and had left the squint-eyed one [Ang] at home to see to it that my orders were executed. The food was sumptuous and remained so, and since I am the director of the house and cashier, and Tsaì Laî assists me, all is perfectly according to my wishes.[55]

Also, ceremony was not neglected. "The Dutch flag was raised, a guard was stationed at the door and Chonghou was notified of our arrival."[56]

On his first visit to Tientsin De Grijs had delivered a letter to Chonghou,[57] the Commissioner of the Northern Harbours, who would lead the Chinese delegation as he had during negotiations with other countries.[58] In this letter De Grijs mentioned that the Dutch plenipotentiary arrived on a warship (*da huolun shichuan* 大火輪師船), and he added a sensitive detail about their destination, which he explained as follows:

> In the translation Tientsin is indicated as if this was on the King's orders and there could be no question of staying in Shanghai.[59]

When the delegation arrived in Tientsin on 29 August, Chonghou had already sent an answer, saying that he wished to do anything to speed up the negotiations,[60] and therefore wished to see Van der Hoeven's authorisation (*volmagt*) first in an official place (*gongsuo* 公所). Van der Hoeven refused, as Chonghou in his position was not entitled to this.[61] Thereupon De Grijs went to him, saying that he could see the authorisation as a friend, but not in a neutral place; Chonghou should come to Van der Hoeven's place to see it. Chonghou stuck to his position, and so did De Grijs. Finally the Commissioner gave in, and they decided together that Van der Hoeven and Chonghou would first meet in a public building, the *Danghang* 當行.[62] This place was chosen as a neutral place, in order that neither of the parties could boast of having received the other party first.[63] They would greet each other on 2 September, and afterwards Chonghou would visit Van der Hoeven, and vice versa.

> Therefore we came together in a beautiful building, myself as interpreter, and although I thought that I would not be able to bring out one word in Mandarin, it went better than I thought.[64]

That afternoon, Chonghou came to Van der Hoeven's place, saw the authorisation, and received De Grijs' translation of it.[65] The following day Van der

Hoeven paid him a return visit.[66] Subsequently they had to wait for a letter from the Emperor that Chonghou was appointed as plenipotentiary.

Almost thirty years later, De Grijs disclosed that the Chinese were indignant that Van der Hoeven was made plenipotentiary, because he was a merchant in Macao. A few days after their arrival, Chonghou told De Grijs: "Yes, I know that you are a learned man and not a merchant, while Mr. Van der Hoeven is carrying on trade." De Grijs added that he was always treated with distinction, while Van der Hoeven was not as much respected as Colonel Mossel of the Navy.[67] According to the ancient Chinese ranking of social classes—scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants—the merchant class was the lowest. Besides, civil authorities were considered higher than the military. Another reason for their anger was probably that they felt deceived because 'plenipotentiary Fan' was the same person as 'Consul Fang' in the earlier correspondence.

On his life in Tientsin, while waiting for Chonghou's answer, De Grijs wrote jokingly to N.G. Peter[68] in Macao:

> Our life goes on like that of the diligent farmer, that is, we let God's water flow over God's fields, since it is indisputable that all is sure to be right except Lapidoth's legs, therefore we also hope that the treaty will be settled. We live in *the lap of luxury*—and although the female personnel leave nothing to be desired, there being no ladies—it is most probable that you would feel comfortable here. The food is so abundant that we have coolies to keep off the roast turkeys that just walk into our mouths. Van der Hoeven is rather satisfied, I believe, and *in fact as good as could be expected under the circumstances*. The great fleet commander is dispassionately liberal, eats a lot, sleeps a lot, and does not get too bored.[69]

De Grijs paid visits to foreign consuls and wrote in a private letter to Francken about Tientsin:

> Tientsin is a prosperous town, developing exceptionally fast as demonstrated by the number of Chinese shops selling European goods. There is a street named High Street, perhaps a mile long, which is full of shops with all kinds of precious wares, silks, furs, porcelain, jade-stones, picture shops, eating-places, etc., etc. I have seen Canton, but that cannot compare with this street. And keep in mind that almost the whole street burned down one and a half years ago, so all shops are new. Some shops sell clay puppets that are so beautiful that they should be placed on brackets—they only cost one dollar a dozen. Microscopic articles, thousands of photographs, mostly naked girls. Then there are a few temples where young neophytes—I mean catamites—can be obtained, and although it is general practice here to go to the girls, almost every Chinese has his boy: in all kinds of public gambling and theatre houses, there are separate dens where the boys will lead you, and if one way doesn't work the other way will: they don't even object to Hâm (Kâm)[70] your thing. Now this is a dirty story, but it's true. The houses of the foreigners are Chinese houses, and by the river, in the settlement, they are building now, so in two or three years, there will be a lot of European houses.[71]

In his draft article, he gave his opinion on the photographs:

> Among the European objects one finds whole stacks of photographs that give a very unfortunate idea of European morals and taste, one would wish that they at least did not try to civilise the Chinese with *such* pictures.[72]

In his diary, he wrote on 13 September:

> In order to dispel the monotony of Van der Hoeven's daily life, we invited Chinese acrobats to our house. I had many objections, but that was to no avail. The gymnastic routines of a nine-year old child were certainly nice, but the rest was unpleasant.[73]

It is not clear what he did not like about the acrobats—perhaps he found the extreme bending of bodies disturbing, or the fact that poor people were obliged to make a living in this way.[74]

The negotiations

Chonghou's authorisation arrived on 8 September. He asked Van der Hoeven to choose a day to inspect the authorisations in the usual manner. De Grijs wrote in his draft article:

> This took place on the tenth of September with all pomp and formality that one could wish on the basis of equality: the authorisation of the Emperor was written on yellow paper in a yellow box wrapped in yellow silk; when both authorisations had been found in order, Chonghou introduced two commissioners to negotiate the various articles, whereupon Van der Hoeven appointed the present author as the Dutch commissioner. The Dutch plenipotentiary immediately presented a Chinese translation of the draft treaty, in order to fulfill the Chinese wish aimed at a speedy handling of the matter.[75]

De Grijs wrote later in his diary that this draft text contained 19 articles.[76] He introduced the Chinese diplomats in his diary as follows:

> Chonghou, the appointed plenipotentiary, is a Manchu who has functioned as such at several treaties. He is well disposed towards the Europeans and one of the most civilised and well-mannered persons in the world. He is an excellent example of a naturally civilised man, and while he is not always very talkative, this is perhaps rather because of a sort of natural shyness than because of a lack of conversation. Although he is very shrewd, he blushes easily when he is found out driving at something that is not straight. Chonghou notified all foreign consuls of his appointment. He is assisted by two Chinese who match him very well. A little fellow with the rank of *daotai*, who is very brazen-faced, very clever, and who has a very sharp tongue; and a big good-natured chap, who actually has more sense than the little one but who acts as an intermediary when the little one goes somewhat too far. These two persons are charged with the negotiations for the Chinese side, while I am appointed to work with them for the Dutch side. The three of us will discuss the treaty article by article, and when that is finished, ask the plenipotentiaries for their approval.[77]

In his draft article, De Grijs gave some more details:

> Because he [Chonghou] always strives to keep good relations with the foreigners, he leaves the negotiations about less pleasant subjects to two persons who all the time assist him and act as his agents: the youngest Zhou Jiaxun [周家勳], who has the rank of *daotai* (Resident or Director), is very shrewd, very talkative, very impertinent, but he will shrink back from someone who dares to oppose him; he always began the attack when they were in a position that was difficult to defend; when he was repulsed, the second person Gao Congwang [高從望] came to his aid. This gentleman, governor of Tientsin Prefecture and surroundings, has a lot of experience with Europeans; he is more careful than his colleague and tries to mitigate somewhat the effect of the too sharp tongue of the former. I mean here the character of these gentlemen in official intercourse: as soon as the work is finished, they are charming, generous, and even kind-hearted and sincere.[78]

After the treaty was concluded, Chonghou sent a memorial to the Emperor giving an account of the negotiations. In this memorial he related that when De Grijs introduced the purpose of the Dutch, the Chinese immediately protested against a long treaty with many articles. Chonghou was surprised to see how well-prepared De Grijs was and how he took the initiative.

> I commissioned Prefect Fei Xuezeng 費學曾[79] and Prefect Appointee Zhou Jiaxun 周家勳 of Tianjin Prefecture to negotiate with the interpreter De Grijs (Kaishi 凱士), who had come together with the envoy and who was conversant with the Chinese written and spoken language. At that time De Grijs declared in person that this time the envoy had come specially to Tianjin to discuss the drawing up of a treaty. He planned to arrange it after the example of the treaties with Britain and France, in order to express the most-favoured-nation principle. To this we answered that all advantages and privileges between the two countries in the regulations for trade could be considered and approved, but it should not be divided into dozens of articles like Britain and France had done[80] [1858], it should only have the general meaning, all-inclusive, in a few articles and then it could be finished. To our surprise, that interpreter fixed a date for a preliminary meeting with the commissioners and he also said that he would now present a draft text of the treaty.[81]

De Grijs negotiated with them from 14 to 30 September, using five drafts of the treaty. Four drafts are kept in the Leiden University Library, two of which must have been copied by De Grijs' teacher Ang. These drafts show many corrections and changes, written in De Grijs' clumsy hand with a black or red pencil, or by his teacher Ang with a writing brush. Ang was perhaps also present at the negotiations and made these corrections on the spot.[82]

De Grijs wrote in his draft article:

> On 14 September the first meeting of the newly appointed commissioners took place, and a series of skirmishes started that were sometimes extremely unpleasant. The above-mentioned two Chinese officials, Zhou Jiaxun

> and Gao Congwang, acquitted themselves bravely of their tasks and tried all the time through various detours to stray away from the matter in question, to subjects that were completely outside the topic. It was a constant effort to keep them to the point. Since the meetings were without strict ceremonial, it was rather easy to let those gentlemen know the opinion of the Dutch plenipotentiary, without having to resort to all kinds of elegant phrases. The meetings usually started about half past nine and ended at one o'clock, and were mostly concluded with a collation where the three commissioners forgot their animosity with champagne and Chinese pastry, and had ample opportunity to exchange all kinds of questions about Europe and China.[83]

De Grijs gave more details about what he actually did in his diary:

> 14 September. Today, the first encounter between the two Chinese, Gao and Zhou, and myself took place. They had checked our draft treaty of 19 articles and now produced a draft of 10 articles.[84] The negotiations were *desultory* and after a long discussion—until one o'clock—I decided to show the draft to Van der Hoeven. Van der Hoeven disapproved because there were references to the treaties with other nations. This remark is completely correct. During the afternoon, evening, and part of the night, I kept on bringing into accord the considerable differences between the two drafts, and thus made a version of the text showing that we truly could not make less than our own treaty.
>
> 15 September. Showed my paper with the headings for each article. Had the greatest difficulty in the world driving it home to them that we do not want a long treaty, but only to note everything succinctly and correctly, without detracting from clarity. Came to the conclusion that I would make a draft treaty from the two treaties, went home, vented a little anger towards the Chinese, worked the whole afternoon and evening, and wrote the new treaty in 16 articles with my own hand, of which two copies were ready on 17 September.[85] …
>
> 17 September. This morning, [I] negotiated with the two Chinese commissioners, who were assisted by two others. We went through my new draft and after a lot of talk and more talk, we finally came to the result of accepting everything except the Dutch camlets (*polemieten*),[86] and going to Peking and signing the treaty in Peking. The latter [point] we'll concede; the former will be up for decision at a meeting of Chonghou and Van der Hoeven. After the discussions ended, we all sat down to a meal and had a most agreeable discussion about all kinds of subjects.[87]

De Grijs felt great respect for his Chinese counterparts:

> Truly, I believe there is not much reason to criticise Chinese diplomacy. They are clever, and extremely clever: for instance, when I noted that a treaty should contain extensive directives on the duties of ships and captains, they asked whether all ships that arrive and leave are always found out or not, and how they will get to know those laws that exist as long as there is no treaty with China.[88]

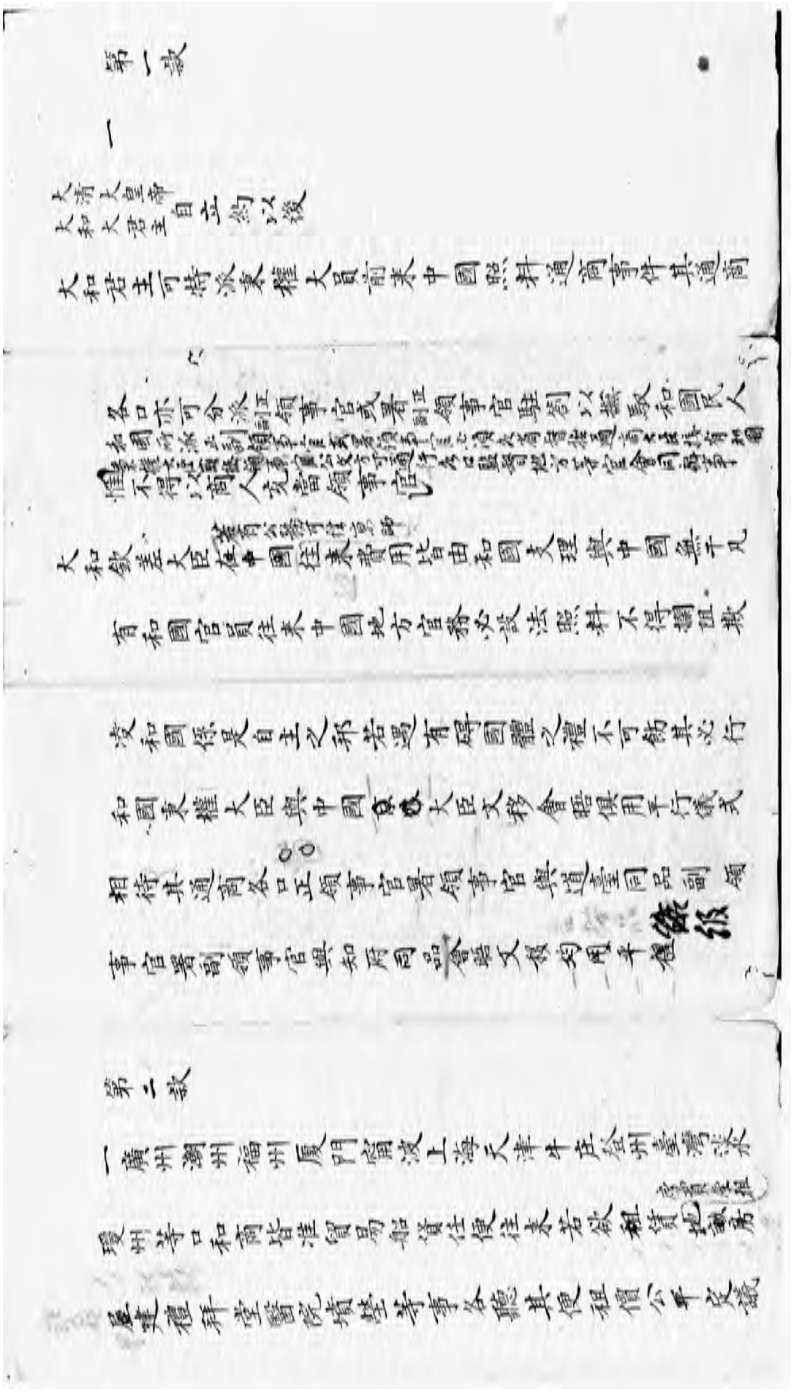
In his memorial to the Emperor, Chonghou did not give any dates except 10 September, the first meeting, when there were no negotiations in De

Grijs' account. Chonghou did not clearly distinguish this meeting from the actual negotiations by the commissioners on 14-17 September. Although he did not mention his own draft of 10 articles or De Grijs' second draft of 16 articles, most of the contents of his memorial tally with De Grijs' diary and article.[89] He probably kept to the 19 articles version to show that the Dutch had made a concession.

Chonghou often referred to the number of articles, which seems to have been an important issue for the Chinese. He elaborately reported on the debates about the length of the treaty, showing how the Chinese felt about the Dutch wish for a full treaty, and implicitly how they finally accepted De Grijs' argument for a succinct text.

> According to [De Grijs'] reports, the draft text offered now was based on the treaties with Britain and France, taking into account the successively concluded regulations in the treaties with Prussia [1861], Spain and Denmark [1863]. We were requested to organise a meeting for deliberating each article separately. The [Chinese] Commissioners held on to their earlier opinion and again answered that since there were already fixed rules for trade in all harbours, it was not necessary to draw up more articles. It was only necessary to clarify the general meaning. If more articles were drawn up, it would be difficult to obtain approval. After repeatedly enjoining him, that interpreter agreed to present them in a simplified form. Thereupon De Grijs came forward and presented his draft treaty in 16 articles.[90] And he said: "In the articles drawn up this time, already two-thirds has been cancelled in comparison to other countries; they are extremely simple, and cannot be simplified any further." At that time we told him that although the drawn-up articles were fewer than those of other countries, the general meaning was not at all different. Since the Netherlands had already decided upon 16 articles, our side still needed to deliberate and reunite [the two versions]. It was only necessary to be simple and clear, and then all would be settled. The number of articles was of no importance. And the critical points in the articles drawn up by that country were each directly disputed and rebuked. Subjects such as going to the capital, trading in Nanjing, missions in the interior, tariff reduction, taking the Dutch text as the basis and exchanging the treaty in the capital, should all first be dropped and altered.[91] Both sides held on to their opinions and debated for some time. Subsequently the drawn-up articles were copied and sent to the Minister Prince [Gong] of the Zongli Yamen to take notice.[92]

After Chonghou received a new draft in 16 articles from Prince Gong, a meeting was held between Chonghou and Van der Hoeven on 22 September (*see* illustration 12). Both De Grijs and Chonghou gave accounts of the difficulties of the negotiations, and each reported that the other party made concessions, but only De Grijs also mentioned the concessions on his own side. This is understandable when one realises the dangers for Chinese officials who negotiated with foreigners. One of Chonghou's predecessors, Qiying 耆英, who had negotiated with the British from the 1840s, had been degraded and finally sentenced to death in 1858,[93] and



12. First pages of Prince Gong's draft of the Sino–Dutch treaty of Tientsin with corrections, 22 September 1863 (BPL 1782: 24B).

the same would later happen to Chonghou, although that verdict would not be not executed.

De Grijs wrote in his draft article:

> Two questions remained undecided, namely the appointment of unsalaried consuls and the residence of a Dutch plenipotentiary in Peking: the two plenipotentiaries came together to discuss this matter, and although that meeting was not all *couleur de rose*, Chonghou finally gave in.[94]

De Grijs wrote in his diary about this meeting, which was exasperating for him:

> 22 September. We had a meeting with Chonghou. He also had a draft of 16 articles and tried to catch us in every possible way. The discussion took five hours and I really needed my head to pay attention.[95]

Chonghou gave a vivid description of this meeting with Van der Hoeven and De Grijs:

> Thereupon we received a written answer from the Zongli Yamen, which pointed out all important subjects. These were also compared and discussed respectively in 16 articles. I immediately ordered the Commissioners to hand them over for inspection. Thereupon the envoy fixed a date, on which he came accompanied by De Grijs to engage in direct negotiations. When there were points that they would not agree with, they refused obstinately. After repeated direct negotiations about each article, either by our guiding them with kind words or by straightforward rebuking, several times corrections were made. The envoy Van der Hoeven (Fan) does not understand Chinese, but I noticed the discontented tone of his words, while De Grijs was extremely crafty, and each time he argued forcefully, bringing forward the treaties with Prussia and Spain, querulously annoying us without interruption. My humble opinion is that in contacts with foreign states, one always has to exhaust all possible arguments. Foreigners are by nature treacherous. If you refuse them too bluntly, the matter will be spoiled, but if you give in too lightly, they may foster extravagant expectations. This is why I had ordered the commissioners to work from the side on De Grijs, making known our standpoint again and again, to try to make him change his mind, in order to make him assimilate to our sphere of influence.[96]

From other sources, other details about the negotiations are known. As to going to Peking, the Chinese requested that Van der Hoeven apply for a passport issued by another Western country that already had diplomatic relations with China. Since this would again be beyond the dignity of the Dutch plenipotentiary, Van der Hoeven decided not to go to Peking.[97] Thus the Dutch gave in regarding the need to go to Peking in order to sign the treaty.

As to the question of the Dutch camlets from Leiden, the Dutch wished to have the same import tariff as for the English camlets. The Dutch woolen cloth had been imported from Holland since the beginning of the century

and was very popular in China; it was used to make men's jackets. However, it was of a higher quality and also higher price than the English camlets. On this minor point, the Dutch would also give in.[98]

One of the main questions was that of the Dutch consuls. The Dutch wished the Chinese to recognise their mercantile consuls and a diplomatic representative in Peking. Although De Grijs personally sympathised with the Chinese standpoint that the consuls should not be merchants, and that there was no need for a Dutch representative in Peking,[99] he did what he was expected to do and obtained sufficient results in the negotiations: article 1 of the treaty allowed the Dutch to have mercantile consuls.[100] However, representation in Peking was not mentioned in the treaty, but based on the most-favoured nation clause (article 15), it was allowed after all.[101]

After this meeting, De Grijs, who had now had his nerves amply grated on, continued his negotiations with the Chinese commissioners about the camlets. On the following days he wrote in his diary:

> 23 September, we checked the draft treaty, didn't approve a few things, and wrote about the Dutch camlets.[102] I think this question is not fair and I believe it should have been left out. Didn't sleep, ill.
> 24 September, continued to work on the treaty; no answer from Chonghou. Ill, nervous, fever.
> 25 September, no answer from Chonghou, ill and sad. Twelve hours of meeting with Zhou and Gao. I returned in good spirits, amused myself perfectly well. Question of the Dutch camlets: *they were right*.[103]

On 27 September, he translated the treaty into Dutch, copied it, and after final negotiations with Zhou and Gao on Monday 28 September, there was a conclusive meeting between Chonghou and Van der Hoeven on Tuesday 29 September. Chonghou reported the successful end of the negotiations in his memorial as follows:

> After several new draft texts, finally all important subjects were dropped or changed without any trace. In general there was no aberration.[104]

The final treaty had 16 articles, but probably since the number was a sensitive matter for the Chinese, on 30 September it was decided to drop it in the title.[105]

When the negotiations were finished, Chonghou announced that Chinese soothsayers had chosen a propitious day for the signing of the treaty, which was the 24th day of the 8th month (Tuesday 6 October). The ceremony would take place in the building where they had met for the first conference.[106] On this day, De Grijs wrote in his diary (with an addition from his draft article):

> Dreamt that I came home and was asked what I wanted [to eat]. I said: peas with beef, and later hake and sauerkraut. Finally the day arrived on which

> the treaty would be signed, and of course, I got up very early. I had finally achieved my result and wished nothing more than to get out. At half past nine in the morning, the soldiers were inspected, twelve men, a corporal, and a sergeant. Thereupon, I gave directions about how the soldiers should walk, and at exactly half past 12 the column started to march: in front came Mr. De Grijs in a sedan chair, behind him a corporal with my case and the seals, followed by four soldiers, then Van der Hoeven's chair, carried by four men, with four soldiers at the sides, and after him another four soldiers. Then the Colonel and three officers, all in sedan chairs. After entering, the soldiers lined up and presented arms. The Chinese were nicely dressed, and we sat down in the hall. Van der Hoeven and Chonghou at a table; Gao, Zhou, an officer, and myself at a table; the Colonel and two officers and the sergeant at a table; then a bunch of lower mandarins to the right and left. Now the treaties, seals, cases, etc., were produced and all was signed, while I filled in the Chinese dates. Then the soldiers were treated to food and drink in another hall.[107] We were also served a large dinner, which was paid proper honours, and while on normal visits we drank champagne, we now got sherry-cordial in beer glasses. But reading out the menu would be exacting too much from our readers, we only note that bird's nests, shark's fins, etc. were not lacking.[108] Van der Hoeven gave a toast to the Emperor, and Chonghou to the King, and we parted the best of friends. The party now marched off, and at three o'clock, all was ended, and I began to make preparations for my journey to Peking.[109]

De Grijs' visit to Peking

Two months before, on 8 August 1863, Van der Hoeven had asked permission from Minister of Foreign Affairs Van der Maesen to charge De Grijs with personally bringing the signed treaty to the Netherlands for ratification, similarly to what other countries had done. Since he could not receive an answer in time,[110] he took the decision on himself, and charged De Grijs to travel by way of Peking and Siberia. While in Tientsin, they heard that travelling through Siberia could be very fast, probably by making use of Russian post horses.[111] The Russian Consul in Tientsin, Eugène Butzov, had done it twice and said that it would take about forty days.[112] Although Van der Hoeven had refrained from going to Peking himself, it must have given him some satisfaction that he could now send De Grijs instead.

However, on 2 October, De Grijs also could not get a passport for Peking because the treaty had not yet taken effect.[113] Since it was no problem for him to make use of another nation's passport, on 5 October he obtained a consular passport from the American acting Consul Pomeroy, allowing him to proceed to the capital and other places.[114] For his protection on his journey from Peking to Siberia, De Grijs also borrowed a pistol from the warship.[115]

On 7 October at 3:30 A.M., De Grijs left Tientsin in a wagon.

> I passed the river, the marble bridge, and Senggerinqin's wall.[116] The rolling of the wagon was horrible, and I would not be surprised if there were people who walked back after an hour's worth of rolling.[117]

In his draft article he wrote:

> the suffering in that wagon: at first I thought I could sleep, which had not happened during the last two nights, but the bumping of head and arms was so extreme that one could not even think of sleeping in a sitting position. Finally, my patience was exhausted, but the donkey driver awakened from his slumbering and advised me to sit on the carriage pole. Truly, the man was right, although my knees were right up against the mule, the jostling was much less.[118]

He arrived at a hostel at 5 P.M., where they could pass the night. "The food that the Chinese Vatel served was rather tasty, and it strengthened my conviction that Chinese are good cooks by nature."[119] During the night, an incident happened, to which De Grijs reacted in a typical scholarly fashion.

> Rather tired, I fell asleep soon after dinner, but at about ten o'clock, I was awakened because of voices in my room. Thinking they were thieves I grabbed the chest with silver that stood next to me, and discovered it had not been touched. Now I listened to the conversation of the intruding gentlemen and understood nothing of it. On my question what they wished, I received an answer in Chinese, that they had come to look at me, because they had never seen a European in their country (Mongolia). The conversation with the Mongolian guests became more and more lively, in particular when I asked them to translate some Chinese expressions into Mongolian, which I noted down. Soon I made a rather sufficient collection of words and expressions, which could be of use on my travel through Mongolia.[120]

The next day, De Grijs left again at 4 A.M., and he arrived in Peking at 2 P.M. He first paid a visit to the American minister (*gezant*) Anson Burlingame, who invited him cordially to stay with him, and then went to the Russian *chargé d'affaires* to apply for a passport for Russia. Formally, this could only be given on presentation of a Dutch passport, but since De Grijs did not possess such document, his verbal explanation of the purpose of this journey was considered sufficient and he was provided with a passport. The Russian *chargé d'affaires* also told De Grijs that the journey from Peking to The Hague would take about three months; only Russian officials could make use of the horses of the postal service, and changing horses would take much time for anyone not speaking Russian.

In the following days, De Grijs visited and inspected several sights in Peking: the Temple of Heaven, the Summer Palace, the Temple of the Bell, and the astronomic observatory. Perhaps he was instructed to inspect the damage inflicted upon these by the foreigners. In his draft article, De Grijs mentioned his personal feelings about the Temple of Heaven.

> This building was until now closed for anyone except the Emperor and his suite. Therefore it is not strange that a European who has had long intercourse with the Chinese and Chinese books enters with some respect the place where the Emperor once a year prostrates himself as high priest.[121]

In a letter to Van der Hoeven he gave the following description:

> Friday morning [9 October], I visited the Temple of Heaven and found all buildings and forests kept in good order. But some foreign visitors take the liberty of breaking holes in the doors, carved with foliage, on the excuse that otherwise they cannot enter into the temple. If one realises that the Temple of Heaven is the place where the Emperor as Pontifex Maximus [High Priest] sacrifices once a year for the whole nation, then it's surprising that the Chinese government still allows foreigners in such places. The curtains used in the temple are made of blue glass tubes held together with strings in the same way as bamboo curtains. There are foreigners here who break off those glass tubes and take them away to make penholders of them!![122]

In his draft article De Grijs commented on another case of looting:

> When the spoils robbed from the Summer Palace were publicly sold, the prices of many objects were often double their original value: everybody in the Chinese harbours proudly shows some little pot or pan he got possession of, forgetting these are all stolen goods.[123]

The next day he went on a Tartar horse with a Tartar saddle to the Summer Palace and noticed that it was not completely destroyed,[124] but there was heavy damage:

> Saturday [10 October] I visited the Summer Palace of the Emperor, *Yuanming Yuan* 'Round bright gardens.' This beautiful summer abode had been systematically destroyed by the British and French soldiers. Magnificent avenues of cedar and pine trees were mutilated here and there by the burning of a few trees. Stone lions were mutilated by the loss of a tail, an ear, or a leg; marble sundials were thrown over or broken; beautiful stone stairs are mutilated because here and there an angle or a piece has been knocked off. A temple with an enormous copper Buddha and 16 large Arhats was totally burnt, the large Buddha had fallen over, some Arhats were without head, arm, or leg and the colour of the copper, iron-red, was spread among the marble, the beautiful limestone, and many glazed roof-tiles. But this image of destruction reaches its climax when one casts a look at the gigantic building standing right behind the destroyed temple. The building is very high and has at both sides stairs and galleries of green and yellow glazed earthenware. Ascending the stairs, which is not easy because one has to find one's way through all the debris covering the stairs, one gets to a large storey with closed iron doors. The walls here are covered with tiles one foot square and glazed with yellow. Each of these tiles is a Buddha statue in a brick frame. Going higher up, the storeys become lower and the tiles smaller, and when one reaches the top, one can see on one side a lake with an artificial island, and on the other side, innumerable villages. On both sides of this main building, there are two *lama* pagodas and down, a little further, at the foot, there is a copper house. Everything in that little house is made of copper: the floor, the beams, the doors. It's a true jewel of patience and neatness.[125]

Travel to Holland and back to China

De Grijs planned to leave on Monday 12 October, together with the engineer Pompelli, but on Sunday evening, Pompelli was suddenly appointed by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Zongli Yamen) as inspector for the coal mines. Now De Grijs had two objections to the journey: in the first place the long duration (three months), and in the second place, the dangers of travelling alone. Moreover, all legations had strongly advised him against travelling in November: it would be better to wait until May. Therefore he decided to deviate from Van der Hoeven's instructions and to return immediately to Tientsin in order to travel by sea.[126] He departed together with the British missionary Edkins, who was also well known as a sinologist.[127] He joined Van der Hoeven in Chefoo (Zhifu, near Yantai, Shandong), where the *Citadel van Antwerpen* was loading coal. They left on 21 October and arrived in Hong Kong on 30 October, where he visited Consul Kup and others, and he finally left China on Sunday 1 November, in a way which showed how much he was appreciated by others.

> Sunday morning, the Captain brought me on board a gig with twelve Dutch sailors, an honourable departure for which I had never dared to hope.[128]

He first travelled to Singapore, where he took the *Caledonian,* and the 'overland mail' via Suez, to the Netherlands.

On several occasions, Van der Hoeven reported on the indispensable role played by De Grijs during the negotiations. In the nineteenth century, interpreters in China were at the same time advisors of the Western envoys, and often later had a diplomatic career themselves.[129] On the day the treaty was signed, Van der Hoeven wrote a letter to the Minister, to be taken along by De Grijs, which ended as follows:

> Finally I feel compelled to declare to Your Excellency that a large part of the success of my negotiations is due to the knowledge and tact of Mr. C.F.M. de Grijs, whose—for the Chinese—charming and persuasive interpretation of my arguments, and general familiarity with the modes of thinking and forms of courtesy, afforded me a highly necessary support.[130]

The negotiations in Tientsin took little more than a month, much shorter than the four or five months that they had expected, and this may in part be due to De Grijs.

Two months after he left Tientsin, on 14 December 1863, De Grijs arrived in The Hague and immediately went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where on the following day he was received by Minister Van der Maesen de Sombreff. After congratulating De Grijs on the treaty (although he had not yet checked it), the Minister complained about the high expenditure of bringing the treaty in person. De Grijs replied that without explicit directives, Van der Hoeven had had to act in the spirit

of his instructions, and because the emphasis was on obtaining uniform advantages with those of other countries, the treaty itself should be taken by special envoy, just as other countries had done. The Minister seemed not to be convinced, but he let it be. He asked what De Grijs' plans were, and when he heard that De Grijs was to go to his family in Leiden, he decided that he should wait there for further instructions.[131]

On 15 January 1864, Minister of Colonies Fransen van de Putte wrote to Minister of Foreign Affairs Van der Maesen that he objected paying any of De Grijs expenses unless incurred under orders by his ministry,[132]—that is, he would not pay for De Grijs' travel expenses. A month later, on 18 February, the treaty was ratified by Royal Decree,[133] and on 20 February 1864, Minister of the Navy W.J.C. Kattendijke charged De Grijs to take the letter of ratification back to China.[134] On 12 March, De Grijs received the documents concerned and a general letter of introduction in French, signed by A. Uijttenhooven, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[135] At the same time, Uijttenhooven told him that he did not need to stay in China to act as Chinese secretary and interpreter for the correspondence and exchange of the letters of ratification.[136]

Thereupon De Grijs left the Netherlands and arrived in Macao six weeks later, bringing along the letter of ratification and 200 copies of the printed treaty, probably the bilingual Dutch and English version.[137] He wished to go on to the Indies right away, but when Van der Hoeven was informed about the oral directive to De Grijs, he wrote to Governor-General Sloet that there was no good reason not to charge De Grijs with this temporary function, because he was now just as indispensable as in the past. Van der Hoeven requested Sloet to do his best to obtain approval

> to charge De Grijs again temporarily with the function of Chinese secretary and interpreter, which he fulfilled during the negotiations in Tientsin with particular skill and knowledge of the subject. Without his services I would be dependent upon the readiness of the English or French authorities in Canton to lend me the help of one of their interpreters for this indispensable service. I would not be happy to see Dutch interests dependent upon this, in particular because these foreigners cannot have an accurate understanding of our special relationship with the Chinese government and, besides, their proficiency in Chinese leaves much to be desired.[138]

Governor-General Sloet then asked the advice of the Council of the Indies, which considered this request well founded in all respects, on condition that there was not yet a fixed term for De Grijs return to the Indies. No approval from the Minister was necessary for a destination deviating only from an oral directive by the Secretary General. The Governor-General then decided, on 17 July 1864, that there was no objection against designating De Grijs for that purpose. When finished,

De Grijs should be sent to Java to complete his assignment. At the same time, Sloet asked De Grijs about the salary he should receive.[139]

But when Minister of Colonies Fransen van de Putte was informed about this decision, he was not at all amused, and notified the Minister of Foreign Affairs.[140] He also expressed this in his letter to the Governor-General on 19 October, with the argument that De Grijs would be again withdrawn from service in the Indies: he hoped that the abnormal assignment of De Grijs would finally come to an end.[141]

The exchange of ratifications

On 21 May, Van der Hoeven sent a letter in Chinese translated by De Grijs to Chonghou, informing him that the letter of ratification had arrived, and asking him for a date for the exchange of the letters of ratification, but in October there was still no answer.[142] Exactly one year after the signing of the treaty, on 6 October 1864, Van der Hoeven wrote to the Governor of Guangdong, Guo Songtao,[143] repeating the question. A week later, on 12 October, Van der Hoeven notified the new Minister of Foreign Affairs E.J.J.B. Cremers[144] that the term of one year stipulated in Article 16 of the treaty for exchange of the letters of ratification had expired, although he assumed that the Chinese would not attach great importance to this. On 16 October, after hearing from the French Consul that the documents had arrived, he wrote again to Guo Songtao asking for a time of exchange, and announcing that he would send his Chinese secretary [De Grijs] to compare the documents. The reason for the latter was not mentioned; it must have been because the Dutch letter of ratification was only accompanied by a Dutch copy of the treaty, and not by a Chinese text. Since it would be impossible for the Chinese to identify the text, De Grijs had the Chinese text copied,[145] together with a translation of the text of the letter of ratification, and these had to be compared with the texts brought by the Chinese. In Guo's answer of the same day, he informed Van der Hoeven of the date and place for the exchange, which would transpire on 20 October at 10 o'clock in the Buddhist temple Wha Lam Sze (Hualinsi 華林寺).[146] But Guo also stated it would not be necessary to compare the documents. In an extra letter, he suggested that De Grijs could come an hour earlier, at 9 o'clock, to compare the texts.

When on that day, 20 October 1864, De Grijs and Guo Songtao's secretary Lioe Tsioe Hou came to the temple and compared the texts, it turned out that the Dutch had brought the letter of ratification with a *copy* of the treaty, not the original, while the Chinese had brought the original document signed in Tientsin, to which the Imperial seal of ratification had been affixed. Guo was very surprised to see that it was a new document, since he expected that the original treaties from Tientsin

would be exchanged, as was customary in China. Judging from the literal text of the treaty and the correspondence, this misunderstanding was not unfounded. The formulation in both the Dutch and Chinese texts and in the Chinese correspondence indicated an exchange of the treaty itself; the Dutch version was "to exchange the ratified treaties,"[147] while the Chinese version was "to deliver mutually" (*huxiang jiaofu* 互相交付) [documents] after "ratification" (*yubi zhupi* 御筆硃批), and in the correspondence it was simply called "to exchange the treaty" (*huan yue* 換約). In case the Dutch copy would be exchanged for the Chinese original containing the Emperor's seal, both original treaties would end up in Dutch hands. Guo now requested to receive the original document, which was still in the Netherlands. Van der Hoeven told him that the Chinese government was mistaken, and suggested to have the Emperor sign a separate letter of ratification, which could then be exchanged for the Dutch letter. On a later visit to Van der Hoeven, Guo admitted that the Western fashion of exchange was more practical, but he would have to ask Chonghou in Tientsin for instructions. Since it would probably still take a few months before there would be an answer, Van der Hoeven decided on 22 October that De Grijs could now leave China, and notified Minister Cremers. From then on, translations and interpretations would be made by the student-interpreter De Breuk, who had arrived a few months earlier.

On 11 December, Van der Hoeven received an answer from Guo Songtao, who had been notified by Chonghou that the original treaties should be exchanged.[148] Three days later, Van der Hoeven informed Minister Cremers, saying that he had promised Chonghou that he would do his best to obtain the original treaty—which in his opinion actually was an irrelevant question. But he also wrote:

> While in the Netherlands, Mr. C.F.M. de Grijs had, as he assured me, more than once pointed out that the Chinese designated the original document for exchange, but His Excellency the [previous] Minister was of the opinion that the usual form of [Western] diplomacy should be followed. This can be very well accomplished, without offending Chinese customs, namely by attaching the letter of ratification to the original text.

He added that the Danish were confronted with the same problem in Shanghai, but this could be easily solved, since by way of precaution they had brought along the original treaty.[149]

On 31 January 1865, Minister Cremers sent the original treaty by mail ship to Hong Kong, and he simultaneously sent a letter to Van der Hoeven in Macao with a receipt (*reçu*) for collecting the treaty. This time it almost went awry again, as would become clear half a year later. On 18 July 1865, Van der Hoeven wrote to the Minister that he had not received the letter announcing the shipment, which was probably lost, but that the

parcel with the documents had arrived long since. The parcel had been kept at the office of P&O Steam Navigation Company in Hong Kong since 24 March—for almost four months! After waiting for some time, the steamship company sent a circular with a list of uncollected goods that was noticed by Kup. Subsequently, Van der Hoeven went to Hong Kong to collect the parcel personally. It contained the letter of 31 January, the original treaty, and permission to attach this to the letter of ratification. He immediately informed the Chinese that the Netherlands had given permission, and asked Guo for a time and place for the exchange.[150]

Ten days later, on 26 July 1865, the exchange took place in the Wha Lam Sze. Van der Hoeven wrote to the Minister on the same day, noticing that the Chinese evidently saw no need to make a record (*proces-verbaal*). This time, De Breuk acted as interpreter—he was, of course, not as proficient as De Grijs. Van der Hoeven concluded his letter:

> Mr. Johannes de Breuk, aspirant-interpreter employed by the Netherlands Indies government, assisted me on this occasion as Chinese secretary and interpreter and acquitted himself of his task in a satisfactory manner. As a matter of fact, there were no problems. During the preliminary friendly visit, Governor Guo asked for an explanation for the long lapse since our last meeting. Answering him, I only made it known that—not counting the delay caused by the great distance, of course—more time was necessary for me to induce the Dutch government into compliance than for him to obtain an affirmation from Tientsin of what he thought he should require according to Chinese custom.[151]

This was also meant to stress that there was nothing wrong with the documents offered for exchange by the Dutch. Now finally the treaty had come into effect, and copies were sent to the vice-consulates.

The exchanged treaty was taken to the Netherlands personally by George J. Helland, former Danish Consul in Hong Kong and commercial partner of Kup. It arrived in the Netherlands on 20 September, and the Dutch treaty text was published in *Staatsblad* (*Bulletin of Acts and Decrees*) 1865, no. 119 on 5 October.[152]

Later developments for De Grijs

A few months after De Grijs was appointed in Semarang, on 13 April 1865, he finished an account of the negotiations and his impressions of Shanghai, Tientsin, and Peking, entitled "Het tractaat van Tiëntsin" (The treaty of Tientsin). Soon afterwards, H.D. Levysohn Norman of Batavia,[153] member of the KITLV, sent the manuscript on his behalf to the board of the Royal Institute for the Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Netherlands Indies (KITLV) in The Hague. He offered it for publication in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*,

preferably without any addition or change. At the same time, he asked for fifty off-prints. At the meeting of the board of the KITLV on 21 October 1865, this request was made known, but the decision was postponed until a later date.[154]

One and a half years later, on 8 June 1867, "Hoffmann—whose authority to judge on this question could not be denied by anyone—advised against inserting it in the journal, because publication without any change in form would not be in the interests of the author." Although in this article De Grijs was much more dispassionate than in his private letters or diary, perhaps he was still considered too outspoken, in particular in his sympathy with the Chinese opinion on the consuls and camlets. Another unnamed "man of scholarship and good taste" agreed with Hoffmann's advice and wrote to De Grijs as a friend.[155] In the end, the manuscript was not published and was sent back to De Grijs. It is now kept in the Leiden University Library.[156]

As a result of the Treaty of Tientsin, in 1872 J.H. Ferguson was to be appointed as Consul General and Minister Resident of the Netherlands in China. But the establishment of a Consulate General in China stood or fell with the possibility of assigning one of the Chinese interpreters in the Indies as secretary and interpreter.[157] Although they could hardly be dispensed with in the Indies—two interpreters had recently passed away and one would go on leave—a Consulate General would also be in the interest of the Indies government, and a stay in China would be useful for the interpreter. When all interpreters were asked by telegram if they were interested, four of them replied by telegram that they were willing: Albrecht, De Grijs, Groeneveldt, and Schaalje. Schlegel was not eligible since he was going on sick leave to the Netherlands. Schlegel first advised to assign either De Grijs, who had diplomatic experience and spoke some Mandarin, or Groeneveldt, although he was to take over Schlegel's task of teaching the student Roelofs. They both had the necessary tact to carry on diplomatic negotiations, but if this was not a condition, Schaalje would be the best candidate. The secretary-interpreter would be appointed for one year and receive an allowance of *f* 5,000, on top of his normal salary in the Indies and a passage fee. De Grijs, now married and with three children, was willing, but he had three financial conditions: free passage for his family, *f* 1,000 extra if stationed in (expensive) Shanghai, and continuation of his *f* 100 allowance from the Orphans Chamber. Groeneveldt, a bachelor and then stationed in Padang in the Outer Possessions, had no conditions.[158] Therefore he was appointed,[159] and this appointment was later extended by another year,[160] so he worked in China from 1872 to 1874, at first residing in Shanghai, but later also in Peking.[161] The Consul General himself was first stationed in Shanghai, later moved to Chefoo, and only after 1880 did he permanently reside in Peking.[162]

CHAPTER SIX

CHINESE TEACHERS/CLERKS IN THE INDIES

The origin of the teacher system

The Chinese language is not an easy one, and mastering it is a life-long affair. For the nineteenth-century Dutch sinologists it was even more difficult than it is nowadays, because the classical language then used in writing was much more complicated than modern Chinese. They faced a scarcity of reference works, and, as a spoken language, they could not just study Mandarin but had to learn one or more Southern dialects. Moreover, all sinologists from other Western countries in China were assisted by Chinese clerks. Therefore, after finishing their studies in China, all interpreters hired a Chinese language teacher/clerk (*taalmeester/schrijver*) to accompany them to the Indies.

The system of engaging a teacher in China was initiated by Albrecht and Von Faber, the first Chinese interpreters to be appointed in the Indies in 1860. It all began with a defective translation. In the autumn of 1859 Government Secretary A. Loudon in Batavia asked the students in China, via the Consul, to make an assessment of the quality of the Chinese translations of three ordinances of the Indies government. The Consul forwarded the texts to the students in Amoy. These texts had, as always, first been translated from Dutch into Malay and then from Malay into Chinese. Albrecht, in his reply to the Consul, opined that "many essential elements were lacking in the Chinese translation," and his opinion was supported by reports from Von Faber and De Grijs.[1]

When one compares this criticism with the Chinese translations and summaries of Dutch ordinances and other documents now kept in the Kong Koan Archives in Leiden,[2] one finds the latter are full of Malay and dialect words, but were probably understandable to contemporary literate Chinese on Java. However, these transliterations of personal names, official titles, and technical terms have given modern historians a lot of headaches.[3]

The translations sent to Canton had probably been made by a Chinese in Java who had not received much Chinese education. Perhaps there were doubts about their quality, and the Government Secretary wished to use the opportunity to have Chinese translations checked by the newly trained interpreters.

Albrecht concluded that the discovery of these deficient translations was

very disappointing for them. At first he had thought that Chinese clerks on Java would be suitable enough to assist the European interpreters, but now he found he had been wrong, and it was indispensable to bring along a teacher from China. On Java he would of course, in the beginning, have to make use of Chinese clerks to gather information, but in order to continue his studies there, he could not use people who knew less of their language than he did himself. Moreover, the interpreters would perhaps be charged with the training of other translators, and that would be impossible without a Chinese teacher, in particular when teaching the pronunciation.[4] In the decision to send the two students to Canton in 1855, it had been stipulated that after having gained enough knowledge of the language, they would be appointed as interpreters *and* they were to train other interpreters in the Indies.[5]

In the same letter, on 10 December 1859, the Dutch 'Consul in Canton,' J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, wrote to Governor-General Pahud that in the next year the students would be "adequately equipped" to be appointed, and

> that they considered it highly advisable that in the beginning they should be assisted by schoolteachers from China, both for continuing their studies and because they would have to train other interpreters. This could not be done without a Chinese teacher, in particular for the spoken language.[6]

In April 1860, while still in Amoy, Albrecht and Von Faber were appointed in the Indies, without specification of the location, and they were also allowed to engage two Amoy teachers and decide upon their salary.[7]

The first teachers

Albrecht and Von Faber searched for suitable teachers in Amoy. As from 15 May 1860, Albrecht hired Tan Kioe Djin 陳求仁, whose son was already living on Java.[8] Von Faber could not find a suitable teacher in Amoy who was willing to go to Java, but he found a teacher from Canton, Han Bong Ki 韓蒙杞,[9] who was a teacher of Cantonese, and he engaged him from the same date.

Their salaries were 10 Spanish dollars (*Spaansche matten*) per month (= *f* 25.50),[10] with the prospect of a raise in case of good behaviour and proven suitability, and possibly to be enlarged with other emoluments. Of teacher Han's monthly salary of $10, almost half ($4 or *f* 10.20) was to be paid to his wife and children by the 'Consul in Canton.'[11] The teachers also received a handsel (*handgeld*) of 30 Spanish dollars. On 31 July 1860, Governor-General Pahud decided to raise this salary from *f* 25.50 to *f* 30 per month.[12] This was the same as the salary accorded to native school-

teachers in the Netherlands Indies since 1858.[13] This fixed salary was not very high, but the teachers were allowed to keep any other emoluments, which they might earn in their spare time, for instance for non-official translation jobs, just as the interpreters themselves were expected to do.[14] Around the same time, the salary of the European interpreters was fixed at *f* 300, ten times that of the schoolteacher![15]

In Governor-General Pahud's decision, these teachers were consistently called "Amoy teachers" and the transcription of their names is according to the Amoy dialect, but Han Bong Ki was a native of Canton. He is one of the few teachers about whom a little more is known. Von Faber wrote in a letter:

> Han Bong Ki is a refined and literate man who in China obtained the academic distinction nearest to the doctor's degree and he is from a distinguished family.[16]

In other words, he had probably passed the provincial examinations and was a second-degree graduate (*juren* 舉人), one grade below "doctor" (*jinshi* 進士).[17] Von Faber also wrote that Han Bong Ki was "a man of character, in every sense worthy of trust."[18]

After their arrival in the Indies, probably in August, there were problems right from the start. Albrecht and Von Faber's request to be stationed on Java was rejected, and they were sent to the Outer Possessions in accordance with the original plan of the government.[19] Tan Kioe Djin, whose son was living on Java, refused to follow Albrecht to Mentok (Bangka) and stayed in Batavia, lying ill in bed (*bedlegerig*) for a long time. Finally he requested to be allowed to resign and to return to China. His request was complied with on 21 November 1860, with the stipulation that he was "to return to China speedily, if possible at his own expense, and in case that was impossible, in the cheapest way at government expense."[20] The latter probably meant he was to board a Chinese junk. In the end, he did return to China, but Albrecht did not obtain a replacement for Tan Kioe Djin until March 1864, when he took over Francken's teacher Oei Tsoe Khing.[21] Han Bong Kie also had a problem, but it was easier to solve. On 18 August 1860, Von Faber wrote to General Secretary A. Loudon that Han Bong Kie had not yet received his salary for three months, from 15 May to 15 August,[22] but this was probably payed to him soon.

A raise in salary for the teachers

Two years later, in 1862, De Grijs tried to engage teachers in Amoy for Schlegel and Francken, who were at the time studying in Canton. He succeeded only after much trouble and had to raise the monthly salary to

25 Mexican dollars (*f* 63.75), to be reckoned from the day of departure (in April), not counting other possible emoluments that the teachers might earn.[23] These teachers were named Ti Tik Khing and Oei Tsoe Khing, and originated from Tsjang-tsaaúw and Chong Cheuy, probably both meaning Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou).

In August 1862, Von Faber was transferred from Montrado to Batavia, where he was appointed at the same time as Schlegel. It then appeared that Han Bong Ki's salary of *f* 30 was less than half that of Schlegel's teacher Ti Tik Khing, who earned $25 or *f* 63.75. With the help of Von Faber, Han Bong Ki requested to raise his salary to 25 Mexican dollars monthly, the same as the other teachers. Han Bong Ki's arguments were that when he signed the first contract in China, he had not expected expenses in the Indies were so high, and moreover, life in Batavia was much more expensive than in Montrado. Finally, in case his request was not complied with, he would be obliged to return to China after the expiration of his contract.[24] Von Faber wrote in his letter that the difficulties of the Chinese language were well known, but for the interpreter they were *interminable*, and in the first years unsurmountable without the help of a Chinese worthy of trust and completely independent of his fellow-countrymen. His salary should be sufficient for this purpose.[25]

The new Resident of Batavia, D.F. Schaap, wrote a letter to Director of Finance J.W.C. Diepenheim supporting this request, but he also raised a more basic question, expressing doubts about the necessity of having a teacher:

> But it sounds strange that students after their final promotion and appointment as interpreters constantly need to have a teacher assigned to them, in order to keep up the language. / The peculiar difficulties of the Chinese language seem to make this assignment indispensable. At least, that is what the interpreter Von Faber stated in his appended letter.[26]

This question would be raised again three years later, and the answer would be that teachers/clerks were indeed necessary, but the doubt remained. In any case, Governor-General Sloet van de Beele decided to grant Han Bong Kie the same salary as Ti and Oei: 25 Mexican dollars monthly.[27]

This salary was not unreasonable, since

> the Chinese in Batavia pay the governors of their children *f* 50 to *f* 125 per month. This is shown in a report by the interpreter Schlegel on the Chinese schools in Batavia.[28]

Two years later, Governor-General Sloet wrote a letter to ask Minister of Colonies Fransen van de Putte for approval of the salary of Han's successor Lo Ling Kaai, and summarised the arguments as follows:

> for a literate Chinese the sum of *f* 30 monthly for a Chinese language teacher is very low indeed. In the main towns, especially in Batavia, one cannot live on this in accordance with one's standing. Chinese artisans and even coolies

> generally earn more. Moreover experience has shown that for that price one can no longer find Chinese teachers.[29]

After this decision, all teachers were to be paid 25 Mexican dollars per month.[30]

Only the names and places of origin of the teachers of the other early interpreters are known. In the summer of 1864, Buddingh engaged Tsen Kin Sioe, a Hakka, arranged by the Dutch Consul in Hong Kong, for four years. Groeneveldt hired the Hakka teacher Tsjoe Tsjoek Kong for five years. Schaalje employed the teacher Tsioe Tot Koan from Amoy for three years.[31] On 26 August 1864, De Grijs engaged a teacher named K'eng from Amoy for three years.[32] From July 1866 De Breuk hired Li Phoe Nien from Amoy for three years,[33] and from 13 February 1867 Meeter took on Tsjhin Koei Liem, a Hakka, also for three years.[34]

From the beginning, the dialect to be studied was to depend upon the place of stationing of the interpreters. Teachers were also engaged according to the most common dialect at the place of stationing. From 1862 on, interpreters to be appointed on Java engaged an Amoy (or Tsiangtsiu) teacher, while those who were appointed in the Outer Provinces hired Hakka teachers. But starting in the 1870s, they sometimes engaged teachers in China who did not speak the most common dialect of their place of stationing, and they were sometimes allowed to hire another teacher for the local dialect.

The quality of the teachers

In 1863, Buddingh and Groeneveldt experienced difficulties in finding suitable teachers for their studies in China. In a letter to his uncle Herman Schlegel, Buddingh wrote:

> Now we also lack good teachers, because the ones we got from Hong Kong arranged by missionaries, are *nitwits*. We'll probably have to wait until 1865 to get better people to accompany us to Borneo, because the ones we now have don't understand any books except the classics which they learned by heart at school in their youth.[35]

The next year, when they left China, they had indeed found other teachers who were probably better qualified.

In the introduction to his Dutch–Chinese dictionary, Schlegel gave his not very flattering opinion on the teachers/clerks in general, comparing the different circumstances of the interpreters in China and in the Indies.

> Now, whilst in China, an interpreter can dispose of skilled, scientifically educated and learned Chinese writers, he has, in the Indies, to make shift somehow with a plucked Chinese student, who is persuaded to leave his fa-

> therland, and follow one of the interpreters as a writer, in the hope of making perhaps his fortune in the Indies. Little assistance, except for the material work of copying out the translated papers, is rendered by such writers to the Chinese interpreter, as we know by our own experience.[36]

Probably for this reason, in 1865 in their report on the need of a language teacher, Schlegel and Von Faber wrote that if a teacher proved to be less suitable, it should be possible to replace him without having to ask for the government's approval.[37]

The teachers left few traces in the archives, but there is ample proof that at least some of them had very good handwriting. Among the papers left by De Grijs and Hoetink, many neatly copied Chinese translations can be found that were doubtless written by their Chinese teachers/clerks.[38]

Schlegel's negative opinion about the teachers in general was not shared by all his colleagues. Some interpreters later brought along from China highly educated and learned men as teachers, who were much more than mere copyists. Examples are Groeneveldt's teacher Tan Siu Eng, who also worked for De Jongh, Hoetink, and Stuart, and Hoetink's teacher Jo Hoae Giok, who was highly respected by Borel, Stuart and Van Wettum (*see* section about these teachers below, and Chapter Twelve, section "Working as Translators").

The discharge of teachers

Only of three teachers is the end of their employment known. Of course, their salary was not very high, in particular before 1862, and the above-quoted judgement on the teachers/clerks by Schlegel was rather critical, so it would not seem surprising if a teacher wished to return to China or was even dismissed. In 1860, Albrecht's teacher Tan Kioe Djin was the first to be sent back, the reason being that he refused to go to Mentok. In 1864, both teachers in Batavia resigned one after the other, and both brought forward the classical argument of urgent family affairs—possibly there was another reason not fit for reporting to the government.

On 9 August 1864, Von Faber's teacher Han Bong Ki requested to resign: his aged mother had passed away and he should be present at her funeral, and there were other urgent family affairs pressing him to return home since he was the only son. Supported by Von Faber, he also asked to return by steamship, as it was not the right season for sailing ships to go to China and he had come to the Indies with Von Faber by steam. On 24 September 1864, his requests were complied with. He was succeeded by Lo Ling Kaai,[39] who was already living in Batavia and whom Von Faber knew "as a solid man, who would be perfectly suitable for the work to be done by him and was in every respect trustworthy."[40] Lo Ling Kaai was

engaged on the same conditions as Han Bong Ki, but a small part of his salary, *f* 10.20 or $4, was to be paid by the Dutch Consul to Han Jaúwan in Canton, who was perhaps his wife.[41]

A few months later, Schlegel's teacher Ti Tik Khing also wished to resign. Schlegel wrote on 15 December 1864:

> According to the latest news from China, his ancestral town Tsjang-tsjaaúw [Tsiangtsiu/Zhangzhou] has been taken by rebels who have massacred most of the population.[42] Ti Tik Khing's brother is in that town, and since the month of October no news of him has been received. If his brother has been killed, Ti Tik Khing would be the next person responsible for the family and be obliged to return to China as soon as possible in order to take care of the family affairs.[43]

Ti Tik Khing requested his resignation as from 1 January 1865; this was complied with, although his three-year contract would only expire in April 1865. From 1 January 1865, Schlegel engaged Poei Boen Phiauw for three years; Poei was already living in Batavia. He had been a schoolteacher at the Chinese Free School (*Vrije School*) or Gie Oh 義學, 'public school without school fees.'[44] Thus, competent teachers were to be found on Java after all, especially among the schoolteachers hired to educate Chinese children on Java; this fact was also acknowledged by Albrecht in the same year.[45]

Reports on the need of a teacher/clerk

In 1865, Governor-General Sloet noted that all seven interpreters had hired a teacher for several years for $25 monthly. Each time, Royal Approval had been asked for their appointment and replacement. To avoid copious correspondence (*ter voorkoming van geschrijf*) in the future, he wished to put these salaries on the budget. But before he made this decision, he asked the interpreters to write reports on the necessity of having teachers. They were to report

> whether and why they would constantly need the help of a Chinese clerk or language teacher as assigned to them, and if not, when they could do without such help.[46]

The local Residents were also asked for their opinions. All interpreters then wrote reports, to which the Residents added their opinions. These not only clarify the role of the teachers, but also give valuable insight into the interpreters' own activities.[47]

De Grijs (in Semarang) stated that the schoolteacher/clerk was now indispensable for two reasons: literary style and difficult handwriting. He started with an exposé on the complexity of the Chinese language. A Chinese essay of any kind usually consisted of a number of stock phrases that

the Chinese literati were able to combine in various ways; for a European it was an almost hopeless affair to completely get to know and master the use of such phrases. For translations into Chinese of official correspondence with Chinese government officials, the assistance of a teacher was indispensable. Therefore, all interpreters in China, such as those from England, France, and the United States, were assisted by Chinese teachers in order to obtain a clear style. Since De Grijs had accompanied the diplomatic mission of the Netherlands to China in 1863, he was probably more aware of this than his colleagues.[48] But, De Grijs continued, the interpreters did not need the teachers for the translation of simple notices or police regulations that were written in fairly easy language, although the less elegant style might betray the European translator.

On the other hand, translating from Chinese into Dutch was not so difficult, as long as the characters were written legibly. When reading the 'grass' or cursive script (*gras- of vlugschrift*), the assistance of the teachers was necessary, but sometimes even they had to guess the characters from the context, and they had to know expressions and compounds in both the literary and colloquial style. De Grijs added that if he could get much practice in reading the cursive script, for instance in account-books, letters, bookkeeping of the pawnshops and opium dens etc., he could soon do without the assistance of the teacher, but that was not the case. Now he could only practice his reading ability on the cursive writing of his teacher, and that was not enough. Another complication was that the Chinese of Java used countless Malay words written in Chinese characters, preferably in cursive writing, in their commercial books and letters.

As to the colloquial language, De Grijs did not need the teacher. It should be remembered that he studied and worked in China for seven and a half years. His conclusion was that he would need the teacher for three years and that the best way to become independent of the teacher would be to be charged with work concerning the Chinese by the Assistant Resident of Police.[49] In a letter of 21 August 1865, the Resident of Semarang A.A.M.V. Keuchenius supported his report.

Schlegel and Von Faber (both in Batavia) reported that the assistance of the teacher/clerk was indispensable. As a teacher, he was indispensable for sustaining their level in Chinese, which, because of its difficulty, could not be neglected for a moment. It had often been said that the Chinese language was the most difficult one in the world, and that one had to devote one's entire life to studying it in order to learn it and keep it up. The Chinese usually needed fifty years of study to obtain a degree at the Peking Academy: no wonder Europeans needed still more time!

As a clerk, the teacher was necessary for copying out Chinese texts: this would be very time-consuming for the interpreter, and the time was much needed for studying. Chinese clerks or teachers were indispensable during

the whole career of the interpreter. But if a teacher proved unsuitable, it should be possible to replace him with another one without being obliged to ask for the government's approval.[50]

The Resident of Batavia, J.C. de Kock van Leeuwen, [51] agreed in his letter with their proposal, but according to him, only one teacher would suffice for the two interpreters in Batavia. However, he also thought one interpreter in Batavia would suffice as they did not have much work to do, Schlegel doing the oral interpretations and Von Faber the written translations. But if one of the two interpreters would be transferred to a place where his services would be more profitable, both should keep their teachers. In any case, the teachers should not be replaced without government interference.[52]

Albrecht (in Surabaya) wrote in his report that he could not do without his clerk Oei Tsoe Khing, who had originally been Francken's teacher. He noted that his former clerk Tan Kioe Djin had been dismissed and sent back to China by the Resident of Batavia in 1860. The teacher was indispensable due to the difficulty of the Chinese language and the vastness of the field of study. Any Chinese claiming to be a literatus devoted all his life to studying. For Chinese it was already difficult, the more so for Europeans, in particular in the Indies where there was hardly any Chinese with a knowledge worth mentioning. In the Indies, Chinese literati could be found only among the teachers of Chinese youth. To solve the difficulties adequately, the interpreter should be assisted by a Chinese who had been educated properly in China. This was necessary not only for the continuation of his studies, but also to keep up what he had learned, as the number of textbooks by Europeans was very insufficient. Without doubt, the other European interpreters would also need the assistance of Chinese teachers; it would be a heavy job for them to study entirely by themselves.[53]

Schaalje (in Riau) wrote in a short report that he would always need the assistance of a literate Chinese as a clerk to copy out translations and other documents in a good readable style. He would similarly need him as a language teacher to help him read badly written documents and overcome other difficulties that would always come up, and also to assist with his continuing studies of Chinese.[54] The Resident of Riau, E. Netscher,[55] added in his letter that many different Chinese dialects were spoken on Lingga and Riau, and that their handwriting was so imperfect that the interpreter needed the assistance of a capable Chinese. Without his help, it was to be feared that the correctness of some translations would leave much to be desired.[56]

Buddingh (in Mentok) wrote the longest report, to which were added the most detailed comments by P.A. Gijsbers, the Residency's Secretary.[57] Presumably, Buddingh had the greatest problems; he incidentally was also the first to pass away (in 1870). In China, he had first studied the Amoy

dialect, and then Hakka with a teacher in Amoy. He never studied Hakka in the Hakka districts; this would have caused so many problems and costs, if not dangers, that it was never even tried.[58] It had been suggested to have the aspirant interpreters continue their studies in Amoy until they had learnt enough of Chinese to continue their studies of the Guangdong or Fujian dialects in the Indies, depending on where they would be stationed. Buddingh concluded that he would need the assistance of a teacher for at least seven years. The teacher whom he had engaged, however, did not want a contract for longer than four years. And if Buddingh were transferred to another place where he would have to learn another dialect than Hakka, he would need a teacher permanently. The reasons were as follows:[59]

1. He had studied in China for only two years, while others had studied for four or five years in China.
2. He had only worked as an interpreter for less than one year.
3. There was no opportunity to associate with Hakka Chinese in Mentok: there were only *peranakan* Chinese, who were born in the Netherlands Indies in Mentok, and who could not very well understand the Chinese language and were even less able to speak or to explain it.
4. It was too heavy a burden to study two completely different languages at the same time (Hakka and Amoy).
5. Nothing had been published on the Hakka language that could be of any help, whether in China or in European languages, except for the *Gospel of Matthew* in romanisation, not in Chinese characters.[60]

Buddingh wished to have a teacher for the same number of years as the other interpreters (on which his computation of seven years was based). Interpreters in China from other nations had teachers assigned to them during their full time of service, and these were on the payroll of their governments or missionary societies.[61]

Secretary Gijsbers then gave a detailed description of the work of the interpreter.[62] Here we will only mention the interpreter's task in courts of law, as this gives some insight into Buddingh's need for further study. His function in the courts was mainly that of interpreter of the translations done by the Chinese officer (*officier*), which would be easier than others for him to understand. He also had to check these translations by the Chinese officers, that is, as far as he could understand the original words of the witnesses and defendants, and report to the Court in case he noticed any defects. In the courts he could also practice his knowledge of dialect variations. Moreover, the checking of the account books was done by the interpreter with the help of Chinese officers, who knew one or more Chinese languages better than the interpreter. From this description it is clear that Buddingh needed a teacher, although Gijsbers added that Buddingh could go to the *kampong* to practice his Hakka,

or practice while accompanying the Resident to the mine districts. It is not certain whether the other interpreters were in the same predicament as he was. In any case, the position in Mentok was abolished three years later.

Groeneveldt (in Pontianak) considered it desirable for various reasons to permanently assign a literate Chinese as a clerk to all interpreters. The first reason was the difficulty of the Chinese language. Nobody could reach a level of complete mastery of the language in four or five years. Moreover, the students had to spend the first part of their study mainly on the spoken language, so during the first years after their appointment in the Indies, they would often need the assistance of their clerk to perform their translation duties. They also had to continue diligently the study of the written language, in order to obtain a scholarly knowledge of Chinese. For the continuation of their studies, the help of a literate Chinese was again indispensable.

After some time of continued study, they could do without the help of the clerk when making translations etc., but still needed him for scholarly studies of the language. Although these could not be considered to be a direct service to the government, Groeneveldt thought the support of the Government in this respect should be expected.

Groeneveldt was also of the "humble opinion" that more could be asked from the Chinese interpreter than simply translating.[63] He should be acquainted with everything concerning the Chinese in the region where he was stationed, know their needs, etc. Therefore, it was very useful for him, often even necessary, to have a trusted Chinese at his side, "who can see where he himself cannot see."[64] Finally, he repeated the argument which the others had already raised, that European consuls and missionaries in China all had Chinese clerks for linguistic reasons and in order to obtain information on the country and people.[65]

Resident R. Wijnen[66] agreed with Groeneveldt's advice to keep the teacher, "provided that the language teachers are not brought in as a mere cipher but are used for the purpose they are paid for."[67] He added that Groeneveldt had a scholarly education and studied a lot; he absolutely needed his teacher for his studies. If the teacher were taken away from him, he would have the choice to either give up his studies or pay the teacher himself. The latter would be problematic, since he had no other emoluments. Translating was not his main work, but the Resident sent him on several missions, where Groeneveldt needed a loyal assistant who was independent of the various factions among the Chinese and who could "see where he cannot see," as Groeneveldt had said.[68]

All reports show that the Chinese teacher/clerk was indispensable both as a teacher for continuing study and as an assistant enabling the interpreters to do their work properly.

The final regulation of the teacher system (1866)

The reports were sent to the Council of the Indies to hear their advice on the question whether or not a certain credit should be asked from the 'supreme government' (*opperbestuur*) (the Ministry of Colonies in the Netherlands) for salaries of the Chinese teachers, in other words whether or not the Netherlands Indies government should be authorised to assign teachers instead of having to ask the 'supreme government' for approval of each teacher. The advice of the Council was that the need for the interpreters of the Chinese language, or rather Chinese languages, to have teachers was based on good arguments; otherwise their studies would be neglected, and a lot of money would be wasted. So the Council agreed to ask for a certain credit. In contrast to the Resident of Batavia, they thought the interpreter should be free to choose a Chinese teacher, any government interference except checking whether there was such a teacher was not advisable. On the other hand, the reports of the interpreters raised doubts as to whether enough use was being made of them, as much as was expected when they were appointed.[69]

Thereupon Governor-General Sloet decided to allot *f* 5,355 for the salaries of the seven teachers (7 × 12 × *f* 63.75) for 1866–7, and in the future to make this a fixed item on the budget.[70] He asked Minister of Colonies Fransen van de Putte for approval. In the end Royal Approval was obtained for this, but Fransen van de Putte sourly repeated the Council of the Indies' opinion in his accompanying letter to Governor-General Sloet:

> I take the liberty of adding that the dependent situation in which the European interpreters seem to be with respect to the Chinese clerks and teachers testifies little to the success of training Europeans as Chinese interpreters. The Council of the Indies seems to have the same opinion in their advice of 30 June 1865 no. IX.[71]

Following the others, he thereby showed a lack of understanding of the complexity of the Chinese language, but fortunately this remark had no consequences.

The teachers Tan Siu Eng and Jo Hoae Giok

All later interpreters were allowed to take along a teacher/clerk from China to the Indies on the same conditions as the earlier interpreters.[72] Very few names of the later teachers are known. Since it had become standard procedure to engage a teacher, there was no need to mention their names in the correspondence with the Ministry of Colonies.[73]



13. The teacher/clerk Tan Siu Eng, Batavia, ca. 1902 (KITLV Collection).

The teacher about whom most is known is the *xiucai* (graduate) Tan Siu Eng 陳琇榮 (Tan Sioe Ing, Amoy, 1833 – Batavia, 1906), but even about him there is mostly indirect evidence. Tan Siu Eng was probably engaged by Groeneveldt in 1874 on his return from Shanghai to the Indies. According to Tan's descendants, he was engaged in Amoy by Groeneveldt in order to work in the Indies for six months. He was to act as an expert on Chinese law in the Orphans Chamber of Batavia. But six months later, when he was about to board a ship to return to China, his wife and children suddenly arrived in the harbour, and he therefore decided to stay.[74] There is evidence that Tan was the teacher/clerk of Groeneveldt, and he may even have been kept by him after Groeneveldt left the interpreters' corps in 1877; later Tan worked for three other interpreters in Batavia: De Jongh (1890–3, 1895), Hoetink (1892–8) and Stuart (1898–1906).[75] His name was once mentioned in a government decision of 1895 when he was assigned as a clerk to De Jongh (*see* illustration 13).[76]

According to his descendants, Tan Siu Eng worked as Groeneveldt's assistant for many years, accompanying him on his travels.[77] After Groeneveldt became a member of the Council of the Indies in 1889, in 1890 he was sent on a mission to French Indo-China to investigate the local opium monopoly. He was accompanied by the interpreter De Jongh as his secretary, but he was also allowed to take along "a Chinese of his choice" to act as his assistant, in a position similar to the interpreters' clerks. The Chinese assistant probably also was supposed to gather information among the Chinese in Indo-China. Groeneveldt must have taken along his former teacher/clerk Tan Siu Eng. During this journey, his Chinese assistant kept an (anonymous) travel diary that is now in the East Asian Library in Leiden.[78]

Tan Siu Eng's son Tan Kaij Thee 陳開堤 (1862–85) also worked as a teacher/clerk for one of the interpreters. Some time after Roelofs was appointed in Batavia in 1879,[79] he engaged Tan Kaij Thee as his teacher/clerk. The minutes of the Chinese Council (*Chinese Raad*, Kong Koan) state that

> Kaij Thee was born and brought up in China, and later he was the personal secretary (*mubin* 幕賓) of a Dutch interpreter (*Helan fanyiguan* 和蘭翻譯官), and he also was a schoolteacher for several years.

He was considered "better educated and more experienced" than another candidate for the function of secretary in the Chinese Council.[80] Later he was mentioned as "Tan Kaij Thee, who was the personal secretary of the translator of Chinese (*Huazi fanyiguan* 華字翻譯官)."[81] A few months after June 1883, when Roelofs was allowed sick leave to the Netherlands,[82] Tan Kaij Thee was appointed as second secretary (二朱葛礁 *dzī tsu-koah-ta*) of the Chinese Council in Batavia.[83]

Another teacher about whom a little more is known was Jo Hoae Giok 楊懷玉 (in Mandarin Yang Huaiyu) from Amoy. He was brought to Makassar as Hoetink's teacher in April 1878, but he worked for Hoetink for only a year and a half. After Hoetink's transfer to Medan in November 1879, Jo Hoae Giok stayed in Makassar. He married the daughter of the Chinese *kapitein* and became a wealthy businessman.

There is a short account of his life and merits on a metal bell donated by him to the Mazu temple (Tianhou Gong) in Makassar in 1895, stating that he had collected scattered Chinese documents and contributed several times to the restoration of other temples.[84]

On 29 May 1896, Jo Hoae Giok was appointed as *luitenant* in Makassar.[85] The Chinese administration in Makassar usually consisted of one *kapitein* and two *luitenants*. In November 1897 he was also appointed as Chinese member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber.[86]

Borel was stationed in Makassar as Official for Chinese Affairs for one

and a half years, from October 1896 until April 1898, and he became acquainted with Jo Hoae Giok. When Jo passed away in March 1899, Borel wrote a letter to the editors of the *Java-bode* containing a short obituary.[87] Borel considered it his duty to recount how Jo Hoae Giok had been an honest and successful businessman and an excellent officer, being both a scholar and a gentleman; he was a rare exception among the Chinese officers in the Outer Possessions, who were usually illiterate, uneducated people, sometimes even former coolies. Jo Hoae Giok was the soul of the Chinese administration, since he was the only educated officer in Makassar, and all administrative tasks were performed by him. Borel concluded:

> Jo Hoae Giok will always remain in my memory as a thoroughly decent man and refined Chinese, with whom it was for me, a European, a pleasure to associate more warmly than officially. And I do not doubt that all of my colleagues who have known him, will agree with me.[88]

These colleagues and their years of stationing in Makassar were Van der Spek (1880–3), Stuart (1883–5, 1894–6), and Van Wettum (1898–9). Probably because of their friendship with Jo Hoae Giok, the sinologists Stuart and Van Wettum each presented a pair of double verses (*lian*) to the Mazu temple in Makassar. To his surprise, Ezerman discovered them when he was stationed there (1903–4). He commented that he would gladly be willing to contribute to the restoration of a temple, but would never choose to express his sympathy and respect for Chinese religion in this manner.[89] Van Wettum's verses, perhaps in his own calligraphy, were still to be seen in the temple a century later,[90] but were destroyed when the temple was burned down during anti-Chinese riots in 1997.

Later developments

In 1894 a critical article entitled "Interpreters and language teachers" appeared in the Amsterdam newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad*. It pointed out defects in the system of Chinese interpreters, such as their low salaries and the lack of official recognition of their function as advisor. The anonymous author mentioned also that there were ten Chinese teachers assigned to the interpreters with a salary of *f* 63.75 monthly.[91] The author at first did not know what their function was, but he had heard later that they were acting as clerks and copyists. He advised to give them a decent salary, just like the interpreters, and pay them at least *f* 100 per month.

The next year, at Groeneveldt's initiative, the system of Chinese interpreters was reorganised, but there was no change in the teacher system. In October 1896, all interpreters were appointed in their new function as Officials for Chinese Affairs, keeping their teachers/clerks. The "Provisions

for the assignment of places of stationing and the regulation of the functions of the Officials for Chinese Affairs"[92] (Article X) specified that

> to each Official for Chinese Affairs in active service a Chinese clerk will be assigned, who shall work under his orders and be engaged and discharged by him.

From now on, the Candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs continued to engage teachers in China in the same manner as the student-interpreters had done before.

They could choose teachers of various dialects; for instance, the students of Schlegel's last group all had teachers of different dialects. De Bruin engaged a Hakka teacher, Thijssen took along his Hoklo teacher, and Van de Stadt his Amoy teacher.[93] In the Indies they would be stationed in places where the dialects of their respective teachers were the most prevalent: De Bruin in Mentok, Thijssen in Pontianak, and Van de Stadt in Rembang (Java). For the first time it was explicitly stated that some students took along their present teachers to the Indies.

The last Candidate-Official who took along a personal Chinese teacher/clerk from China was Th.J.H. de Josselin de Jong. In 1915 he engaged a Hakka teacher named Yung Siuk Kiun 熊淑君 and took him to Batavia. This is one of the very few teachers whose names are known.[94]

In June 1916, the system of Officials for Chinese Affairs was again reorganised. All Officials were concentrated in Batavia in one central Bureau of Chinese Affairs (*Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken*).[95] The new regulations no longer mentioned Chinese teachers or clerks assigned to individual Officials, and thereby the old teacher system was abolished. However, the Bureau of Chinese Affairs could still hire "the necessary office personnel and other subordinate personnel."[96] When in 1917 J.Th. Moll finished his studies of Cantonese and Hokkien in China, he engaged a Cantonese clerk for the Bureau of Chinese Affairs, not for himself. He had been notified earlier that a Hokkien clerk was not needed, since the Bureau already had a clerk for that dialect.[97]

Engaging a second language teacher

After arrival in the Indies, some interpreters were allowed to engage a second, local teacher for one year to learn the local Chinese dialect, but not explicitly as a clerk. In 1870 Meeter, who had studied Hakka only, was stationed in Pontianak, where the most common dialect was Hoklo, which is closely related to the Amoy dialect. A year later he was therefore given "an allowance of *f* 25 monthly for one year's study expenses for learning the Amoy dialect."[98] In 1877 Young, who had studied Hokkien and was also

just stationed in Pontianak, was similarly allowed to engage a teacher for the Hakka or Hoklo dialect, according to his own choice.[99] He chose Hakka.[100] In 1878 Stuart, who had studied Hokkien only and was stationed in Mentok (Banka) where Hakka was the most common dialect, was allowed to engage a teacher on the same conditions "for learning the locally most spoken dialect." His fellow students De Groot and Hoetink were both stationed in Hokkien-speaking regions and did not need an extra teacher.[101] Stuart would later write that he mastered the second language quite well, but he forgot most of it after he had been transferred to a place where he did not have any opportunity to speak Hakka.[102] Similarly, Ezerman, who had only studied Hokkien in China, was allowed a Hakka teacher when he was stationed in Mentok in 1894.[103]

One interpreter was allowed to study Cantonese, which was then rarely spoken in the Indies. In 1885, shortly after Young had been sent to Atjeh to interpret in a court session about arms smuggling involving a ship from Canton, he was allowed a second teacher for Cantonese.[104]

From 1907 on, in official correspondence another kind of second teacher was mentioned, namely for Mandarin. The initative came from Borel: in a conversation with Director of Justice A.L.E. Gastmann in 1906, he pointed out the need for some or at least one of the Officials for Chinese Affairs to know Mandarin. In the next year, he sent a formal request to Gastmann asking to be allowed a Mandarin teacher. The reason was the establishment in the Indies since 1901 of modern Chinese schools where Mandarin was the language of instruction instead of Hokkien or Hakka. Borel predicted that Mandarin would become the most important Chinese language in the future. These modern schools engaged teachers from China, and the Chinese government sent educational inspectors and other officials who spoke Mandarin to the Netherlands Indies. There were no Dutch officials who could communicate with them. Moreover, among the teachers there were some revolutionary elements that should be closely watched. It was, then, necessary that at least one Official for Chinese Affairs could speak Mandarin. For these reasons he requested permission to engage a Mandarin teacher, and also to be allowed to study for six months in Peking. Borel finally proposed that the Candidate-Officials who were being trained in Leiden should spend one of their two years in China in Peking, in order to learn Mandarin. His request and proposal were largely supported by Stuart and Director of Justice Gastmann, although Stuart felt there was no need for Borel to study in Peking, and he did not expect that Mandarin would ever become an important language in the Indies. Since the Director of Justice wished first to await the conclusion of a criminal case against Borel, his request was not immediately complied with.[105]

At the end of 1908, when in Pontianak, Borel made a request for an extra monthly allowance of *f* 50 to study Mandarin for one year, and



14. Borel and his Mandarin teacher Wang Fung Ting in Surabaya, 1911 (B745/II/4, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).

for an allowance of *f* 50 for textbooks, to which Governor-General van Heutsz agreed on 4 February 1909.[106] This marks the beginning of the shift to Mandarin in Dutch sinology. He began studying Mandarin with local schoolteachers, but did not make much progress since their quality was poor: their Southern Mandarin (Nanyin 南音) was heavily mixed with Hakka or Hoklo dialect. He therefore submitted a second request to be allowed to study standard Northern Mandarin (Beiyin 北音) for four months in Peking, which was granted on 28 August.[107] His Mandarin studies on Borneo were not very helpful: on his arrival in Peking, he tried to speak Mandarin to the luggage porters, but they did not understand his Southern Mandarin and he continued in pidgin-English.[108] From October 1909 on, he studied Mandarin in Peking for four months.[109] Expecting to be studying a new dialect, he soon discovered it was a new language.[110] In

the end, he engaged his teacher Wang Fung Ting 王鳳亭 to accompany him to the Indies.[111] In Surabaya, he continued studying Mandarin for almost two years with Wang, who received a monthly salary of *f* 70 in 1910 and *f* 100 in 1911.[112] A number of notebooks that have survived are eloquent testimonials of his seriousness in his Mandarin studies.[113] Borel was the first Official for Chinese Affairs to study Mandarin.[114] In addition, he also used Wang as an informant about the Chinese Movement: for instance, Wang became a member of a "Soo Pao Sia" 書報社 (Reading Club) in Surabaya and his membership fees seem to have been paid for by the government (*see* illustration 14).[115]

At the same time, Borel kept a Hokkien clerk.[116] The original teacher/clerk remained an indispensable support for the interpreter for keeping up his language skills and being informed about local conditions. In his request of 1907, Borel had strategically suggested that in order to reduce costs, his regular teacher/clerk could be discharged if he were to be allowed a (more expensive) Mandarin teacher. He argued that there would be no problem as long as the Mandarin teacher could also help him in checking Chinese account books. Stuart did not agree, summarising the essential functions of the normal teacher/clerk as follows:

> The abolition of the normal clerk, no matter if he speaks Hokkien, Hakka or any other dialect, seems highly undesirable to me, because it is exactly this person with whom the Official for Chinese Affairs, so to say, is in daily contact; through conversations with whom he continuously keeps up the dialect spoken by him; and since his clerk is better informed about local conditions than an outsider [such as a Mandarin teacher], he can, if needed, in most cases do the best investigations, and provide the most correct information.[117]

Stuart's remarks show that the Chinese teacher/clerk always remained an indispensable assistant for the sinologists, not only as an informant on Chinese affairs, but also for keeping up their fluency in speaking.

CHAPTER SEVEN

STUDYING IN BATAVIA AND CHINA (1864–1877)

A new training programme (1864–1867)

In 1853, in the first letter of Governor-General Duymaer van Twist to Minister of Colonies Pahud about the training of interpreters, and in Hoffmann's master plan, it had already been suggested that students who returned to Java after a few years of study in China could, while working as interpreters and continuing their studies in the Indies, at the same time train other students.[1] In the decision to send the first students Albrecht and Von Faber to Canton in 1855, Duymaer van Twist had stipulated that after appointment as interpreters, they should train other students. And in 1859, when they were about to finish their studies, Consul Van der Hoeven had expressed the hope that they could be accompanied by a Chinese teacher from China, not only to continue their studies and assist them in their work, but also to train other students.[2]

Four years after the first interpreters were appointed, the first steps were taken towards implementing this policy. These were triggered in May 1864 by two requests to Governor-General Sloet from young men wishing to be trained as Chinese interpreters. The first, dated 18 May 1864, was from F.A.J. Crefcoeur, then 26 years old.[3] He wrote that he had arrived in the Indies "on adventure" (*op avontuur*) a few months earlier on 25 January 1864, and was now working without pay in the book trade (*boekhandel*). He had long been searching for a job in order to make a living, but without success. On the other hand, he was healthy and strong, he was well-versed in the four main languages (Dutch, French, German and English) and in various administrative matters, and he offered several references in the Indies. He hoped to get a favourable response as fast as possible in view of the urgency of his situation. The second request, dated ten days later, on 28 May 1864, was from J.R. Rodijk, who was a "native child" from Malacca, the son of an Englishman and a Malay woman, and who also had arrived "on adventure" in the Indies.[4] He wrote that he had already studied Chinese for three years and requested to be sent to China at the government's expense to be trained as a government interpreter. [5]

Subsequently, Governor-General Sloet asked the Resident of Batavia, J.C. de Kock van Leeuwen, to consult with Schlegel and Von Faber as to whether they were able to teach the basics of the Chinese language. Schlegel and Von Faber wrote to the Resident that in the first place, the

candidates should be subject to an examination to investigate if both had enough knowledge of the four languages, in particular English and French, "because almost all books on China, dictionaries, grammars, manuals, etc. are written in those languages."[6] In other words, the candidates would be put to a similar test as Hoffmann's, and with the same argument, except that knowledge of the classical European languages was no longer required.[7] Schlegel and Von Faber continued that if the candidates came up to the mark, there would be no problem in training them, provided the following problems could be solved:

A. The government should decide beforehand on the dialect to be learned, as it was impossible to learn two dialects thoroughly. Therefore, the place of stationing should be decided right away, so the students could immediately specialise in the dialect spoken there.
B. An extra Chinese teacher should be assigned in order to practice after classes, "because it needs no argument, that we who are charged with other important work, cannot devote the whole day to teaching, while it is highly necessary that the students continue to study this extremely difficult language without interruption."
C. A number of study books were to be purchased.
D. After finishing their studies in the Indies, the students should go to China for some time in order to obtain in the country itself a complete (*sic*) understanding of the morals, customs, institutions, etc. of the Chinese people.
E. The training should be paid for by the government, just as it had been before. A fixed monthly stipend should be granted to the students, and it would be fair to give a fixed monthly allowance to the interpreters for the time spent on teaching, which would probably always be outside normal working hours.

De Kock van Leeuwen sent this report to Sloet, adding that he had no doubts about their ability to teach; there had never been any reason to consult anyone about this since their appointment as interpreters two years earlier.[8]

Thereupon, according to routine procedure, Sloet consulted the Council of the Indies, which gave its advice on 29 July 1864, signed by L.W.C. Keuchenius and the secretary, C. de Waal. The advice began:

> The manner in which the training of Chinese interpreters was done until now was both defective and expensive. Since there are interpreters now and they will soon be followed by others destined for those places where the language (not the dialect) that they have studied is spoken, this Council finds it by far preferable to have the present interpreters teach them the basics of the Chinese language.[9]

This opinion was diametrically opposed to the one the Council had expressed ten years earlier, when they had pleaded for training in the Nether-

lands, but no reason was given for the defectiveness of the earlier training. They probably meant that the earlier students had been learning languages that were not spoken in the Indies, namely Mandarin and Cantonese, the more so as they used the word 'language' and showed disapproval of the word 'dialect.' The Council went on to put forth some general principles. A study period should be decided upon, and the study in China should be for a maximum of one year; for the latter no argument was given, but it probably had a financial reason. Furthermore, one student should be assigned to each interpreter to be trained by him, and monthly allowances should be given of *f* 50 to the interpreter, *f* 25 to the Chinese teacher and *f* 150 to the student. Later, after the student's return from China and appointment as second interpreter, his allowance was to be raised by *f* 100 to a total of *f* 250. The Council concluded that after necessary consultation with Schlegel and Von Faber, a well-argued proposal could be sent to the 'supreme government' (*opperbestuur*), the Ministry of Colonies in the Netherlands. The Resident of Batavia was advised to charge the interpreters to devise a plan on the basis of the above-mentioned principles.[10]

Schlegel and Von Faber, in their advice of 1 September 1864, reported their "further feelings about the training of Chinese interpreters in the Netherlands Indies."[11] As to the length of study, it was difficult to give an answer: this depended on the capacities of the student. They thought four years under the guidance of one of the interpreters and one year in China could be the maximum study period. If the student learned the language in a shorter time, not the full time in the Indies would be necessary, but "the time of one year spent in China for finishing his studies is sufficient." Since the student would from the start learn the correct dialect, he would not lose time and energy in learning Mandarin or Cantonese, and one year of study in China was apparently considered enough.

It was not clear to the interpreters if the allowance for the Chinese teacher was meant for their own teacher in the Indies, or for another teacher to be engaged in China. The former would be impractible, since the interpreters much needed their teachers to help them in their work for the government and in their studies. And in the latter case, *f* 25 monthly would be absolutely insufficient. In China, the teacher's salary would be $10 to $15 (*f* 25,50 to *f* 38,25), and in a foreign country, where life was so much more expensive than in China, one could not find a good teacher for that amount. The Chinese in the Indies paid *f* 50 to *f* 125 to the teachers of their children, so for less than *f* 50 no good teacher could be found. The allowance of *f* 50 for themselves was also not enough, amounting to *f* 1.60 per day, and equal to the proposed salary of the Chinese teacher (intimating that the Chinese teacher should not earn as much as the European interpreter). If one compared this with the list of fees for private translation and interpretation published in 1863,[12] in which the fee for the first hour of

private interpretation was *f* 8, for the second hour *f* 4, and for each following hour *f* 2, a monthly allowance of *f* 50 was clearly insufficient, and they proposed that it should be at least *f* 100.

Passage to and from China should be by mail ship as usual, and it should be paid by the government. When studying in China, the students should be allowed to dispose freely of their allowances, and the Consul should only be obliged to assist and advise them when searching for housing etc. In the experience of Schlegel and Von Faber, it was neither pleasant nor flattering to be treated as a schoolboy too rash to manage one's own affairs. The same applied to the students in the Indies, who should then receive the monthly stipend of *f* 150 suggested by the Governor-General. For China, Schlegel and Von Faber proposed a monthly stipend of $125 to be disposed of freely, and to be used for all expenditures. This was a little more than the $100 which they had originally received themselves, and which was later raised to almost $110.

Finally, the students should receive an allowance for books, the prices of which could not yet all be specified. In an appendix, one list of Western and one of Chinese books were added. The Western books were in English, French, and German, and included two dictionaries, one grammar, four textbooks, one translation (with Chinese and English text) and two reference works, one on Chinese chronology and one on Chinese geography. The full titles are as follows:

> W.H. Medhurst, *Chinese and English Dictionary: Containing all the Words in the Chinese Imperial Dictionary, Arranged According to the Radicals,* 2 vols. (Batavia 1842–1843).[13]
> S. Wells Williams, *A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect* (Canton 1856).
> Wilhelm Schott, *Chinesische Sprachlehre: zum Gebrauche bei Vorlesungen und zur Selbstunterweisung* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1857).
> E.C. Bridgman, *Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect* (Canton 1839; second edition under Bridgman's name 1841).
> S. Wells Williams, *Easy Lessons in Chinese: or Progressive Exercises to Facilitate the Study of that Language, Especially Adapted to the Canton Dialect* (Macao 1842).
> *The Notitia linguae Sinicae of Prémare* (Knowledge of the Chinese language), translated into English by J.G. Bridgman (Canton 1847).[14]
> E. Doty, *Anglo–Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect* (Canton 1853).
> James Legge, *The Chinese Classics with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes,* vol. I, *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean,* vol. II, *The Works of Mencius* (Hongkong, London: Trübner & Co. 1861).

Ludwig Ideler, *Ueber die Zeitrechnung der Chinesen* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1839).
Edouard Biot, *Dictionnaire des noms anciens et modernes des villes et arrondissements de premier, deuxième et troisième ordre, compris dans l'empire Chinois* (Paris: Royale 1842).

Three of these works are for learning Cantonese, but can to some extent also be used for learning written Chinese. De Grijs used S. Wells Williams' *Easy Lessons* also for learning written Chinese and colloquial Hokkien. These were the textbooks and dictionaries available at the time, and that they had used themselves. The Chinese texts were transcribed in Cantonese, which in any case had more in common with Hokkien and Hakka than with Mandarin. Three other books have various Southern Mandarin transcriptions. There was only one book for learning colloquial Hokkien. It is surprising that books by Stanislas Julien were no longer mentioned on this list. Although the dialect was still to be decided upon, the lack of published materials for Hokkien and Hakka was evident.

The Chinese works were five basic texts in the classical language and one dictionary.

"The book of three words" *Sanzijing* 三字經
"The book of 1000 words" *Qianziwen* 千字文
"The Sacred Edict" *Shengyu* 聖諭
"The Four Books" *Sishu* 四書
"The History of the Three Kingdoms" *Sanguo zhi* 三國志[15]
"The large dictionary of the Kangxi Emperor" (1716) *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典

Before deciding, Sloet consulted Director of Finance J.W.C. Diepenheim and the Council of the Indies. In a letter dated 24 October 1864, Diepenheim agreed with Schlegel and Von Faber that the allowance for the Chinese teacher should be at least *f* 50, because the interpreters' own teachers' salary was $25 (*f* 62.50). He remarked that the Governor-General seemed to favour the same allowance of *f* 50 for the interpreters despite the decision of 1855 which stipulated that training new students was part of their job. If the Governor-General wished to recompense the interpreters, *f* 50 would be more than enough. The students should be given a fixed allowance, and if they were able to manage their finances in the Indies for four years, they could also do so during their last year in China.

On 11 November 1864 (No. XXXIX), the Council of the Indies agreed with Schlegel's and Von Faber's views, remarking only on the height of the interpreter's allowance, which should be *f* 50; each interpreter should be charged to train one student. Since the consuls in China no longer fell

under the competence of the Netherlands Indies government, they could not be so charged, only asked to give assistance. Only the Council member O. van Rees[16] was of the opinion that the interpreters' income was generous enough, and that they should not be compensated for work that they were actually obliged to do.

On 17 January 1865 (IB no. 8), Sloet wrote to Minister of Colonies Fransen van de Putte asking for Royal Approval to charge the European interpreters of Chinese in Batavia to train one student each in accordance with Schlegel's and Von Faber's proposals, except that the interpreter's allowance should be *f* 50 instead of *f* 100. This measure should also be extended to all other interpreters of Chinese in the Indies.

It took various Ministers of Colonies more than two years to answer. One reason was perhaps that in the course of the year 1866, there were two changes of Minister of Colonies. Fransen van de Putte resigned on 30 May 1866 and was succeeded by P. Mijer, who was in office until 17 September 1866. The latter then left for the Indies to become the next Governor-General; he was in turn succeeded by N. Trakranen (in office until 20 July 1867). Trakranen made a decision on 11 April 1867,[17] after having received detailed advice from his staff. Because he felt that expenditures for training in the Netherlands and in the Indies could not easily be compared, he had given orders to make a survey of the previous costs in the Netherlands and China. From this survey, it appeared that the costs for 6-8 years of study in Leiden and China were about *f* 10,000 to *f* 13,000, while studying in Batavia, if the maximum of four years were needed, and one year in China, would cost *f* 14,550, and would therefore be even more expensive.

	Leiden		Batavia
	De Breuk	Buddingh & Groeneveldt	
stipend at home	3,420 (5:9 years)[18]	1,850 (2:7 years)	7,200 (4 years)
equipment & books	900	900	-
passage to China	1,190	536 + 600	600
passage China to Java	600	600	600
stipend in China	7,172 (2:1 years)	5,738 (2:6 years)	3,750 (1 year)
total	13,312	10,224	14,550

The main reason for the higher costs were the higher allowances for the students in Batavia (*f* 150 instead of *f* 50), the allowance for the Chinese teacher in Batavia (*f* 50) and the somewhat higher stipend in China ($125 instead of about $110). The costs remained higher even if no allowance for equipment and books (*f* 900) and no passage fees from the Netherlands to

Java were needed. The staff bureau reported that teaching in Batavia was seemingly more costly, but this would be a decent training, not a defective one as had been suggested in the letters from the Indies. Therefore, the new interpreters probably could do without a teacher after graduation. Moreover, books were not necessary, since the interpreters had bought books earlier that were still government property. It was even suggested to leave out the allowance to the interpreter (*f* 50), and even that of the Chinese teacher, but in the latter case the Governor-General should be asked for approval.

The staff bureau did not mention the costs of the first students, who all studied for at least four years in China. Compared with their expenditures, the Batavia study programme was very cheap indeed. For instance, the estimated total expenditures for Schlegel and for Schaalje, the most expensive student, were as follows.

	Schlegel	Schaalje
stipend at home	1,100 (3:9 years)	1,350 (3:9 years)
equipment & books	900	900
passage to China	1,200	800
passage China to Java	600	600
stipend in China	14,150 (4:4 years)	17,630 (5:4 years)
Total	17,950	21,623

In his final decision of 11 April 1867, the Minister wrote that he could agree quickly with the proposal—meaning soon after he had read Sloet's letter—because of the urgent need for European interpreters of Chinese; and such training would need a lot of time and money anyway, since it was such a difficult language. The only changes made by the Minister were that there would be no allowance for the interpreters—they had already been charged with teaching others in 1855, and their income was sufficient and not meagre—and that it would be neither desirable nor practical (*wenschelijk noch doelmatig*) to extend this programme to other interpreters outside Batavia. It would be sufficient to constantly be training one or two students. The programme should be effected as from the next year, and the expenditures should be earmarked on the budget for 1868.

In this way, almost four years had passed since the requests of Crefcoeur and Rodijk. In November 1864, half a year after his first request, Crefcoeur had repeated it, stressing the urgency of his need for a job. In the official correspondence, there is no mention of testing by the interpreters. But Schlegel wrote in 1873 that he did not expect much of these candidates, who had both come to the Indies "on adventure." He added an anecdote about what became of Crefcoeur, having a special liking for such anecdotes:

> Crefcoeur first set up a shop in fancy goods, then went to Australia. When Mr. van Delden[19] visited that country, Crefcoeur begged him for money to buy a pistol to shoot himself, but … he bought brandy instead to get drunk.[20]

Schlegel did not know what became of the other candidate, J.R. Rodijk.[21] Perhaps he is the same person as the clerk J.R. Rodijk who was honourably discharged from government service in the Department of Interior Administration (BB) in 1896.[22]

No decision had been made on the place of stationing, and therefore nothing could be said about the dialect to be taught. At that time, the interpreters in Batavia had probably agreed among themselves that Schlegel would teach Hokkien and Von Faber Hakka. Schlegel had studied in Amoy for three years and brought an Amoy teacher to Canton during his last year in China, and was certainly proficient in Hokkien; according to the division of labour in Batavia, he did all the interpretations while Von Faber did the translations. Von Faber had studied some Hakka while in office in Western Borneo. He must have realised that he was the right person to teach Hakka, and apparently prepared himself for that task. He compiled a word list of the Hakka language as spoken on Borneo and Banka, with a preface, introduction, stories and dialogues, which he presented for publication to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in October 1866. After the meeting of the Board of Directors on 31 October, his manuscript was given to the members of the board to make an assessment. Unfortunately, two months later, the Board decided not to publish it because it was said to be lacking in scholarly value, but since it would be useful for government officials to learn some Hakka for daily conversation, the board suggested Von Faber should send the manuscript to the Government Press (*Landsdrukkerij*) for printing. This was to no avail; more than four years later, in 1871, publication was cancelled because of the lack of Chinese type at the Government Press.[23]

The examination system and the choice of dialect (1868–1870)

In the meantime, at least one other request to study Chinese had been made, by A.L.G. Gobée from Semarang on 27 October 1866; he had studied Liberal Arts (*Letteren*) in Leiden for three years, but recently arrived in the Indies as a soldier.[24] In 1868, the training of interpreters was a fixed item on the government budget, and that summer the Resident of Batavia, H.J.C. Hoogeveen, sent the requests of five candidates to Schlegel and Von Faber. Besides that of Gobée, these were from J.J.C. Reeder,[25] Twijsel, Groenewald, and Wollweber, most of whom were older than twenty.[26] Hoogeveen asked Schlegel and Von Faber for their advice.

On 14 September 1868, Schlegel and Von Faber gave their opinion

on the candidates and offered a plan for an admission examination. They wrote that on the basis of the requests from these candidates, most of them seemed to think learning Chinese was a trifling matter for which no special previous studies were necessary. Although, in a certain sense, this might be true for the colloquial language (*spreektaal*), it certainly was not so for literary Chinese (*schrijftaal*). Learning literary Chinese required at least as much preparatory studies and intellectual education as learning literary Javanese or Malay. Moreover, they knew from another source that most candidates thought it would be easier to become a Chinese interpreter than to take the Higher Officials Examination (*grootambtenaarsexamen*, *see* below), and consequently the candidates wished to study Chinese either for fear of the difficulty of that examination or out of a lack of zeal for the studies necessary for it. There were other causes fostering this wrong idea. Those who passed the Higher Officials Examination were qualified as East Indies officials and entitled to climb to the top of the hierarchy, while knowledge of Chinese could only lead to an appointment as interpreter, which in the eyes of the East Indies public was an extremely low position, with a maximum salary of only *f* 800 after eighteen years of service. But according to Schlegel and Von Faber, only a genuine predilection for the study of Chinese should be the motive to devote oneself to Chinese rather than to the normal official career. The candidates should at least have the level of preparatory studies and intellectual education of those allowed to take Part B of the Higher Officials Examination.[27] Some years later, Schlegel would criticise the majority of the candidates in his typical, straightforward manner:

> With few exemptions: *fortune-seekers*, *half-castes* and *lazy-bones*, who shrink from the Higher Officials Examination and think learning Chinese is easier.[28]

In 1864, the *radicaal* (qualification) system for East Indies officials and their obligatory training at the Academy in Delft had been abolished, and replaced by a Higher Officials Examination to be held yearly in Batavia and in the Netherlands.[29] This examination consisted of two parts (*afdeelingen*) A and B; only those who had passed part A could go on to attempt part B.[30] Part A comprised secondary school subjects, and students who had a university degree or who had passed the final examination of the HBS or some other special schools were exempted from taking it.[31] Schlegel and Von Faber were of the opinion that candidates for Chinese should also at least have reached the level of part A. After studying in China and working in the Indies for several years, Schlegel and Von Faber were both not only aware of the scarcity, but also of the defectiveness of the existing study tools, and that therefore "one should possess a wealth of encyclopaedic knowledge to compensate for the lack of complete dictionaries, manuals, and grammars." They suggested having the candidates

take an examination in the following subjects, which were mostly copied from part A of the Higher Officials Examination:

1. Proficiency in the Dutch, French, English, and German languages (*Bekwaamheid in de Neder-Duitsche, Fransche, Engelsche en Hoog-Duitsche talen*), in particular a thorough knowledge of Dutch and French grammar in all respects. Study tools were all written in the latter three foreign languages, and the student should be able to read and understand these languages without the help of a dictionary. This was no new argument, nor was the second linguistic argument new, which Hoffmann would be happy to hear: "A thorough and comprehensive, higher scholarly knowledge of the grammar of one Germanic and one Romance language is a powerful and indispensable aid to fathoming the structure of the Chinese language and to obtain a correct understanding of this extremely difficult language, which is after all the main requirement for a Chinese interpreter."
2. Arithmetic (*De Rekenkunde*)
3. Basic principles of mineralogy, geology, botany, and zoology (*De beginselen der Delfstof-, aard-, plant- en dierkunde*)
4. Basic principles of physics and astronomy (*De beginselen der natuurkunde en cosmographie*)
5. Geography (*De aardrijkskunde*)
6. History (*De geschiedenis*)
7. Double-entry bookkeeping (*Het Italiaansch boekhouden*)

The last-named was necessary because the main work of the Chinese interpreter was the verification of Chinese account books (*handelsboeken*), and one could not learn Chinese bookkeeping without being initiated into bookkeeping in general.

All but one of the subjects were copied from part A of the Higher Officials Examination. The following subjects of part A were not included: algebra, geometry, and trigonometry; drawing and linear drawing; the basic principles of the Netherlands local and central government, and economy and statistics. The only addition was the emphasis on Dutch and French grammar, and bookkeeping; the latter was one of the optional subjects of part B.[32]

Schlegel and Von Faber suggested that since in the budget funds were only earmarked for two students, those who had the highest marks, in particular in languages, should be chosen. Actually, competitive examinations were obligatory for all government-paid training programmes for officials.[33]

In order to economise and save the trouble of organising a special examination committee, they suggested that the Higher Officials Examination Committee should also test the candidate-interpreters at the same time as

the aspirant-officials of the Civil Service. The same exemptions should be applied. Therefore, they were of the opinion that the request of Gobée, who had passed the admission (*admissie*) and *mathesis* examinations of Leiden University,[34] could be immediately accepted, if his age (23) presented no problem. In general, the age of the candidates should preferably not exceed twenty years. Reeder should also be exempted,[35] but they feared that his advanced age of 33 years would cause great problems in learning Chinese, in particular the pronunciation:

> The [Hokkien] Chinese language has guttural and nasal sounds, and at a higher age the vocal cords are not pliant enough to produce these sounds with ease. On the other hand, since this candidate has been studying other Oriental languages for a long time, this may have kept his speech organs in a pliant state, and it may be easier for him to learn colloquial Chinese than could be expected otherwise.[36]

The dialect to be learned should be decided by the government, since experience had shown that it was impossible to become proficient in two dialects. Finally, they wished the government would immediately order two copies of each of the books on the list that they had sent four years earlier.

Nine months later, on 24 June 1869, Schlegel and Von Faber gave an explanation of some points of their advice, answering a letter from Resident Hoogeveen of 15 June. This concerned the rules for exemptions, the suggestion of immediate (!) approval of the requests of Gobée and Reeder, and the Chinese dialects to be taught. Schlegel and Von Faber admitted their misinterpretation of the exemption rules: Article 5 stipulated exemption for those with a university degree or a diploma from the HBS and some other schools. Strictly speaking, this included neither admission to a university nor a diploma from a military academy (e.g. KMA). Schlegel and Von Faber now mutually disagreed as to the proposed exemption rules. Schlegel was in favour of exemption for those with diplomas from HBS, *gymnasium* and the military academies, and persisted in his suggestion of immediate approval of Gobée's and Reeder's requests (unless there were objections against their advanced age). Von Faber now stated that there should only be an exemption for those with a university degree;[37] and he wished no immediate approval of these two requests. As to the dialect, Schlegel and Von Faber reported that on Java mainly the Tsiang-tsiu (Zhangzhou 漳州, Hokkien) dialect was spoken, and in the Outer Possessions the Kia Ying Chow (Kay Ying Tsiu 嘉應州, Hakka) dialect.

Another four months later, on 4 October 1869, the Director of Interior Administration (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*), F.G. van Bloemen Waanders,[38] wrote to the Governor-General. He had been invited to make the necessary arrangements and plans together with the Resident and the two interpreters. Waanders agreed in all respects with the interpreters' advice, but he was in favour of Schlegel's more generous conditions for exemption,

and he was of the opinion that students could also be trained in the Outer Possessions, contrary to the Governor-General's decision of 7 July 1867.[39] As to the two candidates mentioned, good study results were to be expected from Gobée, and a small difference in age did not matter. But his ability should be tested by the interpreters. The other candidate, Reeder, was too advanced in age to study Chinese. Waanders' suggestions were to charge one interpreter in Batavia with teaching the Tsiang-tsiu dialect, and one in Padang (Buddingh) or Riau (Schaalje) with teaching the Kia Ying Chow dialect. Teachers should be engaged for these dialects. The examination system (including Schlegel's conditions for exemption) should be adopted. The Governor-General should decide on Gobée's request, and require that he be tested by the interpreters in Batavia as to his ability to learn Chinese. If approved by them, he could immediately be appointed by the Governor-General as a student-interpreter (élève-tolk), and he should be taught the Tsiang-tsiu dialect, while temporarily the interpreter's teacher was to be relied upon, for payment of *f* 50 monthly.

However, three weeks later, on 22 October 1869, these suggestions were rejected by the Council of the Indies under Vice-President F.N. van Nieuwenhuyzen.[40] No deviation was allowed from the Minister of Colonies' decision that it was "neither desirable nor practical" to train interpreters outside Batavia. No investigation had been done as to whether any of the interpreters in Batavia could just as well teach the Kia Ying Chow dialect. A statement from the interpreters would be necessary to justify any deviation from the Minister's decision. Moreover, Director of Interior Administration Waanders had neglected article 12 of Royal Decree no. 47 of 11 May 1864, which stipulated that a competitive examination was obligatory for all government-subsidised training programmes for civil officials in the Indies, meaning that an examination was obligatory for all candidates. Royal Approval was also necessary for the expected higher expenses than those on the budget.[41] Gobée could not be immediately appointed as student-interpreter, but had to take the competitive examination. The Council concluded that the matter had not been handled with due care by Director of Interior Administration Waanders, and therefore they requested him to revise his plan.

Three months later, on 9 February 1870, Hoogeveen, the Resident of Batavia, asked Von Faber and Schlegel in a confidential letter if they could teach the Kia Ying Chow dialect, and if not, who could. Von Faber had four years earlier compiled a handbook for Hakka, but now he admitted that he was not qualified to teach that dialect. He candidly wrote on 10 February:

> The undersigned, M. von Faber, Chinese interpreter in Batavia, has been able to study the Kia Ying Chow dialect for too short a time, and afterwards has hardly had any opportunity to continue his studies in that dialect or even to

> keep up what he had learned, such as to possess sufficient knowledge of that dialect to teach it or to do oral interpretation into or out of that dialect at a court of law, and therefore he *can* and even *shall* earnestly declare that he is neither able to speak nor to teach the Kia Ying Chow dialect.[42]

Schlegel admitted on 11 February that he also could not teach the Kia Ying Chow dialect, since he had never studied it: in accordance with his government assignment, he had concentrated on the Amoy and Tsiang-tsiu dialects, which were generally spoken on Java. In a second confidential letter, he answered the Resident's other question, stating that Groeneveldt, interpreter in Pontianak, would be the most qualified to teach Kia Ying Chow dialect, since he had been speaking it daily for five years and was still continuing his Chinese language studies.

The next month, on 30 March 1870, the new Director of Internal Administration, H.D. Levysohn Norman, sent Governor-General Mijer a new plan for teaching Chinese; his predecessor Waanders' plan had been criticised and he was asked to revise it. He suggested asking the Minister's approval for teaching outside Batavia, since Von Faber and Schlegel were not able to teach Kia Ying Chow dialect while Groeneveldt in Pontianak allegedly could do it. Funding would be no problem: while the students were in China, no stipends were necessary in the Indies, so the *f* 4,800 on the budget should be sufficient. From this amount, books should immediately be bought, while other books were to be paid by the students from their future salaries, and teachers should be sent from China. "It is important to arrange things this year, in order that the two students can start to work [i.e. study] after their appointment."[43] He suggested requesting (1) to train students outside Batavia, (2) to determine the examination programme, (3) to approve the stipends in the Indies and China, and (4) to have books sent. Subsequently, one student should study the Tsiang-tsiu dialect in Batavia, and one Kia Ying Chow with Groeneveldt; a Chinese teacher should be assigned (*f* 50), and the entrance examination should be done by the same committee as that for the Higher Officials Examination. His predecessor had suggested that the stipends in China should be paid directly to the students, but this need not be stipulated by the government.

Now the Council of the Indies agreed in its advice of 22 April 1870, and after Governor-General Mijer had consulted the local authorities, he wrote to Minister E. de Waal on 5 May 1870, asking for approval of the four items mentioned by the director.

The Minister's staff advised him to accept these suggestions, and stated that for the first three of these no ministerial approval was necessary, and sending the books would also be no problem.

Minister De Waal decided the examination rules on 15 August 1870, after minor changes. In general, not more than two students were to be trained, and he added the usual necessary condition of repaying the costs

of training etc. in case they were discharged less than five years after finishing their studies.[44] Here discharge from "government service" should be changed into "Indies service" (*Indische dienst*). This was because of correspondence with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the last two years, which could entail attempts by that Ministry to engage the interpreters trained in China at the consulates in China. In that case, the costs of training should be refunded to the East Indies government. Finally, measures should be taken to send two copies of the necessary books.

This decision of the Minister was finally adopted in a decision of the Governor-General on 16 October 1870 (no. 2), and this was published in the Bulletin of Acts and Decrees (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*) (1870, no. 151), entitled "Conditions for government subsidies for the training of Chinese interpreters in the Netherlands Indies."[45] After sixteen years of ad-hoc decisions, this was the first general system for the recruitment and training of Chinese interpreters.

This decision consisted of four articles:

Article 1. According to need, usually not more than two persons at a time could be designated by the Governor-General to be trained as Chinese interpreters in Batavia or elsewhere in the Netherlands Indies.

Article 2. Candidates should not be older than twenty years, and take part in a competitive examination (in the four languages and other subjects mentioned above).

Article 3. The students should receive a monthly stipend of *f* 150 in the Indies during a maximum of four years, and $125 in China during a maximum of one year, and free passage to and from China.

Article 4. Those who passed the examination and were designated as students should sign a promise to repay all expenditures paid for them by the government in case they were discharged from the Indies government's service within five years after finishing their studies.

However, this decision came too late for the five candidates of 1868. None of them took part in any examination. The most serious candidate, Gobée, whose request dated from 1866, was by now far too old; he now was pursuing a career in military administration, and in April 1870 he had already entered the Military School.[46] About Reeder nothing is known; the other three candidates perhaps had careers in the lower civil administration.[47]

The first student-interpreter in Batavia: J.J. Roelofs (1871–1872)

Just when the examination system was established, the need for interpreters became urgent after the passing away of two of them. On 16 August

1870, Buddingh passed away, but his vacancy in Padang could be filled because Meeter happened to return from sick leave in the Netherlands.[48] But after the death of De Breuk on 10 November 1870, there was no replacement for him in Cirebon. Therefore, a few months after the promulgation of the new rules, Governor-General Mijer decided not to wait for the yearly Higher Officials Examination in the autumn but to organise a special examination committee. Announcements were published in the *Javasche Courant* (the Indies Government Gazette)[49] and other newspapers. The examination took place from 13 to 15 March 1871 in the building of the Batavian Society (*Bataviaasch Genootschap*). For the languages and physics there was a written and an oral examination; the other subjects were only examined orally. The candidates had to write an essay in Dutch, and translate Dutch texts into the three other languages without using a dictionary, while the translations of certain difficult words were supplied. In order to pass, the candidate was at least to score 20 points for the four languages. There were only two candidates. One was the 19-year old Johannes Jacobus Roelofs, who was born in The Hague and had come to the Indies with his family in 1862. His father was at first a shopkeeper in Batavia and in 1867 became a shipping agent (*expediteur*) at the Java Bank. Roelofs was of purely European descent, and he passed the examination. The other candidate was H.E. Busscher, a "native child," whose capacities were so far below the average that the committee could not consider him eligible.[50] Their results were as follows:[51]

Subject	Roelofs	Busscher
Dutch	6	4
French	8	4
English	5	2
German	5	3
Arithmetic	4	4
Botany and zoology, mineralogy and geology	7	3
Physics and astronomy	5	2
Geography	6	5
History	5	6
Bookkeeping	8	6

The marks are on an ascending scale from 1 to 10, where '5' represents 'barely satisfactory knowledge' (*even voldoende kennis*).[52] Busscher only had satisfactory results in the last three subjects.

Actually, it remained just as difficult to find suitable candidates as before, and Schlegel would later complain that Roelofs would not have taken part in this examination if he had not failed to pass part A of the Higher

Officials Examination the year before.[53] On 20 April 1871, Roelofs was designated as student-interpreter to be trained by Schlegel in the Tsiang-tsiu dialect, with the usual stipends and conditions. It was explicitly stated that he was to sign for repayment before he could begin his studies.[54]

All that is known about Schlegel's teaching method for his first student Roelofs—except the book list—is that he began to revise a manual (without doubt Doty's) and conversations in the Amoy (Tsiang-tsiu) dialect, "because there existed no sources to learn the Hokkien dialect except living ones."[55] He planned to have it published, but did not finish his revision at the time.[56] Two years later, in 1873, he finished his Dutch translation and adaptation to the Tsiang-tsiu dialect of Doty's manual, which was entitled *Hollandsch–Chineesch handboekje van het Tsiang-tsiu dialect*. All of his later students in Leiden copied it by hand, but it was never published.[57] There is no mention of engagement of a new teacher from China, so probably Schlegel's teacher was used.

Half a year after the first examination, another attempt was made to recruit more students. On 1 July 1871, the first Director of Justice,[58] T.H. der Kinderen,[59] a staunch supporter of the interpreters, suggested to the Governor-General to organise another examination that autumn. He stated that it took five years to train an interpreter, and there was only one student at the time. The vacancy in Cirebon could not be filled, and within five years, the need would be even greater. It would be desirable to train two more students, and Schlegel was said to be happy to train one other student together with Roelofs. Director of Interior Administration Levysohn Norman advised Governor-General Mijer that funding would be no problem for a third student, because of the passing away of two interpreters, but that according to the regulations, there should only be an opportunity for one other student. Mijer agreed and subsequently, the examination committee for the Higher Officials Examination was charged with organising an examination for student-interpreters together with the Higher Officials Examination on 18 September and the following days.[60] Announcements were published in the newspapers. However, this time not even one candidate showed up for the examination.

In 1872, after working as an interpreter in the Indies for ten years, Schlegel was obliged to ask for leave in the Netherlands in order to recover from ill health; he was suffering from diabetes. He planned to turn over the teaching of Roelofs to one of his colleagues, preferably Groeneveldt, who should in that case be transferred from Padang to Batavia.[61] Schlegel was granted two years' leave on 8 June 1872 and left the Indies on 20 June.[62] But two months later, Groeneveldt was charged to accompany the first Dutch Consul General and Minister Resident in China, J.H. Ferguson, and to act as his secretary and interpreter for one year. Groeneveldt could be borrowed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs despite the shortage of

Chinese interpreters. Since the colonial government would lose for some time one interpreter for whose training they had dearly paid, they tried to make the most of this assignment. In Governor-General J. Loudon's decision of 5 August 1872 to assign Groeneveldt to China for one year, the Director of Justice was charged to recommend Groeneveldt to profit from his stay in China to learn another dialect not yet known to him, and to ask him his opinion about the possibility of being accompanied by Roelofs or another student suitable to be trained by him in China, and if necessary to make suggestions.[63] Thereupon, Groeneveldt wrote two letters to the Director of Justice, both dated 6 September 1872, accepting the training of Roelofs, but rejecting the recommendation to learn another dialect.[64] The first letter gives a description of Roelofs' probable study environment in China:

> The student Roelofs is now learning the Hokkien Dialect, which is spoken in Amoy and environs; my destination, as far as I know, is Shanghai, where one hears a completely different language; in this respect, Amoy would be the best place for him; even Batavia would be preferable to Shanghai.
>
> But an interpreter should learn more than the colloquial language; he should also be proficient in the literary language and know about laws and customs, in a word, the whole of Chinese life. For this part of his studies, which is surely the most difficult, China offers more favourable opportunities than Batavia, and in particular the guidance of an expert is a great advantage; during my stay in China I felt the lack of that in many respects.[65]
>
> Moreover, the objection to Shanghai which I mentioned, can be largely remedied. The student Roelofs will of course engage a teacher and a servant from Amoy, and, being together with me, he will get into daily contact with other people who speak that dialect, and in Shanghai there will be a number of merchants etc. from Amoy, with whom he can associate as much as he deems fit.
>
> I do not know enough about the natural endowments and progress of the said student; from Mr. Schlegel I have always heard favourable reports. On the basis of this I dare say that after his stay in Shanghai under my guidance for one year, he can be fully equipped to stand on his own feet and to qualify himself further during another year in Fujian province.[66]

The second letter was not about Roelofs, but it summarised the problems for the European interpreter of Chinese in learning other dialects:

> Here in the Indies, generally only two dialects are spoken: the so-called Hokkien and the Hakka or Kheh dialect. Chinese from other regions can only be found in few places and in small numbers. I know these two dialects, and it would be of no use for my work in the Indies to learn an extra dialect.
>
> As to the Shanghai dialect, there is to my knowledge in all of the Indies not one Chinese who speaks that dialect.
>
> Finally, I should emphasise that although Chinese dialects differ greatly, they also have much in common, and that it is already quite difficult and requires a lot of practicing to learn two dialects without mixing them up frequently.

> Even if I could use it here in the Indies, I would still hesitate to study a third dialect on a regular basis.
>
> I am very pleased with my assignment in China, because I expect much profit for my studies. But I hope that the Government will on the basis of the above abandon the said recommendation and leave it to my own judgement how I shall profit from the opportunity given to me. [67]

The new Director of Justice, W.H. de Pauly, considered Groeneveldt's objection well founded and advised abandoning the recommendation. Subsequently, Governor-General Loudon took a new decision on 22 September, stipulating that in deviation from the study regulations, Roelofs was to be sent to China with Groeneveldt, to study there for a maximum of two years. At the same time, Groeneveldt was notified that the government had abandoned its wish to have him learn yet another dialect, and would let him decide himself how best to profit from his stay in China.[68]

After Roelofs had studied in Batavia for one and a half years, he was ordered to proceed to China with Groeneveldt.[69] They left accompanied by Groeneveldt's Chinese teacher/clerk on 22 October 1872,[70] and proceeded to Shanghai. Groeneveldt was in function as per 14 November 1872, and one year later, his assignment was prolonged for another year.[71] Roelofs probably stayed with Groeneveldt for one year. Subsequently, he went to study in Amoy, where he was given assistance by the Netherlands' Vice-Consul J. Paterson, and from 23 April 1874, Consul C.J. Pasedag.[72] In contrast with the earlier students, he was on his own in Amoy, and when his younger colleague J. van der Spek met him in Batavia in 1880, he made the following impression:

> He seems to me a bloke with a quick mind, but without any aspiration for higher, nobler things; and now and then he shows that he associated with less exquisite people in Amoy.[73]

He stayed in China until April 1875, seven months longer than allowed, being there for about two and a half years; in total, he studied for four years. After his return to Java, he was notified of the serious dissatisfaction of the government, because his stay in China had exceeded the allowed period; however, the government was willing to overlook this and decided to pay the stipends for October to April advanced by the Consul in Amoy, and also Roelofs' travel expenses.[74] On the same day, 17 June 1875, Roelofs was appointed as interpreter in Pontianak.[75]

The second student-interpreter in Batavia: J.W. Young (1873–1875)

Just before Roelofs left for China in 1872, a third attempt was made to recruit student-interpreters in Batavia. On 9 September, Governor-General

Loudon charged the committee for the Higher Officials Examination of that year to organise an examination for aspirant-interpreters; this was to be taken on 18 November and the following days, simultaneously with the Higher Officials Examination.[76] Director of Justice De Pauly was to make public announcements of the opportunity to be trained as interpreter.[77]

This time, there were at first three candidates, one of whom withdrew, but of the remaining two, only the 17-year old J.W. Young passed the examination; the other candidate A. Buijn failed. James William Young was a "native child" (Eurasian),[78] a son of the Malay translator James Young (1832–1906), who happened to be a friend of Schlegel. He had been a student at the Willem III Gymnasium.[79] The examination results of the two candidates were as follows:

Subject	Young	Buijn
Dutch	10	3
French	6	5
English	8	2
German	7	3
Arithmetic	4	2
Botany and zoology, mineralogy and geology	6	2
Physics and astronomy	3	2
Geography	5	2
History	6	3
Bookkeeping	6	5

Young was excellent in Dutch and good in English, but weak in Arithmetic and Physics. Evidently the other candidate, Buijn, whose results were poor except for "barely satisfactory" marks for French and Bookkeeping, was not eligible. The Governor-General decided on 2 January 1873 that Young was to be trained as an interpreter for Chinese, and that he was to be taught the Tsiang-tsiu dialect in Batavia under the usual financial conditions. Von Faber would be responsible for his training.[80]

Young studied under Von Faber in Batavia for three years, from January 1873 to December 1875. Apart from Tsiang-tsiu (Hokkien), he may have also studied Cantonese. This was after all Von Faber's specialism, and Young was later said to speak Hokkien, Cantonese, and Hakka with a pureness of accent and ease seldom attained by Europeans.[81]

On 22 December 1875, Young was granted permission to stay in China for "one and a half years," but he remained in China for little more than one year. He studied from January 1876 to 3 February 1877 in Amoy,[82] where he was assisted by the Netherlands Consul C.J. Pasedag.[83] He once requested via Pasedag to be sent some copies of the *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*

(*Bulletin of Acts and Decrees*) and police ordinances etc. to practice translating into Chinese. The Director of Justice then sent him the *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* of 1875 and six police ordinances (*keuren*).[84] He received his last allowance over January 1877, and he left for Java on 3 February 1877.[85] During his last days, he may have met the three students from Leiden, De Groot, Hoetink, and Stuart, who arrived in Amoy on 2 February.[86]

On 8 February 1877, he was allowed to engage a Chinese teacher for three years, who would accompany him to the Indies.[87] After a total of four years of study, like Roelofs, Young was on 16 March 1877 appointed as interpreter in Pontianak.[88] He took over the vacancy left by Roelofs, who had been transferred to Padang almost a year earlier. After arrival in Western Borneo, he was allowed by Resident Kater to engage a teacher for the Hakka dialect for *f* 25 monthly for one year,[89] probably since he had not been able to study that dialect in China.

The failure and success of the Batavian system

Just as in the 1850s, the attempt to recruit students and to set up a training programme in Batavia failed. Only two students were ever trained in Batavia. Moreover, while doing so, the regulations were constantly violated: because of circumstances, Roelofs had to leave Batavia after one and a half years of study (instead of four), and was allowed to study in China for two years (instead of one), which actually became two and a half years; and Young was not a pure European—which was only unofficially undesirable. In 1873, after Schlegel returned on sick leave to the Netherlands, he attempted to obtain a professorship in Leiden, and gave another explanation for the failure of the training programme in Batavia:

> In the first place, the hot climate of the Netherlands Indies is not very beneficial for studies, and is detrimental to the desire to work of both the student and the teacher, who, next to teaching, also has to perform his official duties as interpreter of Chinese, and therefore can use but little time in teaching his student.

The combination of translating/interpreting and teaching proved not feasible. In the second place, Schlegel argued, the examination could only be taken in Batavia, so that candidates from the Netherlands could hardly take part.[90] In the Netherlands, there would have been a much larger pool of potential candidates. When explicitly asked by Minister of Colonies Fransen van de Putte if suitable candidates could be found in the Indies, he gave a negative answer, explaining:

> The Minister should know that most parents in the Indies would send their sons at an early age to Europe to be educated there. And even the large majority of those who finish the Willem III Gymnasium, also go to Europe afterwards.

Schlegel gave other arguments for his opinion that the climate harmed the zest for study. Teachers at the Willem III Gymnasium had more than once assured him that this was the case, and Schlegel could also assess this when he was appointed a member of the Final Examination Committee of that school in 1870.[91]

From September 1873 on, Schlegel was charged with the training of interpreters in Leiden. From then on, all new interpreters were first taught in the Netherlands. But still it was in Batavia that the basis had been laid for a competitive examination system and for specific conditions of study, including an actual total period of four years; the choice of the Hokkien dialect had also explicitly been made there, with a second option of Hakka. Starting in 1873, this system would be implemented in Leiden with more success, and would remain basically the same for more than forty years until 1917.[92]

CHAPTER EIGHT

SCHLEGEL AND HIS STUDENTS IN LEIDEN (1873–1878)

Schlegel's proposal for a new training course in Leiden (1873)

Schlegel left Batavia for a two-year sick leave on 20 June 1872 and probably arrived in the Netherlands six weeks later, in August 1872. After ten years of service as a Chinese interpreter in Batavia, Schlegel must have decided it would be better, both for sinology and for his own health, not to return to the Indies but to stay in Europe to train interpreters there. Probably by the end of February 1873, he had a meeting with G.Th.H. Henny, Secretary General of the Ministry of Colonies, an old acquaintance who had worked for ten years as a lawyer in Batavia at the same time as Schlegel and also returned to the Netherlands in 1872.[1] It was probably at this meeting that Schlegel presented Henny with two documents, a "*nota* concerning the training of Chinese student-translators"[2] and his *Curriculum Vitae*.[3] By offering these documents, Schlegel basically requested the establishment of a professorship in Leiden for himself to train Chinese interpreters for the Indies.

In the *nota*, he recollected that the training of the first Chinese student-translators had been entrusted to professor Hoffmann, and that he himself and Francken were the first two students sent from the Netherlands to China for further study. But already in 1860, the government had decided that in future, aspirant-interpreters should be trained by the interpreters in the Indies and continue in China, where they should concentrate on the Guangdong and Fujian dialects (*Cantonsche en Fokiansche dialecten*). Schlegel now criticised his former teacher:

> Professor Hoffmann's training in the Netherlands soon proved inadequate for service in the Netherlands Indies. Although the said professor can be fully trusted to teach the Chinese written language, it was of course less feasible for him to teach the dialects spoken in the Netherlands Indies, because Mr. Hoffmann only understands the dialect called Mandarin, which is spoken in the northern provinces of China, while in the Netherlands Indies dialects from the southern provinces of Fujian and Guangdong are spoken.[4]

Consequently, all of Hoffmann's students had to stay in China for several years before they were qualified for service in the Indies. According to Schlegel, this problem was solved in 1870 by the ministerial resolution to have the training of Chinese interpreters take place in the Indies. In 1871, Schlegel had been charged with the training of the first aspirant Roelofs,

which he could not finish since he was obliged to take sick leave in Europe in the following year. Although training in the Indies had certain advantages, there were also great objections, in particular the hot climate and heavy work load of the interpreters (*see* Chapter Seven), but Schlegel also took it up for youngsters in the Netherlands who might wish to study Chinese and have a career as interpreter in the Indies. Since the examination could only be taken in the Indies, they would have to proceed there first, and chances to be accepted were not high, since it was a competitive examination and the government only allowed two students to be trained at a time. This could be solved if there were an opportunity to take the entrance examination in the Netherlands. But, according to Schlegel, the greatest objection would be that if they passed the examination and went to the Indies, it might happen that the Chinese interpreter teaching him after four years of study would discover that the candidate was unsuited to learn Chinese ever—such cases existed[5]—and he would have lost precious time, and would be obliged to return to the Netherlands to undertake a different professional training.

In the Indies, "the already small corps of Chinese interpreters is threatened with imminent extinction,"[6] since three of the original ten interpreters had passed away, two were on sick leave for two years, and one was stationed in China, leaving only four interpreters in active service. Moreover, there was only one aspirant-interpreter, Roelofs, who would need another three or four years of study.[7] According to Schlegel, it therefore seemed desirable and fair to Dutch youngsters wishing to learn Chinese to create an opportunity for aspirant-interpreters to study Chinese in the Netherlands. The training could be assigned to one of the older Chinese interpreters in the Indies, who could be stationed in the Netherlands and obtain the title of 'professor of modern Chinese' (*Hoogleeraar in het hedendaagsch Chineesch*).[8] At the same time, this interpreter should be considered an East Indies official to be paid from the Colonial budget. Professor Hoffmann could be charged with the training of aspirant-interpreters for the Dutch consulates in China, since these officials were to learn Mandarin.

In his *Curriculum Vitae*, Schlegel gave a short account of his studies in Leiden and China, including his contributions to the Museum of Natural History; he gave some examples of his work as an interpreter and advisor in the Indies. He mentioned his major publications and their reviews in international journals, as well as his doctorate in philosophy from the University of Jena.[9]

At his meeting with Henny, Schlegel probably handed in his *nota* and C.V. In any case, he was directed to submit a suitably argued proposal for his permanent transfer to the Netherlands. On 2 March 1873, Schlegel complied with these instructions and wrote a letter to Henny with concrete suggestions and some additions.

He argued that it was obviously desirable to create an opportunity to

train Chinese interpreters in the Netherlands, since experience had shown that there were very few candidates in the Indies and therefore the corps of Chinese interpreters was threatened with extinction. He asked the Minister to transfer him permanently to the Netherlands with the special assignment of training Chinese interpreters. The training could take place in the same manner as had been done in Batavia, but the Minister's resolution of 1870[10] should then be changed so that the training of more than two students was assigned to a professor in Leiden. In addition, the opportunity to study in the Indies should be abolished. In Leiden the students should receive a monthly stipend of *f* 50 (as before) instead of the *f* 150 in the Indies. Preparatory measures could be taken immediately, involving official announcements in the newspapers for candidates who could take a similar examination as in Batavia.

Schlegel was also willing to teach a course in Chinese Language, Geography and Ethnology at the Indies Institute in Leiden.[11] In this way, the candidate-officials who would in the Indies certainly come into contact with the Chinese, would obtain some basic knowledge about the nature, customs, and religious practices of the Chinese, who were so important for [the economy of] the Indies. Therefore Schlegel suggested conferring on him the title of Professor of Chinese Language, Geography and Ethnology (*Hoogleeraar in de Chinesche Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*),[12] on a fixed yearly salary of 5,000 guilders.[13]

Finally, he notified Secretary General Henny that he had been recommended for the vacancy of professor of Chinese language at the Collège de France, after the death of Stanislas Julien. He added a copy of the letter of recommendation from the French Minister of the Navy and the Colonies, Admiral Pothuan. In this position, he would receive a salary of 10 to 12 thousand Francs. The French letter stated that Schlegel was prepared to be naturalised in France, which was a clear indication of his willingness to take this position. It was not so strange that a French Admiral should recommend Schlegel: in 1860 Schlegel and Francken had shown their qualities as Chinese-French interpreters for the French Navy in Amoy (*see* Chapter Three).

The argument of a position offered abroad is similar to the one used in Hoffmann's case both in 1846 and 1855—although it was not mentioned by Hoffmann himself—and it is tempting to think that Schlegel chose the right moment for his proposal. Stanislas Julien had been ill for a long time, and during the last year his courses had been taught by d'Hervey de Saint-Denys. On 14 February 1873, Julien finally passed away, and Schlegel made his proposal little more than two weeks later. Schlegel stated that there was "no proficient French sinologist" to take Julien's position, and in fact, d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, who had never been in China, was considered unqualified by some; he later even had to defend his qualifications at

a court of law. Nevertheless, d'Hervey de Saint-Denys would later succeed Julien at the Collège de France.[14]

On 25 March, Bureau Aaz[15] of the Ministry of Colonies sent an extensive *nota* to Secretary General Henny with comments and suggestions on Schlegel's proposal. It began with a historical outline starting from 1853, based on the archives of the Ministry, which were kept for the purpose of informing the officials of the Ministry.[16] The Bureau was clearly better informed than Schlegel, who probably only possessed copies of decisions concerning himself. The Bureau found that Schlegel's representation of the matter was not always correct. It was out of the question that Hoffmann's training was defective, since this was in accordance with the original plan: to teach Mandarin in Leiden and another dialect in China. Hoffmann had also concluded that this was the only correct method, and if he was wrong, this should be proven. Schlegel had not shown that the study of Mandarin before learning another dialect could be omitted.[17]

According to Schlegel, the objection had been solved in the resolution of 1870. But in fact there was no relation between Hoffmann's method and that resolution. There had never been any objection in the Indies against his training, and from the start it was decided that the interpreters should after their own appointment train others. In 1870, only the conditions of this training had been regulated, on the assumption that the students would be directly taught in the dialect to be used later (without explicitly excluding Mandarin) and they would also study in China for one year.

A point of criticism of Schlegel's proposal was that he could only teach the dialect of Java (Hokkien), and not that of the Outer Possessions (Hakka). There was no constant need for new interpreters; therefore only two were trained at a time, and if they had started to train others in the Indies in time, there would not have been a shortage (*incompleet*). How could a professor be appointed with a yearly salary of *f* 5,000 for just two students? Schlegel wrote that he did not have enough time to train others in the Indies, but perhaps another interpreter outside Batavia would have more time.

There were also advantages in studying in the Indies; in Leiden one could not find a single Chinese, and the training would stagnate if Schlegel became ill and lacked the assistance of a Chinese teacher (note in the margin). Actually, the danger of being found unsuitable after four years of study was not so great, and youngsters would not go to the Indies to be trained as interpreters without being tested. There were just enough candidates in the Indies, and it had taken too much time to organise the course, from 1865 to 1870, partly because those concerned had too late given thought to the decision of 1864 (regarding the obligatory competitive examination for government-subsidised training courses).

Bureau Aaz earnestly advised against the proposal to appoint a professor at *f* 5,000 for two youngsters in a dialect only spoken on Java. However, the

argument that by appointing Schlegel (to give a training course) in Leiden again an interpreter would be withdrawn from service in the Indies was not valid, since Schlegel would otherwise leave for France. And it would be strange to appoint another professor at *f* 5,000 alongside Hoffmann who earned only *f* 3,000, but this would not be a crucial point if all else pleaded for Schlegel. An extraordinary measure could be desirable as an experiment, and several options were mentioned, such as to start with Mandarin, to have the course taught by Hoffmann, Schlegel, or Schaalje, etc. An argument against Hoffmann was that he was expected to die soon.[18]

On 1 April 1873, Secretary General Henny wrote to Schlegel that there were not enough reasons to appoint a professor in Leiden on the Colonial budget. There was a shortage of interpreters because the interpreters had not in time been charged to train others. As a rule, two students would be sufficient. In 1868 the number of candidates in the Indies was large enough, and in 1871 and 1872 the maximum number of two had been attained. A professor should only be appointed if there was no alternative; as a rule the interpreters should be trained in the Indies first. But Minister Fransen van de Putte would be prepared to create a special facility, and if Hoffmann could not undertake it because of ill health, his work on his Japanese dictionary, or because he could only teach Mandarin, the Minister would be happy to make use of Schlegel's services during his period of leave, which could be extended. As to the questions of the need to teach Mandarin and of the dialect to be chosen—preferably that of the Outer Possessions, which could not be taught by Hoffmann or Schlegel—the Minister asked Schlegel to think this over in consultation with Hoffmann, and preferably to advise jointly with him. For Hoffmann the Minister also had a question: could one make use of the youngsters who were being taught Chinese and Japanese by him now? As an appendix, Henny sent a copy of Hoffmann's advice of 9 December 1853.

Schlegel's and Hoffmann's advice

One week after Secretary General Henny's request, on 9 April 1873, Hoffmann and Schlegel sent an even more elaborate advice to Henny: Hoffmann contributed 4 pages and Schlegel 27. Hoffmann first stated that the arguments (*stellingen*) in his 1853 report on Chinese language studies in Europe were still valid after twenty years: in Europe only the so-called Mandarin language (*Mandarijnentaal*) was taught, and the student would learn other dialects only later, when he came in contact with Chinese. But if it were necessary to communicate with the Chinese population of Java and the Outer Possessions, who spoke Fujian dialects from Amoy and Zhangzhou—this had now been definitively established—the Amoy

dialect should be the initial gateway for the interpreter being trained for service in the Indies. Twenty years ago there had been no opportunity for this in Europe, but during the last few years this had become the course followed on Java. The teaching started with the Amoy dialect, and this could be done in the Netherlands as well, since the eminent sinologist Dr. G. Schlegel was now here, and he knew the Amoy dialect.

On the other hand, the student who would devote himself to the Amoy dialect under the guidance of this linguist, should sooner or later also learn Mandarin (*Mandarijnsch*), either to restore the connection of his own knowledge with general sinological scholarship—he could not do without its sources and tools—or in order to serve as an interpreter in contacts with the Chinese government. It would be the same as a native of Amoy who learned Mandarin because he had to know that dialect in order to pass the examinations to become eligible for government service. Hoffmann added the example of Groeneveldt, who was stationed at the Dutch Consulate in Shanghai and was now studying Mandarin.

In short, he advised learning the Amoy dialect, since in this way the student would directly be trained as an interpreter for Java, and this did not exclude his later studying Mandarin. Hoffmann wrote that he and Schlegel agreed on these points.

As to the question posed to Hoffmann alone, he answered that two bachelors of law (*jur. candidaten*), W. Vissering and P. Maclaine Pont, were regularly attending his classes in Chinese language and literature. They planned to profit from this later in the Indies, and also to devote themselves to scholarship, but they did not wish to be trained as interpreters. There was also a very promising student of Japanese, the candidate-notary L. Serrurier. His purpose was to find a position in Japan. Despite his ill health, Hoffmann spent a lot of time and energy teaching them, and all this without remuneration.

Taking Hoffmann's words as a starting point, Schlegel added that as to the question whether the aspirant-interpreters for the Indies should learn 'the so-called Mandarin dialect,' (*het zoogenaamde Mandarijnsch*), since all Chinese in the Indies were Netherlands Indies subjects (*onderdanen*), they were not ruled by Mandarins, and the Mandarin dialect was nowhere spoken in the Indies. The interpreter would only come into contact with a population speaking Southern Chinese dialects. For that reason, he never taught Mandarin.

Only recently had more attention been paid to the Southern dialects, and it was now recognised that they retained better, and in purer form, many features of the old Chinese language dating from before the formation of Mandarin. In the past, these dialects were seen as corruptions of Mandarin, while the opposite was true. This misconception was caused by the contempt shown for these dialects by Mandarin-speaking officials, which had been taken over by the British. As a result, in Europe it was con-

sidered useful and necessary only to learn Mandarin. It was thought that all civilised Chinese from other provinces spoke Mandarin, just as all civilised Germans could speak High German. Actually, Mandarin was only studied by those who needed it when they became officials, and Schlegel had even met quite a few Mandarins who could not understand Mandarin.

In this respect, scholarship had taken a step forward, but knowledge about the dialects spoken in the Colonies had increased as well. Originally, extremely vague terminology such as 'Cantonese' and 'Fujianese' had been used; the former was thought to be spoken in the Outer Possessions, the latter on Java. Consequently, several student-interpreters had wasted a lot of time and energy learning Cantonese (*see* Chapter Three). When this mistake finally came out, the government considered Hakka the dialect of the Outer Possessions, although it was actually only spoken in Pontianak and Mentok, and all students were ordered to study Hakka. When it later became evident that there were not enough places where Hakka was spoken, De Breuk (who had learnt Hakka) was stationed in Cirebon on Java, where Hokkien was spoken. Likewise, Groeneveldt was transferred from Pontianak to Padang, a Hokkien-speaking region, and he had to learn Hokkien in a month before going there—actually he only had to brush it up. And on Bangka, five different dialects were spoken, so five interpreters would be needed.

There had been the greatest confusion concerning the dialects spoken in the Indies, and after ten bitter years at the expense of the interpreters who were tossed around, only now could it be said with certainty which dialects were current. Except in Pontianak, one could use Hokkien everywhere, and this dialect should be the basis for all interpreters in the Indies. Everywhere else in the Colonies, the Hakkas all learned to speak the main dialect: Hokkien.

The Minister was of the opinion that since already two aspirant-interpreters, Roelofs and Young, were being taught Hokkien, the next group of students should learn Hakka. However, in Batavia, Cirebon, Semarang, and Surabaya only Hokkien was spoken, and in Riau and Padang mainly Hokkien, while Hakka dialects were spoken more in Pontianak and Mentok, and therefore the proportion Hokkien : Hakka should be 6 : 2 instead of 2 : 2.

Because of his ten years of experience as a Hokkien interpreter in Batavia, Schlegel believed he had sufficiently proven that he was qualified to teach Hokkien.

Now there remained two questions:

1. Would it be sufficient to train only two students?
2. Could one find enough suitable candidates in the Indies?

Before the resolution of 1870 was made, the Governor-General had consulted the civil authorities in the regions with a large Chinese population about the need of Chinese interpreters. Many of them reported that they did not need an interpreter.[19] In Schlegel's and his colleagues' expe-

rience, the interpreters were often regarded as snoopers (*dwarskijkers*),[20] who because of their knowledge of Chinese affairs and the trust given to them by the Chinese, learned about many affairs that the government preferred not to become known. Only the judicial authorities, not the civil authorities, made active use of the interpreters to clear up the endless malversations (*knoeierijen*) of the Chinese. Therefore it was no wonder that the Governor-General considered eight to ten interpreters sufficient.[21]

In a counter-attack, Schlegel continued that according to his experience, which was supported by influential and well-informed persons in the Indies, in those districts where the majority of the population was Chinese such as Bangka, Riau, and Pontianak, only officials who were fully acquainted with the Chinese language, manners and customs should be appointed as heads of regional government.

Schlegel gave examples of how conflicts could have been avoided if the highest civil authorities had understood the Chinese better. The interpreter's position should also be strengthened, and he should be given an active role in the formation of the Chinese Council.

The death rate among his colleagues was high; several others went on sick leave, and one went to China, leaving four interpreters in the Indies, of whom one, De Grijs, would be eligible for a pension within two years, after twenty years of service.[22] It would therefore not suffice to train only two students to fill the gaps; the number of students should be much larger.

As to the second question, whether enough candidates could be found in the Indies, Schlegel's answer was strongly negative. He explained in detail the low quality and wrong motivation of almost all candidates in the Indies, concluding that the Indies were not the place to find enough suitable candidates (*see* Chapter Seven).

Finally, he again mentioned his willingness to teach a course in Chinese Language, Geography, and Ethnology at the Indies Institute in Leiden, explaining the importance of the Chinese for the Indies, and concluding:

> About this element, which is so important for the Indies, the East Indies officials *know nothing*. There are circulating the most ludicrous ideas about them. They have no understanding of their religion, their peculiar manners and customs, their economy, and least of all of their language. And as a result, serious mistakes are being made with respect to them, and governing the Chinese causes problems in many places, while the Chinese are a people most easy to govern. Several conflicts have been prevented by my colleagues Schaalje and Groeneveldt in Riau and Pontianak only because of their knowledge of the Chinese language and manners, and would *without* their intervention have given rise to serious riots.[23]

Another requirement for the training programme was the compilation of handbooks to learn the Amoy dialect. Anybody who knew how an Englishman spells foreign words would realise that English handbooks did

more harm than good. Francken's dictionary was at the press in Batavia, but the whole process was extremely slow and Von Faber had refused to correct the proofs.[24] Therefore it was highly necessary to continue the printing in Holland, since the Netherlands only had Chinese type in Batavia and Leiden. It would be necessary for Schlegel to stay here to do the corrections. Moreover, the handbook which he had been preparing for Roelofs could also be printed here, as well as Francken's collection of 2,000 Chinese sayings. And Schlegel disclosed that he himself had already been working on a Dutch–Chinese dictionary for fifteen years, which was not yet ready for the press because he did not have enough time in the Indies.

To sum up: in order to train a good body of Chinese interpreters, they should be given the necessary tools sooner than could have been done before. The interpreters in the Indies did not have the time to compile these. For all these reasons, it would be better if the training of aspirant-interpreters again took place in the Netherlands. Schlegel signed his letter: "the former Chinese interpreter in Batavia now on leave, Dr. G. Schlegel."[25]

On 23 April, Bureau Aaz sent its comments in a second, urgent *nota* to the Secretary General, summarising Hoffmann's and Schlegel's answers as follows: (1) Both Hoffmann and Schlegel were willing to teach in Leiden. (2) Both agreed that one should begin with another dialect, not with Mandarin. Hoffmann seemed to have changed his original opinion, because he now stated that the dialect of Java should come first. (3) Both recommended the Amoy dialect, which could be used everywhere except in Pontianak. However, the Bureau concluded that it could not make a decision about the dialect question of Mandarin or Amoy. If Hoffmann were to choose, he would prefer Mandarin. The Bureau stuck to its opinion of 25 March. The resolution of 1870 should be amended and Schlegel should be asked if he was prepared to train interpreters.

On 1 May, Secretary General Henny wrote to Schlegel that as a rule the interpreters should be trained in the Indies, but a special facility could be created to train a few youngsters in the Netherlands, for which Schlegel was offered a yearly allowance of *f* 1,200. Henny asked if Schlegel would be willing to teach on these conditions. In the margin of his draft letter was written: "Schlegel has a leave with pay of *f* 2,700 per year. If he were now given another *f* 1,200, methinks he should be able to make ends meet."

On 6 May, Schlegel answered that he had no objections to this arrangement. And on 31 May, the new conditions were formalised by the Minister of Colonies, Fransen van de Putte. The decision of 1870 was changed: the number of students would still be 'according to need,' but was not restricted to two, and students could be assigned by both the Governor-General (in the Indies) and the Minister of Colonies (in the Netherlands). They had to take a similar competitive examination as before in Batavia, and the study period would also remain the same. In the Netherlands their

monthly stipend would be *f* 50, and they would receive a gratification for equipment of *f* 1,000. The study conditions in the Indies remained the same.

Nothing was said about a 'professor in Leiden,' and just as in 1870, no decision was made about the dialect to be taught. In the past, government decisions about the dialect had been wholly or partly wrong, and the Minister wisely refrained from addressing this question. For the time being, there was also no reaction to Schlegel's suggestion to compile or print dictionaries, or to teach a course in Chinese Language, Geography and Ethnology at the East Indies Institution in Leiden.

Minister Fransen van de Putte notified Governor-General J. Loudon—adding that the argument that in this way another interpreter would be withdrawn would not be valid, since there was the prospect of a position in Paris for Schlegel—and asked the King for approval. The new conditions were published in the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* (*Netherlands Government Gazette*) of 4 June, no. 130, and Royal Approval was given on 7 June.[26] In this way, a new era began in Dutch sinology. And as a result, Schlegel would be the first sinologist to leave the interpreter's profession for good.[27]

The first examination: Hoetink, De Groot, and Stuart (1873)

Even before candidates had been summoned to apply for the examination, already four youngsters who had read the new conditions sent requests for information about how to apply for this training course. They were all referred to the announcement in the *Staatscourant* of 26 June, no. 149.[28]

On that day and two other days[29] it was announced that three youngsters could be assigned to be trained as Chinese interpreters for the Netherlands Indies under the guidance of G. Schlegel, Chinese interpreter now on leave in the Netherlands. Preference would be given to those who had finished the five-year HBS. Then the advantages (allowances etc.) and requirements were mentioned: the candidates should not be older than twenty, and would take a competitive examination in August. Before the end of July, candidates should send a *sealed* request to the Minister of Colonies, and produce a certificate of good character (*bewijs van goed zedelijk gedrag*), a certificate of fulfillment of military obligations or, if not yet liable to military service, a birth certificate and if available a HBS certificate. Those who would be considered for assignment would have to undergo a medical examination. Surety should be given for repayment of all stipends and other money allotted to them in case they were discharged from government service within five years after finishing their studies. Last but not least, it was announced that the interpreter's yearly salary would start at *f* 300.

On 24 June, Minister Fransen van de Putte wrote to Schlegel that the

conditions had been set and that he was charged with the training of student-interpreters. The Minister asked Schlegel for information about the organisation of the examination committee and the subjects to be examined. The payment of his allowance would begin on 1 September, when the course was to start.[30]

On 28 June, Schlegel answered the Minister and reported on the first committee in Batavia, which consisted of nine members; each subject was to be examined by three or at least two members. All subjects should be represented in the committee and there should certainly be an expert for each of the four languages (Dutch, French, German, and English) and for bookkeeping; other subjects could be combined. The student should be well versed in the four languages and be able to use a Chinese–English dictionary without the help of an English–Dutch dictionary, and should be proficient in bookkeeping. The committee members could be taken from the Higher Officials Examination committee for Part A.

At the Ministry it was observed that part A of the Higher Officials Examination had been abolished[31] the previous year. A name-list for members of the committee was made, all of whom were teachers at the municipal HBS (*Gemeente HBS*) in The Hague, and after being asked, all were willing to take part. Two of them would later become professors at universities: Dr. Jan ten Brink (Dutch language) in Leiden and Dr. J.D. van der Waals (physics and cosmography) in Amsterdam.[32] Schlegel would be chairman of the committee.

The examination was to be held in Sociëteit de Vereniging (Willemstraat) in The Hague from 26 August to 1 September, since Schlegel would be out of the country until 26 August. At first there were fourteen candidates, one of whom withdrew. Eleven candidates had finished the five-year HBS, but not all of them knew whether they had passed their final examination when they applied.

Just as in Batavia, all subjects were examined orally, and the four languages, arithmetic, and physics were examined in writing as well. The questions, texts to be translated and the translations are still kept in the archives.[33] As in Batavia, they comprised the writing of an essay in Dutch, and translations of Dutch texts into each of the three foreign languages. Use of dictionaries was not allowed, but the translations of certain difficult words were given. The German texts were written in a script similar to the so-called *Sütterlinschrift*.

Many years later, Groeneveldt wrote that the interpreters' examination was in some respects easier and in others more difficult than the HBS final examination; in general it was regarded as more difficult in view of the higher requirements for the languages and because it was competitive.[34]

On 2 September, the committee concluded that the students in general had done well on the examination, and that it was not difficult to make

a choice. A ranking list was made, not only based on the total of points, but also on the relative importance of the subjects. The following three were ranked highest: 1. Bernardus Hoetink, 2. Jan Jacob Maria de Groot, 3. Hermanus Nicolaas Stuart. Three others were placed on the reserve list; the next four were also eligible, but the last three failed since they had less than twenty points for the four languages. The three best candidates had all finished the HBS. Hoetink (almost 19) was the eldest son of a baker in Deventer; De Groot (19) was the only son of a distiller of Dutch gin in Schiedam, and Stuart (18) was the youngest son of a primary school teacher in Kralingen (near Rotterdam).

The highest scores were those of De Groot (89) and Hoetink (84), but after long discussions Hoetink was ranked first because he had higher marks for the main subjects: languages, arithmetic, and bookkeeping. Similarly, Stuart, who had only 74 points, which was less than four others with 79, 77 (twice) and 75 points, was ranked third because he had higher marks for the main subjects, and in particular because of "the ease and purety with which he spoke and read the foreign languages." The subjects to be chosen for the Dutch essay were "World Exhibitions" (*Wereldtentoonstellingen*; De Groot), "Wealth and poverty" (*Weelde en armoede*; Stuart), "Free trade and protection" (*Vrije handel en bescherming*; Hoetink), and "Ideal" (*Ideaal*), "The tragic and the comic" (*Het tragische en het komische*), "Patriotism" (*Patriotismus*). Physics and Cosmography, Dutch History and World History were now examined separately, so there were twelve subjects instead of the ten subjects in Batavia. The scores of the three best candidates were as follows:[35]

Subject	Hoetink	De Groot	Stuart
Dutch	9	10	8
French	7	5	5
English	5	5	8
German	8	7	6
Arithmetic	9	5	5
Botany and zoology, mineralogy and geology	8	7	6
Physics	5	7	6
Cosmography	4	8	7
Geography	7	9	5
Dutch history	8	9	6
World history	6	9	4
Bookkeeping	9	8	8
total score	85	89	74
average score	7 1/12	7 5/12	6 2/12
ranking order	1	2	3

On 9 September, Minister Fransen van de Putte informed the three best candidates of his intention to assign them, asking them for a medical certificate and surety (*borgtogt*). After these were received, they were assigned to study with Schlegel; the other candidates were notified of their results and Governor-General Loudon was informed as well.[36] The course started on 7 October 1873.[37]

The motivation to study Chinese

As to the motivation of the candidates to study Chinese, some light is shed by the address of the father of the candidate Th.M.G. Keulemans from Breda. His son had achieved satisfactory scores on the examination, but was not chosen because he was not one of the best (he had 70 points). But he "ardently yearned for any position in the Netherlands East Indies."[38] The father requested to make him eligible for this position, or otherwise for a position at the Forestry Department in the Indies, which had a similar examination and government stipends.[39] The answer was a refusal: the Minister could not promise anything on either request.[40]

Nothing is known about Hoetink's or Stuart's motivation, but De Groot left a diary giving a detailed account of how he came to study Chinese. It has the German title *Notizen über mein Leben* (Notes about my life), but is written in Dutch.[41] During his studies and work De Groot had written several diaries, but unfortunately he destroyed all of them; the now existing diary is a condensation of their most important contents, but written in retrospect.[42]

In the 1860s, while attending the 'French school,' De Groot already "wished to see the world,"[43] and in 1869 he took the examination for naval cadet (*adelborst*) but failed. He was allowed to attend the third grade of the HBS, and in 1870 failed again for naval cadet. This was at the time a great disappointment for him, but in retrospect it was one of the most fortunate events in his life; he realised this after he had seen how naval officers were living in the Indies.

In 1871 he was still fond of everything connected with the sea, and took the examination for officer of the marines. This time he was also rejected, but now because of myopia! His father suggested an office job might be suitable for him. This he found utterly disgusting: he did not wish to become a pencil-pusher (*pennelikker*).

In March 1872, De Groot's father rewarded his son for his diligent studies at school with a sea voyage from Rotterdam to Le Havre (France) and back on a small steamer. Although he became very seasick during a storm in the Channel, and missed a festival in April in the Netherlands, he found it worthwile. "To wander on the high rocky coast of Le Havre

was a boon that roused the desire to see far away places more strongly than ever."[44]

After finishing the HBS in 1872, he "knew no better outlet for his urge to go into the wide world than to become an East Indies official."[45] He registered at the Indies Institute in Delft.

However, studying in Delft was a great disappointment:

> I wish to be diligent, in order to get away as fast as possible. But what kind of an outfit is this! The lectures seem to have been invented with the explicit purpose of extinguishing all idealism of the youngsters about the Indies. What an overwhelming mass of twaddle, trivia and worthless details![46]

As an example, he mentioned the lectures of Van Vleuten,[47] a temporary teacher of Geography and Ethnology:

> He cancels half of his lectures by telegraph from The Hague, which he has difficulty leaving, and when he does come, he bores the audience by reading aloud from that miserable *Handbook* by De Hollander,[48] amplifying these so-called lectures with all sorts of insipid anecdotes from his own experience. Not even one attempt to get into the soul or spirit of the natives; it's all about the outside.[49]

The only lectures De Groot liked and continued to attend were those of A.W.Th. Juynboll, who taught Islamic law and its influence on East Indies society:[50]

> He knew how to captivate his students, he could teach them something and sometimes could even make them laugh; in short, the one bright spot in that darkness.[51]

The moment he decided to study Chinese is well documented in his diary:

> Fortunately by the end of the first year redemption came. On a fine day I read in my room above Gussenhoven's pastry shop on the Binnenwatersloot the news that aspirants were sought to study in Leiden for Chinese interpreter. To study in that university town for three or four years was most appealing to me; that was the place to learn and to study, and besides visiting the Indies I could also go to China, yes, this was probably an interesting career in an entirely different direction. Moreover, the salary was better than in the [East Indies] Interior Administration. No question of delay, the documents were sent in, and at the examination in The Hague, of the 18[52] applicants, the highest number of points was scored by me. Jan ten Brink was one of the members of the Examination Committee.
>
> In September there was a letter from the Minister of Colonies: that I was to put myself at the disposal of Schlegel. My Delft friends urged me to refuse this appointment as student-interpreter. According to them, being an official of the Interior Administration was much more high-class, etc. Of course, I had some doubts; but the thought that any position was honourable as long as it was held with honour, together with a desire to see a very unknown part of the world and the opportunity to cut out a remarkable life for myself prevailed. Without the slightest pain, I left the Indies Institute with its unpalatable lectures.[53]

Schlegel's teaching methods

Schlegel's lectures started[54] on Tuesday, 7 October 1873, and his allowance of *f* 1,200 was paid as from 1 October.[55] He was to report every three months on the behaviour, diligence, and progress of the three students,[56] but not on their financial affairs. Almost all his three-monthly reports from 1873 to 1878 can be found as *Exhibitum* in the *Verbalen* of the Ministry of Colonies.[57] From 1877–8 on, Schlegel also wrote succinct yearly reports for the University.[58] In his teaching methods, he was indebted to Hoffmann in many ways, but he was innovative in his teaching of the spoken language and his translation exercises in the documentary style. The curriculum for the first and second groups of students, beginning in 1873 (Hoetink, De Groot, Stuart) and in 1875 (Van der Spek, Moll, De Jongh) respectively, was very similar, and only differences will be pointed out here.

Like Hoffmann, Schlegel taught his students at his home. At first he lived "at the end of the Vliet,"[59] possibly his old house on Vliet 23,[60] and from March 1877 on, he officially lived at Papengracht 10.[61] After his marriage in May 1878 he moved to Rapenburg 51.[62] All these addresses are very close to the *Academie*, the main building of the University at Rapenburg 73, and to the University Library at Rapenburg 72.

He taught his students "every other day," that is, three times a week. His classes were usually on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, taking two hours each from 1 to 3 P.M.[63] He explained that in this way the students always had one day for memorising what had been taught. On that day off, the students were expected to study together and help each other.[64] The students were obliged to attend all lessons and had to obtain permission to skip.[65]

Hoffmann had taught Chinese characters from the first day, but Schlegel had a different approach. During the first two or three months, he only taught the spoken language of the Tsiangtsiu dialect. The students used his transcription system for taking notes. This would be the most suitable method for learning a dialect such as Hokkien, which normally was not used as a written language and for which no uniform representation in characters existed.

Naturally, a lot of attention was paid to pronunciation and tones. The seven tones were learnt by heart, and Van der Spek recounted an anecdote about his fellow student Moll, referring to De Jongh's birthday party two months after they started: "We had just begun to study Chinese. Moll became drunk as a fish and walked around reciting: kun, kún, etc."[66] He was reciting the seven tones of Hokkien, which are: kun 君, kún 滾, kùn 棍, kut 骨, kûn 群, (kún 滾,) kūn 郡, kút 滑.

Schlegel's exercises in the spoken language were mostly practical, so

as to accustom the students immediately to speaking and understanding Tsiangtsiu. After three months they could already translate off-the-cuff (*voor de vuist weg*) a Dutch story that was dictated by Schlegel into Chinese colloquial.

After two or three months, Schlegel began to teach the Chinese written language as well. When teaching the literary language to the first group, he would always give explanations in the Chinese colloquial, resorting to Dutch only when they could not or not completely understand the Chinese.[67] In his reports on the second group, he no longer mentioned this method, reporting only that the colloquial and written languages were given on alternating days.[68] Perhaps he had changed his method.

After half a year, he began having the students translate simple conversations from Dutch into Chinese; these were first orally explained by him in Chinese, and at the next class the students had to bring along a written translation,[69] probably written in characters.

The main textbook during the first year was Davis' *Chinese Moral Maxims*,[70] which Schlegel had also studied with Hoffmann. This time, all characters were read in the literary style of Hokkien. In his own manuscript copy of this book with Hoffmann's translations and explanations, Schlegel added Hokkien transcriptions and a few other notes. The students made copies of Schlegel's manuscript for themselves.[71] While memorising these 'sayings' (*spreuken*), they also learned the meaning and pronunciation of a few thousand Chinese characters, and became accustomed to the Chinese constructions and style.[72]

In contrast to Hoffmann, Schlegel never mentioned teaching his students any grammar, and no title of a book about Chinese grammar appeared in his reports. He did not explain Chinese grammar in a systematic way, since in his experience, that was of no use; the only way to learn the language was by extensive reading. Such was the opinion of Prémare and nineteenth-century sinologists who had been in China for a long time. For his students, this may not have been the best didactic method, as will be seen below.

At the end of the first year, the students of the second group could translate simple (Dutch) stories with the help of a dictionary into the Chinese colloquial, without too much hesitation or too many mistakes.[73] This dictionary must have been Schlegel's adaptation of Doty's handbook.

In his reports, Schlegel did not mention his handbook on the Tsiangtsiu dialect. This was a Dutch translation and adaptation to Tsiangtsiu dialect of E. Doty's handbook of the Amoy dialect. He began working on it in Batavia and finished it in 1873 under the title *Hollandsch–Chineesch handboekje van het Tsiang-tsiu dialect* (Dutch–Chinese handbook of the Tsiangtsiu dialect). It was copied by all of his students in Leiden. Here

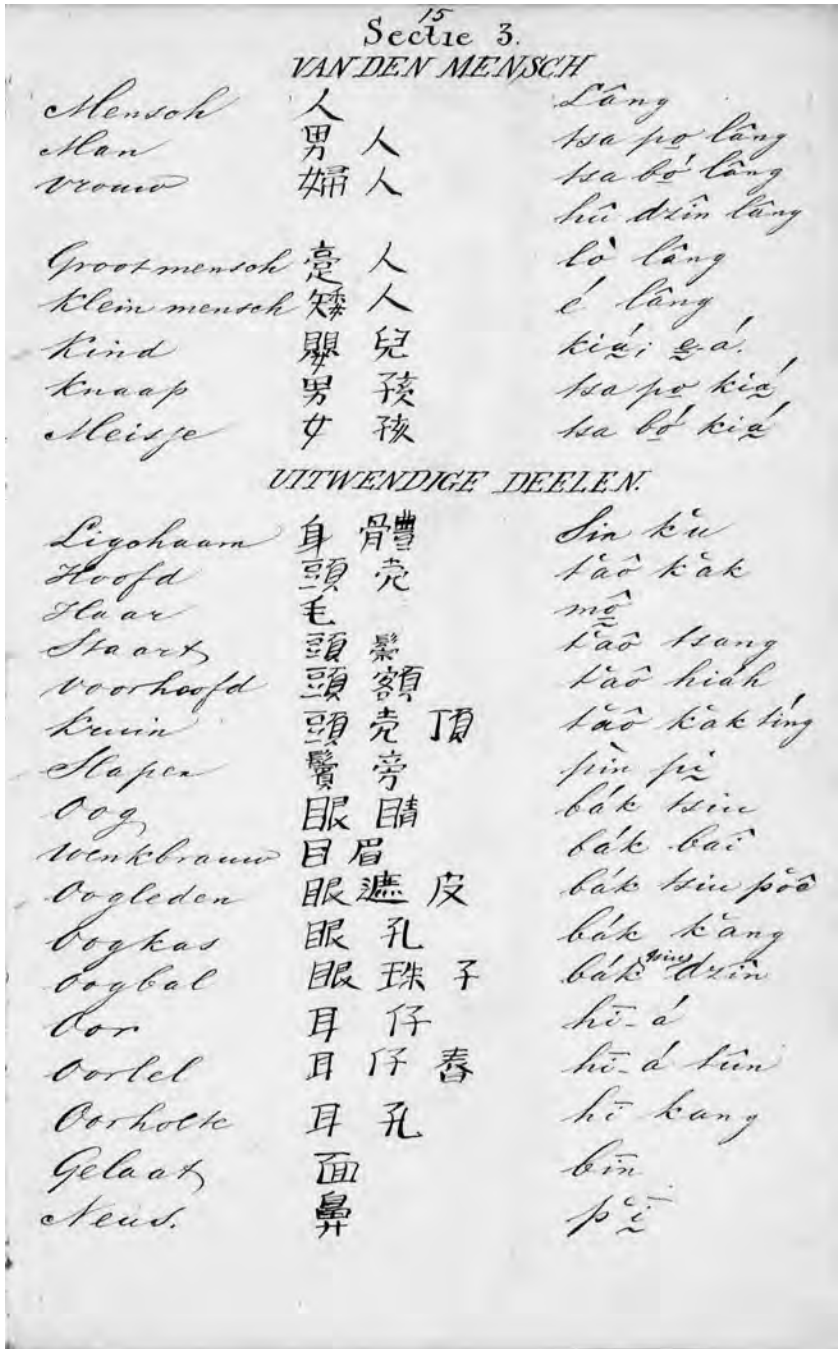
again Schlegel followed the example of Hoffmann, and the copying of this handbook became a fixed item in the training programme during the first two years. The only difference was that the students now first copied the text in romanisation and later added the characters. Several of his students' manuscript copies are still extant (*see* illustration 15).[74] One has on the first page a date one day after the beginning of the course;[75] others have on the last page a date from the end of the second year or beginning of the third year.[76]

During the second year they continued to practice the spoken language, and began to translate "original Chinese books." For more than half a year, they worked on the translation of the *Sacred Edict* of the Kangxi Emperor (with the amplifications by Yongzheng), *Shengyu guangxun* 聖諭廣訓, "one of the most fluently written texts in modern (*sic*) Chinese literature, and an excellent example for future interpreters of Chinese, from whom it will be required to translate ordinances and proclamations of the Netherlands Indies government into Chinese."[77] In the nineteenth century this book was learned by heart by all Chinese who took part in the government examinations, and it was essential reading for all foreign students of Chinese as well.

At the same time, the first group translated the text of a Chinese story (*Chineesche roman*). They did this in the peculiar manner of back-translating that was used in the nineteenth century. Schlegel would dictate the Dutch translation of a Chinese story to them; this they first translated orally into the colloquial language, and then in written form into literary Chinese.[78] The story was undoubtedly "The Oil-Vendor Who Alone Possessed the Queen of Beauty," from the anthology *Jingu qiguan*, which was most popular in China and became a common textbook for foreign students.[79] Knowing the thorough method of studying Davis' sayings (memorising them), one can assume that the students first translated the story into Dutch, then back into the colloquial (spoken) and literary languages. Moreover, these texts were copied by the students, transcribed in literary Hokkien and translated into Dutch, similarly to what Hoffmann's students did with Chinese texts.[80]

At the beginning of the second year, Schlegel wrote about his course in Leiden to W.F. Mayers, First Secretary at the British Legation in Peking,[81] who supervised the ten student-interpreters in that legation. Mayers was impressed by the progress of Schlegel's students, and wrote:

> The account you give me of your pupils in Chinese shews that they must be like yourself, very hardworking fellows. To be able to translate from the Kin-ku-ki-kwan [*Jingu qiguan*] at the end of a year's study, indicates no slight amount of progress. Here, we devote the first year exclusively to the Colloquial, and only in the second require our young men to get into the documentary style.



15

Sectie 3.

VAN DEN MENSCH

Mensch	人	Lâng
Man	男人	tsa pǫ̂ lâng
Vrouw	婦人	tsa bǫ́ lâng
		hiû dzîn lâng
Grootmensch	長人	lô lâng
Klein mensch	矮人	é lâng
Kind	嬰兒	kiá; ǫ̂á.
Knaap	男孩	tsa pǫ̂ kiá
Meisje	女孩	tsa bǫ́ kiá

UITWENDIGE DEELEN.

Ligchaam	身體 骨	Sin kû
Hoofd	頭	tâo kák
Haar	毛	mǫ̂
Staart	頭 繫	tâo tsang
Voorhoofd	頭 額	tâo hiák
Kruin	頭 殼 頂	tâo kák ting
Slapen	鬢 旁	sîn pé
Oog	眼 睛	bák tsiu
Wenkbraauw	目 眉	bák bai
Oogleden	眼 遮 皮	bák tsiu pôe
Oogkas	眼 孔	bák kâng
Oogbal	眼 珠 子	bák tsiu dzîn
Oor	耳 仔	hī á
Oorlel	耳 仔 春	hī á tûn
Oorholte	耳 孔	hī kang
Gelaat	面	bîn
Neus	鼻	pʻi

15. Page from Stuart's Hollandsch–Chineesch handboekje voor het Tsiang-tsiu Dialect *(1877).*

One wonders which story from *Jingu qiguan* the students could translate after one year. Possibly Schlegel meant "Miss Number 22," the very short story that Hoffmann's students had also translated.

Halfway into the second year, after finishing the *Sacred Edict*, the students studied the 'official' style of Netherlands Indies Government ordinances, for which they used the translations made by Schlegel himself. As an exercise, they translated Dutch documents from the *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië (Netherlands-Indies Bulletin of Acts and Decrees)* into Chinese.[82] In addition, he provided original Chinese documents for translation. After finishing the *Sacred Edict*, the second group translated the regulations of the Chinese Cemetery Association in Surabaya as an example of the style used in the Indies.[83] In these various ways the students practiced the documentary style of the Indies.

At the end of the second year, the first group also studied the Chinese commercial style, with which they would have most to do in the Indies—probably including the account books of Chinese merchants which the interpreters had to translate and excerpt. They began to translate a new story as well;[84] probably this was the story of Du Shiniang;[85] the first group spent almost a year studying "The Oil-Vendor."

By this time the need for a Dutch–Chinese dictionary for making written translations was being felt more and more urgently. Schlegel had been working on such a dictionary for the last sixteen years, but it was too large to be copied by hand. Schlegel now suggested to the Minister for the first time to have it printed; it could speed up the training course and would also be of use for the interpreters.[86] Probably he was thinking of the example of Hoffmann, who in 1862 had been charged by the Ministry of Colonies with the compilation of a Japanese–Dutch–English dictionary.

Some students compiled their own dictionaries. Van der Spek wrote about his fellow-student A.E. Moll in a jocular way:

> He was making a dictionary in Leiden, and sometimes he would get up in the middle of the night to work on it. Once when he visited someone in Amsterdam whom he had never met before, after five minutes of talking he asked for a pen and paper to note something down concerning his dictionary.[87]

During the third year the students continued to practice the spoken language, and translated parts of *Mencius* for half a year. The purpose of this was to become acquainted with the classical style, and to acquire a deeper understanding of the Chinese ideas about government and national prosperity represented by the two philosophers Confucius and Mencius.[88]

During the second half of the third year, the students of the first group were mainly busy translating a few articles from a Chinese encyclopaedia, studying both the style and the subjects described.[89] This was perhaps the

Wakan Sansai Zue 和漢三才圖會, the same Sino–Japanese encyclopaedia from which Hoffmann's students had made translations; or perhaps it was from the *Guangshi lei fu* 廣事類賦 parts of which Schlegel had translated in Batavia.[90]

There were some changes in Schlegel's teaching methods for the second group of students. This group was always a little slower than the first. They started learning Chinese characters after three months, one month later than the first group; they began translating the *Sacred Edict* three months later, and they started reading the first story only after finishing the *Sacred Edict*; they started later on *Mencius* and did not translate the sections from the encyclopaedia. Schlegel gave fewer details in his reports about the second group, and added only one other text: the regulations of the Chinese Cemetery Association in Surabaya. Perhaps he also refrained from using the colloquial to teach the literary language.

In 1877, Schlegel published a textbook for his course. This was the Chinese text of the story "The Oil-Vendor" with a French translation, introduction, and preface.[91] Similar textbooks had been published in France and other countries. Publishing such a textbook in Dutch would of course be commercially unfeasible; it was therefore published in French by Brill's in Leiden and Maisonneuve in Paris in the hope of reaching a larger readership.[92] It was printed at Brill's in Leiden, which had bought the Chinese type from the Government in 1875.[93]

In Schlegel's teaching, dictionaries were certainly used, although he never mentioned them in his reports. In his inaugural lecture in 1877 he praised S. Wells Williams' new dictionary[94] as "the best and most complete Chinese–English dictionary." The students certainly used it. It gave the pronunciation of the characters not only in (Northern) Peking Mandarin, but also in (Southern) Nanking Mandarin and the dialects of Amoy, Canton, and Shanghai.[95] Van der Spek wrote in his diary an anecdote in which this dictionary figured:

> Moll in love with Bertha Cors. She passed by under his window and touched by emotion he dropped his pipe. The next day the same thing happened with the large dictionary of Williams.[96]

In 1892 Schlegel would state that he had successfully been teaching Chinese for twenty years without using a grammar. He also said that he had himself learned Chinese without a grammar. But he probably meant that he had not profited greatly from grammars, learning most from self-study and wide reading, just as Legge had told him in 1857.[97] In 1892, Schlegel gave the following famous advice to other sinologists young and old:

> You, veterans! do not waste your precious time on the compilation of more of less complete grammars of the Chinese language. The Nestor of sinologists,

> James Legge, never wrote a grammar; and you, youngsters of the vanguard! *throw your grammars in the fire! Read, read, read*—translate, translate, translate Chinese authors until you have entered into the Chinese way of ordering ideas and you think like them.[98]

If the students wished to have any guide, Schlegel advised Prémare's *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*. According to him it surpassed all other Chinese grammars in past and present. As a warning against the indiscriminate use of European grammatical categories in Chinese studies, he quoted Prémare:

> … after all it seems to me highly impertinent to think of adapting all the terms in use among our grammarians to the language of this people. Far preferable will it be to lay aside the artificial conceits and idle technicalities of grammar, and by various select examples lead the inexperienced student by a more rapid and less tedious course to the fundamental principles and philosophic practice of the Chinese tongue.[99]

Schlegel's motto on how to learn Chinese has often been quoted by other sinologists. James Legge was the first to do so in his review of Schlegel's article in 1893:

> Many of Prof. Schlegel's remarks ... are calculated to be very beneficial to all students in Chinese. But it is not likely, however, that many of them will accept his advice in full: "Jetez vos grammaires au feu. Lisez, lisez, lisez—traduisez, traduisez, traduisez des auteurs Chinois jusqu'à ce que vous soyez entrés dans l'ordre d'idées chinois, et que vous pensiez comme eux."[100]

Actually, Schlegel himself did not completely adhere to his motto. During his studies in Leiden, Hoffmann had always stressed grammatical analysis, and Schlegel had even hand-copied Rémusat's grammar. And in his inaugural lecture in 1877, he would state that Stanislas Julien's "Grammaire Chinoise"[101] would "for many years be an indispensable book in the hands of sinologists;" noting that this grammar emphasised syntax and was completely free from Latin and Greek grammatical ideas.[102] The latter was of course the essence of his advice to "burn your grammars." In 1892 he also wrote: "My students only get a Chinese grammar in their hands when they have already mastered the Chinese language."[103] This explains why his student De Jongh owned a copy of Julien's grammar. There is also evidence of use: De Jongh inserted the many corrections from the errata list and added Hokkien transcriptions.[104]

The following table gives an overview of the contents of Schlegel's study programme.

first year	Spoken language (Tsiangtsiu dialect)	
	Copying Schlegel's handbook of Tsiangtsiu dialect (first in romanisation only)	
	After two or three months: Chinese characters and written language	
	Copying and memorising Davis' *Chinese moral maxims*	
	Translating a dictated story and simple conversations into colloquial (orally or in transcription) and into literary Chinese (in characters)	
second year	Spoken language (Tsiangtsiu dialect)	
	Copying Schlegel's handbook of Tsiangtsiu dialect (characters)	
	original Chinese books	*Sacred Edict*
		Stories from *Jingu qiguan* ("The Oil-Vendor", "Miss Number 22", "Du Shiniang"), from Chinese into Dutch and from Dutch into Chinese
	East Indies documentary style	Studying Schlegel's Chinese translations of Neth. Indies Government ordinances
		Translating from the *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië (Bulletin of Acts and Decrees)* into Chinese
		Translating original Chinese documents into Dutch
		Translating Chinese commercial style from the Indies
		Regulations of a Chinese Cemetery Association in Surabaya
third year	Spoken language (Tsiangtsiu dialect)	
	books also read for their content	Selections from *Mencius, Confucius (The Four Books)*
		Chinese encyclopaedia

In contrast to Hoffmann, Schlegel did not stimulate his students to take courses at the university. Most of them were not qualified for this in any case, since they had no *gymnasium* diploma. They also did not take courses in the Laws, Government, Languages, Ethnology, and Geography of the Netherlands Indies given at the Indies Institute or the university,[105] but while translating East Indies documents, they certainly learned something about these subjects. In his inaugural lecture of 1877, Schlegel would state that learning a language encompassed learning all other subjects. He must, therefore, have found that there was no need for his students to take other courses.

In all his reports Schlegel expressed great satisfaction with the students' behaviour, diligence, and progress. After one year he wrote about the first group: "and it is clear that they take up and practice their study with love."[106] And after two years, he wrote about the second group: "The youngsters continue to work on the study of Chinese with love."[107]

In the diaries of two early students of Schlegel, De Groot and Van der Spek, one can find lively descriptions of Schlegel and his lectures, but seen from different standpoints and representing diametrically opposite opin-

ions. These show that Schlegel's satisfaction with his students was not always reciprocal.

De Groot was highly critical of Schlegel and his teaching methods. The year before he came to Leiden, De Groot had already been greatly disappointed about his studies in Delft, where his high expectations had not been met, and now he had the same experience in Leiden.

Most importantly, De Groot found the atmosphere during Schlegel's lectures disgusting. In his condensed diary some sentences expressing his dislike too vividly were later crossed out, probably by himself; these are reconstructed here and printed in italics.[108] He wrote in his diary:

> Schlegel can hardly appeal to me. *In his lectures he always makes us swallow filthy erotic talk, doesn't feel embarrassed to teach us the most vulgar* Chinese curses, under the pretext that knowledge of these is indispensable for us later as interpreters, and he is always full of *dirty jokes and vulgarities about sexual life. He seems bent on draining away all respect for women in the weaker characters.*[109]

Nor did De Groot appreciate Schlegel's teaching methods:

> We have hardly anything to do for him. He doesn't teach us Chinese syntax, we have to guess at the meaning of long Chinese sentences like blind men hitting an egg. … Why should one pin all one's hopes on learning a certain amount of words each week, and a few so-called sayings gathered by Davis which are in fact no real sayings? Why make us wriggle through a vulgar erotic story from the *Jingu qiguan*, written in the low Peking dialect, not even in proper literary Chinese?[110]

When reading his diary, one should keep in mind that it was written many years later with the benefit of hindsight.[111] For instance, at the time he was studying, De Groot certainly could not yet judge the quality and style of the Chinese texts they read.

According to De Groot, perhaps also with the benefit of hindsight, Schlegel did not at all stimulate the scholarly ambitions of his students:

> Why doesn't he make us follow lectures by other professors? … Why doesn't he ever say anything about Chinese literature, history, manners, customs, religion? We get to hear nothing, nothing at all about related subjects, such as Buddhism and Sanskrit, nothing about geography, nor about Chinese government institutions, or anything. For my two fellow students these were three years of real loafing; indeed, Schlegel's teaching system seems to be organised on purpose to cultivate loafers.[112]

Moreover, he wrote in his diary that they had been "kept in Leiden for three and a half years, while the basics of the language could have been taught in half a year." And he commented cynically that only Schlegel was to blame for this, because he needed students to teach in order to extend his period of leave and to obtain a professorship in Leiden![113] This was a gross exaggeration, and after De Groot became professor himself in 1891,

he had quite a different opinion. From 1893 on, he taught (written) Chinese in private tutorials to a few students for the foreign service. In 1898, when asked for advice about the training of future interpreters for the foreign service in China, he wrote that one and a half years of language training in Leiden was needed. His student at the time, G.S.D. Hamel (1877–±1954, son of P.S. Hamel, Consul General in Amoy in 1890–2), had studied written Chinese with him for one and a half years and was now advanced enough to continue his studies in China, but it would be even better if he could stay for another half year.[114]

De Groot was an inquisitive and ambitious man, with an independent mind and an obsession to unravel the system of religion—he had just broken with the Roman Catholic Church—and he would later become a great scholar and expert on Chinese religion. When he became professor himself in 1891, in his inaugural lecture he gave a more mature opinion of Schlegel, addressing him as "Professor Schlegel, esteemed teacher, under whose highly valued guidance I took my first steps in the field of scholarship." At that time he especially valued Schlegel's "unrivalled knowledge of China's languages and writings."[115] It is not impossible that De Groot's anger was also roused by the difficulty of Chinese for him: he would not have been very good at languages, judging from his marks on the competitive examination, and he would not be very good at speaking Chinese,[116] although in the written language he would soon more than make up for this. In Berlin, De Groot later stated that he did not consider himself a student of Schlegel, claiming that he had learned Chinese as an autodidact.[117] Yet De Visser, who studied with De Groot in 1902–4, in his obituary wrote that De Groot, just as Schlegel had done, too much denied the usefulness of systematic grammar for beginners. And in Berlin he was even known to "despise grammar."[118]

His aversion to Schlegel and his lectures was not shared by all his fellow students. One of the students in the second group, J. van der Spek, had an opinion that was quite the opposite.[119] He was much impressed by Schlegel and was more than satisfied with the atmosphere in Schlegel's classes:

> Schlegel imprinted us in Leiden largely with the ideas about religion, virtue and ethics that he had on his turn borrowed from Heine[120] and others. He had a great influence on our spiritual education.[121]
>
> It would be difficult to find a more pleasant teacher for us. As I said, we learned a lot from him besides Chinese, and of the two-hour lecture, he spoke for at least half an hour about other matters and sometimes even longer. He told us hundreds of dirty stories, was the first to inform us about what was written in *Elements of Social Science*,[122] and all of it in a very entertaining way. He told us a lot about the wickedness of people (missionaries, etc.), the stupidity of people (professors) etc. etc. Moreover a large number of interesting stories and anecdotes, jokes; he knew all scandals.[123]

In his diary, Van der Spek noted two stories by Schlegel that came to his mind. Both are about the confrontation with a foreign culture; one is a 'dirty' story and the other is about a strange Chinese custom in Amoy.

> A traveller arrives in Amoy and has dinner with an Englishman. A meat dish is served, baked in paper and therefore it looks strange. With a half frightened expression the guest tries it, and when he finishes eating, he is asked how it tasted. "Good." "Yes, this is a special dish; they get it so nice because the cook chews it first." And seeing the frightened expression of the dupe, who almost vomits, "Oh, don't you worry: I have checked that his teeth were clean."
>
> Some time later, twenty or so Chinese come along yelling, pulling a boat towards the shore. Yet one cannot see the boat, and the foreigner asks what this means. It happens to be Chinese New Year, and he is told that the Chinese throw a rope into the water and then symbolically pull in the New Year. [124]

There is another story which Schlegel probably told his students, and which he published later in his *La loi du parallélisme en style chinois*.[125] This story reminds one of a Zen master who teaches his students by confronting them with the absurd:

> One day in China I wrote a Chinese reply to another Chinese letter, after which my teacher said to me: "This won't do at all. It is not profound (*shēn* 深) enough, it's too clear. I'll write you another letter for him of which he won't understand a thing." When I remarked that I just wanted my reader to understand me, he answered: "That doesn't matter; it would be better that he doesn't understand anything than that he understands all."[126]

Other students also highly esteemed Schlegel, and De Jongh had the greatest respect for his scholarship. In a discussion with Van der Spek, he compared Gustaaf and his father Herman Schlegel with the greatest German scholars of the century: "The Schlegels are just as great as the Humboldts and the Grimms, and one Schlegel is just as great as Lessing!"[127] In this respect Van der Spek's appraisal was more modest: "According to me, Schlegel is not a creator, but he follows the words of others. 'What you inherited from your fathers, make it your own to possess it.'"[128]

Another feature of Schlegel's teaching was the informality of his relationship with his students, in contrast to almost all nineteenth-century professors in Leiden.[129] It was not uncommon for professors to invite students to their homes for tea, but Schlegel invited them also to his wedding, where the bride was the same age as his students:

> In June 1878 Schlegel married his cousin Buddingh,[130] and we had three or four agreeable tea-evenings at which he and Madame both gave speeches and last but not least there was an exquisite dinner where wine was not spared. After dinner Madame played the piano and Schlegel sang with a wonderful voice, and he treated us if possible even more as friends than usually. Fairly cheered up we returned home.[131]

De Groot would probably not have appreciated such informality. On the other hand, Van der Spek seems not to have liked De Groot very much, since he wrote in Batavia: "Had dinner at Groeneveldt's. Not much fun because of Jan de Groot's presence." [132]

The second examination: Van der Spek, Moll, and De Jongh (1875)

Schlegel had obtained a two-year sick leave in June 1872, and when he was charged with the training of interpreters on 27 September 1873, he was told to report for a new decision on his position before his period of leave would end.[133] On 18 April 1874 he did so, because he had not received his leave pay since February.[134] A few weeks later, on 8 May 1874, Minister of Colonies Fransen van de Putte decided that his leave was to be extended until further notice, and that Schlegel would keep his yearly leave pay of *f* 2,700.[135]

The next year, on 8 March 1875, Schlegel handed in or sent another *nota* to Secretary General Henny in a second attempt to consolidate both the future of Dutch sinology and his own position in Leiden. It basically contained two requests: to charge him with the training of a second group of student-interpreters in Leiden, and to make him titular professor in the same way as Hoffmann.[136]

In the *nota*, Schlegel pleaded for the creation of a permanent opportunity for youngsters to be trained as Chinese interpreters for the Indies. Otherwise, there would be the danger that in a few years the present interpreters in the Indies would all have disappeared.

Schlegel now frankly recognised that failure to train interpreters in Batavia was one of the causes of the shortage, adding that three of them had died, and in ten years all the others would be entitled to a pension. There were only five new interpreters being trained now, for ten positions. Schlegel again mentioned the problem of finding suitable candidates in the Indies, but stated also that not all the present interpreters would be proficient enough in Chinese to teach others, just as not every student of law could immediately after graduation be made professor of law and teach others.

On the other hand, in the Netherlands there were enough candidates. In 1873, ten out of fourteen candidates achieved sufficient results, and three were appointed as student-interpreters. They were making good progress, and should be able to go to China for further study within less than two years.

Because of the need for interpreters in the Indies, it seemed urgent to continue the training of student-interpreters in the Netherlands, and to charge one of the interpreters in the Netherlands permanently with this task. Financially, this would be no problem. For example, Schlegel him-

self would be entitled to a pension starting in 1882, when he would be only 42 years old and perhaps had another thirty years to live and enjoy a pension. There would be no need to pay him the pension if he would be charged with teaching in the Netherlands.

If the Minister could agree with this opinion, Schlegel suggested giving the person concerned the title of titular professor (*hoogleeraar titulair*), just as it had been given to the Japanese interpreter Hoffmann in 1855. With such a title, the person concerned would remain under direct supervision of the Minister of Colonies, unlike an ordinary or extraordinary professor (*gewoon of buitengewoon hoogleeraar*), who would be subject to the Minister of Home Affairs (*Minister van Binnenlandsche Zaken*).

Moreover, the professor could devote all his attention to teaching, while the interpreters in the Indies also had to attend to their official duties, and the government could also save the expenditure of the salary of a Chinese teacher.

Secretary General Henny answered Schlegel on 14 April, writing that the Minister (W. *baron* van Goltstein) was not convinced of the need to charge a special professor with the training, but agreed with Schlegel that a special measure was necessary. During the summer, a competitive examination was to be held under Schlegel's guidance for two candidates.

Two months later, three announcements were published in the *Staatscourant*, the first on 9 July no. 159.[137] This announcement was identical with that of 1873 except that now only two student-interpreters would be admitted. The examination would begin in the last week of August, and the course would start on 1 October.

A committee was organised with ten members; all except two were the same as in 1873.[138] This time there were at first ten candidates. Three of them withdrew before the examination, including W.R. *baron* van Hoëvell, a nephew of the famous member of the Council of State (*Raad van State*) with the same name (*see* Chapter One). The reason for his withdrawal was that his father considered it more useful and desirable for him to be trained as a government official in the Indies in order to be able to support himself earlier, whereas longer studies were necessary for a Chinese interpreter.[139] The seven remaining candidates all had finished the HBS.

The examinations were held in two teams on 24-28 and 30-31 August. The original texts, the translations, and essays are still kept in the archives.[140] This time, the foreign languages examination was enlarged. Not only were Dutch texts to be translated into French, German, and English, but the candidates also had to write essays in French and English, and to take a French dictation. No reason was given for this intensification.

On 8 September, in its report to the Minister, the committee concluded that the examination had been done just as well as in 1873, and that there was ample choice to find two suitable candidates. A ranking list was made

on which Jacobus van der Spek ranked first, but it was difficult to choose the second candidate: A.E. Moll or A.A. de Jongh. Van der Spek had, with 90 points, the highest score ever. Moll was second with 80 points; two other candidates had 78 and 74, and De Jongh had 72, but he was better in the four languages than the two candidates above him, and better than Moll in English and bookkeeping. Since the votes of the committee members were evenly divided, the chairman, Schlegel informally decided to choose Moll, but the Minister was asked to make a final decision.

Jacobus van der Spek was the middle son of a farmer in Delft, Alexander Elisa Moll was the middle son of a shopkeeper from Zutphen but was now living in Assen, and Arie Arendt de Jongh was the eldest son of the mayor of Zuidland. All three were 18 years old.

The subjects for the Dutch essay were: "Taxes" (*Belastingen*; Van der Spek, Moll), "Political parties" (*Staatkundige partijen*; De Jongh), "North Pole expeditions" (*Noordpool expedities*) and "Epic poetry" (*Het heldendicht*). The subjects for the French essay were "Guillaume Tell" (Van der Spek, Moll) and "Les sources de la richesse publique en Hollande" (De Jongh), for the English essay: "Taste and Fashion" (Van der Spek) and "Departure of troops for war" (De Jongh; Moll's essay is not extant). The French dictation was entitled "Les ruïnes de Herculanum et de Pompéia."

The scores of the three best candidates were as follows:

Subject	Van der Spek	Moll	De Jongh
Dutch	7	7	7
French	7	8	6
English	7	5	7
German	4	7	7
Arithmetic	9	8	7
Botany and zoology, mineralogy and geology	9	7	7
Physics	8	4	5
Cosmography	9	5	7
Geography	6	7	4
Dutch history	8	9	5
World history	9	9	4
Bookkeeping	7	4	6
total score	90	80	72
average score	7 6/12	6 8/12	6
ranking order	1	2	3

When Secretary General Henny read in the report of the committee that Moll and De Jongh were considered equally suitable, he suggested that the Minister appoint three instead of two candidates. This was in the first

place because a third candidate could very well be used, and moreover, Groeneveldt, who just returned from his two-year stay in China, had again left for China. Secondly, if the student-interpreters were now trained in a similar way as the last time, the training would be easier and more regular than if in one or two years one single interpreter would be trained. Possibly his old friend Schlegel gave him this suggestion. In any event, the Minister followed his advice.

On 10 September 1875, the three candidates were notified that the Minister intended to appoint them as student-interpreters. Thereupon, they sent in the reports on their medical examinations and later also certificates of surety.

Minister Van Goltstein appointed them as student-interpreters on 22 September. He wrote to Governor-General J.W. van Lansberge that the need would increase accordingly as the twenty-year service periods of the present interpreters were fulfilled. Moreover, there was the consideration that the Dutch Legation in China might need to make use of Chinese interpreters from the Indies.[141] The Governor-General was to notify the Minister when more interpreters would have to be trained.[142] The course began on Saturday 2 October 1875.[143]

Schlegel becomes a titular professor (1875)

Two months after Schlegel's second request for a professorship was rejected by Minister of Colonies Van Goltstein, he made another attempt. On 15 June, he sent a letter with a *nota* to P.F. Hubrecht,[144] Secretary General of the Ministry of Home Affairs, together with a two-page review of his latest book *Uranographie Chinoise* (1875) clipped from *De Samarangsche Courant*.[145] These were probably accompanied by letters from several well-known European sinologists to Schlegel showing appreciation for his writings, namely Wilhelm Schott, Stanislas Julien, d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, and Hoffmann.[146] The Secretary General forwarded the documents to H. Vollenhoven, *referendaris* and chief of the Department of Education, Arts and Sciences (*Departement van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen*).[147]

Schlegel's *nota* was entitled "On the need of a Training College for Student-Interpreters of the Chinese language in the Netherlands."[148] In it, Schlegel repeated the arguments that he had used before in letters to the Ministry of Colonies, only adding a few details, but writing with even greater eloquence. He gave a short introduction of the history of the training of student-interpreters, stating that it had been expensive because of the long stays in China, and inadequate because Hoffmann did not know the Chinese dialects spoken in the Indies. After the decision to train the

students in Batavia, it developed that not enough candidates could be found; therefore Schlegel had been charged with the training in Leiden. Now he had three students, and two would follow soon, but this would only be enough to fill the vacancies caused by the deaths of three interpreters, not for vacancies due to the retirement of the others. It would be desirable to train a few students every three or four years to maintain a full corps of interpreters. Thus it seemed desirable to establish a training college (*kweekschool*) for Chinese student-interpreters under the guidance of one special professor.

A special professor was also needed for other reasons. There was a need for good dictionaries and textbooks. One could not translate East Indies ordinances and proclamations with the help of the existing English–Chinese dictionary, which was only suited for translating missionary literature.[149] Schlegel had been compiling a Dutch–Chinese dictionary, the manuscript of which was largely finished. The Chinese–Dutch dictionary by Francken was at the press in Batavia, but it would take several years before the printing could be finished, hence it would be desirable to edit and print it in the Netherlands.

If the government wished to be sure of having a permanent supply of good interpreters, it should arrange in time for a good training college and good teaching tools. Not every interpreter could be charged with teaching.

Schlegel then repeated the need to teach a course on the laws, customs, and religious manners of the Chinese to the students of the Indies Institute in Leiden: the officials in the Indies would almost everywhere come into contact with the Chinese, and most of the opposition and bloody revolts by the Chinese could only be blamed on the lack of knowledge of Dutch officials about the Chinese. Schlegel ended his *nota*:

> Finally, if the Netherlands at one time found it necessary to appoint a professor for *Japanese*, a country with which we only have trade relations, a *chair for Chinese* may not seem superfluous, since the Netherlands has more than 200,000 Chinese subjects in its colonies, whose interests are closely intertwined with ours, because they make no small contribution to the East Indies treasury and to the development of industry and trade in the Netherlands Indies.[150]

Vollenhoven gathered information in various ways before reporting to his superior. He asked the opinion of the KITLV, which institution sent positive appraisals of Schlegel by professors Hoffmann and Kern.[151] He also read in the *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI* of 1874 and 1875 that Schlegel was teaching during his leave period and received *f* 1,200 from the Ministry of Colonies. His conclusion was that it would be strange to offer him a scholarly distinction without notifying the Ministry of Colonies. That Ministry would be in the best position to judge whether Schlegel should obtain the same distinction as Hoffmann, and to consider what else Schlegel wished.

On 10 August, Minister J. Heemskerk wrote to his colleague of Colonies that the scholarly merits of the Chinese interpreter Dr. G. Schlegel had been highly praised by experts, and that this had led to the wish to confer on him the title of professor; the same title had been given to the Japanese interpreter Hoffmann in 1855. He asked the Minister of Colonies for his advice.

In the Ministry of Colonies, Secretary General Henny wrote a short note that in view of Schlegel's merits, one could answer that there was no objection. Since another group of two students was to be trained, Schlegel, who was now on indefinite leave, might stay in the Netherlands permanently, so that his relation to the other interpreters would probably be no objection.

This time Minister of Colonies Van Goltstein changed his mind, and even wished to go further than Heemskerk, possibly in compensation for his earlier rejection. While four months earlier he had not been convinced of the need for a professor, he now answered Heemskerk on 18 August that he had no important objections, although he was not happy with the mere title of professor, and would have greatly preferred to establish a chair for the Chinese language in Leiden! Schlegel certainly deserved an appointment as titular professor.[152]

On 24 August Minister Heemskerk proposed to the King, who approved by Royal Decree of 1 September 1875 no. 6

> to confer on Dr. G. Schlegel, Chinese interpreter in the Netherlands Indies on indefinite leave in the Netherlands, the title of professor.[153]

In the archives of Leiden University, no reference to this appointment could be found, and the Leiden Students Almanacs of 1876 and of 1877 did not mention Schlegel either,[154] showing that this matter was not generally known at the time.

The conditions of Schlegel's position remained the same. For the next few months, Schlegel signed his reports to the Minister of Colonies as "The professor, Chinese interpreter on leave, G. Schlegel."[155] But from April 1876 onwards, he simply wrote: "The professor, G. Schlegel."[156] After he had been made titular professor, it would still take another two years before his position in Leiden would be definitively consolidated.

Student life in Leiden

From the diaries of De Groot and Van der Spek, it becomes clear that the student-interpreters were not isolated in Leiden, and that both took an active part in student life. As a rule they were not registered as students of the university, and they could therefore not become members of the Student

Corps (a social fraternity); almost all of Leiden University's 700 students[157] were Corps members. However, De Groot somehow found a way to be registered at the university:

> In September Prof. De Vries registered me as student of law in the *Academic Album*, because without that registration one cannot become a member of the Student Corps.[158]

Subsequently, De Groot underwent the noviciate during which the freshmen (*groenen*) were ragged and hazed by the older Corps students. He wrote in his Diary: "I am a novice, and I'm to be initiated with the rest in October."[159] The Student Corps Almanac of 1874 gave the following account of the noviciate (*groentijd*) and initiation in 1873:

> September arrived in the country. Gradually the Breestraat and Rapenburg were populated with swarms of timid, pale boys, running about alone or in pairs, and filled with deep awe for each bully (*barribal*) who came upon them with his long coat, stick and high boots. The noviciate was as before: the same witticisms a thousand times repeated on the one side, and the same air of holy innocence on the other. Fortunately at least once the inventive genius of some was able to check the stupid routine by the organisation of an original festivity. On the second of October, one could see the otherwise so sinister club garden converted into a jousting ground, where the novices were to compete in agility, skill and strength. For mast-climbing, sack-racing, archery, etc. prizes were put up by the zealous committee, for which the rivals contended with enthusiasm. Of course, all of this was to the greatest amusement of some bystanders. After the festivity, the novices marched in procession through the town accompanied by Grentzius' music.[160]

De Groot did not mention in his diary a traumatic incident that happened during this festivity, leading to the death of a fellow student. At the time this incident seems not to have been very important to him, preoccupied as he was with his new friends and studies. Thirty years later he recounted it in an anonymously published pamphlet against hazing:

> On the afternoon before the inauguration day, traditional games for the freshmen were organised in the club's garden, with glasses of gin as prizes. It was bleak, drizzly October weather. I was assigned to wheel S.B., of weak constitution, to pass under a balancing tub, which he had to hit with a stick to pour the water onto me. But as a result of a quick move backwards, which I gave the wheelbarrow at the critical moment, the wave of water fell on himself. Mad cheers: but nobody cared about the soaking boy. No one thought of sending him home to change clothes; he was calmly left to walk around until the end of the festivity, and kept to have dinner at a students' table. At last he arrived home late. No one ever saw him again. A few days later word was spread that he had been taken home ill and two weeks later his death notice followed.[161]

The Student Corps Almanac of 1874 continued:

> A great relief for both students and novices was brought by the day of 15 October. In the afternoon one could already discern in all a certain festive mood.

> … And if one had a mind to see the novices with trembling hand sign their names under the laws of the Corps, accompanied by a deafening uproar lasting for more than an hour, he could find earlier opportunity for this [than usual] in the large Municipal Auditorium. According to the convocation, the initiation was to begin at seven o'clock. Still, because of the large number of new academic citizens, the president could only start his initiation speech after half past eight. This was listened to with interest and not too many interruptions (wishing for total silence would be Utopian), as was the *assessor II*'s introduction of the various institutions and associations to our new brothers. Afterwards all walked according to tradition along the Breestraat and Rapenburg to Minerva [the fraternity house], where the festivities ended with a glowing drinking-bout.[162]

As was usual for students, De Groot rented rooms with a landlord:

> I rent rooms with Verhoog, the bailiff, in the Haarlemmerstraat No. [69] … A year later I move with the same landlord to Hooigracht No. [33] …

For the future elite of the Netherlands, the Student Corps with its hierarchy, debating clubs, sporting associations and many other societies, fostered social skills and friendships for life. De Groot benefited greatly from his membership in the Student Corps. He was intellectually stimulated by his fellow Corps members, and his interest in the science of religion was aroused:

> A lot of club friends. It is mainly due to them that the desire to read and to study is kept alive in me. Prefer to read works on the science of religion and all related subjects. Dupuis' *Origine des cultes*, Strauss, Renan, Volney, etc. etc.[163]

The theories of these scholars would be a great influence on De Groot's works. C.F. Dupuis (1742–1809) with his *L'origine de tous les cultes* (1795) and C.F.Ch. *comte* de Volnay (1757–1821) were at the time still the leading 'mythologists.' Dupuis asserted that all cults originally had the sun as their object, and Volnay found that all religious cults and ideas were based on the zodiac (for instance the twelve apostles). D.F. Strauss (1808–74) and E. Renan (1823–92) both were interested in the life of Jesus and history of early Christianity, and were 'mythologising' the traditional accounts of the life of Christ.[164]

At the same time, De Groot's own religious life came to an end, as he recounted in his diary. While attending the HBS, his "eyes had already been opened to the tyranny of the Roman Catholic Church." In his diary he wrote that some clerics had sown discord in the family, inciting his mother against his father, who had sent his children to public schools. They thereby poisoned their family life and made his mother unhappy by making her believe that her children would go to hell. Thanks only to the steadfastness of his father, for the clerics the bomb burst in the wrong direction and all the children broke with the church. In 1874, after his elder sister broke off her engagement as a result of their machinations, De Groot cut off his

last ties with the church. He decided that henceforth he wished to have nothing to do with it.[165]

Membership in the students' club not only gave De Groot inspiration for his studies, but also an opportunity for recreation:

> I did not lose my liking for sports. I train regularly four times a week at the Students' Gymnastics Association Arena,[166] where I boast the name of best gymnast in the club after Isebree Moens.[167] During the summer, I also faithfully practice the noble art of swimming, of old my favourite pursuit at Rhijnzicht. On Sundays long walks are taken with some friends, and when there is ice, the skates practically don't leave my feet as long as there is daylight.[168]

On 8 December 1876, a few days before he left for China, he treated his Leiden friends to a big farewell dinner at Restaurant Karg in the Paardensteeg. On Monday 11 December 1876, several friends and all his Corps friends came to Feyenoord (Rotterdam) to see him off on the train to Paris, from where he would travel to Marseille.

Van der Spek was not a member of the Student Corps, but he associated not only with his fellow student-interpreters of the first and second groups, but also with regular university students. These were students of law, theology and medicine, which were the most common subjects at the time. His best friends were J.C.J. Jonker (1857–1919) a student of law from 1876 on, who must also have studied East Indies languages,[169] and Abram Lind (1858–1931), who had been informally studying Chinese since 1876[170] and joined their classes in October 1877.[171] Other good friends were the theology student Rienstra,[172] a certain 'Poeloo,' and Van Boekeren, who was still attending the HBS and studied law starting in 1878.[173]

The three student-interpreters of 1875 were also best friends. De Jongh, the son of a mayor, came from a high-class background. Through him, Van der Spek and Moll became acquainted with many other people. Moll, who came from the rural and 'backward' province of Drenthe, was even 'greener' than Van der Spek; in the beginning he often got into trouble and was made fun of by the others.

With all their friends, the student-interpreters established a literary club called *Insulinde*, which was organised similarly to other student associations. Moll was made secretary and he kept the minutes; Rienstra was president, and for a gavel they used a brush (*schuier*) picked up on one of their excursions. Van der Spek wrote about Insulinde:

> We got together weekly on a fixed evening to play at cards; but soon we found it better and more pleasant to make it into a small literary club. For all of us, that has been very useful and pleasant. I learned to improvise, as best I can now; when or rather before writing to think it over well and express my thoughts rather well; but in particular Insulinde developed and stimulated

> our love and knowledge of the arts. [quoting Heine:] 'Life would be endless bleeding, if poetry did not exist. She ensures us what nature gives us: a golden time that doesn't rust, a spring that does not fade. Cloudless luck and eternal youth.'[174]

Throughout his diary, Van der Spek would quote German, English, and Dutch poetry, which played an important role in his thinking and emotional development.

The student-interpreters were members of Musis Sacrum, the sub-association of the Student Corps devoted to music, paying a *f* 5 membership fee per year.[175] When in China, Van der Spek regretted that he had only once gone to a concert in Zomerzorg, a famous pub next to the railway station, because he found the entrance fee of *f* 0.75 too high.

In the 1870s, there were hardly any female students at Dutch universities. The first female student in the Netherlands was Aletta Jacobs, who studied medicine at Groningen University starting in 1871. Therefore, students often courted daughters of the Leiden bourgeoisie, or chased servant girls. When Van der Spek wrote his "Leiden memories" in Amoy, the "love-stories" were the first subject he treated; apparently these had left the deepest impression on him. A few examples:

> In Leiden I arrived on 1 October 1875 and I was green in many respects, also as to girls. Therefore it was not strange that I soon fell in love with *Josephine van Geenen*, a coquettish, delicate brunette whom I could see almost the whole day if I sat at my window. She knew how to dress very finely, and although she was thin, she was pretty and had an elegant appearance. I didn't speak much with her, but my jokes were to her liking, and although it was rather superficial, it was still lively and pleasant. This continued for a few months; then there came a reaction and I could no longer stand the sight of her; later I was completely indifferent to her. On a summer evening during that last period, when there was no one at home and she was sitting at the open window, I once kissed her lustfully. De Jongh and I did it by turns, which proves that I was at the time only moved by lust.[176]

Another love-story is about De Jongh and Betsy Hoogenboom. Van der Spek concluded this story with quotations from Goethe and other poets which helped him to analyse and describe the situation:

> The second day that we were in Leiden, De Jongh took me along to see a beautiful girl, who lived in a house adjoining the Pieterskerk (St. Peter's Church) at the end of the Nieuwsteeg (New Alley). He spoke now about her ample buttocks, then again about her heavenly eyes, and he fell more and more in love. Together with Poeloo[177] he composed a letter in which he wrote how much the salary of the interpreter would be, etc. He posted the letter and the next day Betsy came to see Poeloo. De Jongh—height of folly!—flew after her and tried to see her a few times. Of course, there came a rejection, and after a second letter the same. When we frequented the Van Dijk family,[178] the eldest daughter Stine knew the whole story, and De Jongh asked if he could

> meet the girl at their house. No. Most daringly he went to ask the father, Mr. Hoogenboom, for permission to visit her at home. The next Sunday he went there, and a few days later he received a formal letter of rejection.
> "Be affectionate to women, and you'll win them, on my word. / But who's rash and daring, may perhaps get on even better." (Goethe) / "Not much he kens, I ween, of woman's breast / Who thinks that wanton thing is won by sighs: / Pique her and soothe in turn, soon Passion crowns thy hopes." (Byron 129)[179]

According to Van der Spek, quite a few love-stories could be summarised as follows: "Many Leiden students languished for a girl to whom they had never spoken."[180]

De Jongh may not have been successful with Betsy Hoogenboom in Leiden, but he did prove his heroism in a bar in the Nes, at that time the red-light district in Amsterdam. This can be read in undated letters from Lind and Jonker to Van der Spek, received in Amoy on 9 April 1879:

> Now I have to tell you something that will fill De Jongh's heart with nostalgic feelings: Café l'Amour in the Nes has burnt down; after his return to the fatherland he will never again be able to see the scene of one of his former exploits.[181]

Like De Groot, Van der Spek was also fond of sports, although he did not take part in any competitions. The foremost pastime was taking walks:

> In Leiden there are many rather nice walks. Along the Witte Singel, and other winding city moats, around [the estates of] Endegeest, Poelgeest, [the villages of] Warmond, De Vink, Leiderdorp. Usually I walked around Endegeest with Moll or Lind or more friends on Sundays.[182]

> One of the finest excursions was to Haarlem [30 km north of Leiden] in 1877, on a beautiful Sunday in May with Lind and De Jongh. We stopped here and there in the nice villages, had a bite or drank some gin and arrived merrily in Haarlem Wood, where we saw many pretty Haarlem girls. [On the way] in Lisse we helped a maid carrying water and scrubbing the street. We went to the Evening Church to listen to the beautiful organ, but our attention was heavily distracted by a few lovely girls from the town who afterwards left the church followed by us. We grabbed a couple of housemaids and went to Leiden by train.[183]

Like De Groot, Van der Spek also loved skating. He gave the following description of one such outing:

> One Sunday morning at 8 o'clock, Stuart, De Jongh and I went on skates to Delft [20 km south of Leiden], although my family [in Delft] had written to me that it was too dangerous. The ice was bad, and at Leidschendam Stuart, up front, got stuck on a board hanging under a bridge, and just in front of me, De Jongh went through the ice. He grabbed a rope on which this board was hanging and was pulled up by helpers rushing forward. Stuart's position was desperate because the four ropes holding up the board were very thin. However, he calmly untied his skates, handed them to the bystanders, as well as a piece of cloth that he had put between the strap and his foot to prevent

> pinching. Then he was hauled up, but the bystanders watched him with furious looks because instead of getting down on his knees to thank God, he let loose a few resounding curses. We went to a farmer and De Jongh got the 'Sunday trousers of John the farm hand,' etc. and changed clothes inside the cow stable. Just when he was busy putting on those trousers, the whole family of the farmer came to watch him, with right up front a sweet farm-girl of twenty. In the confusion De Jongh forgot to put on a pair of underpants, but because it was too cold that way, he put some hay on his belly. From then on we walked home, stopping off at every 'house of salvation' and drinking shots of brandy, and after De Jongh took the liberty to piss in a coalbox at Reijneveld we arrived half reeling in Delft.[184]

Other sports were horse-riding, and on summer evenings rowing along the Rhine to De Vink. Like many university students, the student-interpreters had the habit of drinking lots of alcohol, and many outings ended in drinking bouts. It is not known if De Groot was such a heavy drinker as Van der Spek and his friends were, but one can imagine that De Groot was glad to destroy his diaries if they contained descriptions similar to Van der Spek's. Van der Spek wrote that he attended not so many parties (*fuifen*), nevertheless listing seventeen of them in his diary, one of which took place after his friend Jonker passed his prescribed first-year examination (*propjes*):

> In the evening we rode to Alphen [Alphen aan den Rijn, 20 km east of Leiden] and on the other side of the water [of the river Rhine] I saw lights, large and small, and in my later speech I expressed the hope that Jonker would meet many great lights, many joys on his path of life. Rienstra as usual quarelled with the toll-collector, but he excelled in wittiness during the evening. Before we had supper he, being the president [of Insulinde] wished to give a speech, and while he was speaking solemnly, Moll vomited over the whole table: "I am sorry, Mr. Moll, that my words make such a deep impression on you." Somewhat later Moll again vomited a little, and the president still continued in a dignified manner, only inserting a short phrase: "as Mr. Moll just said." Subsequently all went wild. Buns were thrown at Moll's head continually. (He had recovered after three jugs of Selzer water.) Jonker played the piano, the Faust waltz[185] and now everyone became frantic, in particular Lind, Rienstra and Moll. Lind was about to fall down and accidentally was hit by Wanrooy,[186] causing him to fall with a thud and wound his lips. Now everybody jumped on the tables and chairs, flung the chairs through the room and finally we had a row with the public-house keeper. After Rienstra had wrecked a lampshade etc., the retreat of this 'moribund mishmash' began. The eight of us (Jonker, Lind, Wanrooy, Rienstra, De Jongh, Moll, De Bruin[187] and I) finished twenty bottles of exquisite red wine and four bottles of champagne, aside from about four bottles that we drank at Jonker's place and in the carriage. [188]

Although 'student pranks' were socially accepted to a certain degree, few people would later take pride in this kind of behaviour. Fortunately Van der Spek did not destroy his diary, and nowadays one can still obtain a lively picture of this side of nineteenth-century student life.

Probably these parties and drinking-bouts hardly interfered with their studies, although the second group progressed a little more slowly than the first. In his reports to the Ministry, Schlegel was always highly satisfied with the behaviour, diligence, and progress of his students. In Van der Spek's diary there is mention of only two parties causing drunkenness that interfered with their studies:

> Anton de J. came to me in October 1876. We went to Poeloo, partied until 6 o'clock, got up at 9 o'clock, and I asked Schlegel in vain not to teach class. That was one hung-over mess![189]
>
> On Lind's second birthday, Moll was systematically gotten tight, and the next day with Schlegel he had to ask for leave after he first in vain had drunk a glass of water.[190]

When the three students left for China, Lind and Jonker organised an excellent farewell party for them.[191]

The graduation of the first group (1876)

On 10 October 1876, after three years of study, Schlegel reported to the Minister of Colonies that the students of the first group were advanced enough to continue their studies in China for one year and then be appointed in the Indies. He asked the Minister to take measures so the three could go to China before the end of the year. At the same time, the Consul in Amoy should be asked to search for a suitable house for the students, lest they would lose precious study time searching for a house in a place without hotels. But their stay in Amoy needed only to be temporary: after a few months the youngsters should settle down in Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou) in order to come into daily contact with Tsiangtsiu Chinese and study the dialect most spoken in the Indies.[192]

From this time on, perhaps the three students stopped studying in Leiden, since all the letters they wrote were sent from their home addresses. On 11 October, Stuart, in a letter from Kralingen, announced that he had already reserved places for their voyage to China! Moreover, Schlegel did not mention these students in his three-monthly report of January 1877.[193]

On 6 November, De Groot wrote from Schiedam to the Minister of Colonies that the gratification of *f* 1,000 was insufficient for buying the indispensable books for their further study. He asked for an advance payment of *f* 400 from their future salary in the Indies. When Schlegel's opinion was asked, he wrote on 12 November to the Secretary General that he had no objections as long as the students agreed. He explained that all books about China were extremely expensive, since all publishers charged heavily for printing Chinese characters to compensate for the interest on

the large capital necessary for buying a set of Chinese type. Such an advance payment had also been given to himself and Francken, and was useful:

> Experience has shown that such an advance payment for buying scholarly works could be very profitable, because the study of these works would stimulate the youngsters to devote themselves to scholarship in the footsteps of the earlier scholarly men.[194]

All three students underwent a medical examination and passed as fit for service in the Indies. Their military obligations were also fulfilled; Hoetink and De Groot had both paid for a substitute, and Stuart was exempted from military service because his two elder brothers had fulfilled their obligations (*broederdienst*).

On 20 November, the Minister proposed to the King to assign the three student-interpreters to the Governor-General, whereby they would enter the colonial service. The financial and other conditions now also included an optional advance payment of *f* 400 for books and an advance payment of four months' stipend totalling *f* 200. At the same time, the Governor-General, the Consul in Amoy and Schlegel were notified.[195] The King gave his approval by Royal Decree on 23 November 1876.[196] All three students wished to receive the *f* 400 advance payment for books, and sent in an extra surety for this.[197]

On Monday 11 December, Hoetink, De Groot, and Stuart left by train to Paris, where they hung around (De Groot: *rondgezwalkt*) for three days and then took the night train to Marseille. On 17 December they boarded the Messagières Maritimes ship *Amazone*; they arrived in Hong Kong on 19 January 1877.[198] From there, De Groot took a short trip to Macao, possibly accompanied by the others. They arrived on 2 February[199] in Amoy, where they were received by Consul C.J. Pasedag.

The establishment of a chair for Chinese (1877)

After many years of preparations, in 1876 finally a law on higher education was passed in Parliament.[200] This was a natural sequel to the law on secondary education of 1863. Although universities had existed in the Netherlands for as much as 300 years and they were called *universitas* in Latin, the Dutch name *universiteit* was not yet used for them, and they were called *hoogeschool* ('high school') or *akademie*. According to some, this was because the number of subjects taught was considered too small for a university.[201] Pursuant to the law of 1876, the three existing *hoogescholen* of Leiden (1575), Groningen (1614), and Utrecht (1636) were to be expanded and reorganised as *Rijksuniversiteiten*, 'National Universi-

ties.'[202] Thanks to this expansion, there would also be an opportunity for a chair of Chinese. The law was passed on 28 April 1876, but it only came into effect one and a half years later, on 1 October 1877.

'Higher education' comprised more than university education; it included the pre-university education at the *gymnasium*. After the law on secondary education of 1863 had come into effect and the HBS had been established, this new type of secondary school tended to supersede the old-fashioned *gymnasium* which did not yet have a standardised legally prescribed system.[203] Now the law of 1876, for instance, also stipulated the subjects to be taught in the *gymnasium*, which were the same as those of the HBS with the addition of Latin and Greek (and optional Hebrew). The total curriculum lasted six years, one year more than the five-year HBS.[204] Only those who had finished *gymnasium* were allowed to study at a university.[205]

The law of 1876 also stipulated which faculties should exist and which subjects should be taught at each university. Besides the three *hoogescholen* mentioned above that became National Universities, the Athenaeum Illustre of Amsterdam (1632), which had functioned more and more as a university, could and would be made into a Municipal University (*Gemeente Universiteit*). Other specialised universities could be established under the name of *hoogeschool*. In the old university system, Latin had been the official language of instruction and writing, but during the last decades Latin as language of instruction had in fact been mostly replaced by Dutch.[206] From 1877 onwards, both Latin and Dutch were allowed (Art. 45); this resulted in the actual abolition of Latin as the common language of the university, with a few exceptions—for instance, the yearly programme of courses (*Series Lectionum*) was still to be published in Latin (Art. 47).

In addition to the subjects that were obligatory for all universities (Art. 42), other subjects were to be taught at at least one university (Art. 43). Three of these directly concerned the East Indies:

> 'Islamic law and other popular institutions and customs in the Netherlands Indies,'
> 'State law and institutions of the Netherlands Indies,'
> 'Languages, Literatures, Geography and Ethnology of the East Indies Archipelago.'

Most important was Article 44, which stipulated that chairs could be established for other subjects "if the King deemed it necessary."[207]

On 10 March 1877, Minister of Home Affairs Heemskerk asked the Trustees of Leiden University (*College van Curatoren*) which chairs would be necessary when the new law came into effect on 1 October of that year. This request was forwarded to the Senate and then to the Faculties. The Faculty of Arts sent their report to the Trustees on 19 April 1877. In the

report a number of new chairs were listed, such as for Dutch literature (as distinct from Dutch language), but also for languages and literatures of the Indies such as Javanese, Madurese, and Malay (and a lecturership for Sundanese). The Trustees accepted this proposal, but made some additions. To the original letter of the Faculty of Arts, someone added in pencil: "Moreover 1 prof. in Chinese and 3 lecturers in the modern languages."[208] One of the five Trustees was L.A.J.W. *baron* Sloet van de Beele, who had been Governor-General of the Indies in 1861–6; in that position he had been a staunch supporter of the Chinese interpreters including Schlegel,[209] possibly the more so since he knew Schlegel's father, having visited him just before going to the Indies.[210] He was probably instrumental to this addition, the more so since Sloet in August 1877 became President of the Trustees, and he was the only Trustee to whom Schlegel expressed his gratitude in his inaugural lecture in 1877. Another indication is that De Groot wrote in his diary: "[Schlegel] was waiting for a professorship, for which his friend Sloet van de Beele c.s. were working."[211]

On 19 May 1877, the Trustees answered the Minister of Home Affairs

> that besides the chairs for professors and lecturers recommended by the Faculties, it would seem desirable to appoint at Leiden University a professor for teaching Chinese, as a necessary condition for the training of those who will serve the Country in our East Indies possessions …

A list of fifteen chairs for professors was added, the last four of which were those for Malay, Geography and Ethnology of the Indies, Javanese and finally Chinese.[212]

A few months later, on 10 September, in Leiden ten new professors were appointed by Royal Decree (no. 1), including P.J. Veth (History, Geography etc. of the Indies), P.A. van der Lith (Law in the Indies), A.C. de Vreede (Javanese language and literature) and J. Pijnappel (Malay language and literature). They had been teaching at the Indies Institute in Leiden for some time and would receive a yearly salary of *f* 6,000,[213] while the minimum salary for a professor was *f* 4,000 (Art. 52).

Later that month, on 29 September 1877, Minister Heemskerk reported to the King that the Trustees of Leiden University strongly advised appointing a professor of Chinese to train students for functions abroad (probably meaning the Foreign Service) or in the Indies, pointing out that the Minister of Colonies had also urged appointing Schlegel in such a position.[214] Heemskerk noted that an appointment of this professor would involve only a slight increase in the government's expenditures, since Schlegel now earned almost *f* 4,000 (namely *f* 3,900). Such an appointment was possible since other chairs could be established if the King deemed it necessary (Article 44 of the Law on Higher Education). In the margin of this draft letter was written: "urgent" (*spoed*).[215]

Schlegel was appointed the next week, just after the new law had come into effect. The King approved by Royal Decree of 3 October 1877 (no. 6):

> to appoint Dr. G. Schlegel as professor in the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy at the National University at Leiden to teach the Chinese language at a yearly salary of *f* 4,000. …[216]

Later that month, on Saturday 27 October 1877 at two o'clock in the afternoon, Schlegel gave his inaugural lecture after having been sworn in at the plenary meeting of the Senate (Senatus Amplissimus).[217] The title of his oration was: "On the importance of the study of the Chinese language" (*Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*). It was a continuation and amplification of his arguments during the preceding years when he was pleading for a professorship in Chinese. He first gave a short overview of the history of Chinese language studies in Europe and in China (mostly by Europeans), then dwelled upon the state of the art in 1877, finally giving examples of both the scholarly and practical importance of sinology.

The first Westerners who studied Chinese were missionaries, motivated by the wish to convert China's millions of inhabitants to Christianity. These were Nestorians in the sixth century, Jesuits and Dominicans starting in the sixteenth century, and Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth century. Schlegel then treated the development of Chinese studies and professors of Chinese in France, Germany, Russia, Britain, and the United States, finally mentioning his contemporary professors d'Hervey de Saint-Denys (1873, Collège de France), M.-A. Kleczkowski (1871, École des langues orientales, Paris), W. Schott (1838, Berlin), J. Summers (1846–73, King's College, London) and his successor Robert K. Douglas, Dr. J. Legge (1876, Oxford), and in China Sir Thomas Wade and the American 'veteran of sinology' S. Wells Williams. Then he gave an account of the origins of Dutch sinology, beginning with Von Siebold's and Hoffmann's interest in Japan in the 1830s. He stated that it was not necessary to review what Hoffmann had done for scholarship, recounting only what he had done for Chinese teaching. Now Schlegel was also obliged to speak about himself and about the training of Chinese interpreters for the Indies. He gave a touching but also somewhat self-centered account of the beginning of his own Chinese studies:

> Professor Hoffmann was one of the oldest and most intimate friends of my father and he often visited our house. The instructive conversations which I heard as a nine-year old boy, both from him and from Dr. Von Siebold, aroused my desire to learn the Chinese language, and on a certain day in November 1849, I went to Dr. Hoffmann without telling my parents and asked him to teach me Chinese. The master received the boy friendly, and my desire and the excellent instruction of the beloved teacher made me soon make such progress in the knowledge of the Chinese language that Hoffmann informed the Minister of Colonies in November 1853 … In the beginning I

> was often teased by my school friends because of my 'Chinese,' but I was soon followed by others, first C.F.M. de Grijs … and later the too early deceased J.J.C. Francken …[218]

As to the importance of Chinese studies for scholarship, he mentioned early Chinese travelogues of India and what he called 'comparative linguistics.' At this point, Schlegel's love of anecdotes came out, but also his penchant for fantastic theories. He recounted the story by Herodotus about King Psammèticus of Egypt, who wished to ascertain which was the most ancient language of the world. As an experiment, he ordered his shepherd to raise two children in a stable without ever speaking a word to them, in order to discover which language they would speak first. The shepherd often took his goats to the stable to feed goat's milk to the children, and after two years he heard them utter a word for the first time: βηκος (bèkos). When the King asked around to which language this word βηκος belonged, his scholars found out that this was the Phrygian word for 'bread.' Since then, Herodotus said, the Egyptians recognised the Phrygians as more ancient than the Egyptians. Schlegel commented that this was probably originally an onomatopoeia, βηκ (bèk), for the goats' bleating, the only sound that the children had heard, to which the Greek ending –ος was added. The Phrygian word meant 'pastry' (Dutch *het gebak*). In the nineteenth century, the relationship of this word with the Indo-European languages had been established, for example in Anglo-Saxon *bacen* (to bake, to fry), Dutch *bakken*, etc., and the hypothetical original form *pak* or *bak* had been reconstructed. Schlegel now stated that the old name for 'to bake' in China was also *bak*. It was now pronounced *pik* in Canton and Amoy, and *bì* in Mandarin. The (rarely used) character 焰 contained the radical 'fire' and the phonetic *bak*, which in itself meant 'to spread'. The verb *bak* therefore meant 'to spread before the fire.'[219]

A few years earlier, Schlegel had voiced similar theories. He recognised that Edkins was the first to try to compare Asian and Indo-European languages,[220] but in his introduction to his own study on this subject he wrote that he only acquired Edkins' book when his own study was already at the press in Batavia. Schlegel had been working on it completely on his own at the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences. In 1872 he published his *Sinico-Aryaca*[221] in which he compared Chinese with Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages. In this work, he gratefully made use of the results of Indo-European studies, adding supposed Chinese cognates based on his knowledge of modern Chinese dialects and Duan Yucai's reconstructions.[222] He did this according to rules governing phonetic change similar to those used by European linguists. For instance, the (Mandarin) Chinese *gěi* 給 (to give) he supposed to be related to the English 'to give,' German 'geben,' etc.; Chinese *huǒ* 火 (fire), Cantonese *fo*, was related to English

'fire,' French 'feu,' Spanish 'fuego' (fire), etc.; and Chinese *niē* 捏 (to nip), Cantonese *nip*, to English 'to nip,' German 'k-neifen,' Dutch 'k-nijpen,' etc. His study contains a great number of similar fantastic examples, for each of which cognates in a great many languages are listed.[223]

In his oration, Schlegel only mentioned that in 1876 his *Sinico-Aryaca* aroused long discussions at the Orientalist Congress in St. Petersburg. "This work aroused more interest than I ever expected, and it proved that the horror of studying Chinese disappears as soon as it arouses sympathy by her relationship to our languages."[224] This latter conclusion is probably the only one that is still valid today.

In the field of history, too, d'Hervey de Saint-Denys and W. Vissering's studies of Ma Duanlin's encyclopaedia had been very enlightening on the history of Japan and of finance in China,[225] and the study of Chinese astronomy had shed light on the original meaning of the names of stars—this was again based on Schlegel's creative fantasy in his *Uranographie chinoise*.

Schlegel dwelled a little more on the practical importance of the study of the Chinese language. It was justified to say: "Language is the whole people" (*De taal is gansch het volk*).[226] He who knew the language of a people, had at the same time learned their religion and social concepts and prejudices, as well as their character, development and tendencies. Therefore, knowledge about China was indispensable for the Netherlands, with its several hundreds of thousands of diligent Chinese subjects. Many problems, revolts, even wars could have been avoided if the government of the Indies had been informed by men who knew the Chinese. Groeneveldt and Schaalje could smother incipient revolts because they knew about Chinese grievances and could have them resolved. Thanks to Schlegel's publication on secret societies, sinophobia (*Chinophobie*) in the Indies had gradually diminished and the strong prohibition of Chinese immigration to Java had ended. Since there were interpreters in the Indies, the government could supervise the Chinese tax-farmers (*Chineesche pachters van 's Lands-middelen*), and merchants profited from proofs of fraud in cases of bankruptcy among the Chinese. Judges could now make use of trustworthy interpreters in the courts.

For lawyers and notaries also, knowledge of China was of great use, since this knowledge inspired confidence among the Chinese. Schlegel illustrated this with an anecdote dating from his stay in China. Often small children became frightened in the presence of the Western barbarian and ran away screeming, but were reassured by their parents with the words: "I kong lan e oa" (He can speak our language).[227]

He was himself often asked by lawyers (*advocaten*) in the Indies to associate himself with them: they expected that the mere presence of a European who could speak Chinese would greatly increase the number of Chinese

clients. Schlegel's conclusion was that for a civil servant, merchant, lawyer, or notary in the Indies, knowledge of Chinese would be most important, of course after Javanese and Malay.

As prescribed by tradition, he addressed the listeners in his concluding words. He expressed his gratitude to the Trustees of the University, since it was now his great fortune to be able to dedicate all his energy to scholarship. He did not regret the fifteen years spent in China and the Indies; those years had kept alive and stimulated his desire for study. Among those who had exerted themselves for a chair of Chinese, he thanked Trustee Sloet van de Beele, but also "a King's son (*Vorstenzoon*) of the House of Orange" who "was ready to give his mighty support everywhere in the field of scholarship," undoubtedly meaning King William III himself.

Among his colleagues at the University, Schlegel in particular thanked Professor Kern. Finally, he addressed the students, of whom very few would follow his courses as they would be busy pursuing their own studies; studying Chinese was not easy and required a lot of effort and time. Still, it was necessary for all those who loved their fatherland and were concerned for the flourishing of its overseas possessions, to acquire at least some general knowledge about the language, customs and manners of the Chinese. To his present students who would be interpreters in the Netherlands Indies, upon whose correct interpreting the fortune, freedom and even the life of Chinese subjects there would depend, Schlegel could only exclaim:

> Continue on the road that you have chosen, double your efforts if necessary, and do not forget that except the material profits that the heavy and difficult study of the Chinese language will at some time provide to you, it will also open up many sources of pure, scholarly joy, and disprove the cheerless maxim of the followers of the Chinese philosopher Laozi that "knowledge is sorrow."[228] You should better follow the Sage Confucius' maxim: *Dzi uî kun-tsú dzî / Bû uî siaó dzîn dzî.* "Be a scholar in the sense of the gentleman, and not in the sense of the plebs."[229] If every student could master this maxim, then the universities would become what they are destined to be: not institutions where one comes only to acquire knowledge for one or another business; but institutions where the academic citizen is formed into an enlightened, knowledgeable and useful member of society (pp. 24-5).

From this day on, Schlegel was officially an ordinary professor at Leiden University. However, his salary would be a little higher than Minister Heemskerk expected. He kept his extra allowance of *f* 1,200 per year as long as he taught Chinese to students assigned by the Ministry of Colonies; therefore his total yearly salary was now *f* 5,200. At the same time, his function as 'Chinese interpreter in the Netherlands Indies on leave' and his leave salary must have ended, but no reference to this could be found in the archives of the Ministry of Colonies.

In the *Series Lectionum* Schlegel's teaching was, in accordance with the law (Art. 47), announced in Latin as "Linguam Sinicam docebit diebus

et horis auditoribus commodis," (He shall teach the Chinese language on days and hours that suit the listeners).[230] His subject of teaching was simply called "The Chinese language" (*De Chineesche taal*), just as M.J. de Goeje taught "The Arabic language,"[231] while most professors taught a certain language *and* literature. It is therefore not surprising that the *rector-magnificus*, Professor Fruin, on 17 September 1878 stated that Schlegel had been appointed as professor in "the language and literature of China" (*de taal en letteren van China*),[232] and Schlegel would later also usually write that he was professor of Chinese language and literature (*Chineesche taal en letterkunde*).

The graduation of the second group (1878)

After three years of study in Leiden, Schlegel reported to Minister of Colonies P.P. van Bosse on 16 October 1878 that Van der Spek, Moll, and De Jongh were advanced enough to be, after another year of study in China, stationed as interpreters in the Indies. He asked the Minister to allow them to leave before the end of the year, and to charge the Consul in Amoy to help them so that they could immediately continue their studies there.

In the 1850s and 1860s, Hoffmann's students had never been medically examined, and three of them passed away soon after their appointment. This was perhaps the reason that Schlegel's students were all examined both at the beginning and at the end of their studies in Leiden. On 2 November 1878, the three students underwent their second medical examination, which was done by Major Engelhart, the medical surgeon (*officier van gezondheid*) at the Leiden garrison. Moll and De Jongh were both found fit (*geschikt*) for service in the Indies, but Van der Spek was now rejected as unfit (*ongeschikt*) because of an "organic heart disease (hypertrophia)." When Schlegel heard this, he became furious and advised Van der Spek to ask Professor S.S. Rosenstein's opinion.[233] Subsequently Rosenstein passed him as fit, but refused to issue a certificate because Major Engelhart was a good friend of his. Thereupon Schlegel visited his colleague with Van der Spek and forced him to write the following certificate: "At the request of Mr. Van der Spek I hereby declare that I could not find any signs of a serious medical problem in the heart." Van der Spek had already written a letter of protest, which he now sent to the Minister of Colonies together with both certificates. In his letter, he argued that before his appointment as student-interpreter he had been found fit by a military surgeon in Delft. He also pointed out that the service of the Chinese interpreters in the Indies would involve not the least physical effort or fatigue,[234] in contrast to that of the *controleur* and other officials of the Interior Administration. Since he had never noticed anything special with respect to his heart, he

had gone to Dr. Rosenstein, who considered his heart normal and healthy. Therefore he requested a re-examination as soon as possible. This was allowed, and Van der Spek went to The Hague, were he was seen by a committee of four at the Ministry of War. The examination lasted for several hours because the instrument for checking the pulse did not work properly, but this time he passed. The new medical report still mentioned one "disease or defect," namely "nervous heart beat," but concluded that Van der Spek "can be considered fit for civil service in the Netherlands Indies." The report was signed by General Major Van Hasselt, the Inspector of the Medical Service.[235]

All three had fulfilled their military obligations. The mayor's son, De Jongh, had been lucky enough to draw a lot exempting him from conscription. Moll also somehow fulfilled his obligation (his documents are missing), and Van der Spek payed for a substitute. When he drew his lot making him liable for conscription in 1877, Schlegel was also helpful and gave him a letter for the Secretary General of Colonies, *jonkheer* F.E.M. van Alphen; Van der Spek's old HBS teacher of political science J. van Gigch[236] also did his best for him, but he still had to pay *f* 850 for a substitute.[237] All three students also sent in certificates of good character and other forms.

Minister of Colonies Van Bosse submitted a proposal to the King, and by Royal Decree of 10 December 1878 (no. 14), they entered the Colonial service under the same conditions as the first group. Since Schlegel now no longer had any official students, his yearly allowance of *f* 1,200 for teaching Chinese ended on 1 December 1878.[238]

On 6 January 1879, the three students left by train for Paris, where they stayed for three days, visiting the sights and going to theatres. Van der Spek wrote in his diary:

> Seen in the Nouvel Opéra: Faust; visited Folies Bergères and Frascati. Seen: Place de la Concorde, Tuileries from the outside, Madeleine from the outside, climbed the Notre Dame, climbed the Arc de Triomphe, drove to the Bois de Boulogne (waterfall), Buttes Chaumont (suspension-bridge), Hôtel des Invalides with Napoléon's grave, Morgue, Place de la Bastille, Louvre, inside Panorama, outside Trocadéro, absinthe on the Boulevard des Italiens, had dinner at Tissot (Palais Royal) and Bocher (Boulevard des Italiens).[239]

On 10 January they took the night train to Marseille, and on 12 January went on board joining many Dutchmen on the way to the Indies. They passed by the following places, most of which they also visited: Naples, Port Said, Suez, Aden, Colombo, Galle, Singapore, and Saigon. On 21 February they arrived in Hong Kong, where they stayed for a few days. There they went to a book sale at the London Missionary House and met the German missionary and sinologist E.J. Eitel, who knew several of the earlier Dutch student-interpreters. At a Chinese bookshop they bought

some Chinese books (Kangxi dictionary and the novel *Honglou meng*)[240] communicating in writing with the Cantonese shop owner, who wrote a final note full of praise. On 25 February they left Hong Kong on the *Douglas* together with 560 Chinese, travelled by way of Swatow (Shantou), where 300 Chinese left the ship, and arrived in Amoy on 28 February. They were met by Hoetink's old sampan man whom they immediately hired, and by Pasedag's clerk Haalcke.[241]

A sudden anti-climax: a moratorium in the training course

When Groeneveldt was asked in 1876 by Director of Justice L.A.P.F. Buijn[242] if more students should be trained in Batavia, he had answered in the negative. The number of students was more than sufficient, because five were being trained in the Netherlands. A year later, when it turned out that Schlegel was now even training a sixth student, Groeneveldt on his own initiative informed Director of Justice Buijn. He considered it his duty to do so, since "he saw no advantage in a surfeit of interpreters," thereby intimating that at present no more students should be trained. This letter was forwarded to Governor-General Van Lansberge and then to Minister of Colonies Van Bosse. Van Lansberge proposed to Van Bosse not to enlarge the number of interpreters for the time being, but the latter did not react.[243]

On 17 October 1878, one day after Schlegel announced that his last three students could leave for China, he wrote another letter to Minister of Colonies Van Bosse suggesting the continuation of his training programme, but for the first time also expressing some doubt about the need of interpreters. He wondered whether the Minister wished to have more interpreters trained, since there seemed to be a difference of opinion between the Government of the Netherlands Indies and that of the mother country about the need to increase the number of interpreters. Some of his colleagues in the Indies were against any increase, but according to Schlegel they were not as impartial as one would expect, since they either had left the interpreter's service or planned to do so. Without wishing to interfere with the government's opinion, Schlegel suggested that he should complete the training of one more student. This was A. Lind from Amsterdam, who had finished the HBS and had been studying with him since 1876. During the second year, Lind had studied together with Van der Spek, Moll, and De Jongh, and after another year he would be advanced enough to study in China for another year and then be appointed as interpreter in the Indies. The financial advantage of this arrangement was that the knowledge of Chinese acquired by Lind could without any cost to the government be put to use in the Indies.[244]

A few weeks later, Minister Van Bosse replied in a different vein than had been done before. He stated that after the three new interpreters Hoetink, De Groot, and Stuart had arrived in the Indies, there were now more interpreters than the seven prescribed positions (*organieke standplaatsen*), and this disproportion would become even more serious after Van der Spek, Moll, and De Jongh had finished their studies in China. There could be no prospect for Lind as an interpreter in the Indies, and Schlegel's request was rejected.[245] This decision was made despite comments by other officials at the Ministry that more interpreters would soon be needed, in particular in North and East Sumatra.

Notwithstanding, Schlegel continued to teach Lind Chinese. On 25 November 1878, Lind was officially registered at the university as a student of the Faculty of Arts (*letteren*).[246] But the next year he was studying law, at least according to the students' almanac of 1880. He probably combined his Chinese studies with the more practical study of law. In 1887 he obtained a doctorate in law on a Chinese subject.[247]

Later correspondence made clear what had happened in the Indies. When Hoetink, De Groot, and Stuart finished their studies in China and came to Batavia in March 1878, Director of Justice Buijn at first did not know where to appoint them, since all seven prescribed positions were filled, and asked the opinion of Groeneveldt. The latter had left the interpreters' service in August 1877 and had become *referendaris* with the central government in Batavia; he had at the same time been appointed 'honorary advisor for Chinese affairs.'

Groeneveldt replied on 20 March 1878 that it was difficult to answer this question: he considered an enlargement of the corps unnecessary, since in most places their services were of little significance. All seven places of stationing according to the *Staatsblad* were filled, but now that the three interpreters had arrived, they should be placed somewhere. He suggested appointing them on Banka, in Cirebon, and in Makassar.[248]

Shortly afterwards, on 5 April 1878, Albrecht, who was an interpreter at Batavia but would leave the interpreters' service the next year, wrote an elaborate *nota* about the work of the Chinese interpreters. He bluntly stated that in most places their work was a sinecure, except in Batavia were there was a lot of translation work to be done. It would be sufficient if in all the Indies there were only two interpreters, both stationed in Batavia; at most two others could be placed in Semarang and Surabaya. In the Outer Possessions there was no need for a permanent appointment since they would have hardly anything to do. This *nota* was discussed several times by Director of Justice Buijn and the Council of the Indies, and finally on 3 March 1879, Governor-General J. van Lansberge sent a letter with a copy of the complete file to the Minister of Colonies in which he agreed with Albrecht's proposal. The new Minister, O. van Rees, who as

a member of the Council of the Indies had not shown much sympathy for the Chinese interpreters, thereupon also agreed with Van Lansberge and replied that the number of interpreters was too large in proportion to the need; he intended gradually to reduce their number to a maximum of four. There was no objection against assigning other work to the present interpreters and the three students now still in China "since Chinese interpreters often showed themselves to be well-educated men who could be of good service in other positions." He asked Governor-General Van Lansberge to report if this measure was appropriate.[249]

As a result of this measure, Schlegel's training course in Leiden underwent a moratorium which would last for almost ten years. A little more than a year after his appointment as full professor of Chinese at Leiden University, Schlegel for the time being lost his first and foremost function. He seemed not at all happy about this, which can be gathered from a so-called "mixed-pickle" in the students almanac of 1880:

> *Professor in Chinese*
> What were you for, learned professor?
> De Génestet[250]

This 'quotation' is from a poem by the Dutch poet and protestant minister P.A. de Génestet (1829–61), one of the most popular poets during the second half of the nineteenth century.[251]

But being a passionate scholar, Schlegel continued to devote himself to Chinese studies with fervour. And during the next decade he would publish his magnum opus, his Dutch–Chinese dictionary, build up the Chinese library in Leiden and still continue to teach Lind and other interested students.

CHAPTER NINE

SCHLEGEL'S LATER STUDENTS (1888–1895)

This chapter describes how the moratorium was lifted ten years later and how Schlegel again began training interpreters for the Ministry of Colonies in 1888. It also analyses the reasons for De Groot's scholarly mission to China in 1886 and describes Schlegel's extraordinary students in the 1880s. The studies in China of all four groups of Schlegel's students are treated together in Chapter ten.

Schlegel's extraordinary students in the 1880s: A. Lind and S.H. Schaank

After the second group of students had left for China, Schlegel still taught and guided several extraordinary students. The first of these was Abram Lind (1858–1931), who had been informally studying with Schlegel since 1876. In November 1878, two weeks after Schlegel's request to have Lind trained to become an interpreter had been refused, Lind registered as a student in the Faculty of Arts of Leiden University.[1] In February 1879, he also became a member of the Student Corps. He mentioned this in a letter to Van der Spek in China, in which he wrote about a visit to the Schlegels. This letter shows that his opinion about and relation with Schlegel was similar to that of Van der Spek:

> A few days ago I spent an extremely pleasant evening with your ex-teacher. … As usual he came up with a lot of eccentric assertions, including of course quite a bit of nonsense. You all know his way of reasoning: always entertaining, but logical?!! Triumphantly, Madame and I (*honni soit qui mal y pense*) challenged one of his materialist assertions and we finally drove him into the corner. Finally, in particular because we were looking at French picture albums and having a good glass of wine, it became half past eleven before I thought of taking leave, it was so damned pleasant over there.[2]

He continued studying Chinese with Schlegel for seven years, but during this year (1879) he took a practical step and began to study law as well.[3]

From 1877–8 onwards, Schlegel reported yearly to the Leiden University Trustees about his teaching. Like all other professors, he filled out a form about the courses given by him. This information was later published in the yearly reports on national education.[4] In 1878–9 he taught one student (Lind) for six hours per week: "Chinese belles-lettres; Chinese customs, traditions and social institutions; and exercises in the Chinese spoken language (Tsiangtsiu dialect)." In 1879–84, he taught only four hours per week. In 1879-81, he taught one student (Lind)

"Modern Chinese style; exercises in the spoken language." The following two years, in 1881–3, there were two students, who were during the first year taught "Chinese belles-lettres and moral sayings" and during the second not only "Chinese spoken language, Chinese sayings," but also for the first time a legal subject: "Chinese law and case law." In 1883–4 there was only one student (Lind), who was taught "Chinese Penal Law; belles-lettres, spoken language." In 1884–5, there were four students, who were taught "Chinese language and literature" for eight hours per week. The subjects were "Chinese spoken language (Tsiang-tsiu dialect); explanation of the Sacred Edict (Modern Chinese); old and new Chinese sayings." He also taught one subject that was of special interest to Lind: "Comparative exegesis of the Chinese Penal Code and the Western Penal Codes." These classes were taught in Dutch, and the students were given an opportunity to ask questions, as always in his classes.[5] The following two years he only taught one student (Lind) four hours per week; the subjects were "Chinese Penal Law and civil institutions" and "The Chinese Penal Code."[6]

After finishing his law studies, Lind wrote a dissertation in which he combined his knowledge of Chinese with his studies of law, and he was awarded his doctorate in law on 30 November 1887. His dissertation supervisor was a professor of penal law, H. van der Hoeven,[7] but in his preface Lind in the first place thanked Schlegel, his "highly respected teacher of the Chinese language … whom I found ever ready to lend me his valuable aid with his extensive knowledge of that language." Actually, Schlegel's contribution was not confined to linguistic matters. This is evident in Lind's open-minded and positive appraisal of Chinese law in general.

The title of his thesis was *A Chapter of the Chinese Penal Code*. The dissertation consisted of introductory chapters and a translation of the chapter about markets in the *Qing Code*, and also contained the Chinese text. [8] In the preface he wrote:

> Having for some years devoted myself to the study of the Chinese language, I wished to imitate the example set by Dr. W. Vissering;[9] and accordingly, selected for my academical dissertation a subject treating of Chinese institutions.[10]

Lind explained in his introductory chapters that studying Chinese institutions was particularly important for colonial powers such as the Netherlands and Britain. As an example, he mentioned that lack of knowledge about the Chinese had prevented a peaceful solution in Borneo in the 1850s, as his friend J.J.M. de Groot had shown in his book about the *kongsi* system on Borneo (1885, *see* below).

In another respect Lind was also following Vissering's example, since he wrote his thesis in English. Starting in the 1860s, most dissertations in Leiden were written in Dutch instead of Latin, and the use of Dutch next

to Latin had been officially sanctioned in the new law on higher education of 1876. However, Vissering had in February 1877 requested the Trustees of Leiden University to allow him to write his dissertation in English. The reason was that he considered it necessary to add the original Chinese texts, and Brill's printing costs for this could only be a paying venture if the dissertation were in English. His request was immediately approved.[11] Ten years later, when Lind wrote his dissertation, he probably did not need to submit such a request; in any case none could be found in the archives of the Trustees of Leiden University.

In preparing his dissertation, Lind first made "assiduous preliminary studies through the whole Chinese Penal Code" (Preface). For this he used the recent edition of the *Qing Code* of 1879 which his old friend Van der Spek had given him, probably after his return to the Netherlands in April 1885.[12] Earlier, Schlegel and other Dutch sinologists had sometimes based their advice to the East Indies government regarding Chinese law on the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Ritual of the Zhou dynasty),[13] but Lind (like others) was not at all convinced that this body of regulations had ever been in use in practice (pp. 5, 6).

Lind considered it one of the most striking features of the *Qing Code* that it was "eminently practical." It contained

> clear, brief practical enactments, yea, I dare say, that in this respect it may safely be compared with the Roman legislation, whose claim for glory is greatly due to its being highly practical. (p. 13)

By retaining the articles of law (*lü* 律) dating from the Yongzheng period (1723–36) and earlier as the basic law, the *Qing Code* also showed its conservatism. This was another great principle of Roman law, although in China it was also due to inertia. By comparing his own edition of 1879 with another one in the Leiden University Library dating from 1843, he could see that a "slow but steady process of development is going on" because the later edition added "examples" or "cases" (*li* 例).

Another characteristic of Chinese law was that the whole system originated from patriarchal institutions:

> The great moral principle of HAO [*xiao*] 孝, perhaps best to be translated by "respect for the family" pervades the whole constitution of the Chinese empire. (p. 15)

Although Lind stated that his translation also showed that the *Qing Code* was extremely casuistic, he considered it still on a level with modern Western ideas about justice:

> they attend to the principles of principal and accessory, to dolus and culpa, to concursus of crimes, to extenuation of punishments on account of age, and youth, etc. etc. (p. 16)

Lind was, as could be expected, mostly interested in civil law, family law, contracts, etc., and although "much material can be found in the *Qing Code*," civil law was for the greater part customary law. Therefore, "A doctrine of contracts, laws on bankruptcy are totally unknown." The Chinese did have a notion of contract, but had no written laws of contract. Lind thought the reason why the "so practical and so highly cultivated" Chinese had no written law of contract was very simple. The Romans developed their system of contracts so eminently because of their contacts with other nations, while the Chinese could always satisfy all their needs within their immense empire, and needed no intercourse with other nations. A second reason was the Chinese conservatism as to institutions, and the mutual aid and assistance through the institution of the guilds, which substituted for the Western contracts and bankruptcy laws. This mutual responsibility provided the necessary surety in trade.

Lind pointed out the possible risk in applying European law to the Chinese. In the 1860s, when European institutions and laws were transplanted among the Chinese in Hong Kong, there occurred "a manifest decay in Chinese commercial morality" resulting in "general passion for speculation and overtrading."[14] Lind finally asked "the modest question" whether the constant bankruptcies among the Chinese in the Indies could be traced to similar causes.[15]

Lind selected the chapter on markets for his translation, hoping to find "important regulations concerning Chinese trade" (p. 26), but he was somewhat disappointed in this expectation. Clearly Lind tried to find material on which European lawyers and interpreters of Chinese in the Indies could base their advice, and which could be used for legislation in the Indies. In this respect he did not succeed, but it seems that as a result of his dissertation, the *Qing Code* now became a part of Schlegel's curriculum.

As usual, Lind's dissertation included a list of propositions, in total twenty, three of them concerning the Chinese in the Indies. Two of these agreed remarkably with Schlegel's opinions: no. 1 "Codification of Chinese civil law for the Chinese in the Indies is urgently necessary," and no. 3 "Not correct is the opinion that for a better administration of justice it would be desirable to forbid the Chinese in the Indies to keep their books in Chinese."

Lind was one of the pioneers in the study of Chinese law.[16] Unfortunately, he seems not to have continued his Chinese studies, and he did not publish anything else. After earning his doctorate he worked as a lawyer (*advocaat en procureur*) in Amsterdam. The study of Chinese law, which had started with De Grijs in the 1860s, would later be continued by other Dutch sinologists in the Indies such as J.W. Young and B.A.J. van Wettum, and still later by the better-known M.H. van der Valk, M.J. Meijer, and A.F.P. Hulsewé.

In 1884–5 Schlegel taught another extraordinary student, Simon Hartwich Schaank (1861–1935), a regular East Indies official who had first studied at the Indies Institute in Delft in 1880–2. After passing the Higher Officials Examination in 1882, on 1 November of the same year he was stationed on the East Coast of Sumatra, where there was a large Chinese population that had recently immigrated from China. This motivated Schaank to learn Chinese. He must have met the interpreter Hoetink, who was then stationed in Medan. Seven months later he was appointed Aspirant Controller (*adspirant-controleur*), but another two months later he requested two years' sick leave in Europe, which he obtained on 3 September 1883.[17] According to Schaank's obituary, this was actually because the government had recognised his exceptional talents for learning languages,[18] with the implication that this was a special leave for study. Schaank settled down in Delft and studied with Schlegel for two years.[19] He registered as a student in the Faculty of Arts on 16 November 1884.[20] Regarding this course, Schlegel would later state that Schaank "assiduously followed my classes during his period of leave."[21] As mentioned above, Schlegel reported in 1885 that he taught four students, doubtless including both Lind and Schaank; but in his report on 1885–6, Schlegel only mentioned one student whom he taught Chinese law (Lind).[22] In March 1885 Schaank was probably the author of a newspaper article about the Chinese troubles in Deli urgently pleading for better treatment and higher wages for the coolies.[23] Later that year, in August 1885, he finished in Groningen a scholarly article about the Chinese in Deli, who were mostly Hakka and Hoklo, which seems to be a much enlarged and revised version of the former article, but without the plea for higher wages.[24] After his return to the Indies, he continued to work as an East Indies official in the Outer Possessions in Borneo. But he would keep on corresponding with Schlegel, and in the 1890s he would publish several important sinological works (*see* below).

During the 1880s, Schlegel also taught Chinese to other extraordinary students; in 1888 he wrote to Minister of Colonies Sprenger van Eijk that besides his normal course, there was also a separate Chinese course "intended for ordinary enthusiasts,"[25] but he did not mention the number or names of students.

The expansion of the Chinese library in Leiden University

After the establishment of a chair for Chinese in 1877, Leiden University still lacked a good Chinese library. At that time the university only had some forty Chinese books. Some of these had come from the estates of seventeenth-century scholars such as Scaliger, Vulcanius, and Vossius and

had long since been in the library, but they were more objects of curiosity than of serious study. Moreover, these books were often incomplete parts of larger works.[26]

Until then, only the professor had had a decent Chinese library; Hoffmann already had a large collection of about 100 Chinese books, and Schlegel had a large collection.[27] Schlegel once wrote a few lines about the atmosphere in his library. He described how attractive his library had been to Li Fengbao 李鳳苞, the first Chinese minister to the Netherlands (1881–4), when he visited Leiden on 18 February 1881.[28]

> In those days, nothing interested the former minister Li Fengbao more and made a greater impression on him than my Chinese library and the works on China that I wrote, so much so that instead of visiting the other Museums in Leiden, he lingered on in my study to talk with me about my books, and to exult in my having lit Chinese incense sticks before the small wooden statue of Confucius on my mantelpiece.[29]

Besides, there was of course Von Siebold's collection of Japanese books in the Leiden Ethnographical Museum, which also included books in Chinese. It was only after the Leiden University Library had obtained both Hoffmann's Chinese books and two other collections (including Von Siebold's), that a sizeable Chinese library of more than 220 titles was established, of which Schlegel published a catalogue in 1883.

Within a month after Hoffmann passed away in January 1878, Schlegel wrote to the Trustees of Leiden University:

> The estate of Dr. J.J. Hoffmann, Professor in the Japanese language who recently passed away, comprises a very valuable library, both of original Chinese and Japanese works, and of European works about the languages and the countries in which the speakers of those languages live. It would be highly deplorable, methinks, if this library which has been collected with so much trouble, time and financial sacrifice, would be scattered by public sale and become lost for our country.
>
> In the library of Leiden University there are no or almost no Chinese and Japanese works, as a result of which those wishing to study these languages, or wish to know something about China and Japan, are obliged to either purchase such obviously very expensive works, or do without them.[30]

After a special request had been made to the Minister of Home Affairs, this was immediately approved. Serrurier and Schlegel were asked to compile catalogues of the Japanese and Chinese books, and the whole collection was purchased for *f* 5,000.[31] It included roughly 100 Chinese books, 200 Japanese books and 200 Western books about China and Japan. A few weeks later, Schlegel made a list of the Chinese books, and Western books about China,[32] and Serrurier one of the Japanese books and Western books about Japan.[33]

Two years later, there came another opportunity for obtaining a valuable

collection of Chinese books. On 15 September 1880, W. Vissering wrote to the Minister of Colonies, Van Goltstein, that Brill's bookshop had received from a diplomat in Peking a collection of Chinese books that they planned to auction. Vissering had been asked to prepare a catalogue[34] and he reported that it was an extremely beautiful and rare collection of large standard works, each comprising numerous volumes representing all fields of science and scholarship. He stated that in the Leiden University Library until now there had existed no opportunity to seriously study any Chinese subject. He had experienced this himself in writing his thesis, for which he, with great difficulty and with diplomatic help, had collected materials from Paris, Oxford, and St. Petersburg, which usually could only be borrowed for a short time.[35] He did not mention that for him personally, one of the books in this collection, the *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 which had been the subject of his doctoral thesis, must have been a very welcome addition. Since Chinese was in the first place taught to train interpreters for the Indies, and it was important that their studies should be as fruitful as possible, Vissering urged Minister of Colonies Van Goltstein to purchase the entire collection. The price of *f* 4,000 which Brill asked was reasonable, if one compared it with what foreign libraries had paid for the same or similar books. If needed, a specialist could inspect the books at Brill's bookshop in Leiden.[36]

Because the matter was urgent and Schlegel was probably not in Leiden at the time, Minister Van Goltstein asked Professor Kern for his opinion.[37] Kern replied with a long letter concluding that the purchase of these books, which were comparable to European manuscripts, would highly further Chinese studies in the Netherlands.[38]

Then Van Goltstein wrote to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Jhr. W. Six, that the Ministry of Colonies was prepared to pay half of the costs.[39] Minister Six agreed to pay the other half.[40] When Six notified the Trustees of Leiden University that the collection would be purchased, he asked for some information on the importance of these books from Schlegel.[41] A few months later, the Director of the University Library, Dr. W.N. du Rieu, reported Schlegel's and Vissering's opinions to the Trustees, who informed the Minister. The whole collection comprised 50 titles, 2,610 volumes in 200 "original Chinese covers." There were dictionaries, encyclopaedias, books on history and geography, law and government, philosophy and literature, Manchu texts, works on epigraphy and numismatics, on agriculture and sericulture. Some of these books were not even extant in the library of the British Museum. Du Rieu's conclusion regarding the present Chinese library in Leiden was: "According to our Sinologists it has been promoted to one of the foremost Chinese libraries."[42]

In November 1880, when L. Serrurier became acting director of the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden,[43] he suggested to Du Rieu to transfer the majority of Japanese and Chinese books of the Von Siebold collection from

the Ethnographical Museum to the University Library.[44] This collection included about 500 works described in Hoffmann's catalogue of 1845,[45] but also later additions and some 40 Chinese books from the Royal Cabinet of Rarities which had been incorporated in the Von Siebold Collection in 1860. Du Rieu wrote to the Trustees that it would be more appropriate to keep these books in the University Library since there was now a large collection of Japanese and Chinese books after the recent purchase of Chinese books; moreover, other Asian books on copper plates, palm leaves etc. were also kept in the library.[46] After approval was given by Minister Six,[47] in the spring of 1881 these books were brought to the library. About 500 Japanese books (including maps and many books in Chinese) and 40 Chinese books were transferred. About 200 Japanese items remained in the Museum, since they could be better consulted there. In the yearbook of the university, it was written that these books were now together in a section "China and Japan," in a collection that should be considered unique.[48] The Chinese collection comprised about 220 works, while there were about 700 Japanese items. Perhaps these books were already in the so-called Chinese Room, in which many years later Professor Duyvendak sometimes taught his classes.[49]

Owing to the large number of books, searching them became troublesome, and Du Rieu asked Schlegel and Serrurier to compile catalogues for the Chinese and Japanese books respectively. Schlegel then wrote his *Catalogue des livres chinois qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque de l'université de Leide* (Leiden: Brill, 1883), counting 234 items. These included some Western and Japanese dictionaries, old Sino–Western manuscripts and books in Manchu, so the number of Chinese books was about 220. The books were arranged according to Wylie's traditional Chinese categories. The catalogue is not much more than a simple list of numbered titles in Chinese characters with French transcription in Mandarin[50] and some references to Wylie's catalogue.[51] It was presented at the Sixth Congress of Orientalists in Leiden on 14 September 1883.[52] Serrurier's much more elaborate and detailed catalogue of Japanese books would appear in 1896.[53]

An important addition came just two years later, when J.J.M. de Groot sold for *f* 1,200 to the library 49 books and manuscripts that he had bought in China.[54] Schlegel then compiled a supplement to his catalogue, which appeared in 1886.[55]

Some important later additions were the books that must have been bought at auctions of the libraries of French sinologists, for example those of Maurice Jametel (1856–89), d'Hervey de Saint Denys (1822–92), and Anatole Billequin (1837–94). Via Brill the library bought an edition of the twenty-four dynastic histories in 1893,[56] and via De Groot's student W.J. Oudendijk, who was acting secretary-interpreter at the Netherlands Legation in Peking starting in 1894, a large collection of ministerial regulations[57] and imperial laws[58] in 1896.

J.T. Cremer and the dialect in the Outer Possessions

In 1879, Minister of Colonies O. van Rees had decided to gradually diminish the number of interpreters for Chinese to four. As a result, Schlegel's regular course in Leiden was discontinued for the time being. But five years later the need of interpreters was again felt urgently, now in Parliament, in a written question to the Minister of Colonies by J.T. Cremer about the dialect to be studied for use in the Outer Possessions. The next year, he repeated the question, and also mentioned De Groot's book on the Chinese kongsi system in Borneo as evidence of the urgent need of qualified interpreters in the Outer Possessions.

J.T. Cremer had worked in the Indies for fifteen years (1868–83), from 1870 on at the Deli Company, of which he became General Administrator in 1871. This company had been established in 1869 by J. Nienhuis as the first cultivation company in the Indies, developing tobacco plantations in Northern Sumatra; the labour force mostly consisted of Chinese workers from Guangdong. In 1883 Cremer returned to the Netherlands, and in 1884 he became a member of Parliament.[59]

At the end of 1884, Cremer raised the dialect question in the Provisional Report in one of the sections of Parliament preparing the 1885 budget for the Netherlands Indies. He first stated that the Dutch interpreters for Chinese received practical training only in Amoy, the region from which most Chinese merchants in het Netherlands Indies originated. In the 1870s all interpreters had been trained in Amoy only, and J.T. Cremer must have known one of them, Hoetink, who in November 1879 had been appointed as the first European interpreter for Chinese in Medan (Deli). Cremer asked if it would not be advisable to have one or more interpreters trained in Guangdong (Kwang-Tung) province, since recently there had been large-scale immigration of workers and field labourers from that province.[60] Minister of Colonies Sprenger van Eijk answered in his Memorandum of Reply that the matter would be investigated; moreover he added that now a request had been made by one interpreter to study in China for two or three years. Perhaps this was an opportunity to have this interpreter (J.J.M. de Groot) study "the dialect of Guangdong."[61]

De Groot's scholarly mission to China

In April 1883 De Groot had returned to the Netherlands on sick leave after five years of service in the Indies.[62] He already planned to leave the interpreter corps for good and to pursue a career in scholarship. On 18 November 1884 he requested the Minister of Colonies to send him for two or three years to China to study Chinese social institutions and customs.

His argument was that the Chinese interpreters in the Indies could but very inadequately fulfill the most important part of their duties, that is to inform the Government about Chinese affairs, since—as in his own case—they could only study in China for one year, during which they needed all their time for language studies. In his opinion, there was so much uncertainty about Chinese social institutions and customs that the Government still could not regulate the civil position of the Chinese by law, despite the urgent need for such a legal basis. He would himself be qualified for this project, since he had studied and published about this subject for twelve years. Financially, he would be satisfied if his salary of *f* 400 were continued, to which should be added the usual remuneration for travel in the Indies.

De Groot's request was accompanied by an elaborate *nota*.[63] In it, he argued that since the return of the Indies to Dutch sovereignty in 1815, the Netherlands Indies Government had striven to enlarge its knowledge about its subject peoples as much as possible, and had always adhered to the motto 'Knowledge is power' (*Kennis is macht*), not only supporting scientific associations and expeditions, but also appointing well-salaried officials for language studies. The Chinese interpreters had been given too little time in China to pursue anything but language studies. In the Indies they also could not obtain information about Chinese customs, since all Chinese in the Indies were of lower-class background and were unaware of the meaning of their own customs and customary law. Dutch sinologists had been actively studying various subjects, and De Groot recalled what had until then been published by his fellow interpreters in the Indies on Chinese studies, which were either language studies or works based on the study of books and texts. Now if Chinese customs, institutions and laws had been clearly and completely codified or described, it would not be necessary to study them in China. But unfortunately, there was hardly anything in writing. Only the *Qing Code* gave the overall basic principles of criminal and civil law, but with so few details that it usually was of no great help. Moreover, an all-encompassing civil code for such a large country would be impossible, because the population of 300-400 million people was composed of very different races and tribes (*rassen en stammen*) with the most varied morals, ideas and customs. None of these had yet been described, while local customary law was just as powerful as the *adat* (customary law) in the Indies, or even more powerful. It would be most suitable to send one of the interpreters, who were the only ones who could advise the Government on Chinese affairs, to China to do research on these subjects. This would be the only way to end the uncertainty on the part of the Indies government, and also the situation of lawlessness in which the Chinese were now living. De Groot explained his method and purpose as follows:

> By becoming a civilian with the civilian, a priest with the priest, a farmer with the farmer, he expects to be able to collect information that will enable the said government to get to know better and therefore to suppress more easily the secret societies that are so dangerous for its authority, about which Dr. Schlegel has cleared up much but far from all.[64]

Clearly, De Groot planned to do his research using the ethnological method of 'participant observation,' as it was later commonly called. He added that he was himself the most suitable person for this research, since he had done the same direct observation for his publications about Chinese festivals in Amoy and Buddhist rituals for the dead; and he also wished to study the religious system of the Chinese.[65]

After having answered Parliament that the dialect question would be studied, Minister Sprenger van Eijk let De Groot know that chances of success with the Governor-General would be larger if he would at the same time propose to use his time in China to learn other dialects,[66] which would be Hakka and Hoklo, so that he could train others in these dialects. Therefore on 18 December De Groot wrote a second letter to the Minister. He first explained that there were two main 'tribes' (*stammen*) from Guangdong in the Indies, which should be clearly distinguished. These were the Hakkas, mostly originating from Kia Ying Chow (Meixian), and the Hoklos from Teochiu (Chaochow). According to him, the Hakkas had arrived later in Guangdong from Northern China, and their dialect differed from the other Southern dialects perhaps even as much as Northern and Southern European languages. Hoklo was closely related to the language of Amoy and Tsiangtsiu. The Outer Possessions were almost exclusively populated by these two groups. In the mining districts of Western Borneo the Hakkas predominated, while in Pontianak the Hoklos were in the majority. On the East Coast of Sumatra their numbers were equally divided. For De Groot it would take not more than one year to learn Hoklo, since he had already studied the Amoy dialect. Learning Hakka would normally take more time, but because he had already studied it on Borneo for three years and he could conduct a normal conversation in Hakka, a stay of ten months in Kia Ying Chow would be enough to master the language. Finally, he wrote, the corps of interpreters should probably in the end be split into two sections because of the extensive immigration of these two groups. There should be special interpreters trained for Amoy and Hoklo on the one hand and for Hakka on the other.[67] Schlegel was also consulted by the Minister, and he made known by word of mouth that he strongly supported De Groot's request.[68]

Minister of Colonies Sprenger van Eijk notified Governor-General O. van Rees of De Groot's request, referring to the fruitless efforts at codification of Chinese civil law in the Indies, and the question raised in

Parliament as to whether it would be advisable to train interpreters for the dialect of Guangdong, besides those for the Fujian dialect.[69]

Before answering, Governor-General Van Rees consulted Groeneveldt, who was now honorary advisor for Chinese Affairs, and L.A.P.F. Buijn,[70] the Director of Justice, who was the superior of all interpreters, and finally the Council of the Indies.

Groeneveldt wrote in his advice that De Groot was

> a man of extraordinary competence and a great liking for scholarship who has shown in his important work *The Yearly Festivals and Customs of the Amoy Chinese* that he highly possesses the gift of observation necessary for thorough ethnological studies.[71]

If De Groot would be allowed to stay in Fujian for two or three years, he would certainly come up with important materials for further knowledge of the Chinese who contributed most to emigration to the Netherlands Indies. It would certainly be more profitable to send him to China than to keep him as an interpreter in the Indies, where there were already more than enough interpreters.

But Groeneveldt had objections to the two subjects for further research mentioned by De Groot. He advised against waiting for De Groot's investigation of customary law in China before regulating the social position of the Chinese in the Indies. Although it was highly urgent to better regulate the legal position of the Chinese, there was no need for more information. Since Groeneveldt himself and Albrecht had been studying Chinese personal and inheritance law, and he wished to make a draft text for the law himself, one should not wait for De Groot's return for a new attempt at improvement. The previous efforts at revision (from 1865 to 1877) had failed because of two other reasons. In the first place, they were not in keeping with the actual situation and tried to change certain defects in that situation, giving the legislator the unjustified role of social reformer. Secondly, it had not been sufficiently noted that certain defects in customary law in China, such as the weak position of women, could be compensated by the discretionary powers of Chinese judges, who possessed 'paternal authority.' (This would be impossible in the Indies, where judges had to abide closely to the law.) Groeneveldt suggested that his draft text be considered by legal experts later that year. There was no need to wait for the results of De Groot's investigation, but the study of Chinese law in all its details and other subjects, such as secret societies, would be of direct practical use. According to Groeneveldt, Schlegel had only studied the external features of the latter, and not the essence and purpose of these societies, since he based himself on hypothesis and not on observation; the result was often contrary to experience. It was not certain if De Groot could unveil the mystery of the secret societies, but if anyone could, he was most suitable to do so.

In the second place, there was no need to charge De Groot to study the dialects of Northern Guangdong (Hakka and Hoklo), for which he would need another two years in China, in Groeneveldt's view. There were still a large number of interpreters, and for the time being no new candidates should be trained in other dialects. But when later need arose, the same system that had been used before could best be followed. In this, the students were well taught the basics of the language by a European teacher, and obtained practical knowledge in China. "In the past this path was followed and it did not lead to unfavourable results." If one reverted to this method, De Groot should not need to pursue further studies, regardless of whether students later learned Hokkien, Hakka, or both. Groeneveldt continued:

> It seems to me that other dialects than these two are not necessary in the Indies, since Hoklo is so similar to Hokkien that anyone knowing the latter can soon manage in the former. I know this from personal experience. Because I have never learned more than a few hundred deviating words in Hoklo; inserting these in normal Hokkien, it has never been difficult for me to speak with Hoklos, to understand them and be understood by them.[72]

It would not be advisable to split the corps of interpreters into two groups for Guangdong and Fujian dialects.

> Those who had learned Hakka would have to stay in the Outer Possessions all their lives and would only have a choice between Pontianak, Banka and Deli, while for the others the more desirable positions in the large main towns would be accessible. It would be better if every interpreter would learn both dialects, because they are just as useful in different places; I have done this myself and I can state that there are no great objections, since they are two dialects, and not, as De Groot states, languages with a difference as between Northern and Southern Europe—because the majority of the words are the same, with larger or smaller but always regular differences in form, and for the rest there are only the other differences that can be found elsewhere between dialects of the same language; when one knows one of them, one learns the other soon.[73]

The statement in the report of Parliament that the study of the dialects of Guangdong province had been neglected was incorrect. Hakka, the only dialect from Guangdong that would be suitable, had been studied by Schaalje, Meeter, the late Buddingh, and the late De Breuk, and by himself, while some others had studied it in the Indies.

> If the opportunity presents itself, it could be useful to begin in China with this dialect, because the desire to be stationed in the larger towns would be incentive enough to study Hokkien, which could begin in China and could be continued here to a sufficient level.[74]

According to Groeneveldt, this was ample proof that further study of Hakka or Hoklo would not be necessary for De Groot. He advised to send De Groot to China to study the ethnology of Southern Fujian, and not to study Hakka or Hoklo.[75]

On the other hand, Director of Justice Buijn, the direct chief of the interpreters, wrote that if De Groot was the right person for this mission, it would be advisable to send him to China for three years to study the Hakka and Hoklo dialects, in order to train others. Buijn could not agree with making this scholarly mission subservient to the explicit purpose of studying the social, economic and religious life of the Chinese. He considered all De Groot's arguments incorrect: knowledge about the Chinese was not insufficient in the Indies; the government had only to take into account the customs and traditions of the Chinese in the Indies, not those in China; the Chinese were already subject to Dutch law in many respects, and their customs were respected as long as they did not conflict with Dutch ideas of righteousness and fairness, so there was no situation of lawlessness for the Chinese.

Not uncertainty about Chinese customs, but the advice of Schlegel had been the main impediment to implementation of the regulation of the committee for revising personal law for the Chinese in 1865. Schlegel had advised to devise the new personal and inheritance law for the Chinese on the basis of the regulations in China, and was against using the Dutch system of civil registration (*burgerlijke stand*) for the Chinese.

But Buijn mainly worried that De Groot would discover that somewhere in China women did not have personal rights, and that a father could bequeathe all his possessions to one favourite son, ignoring the daughters, since this could and would be a reason for the Netherlands Indies legislator to recognise rules that were contrary to time-honoured Dutch legal concepts. Buijn disagreed with De Groot's (alleged) statement "that the interpreters should in the first place be advisors to the government about Chinese law."[76]

There would be no objection, it would even be praiseworthy and advisable to give a scholar an opportunity to study China and the Chinese, but it would be wrong to rivet (*vast te klinken*) such a scholary purpose to government plans for reforms in society and legislation. If De Groot had only requested this part, Buijn would have advised against it. But it would be recommendable to charge him to study the Guangdong dialects (Hakka and Hoklo) so that he could train interpreters in those dialects. Those dialects were spoken by an increasing number of immigrants, and knowledge of these languages was in particular important since they were spoken by the most unruly (*woeligste*) Chinese, who also seldom knew the local native languages. Buijn wished to charge De Groot with a three-year mission to learn these dialects. He felt there was no reason to *charge* De Groot with studying the social, economic, and religious life of the Chinese in China. It could be left fully to De Groot's own initiative to study these purely scholarly subjects.[77]

The Council of the Indies was not convinced of the need of a mission to China and expected it to be of little importance for a revision of laws for

the Chinese. According to the Council, De Groot's opinion that there was no general law in China and only local customary law, was exaggerated, but it would not be right to impose the customary law of one group on the other; it would be better to impose Dutch law. This mission was also not necessary for the training of interpreters in Hakka or Hoklo, but the Council agreed with a two-year mission to enlarge De Groot's knowledge of the languages, geography and ethnology (*taal-, land- en volkenkunde*) of China. He should only be given an extra remuneration of *f* 200 per month for travel costs, and not the usual allowance for travel in the Indies.[78]

Der Kinderen was a member of the Council of the Indies and supported these conclusions, but he did not agree with all the contents of their advice. He agreed with Groeneveldt and Buijn as to the legislation for the Chinese in the Indies, expanding on his own efforts for a better regulation of the legal position of the Chinese. And he also agreed with Buijn that De Groot should enlarge his knowledge of the languages, customs and traditions of *Guangdong* because of the large number of immigrants.[79]

On the basis of these opinions, O. van Rees answered the Minister that all officials concerned recognised the importance of De Groot's mission to China, but they thought it should be completely detached from the codification of Chinese law and from learning the Hakka dialect. Van Rees proposed to give De Groot the general assignment of enlarging his knowledge of Chinese language, geography and ethnology. His extra allowance should be *f* 200 per month.[80]

Subsequently, Minister Sprenger van Eijk wrote to De Groot that the Governor-General agreed to allow him, after his return to the Indies, to go to China for two or three years to make a special study of the language, institutions and customs of that part of China from which most Chinese in the Indies originated (Fujian), with an extra fixed allowance of *f* 200 per month.[81] Although in this way both of De Groot's own main arguments for this mission had been rejected—they were probably in the first place meant to obtain government support—De Groot was more than happy with the result. He wrote in his diary that the Minister had notified him

> that the Government in the Indies shall decide favourably on my request of 10 November, but wishes that the purpose of my mission to China shall be the enlargement of [knowledge about] the language, geography and ethnology in China in general. They give me more than I asked for, which suits me perfectly.[82]

Splitting the corps of interpreters?

At the end of 1885, Cremer as a member of Parliament again raised questions about Chinese affairs in the Provisional Report for the Netherlands

Indies budget, now the budget for 1886.[83] These were subsequently answered by Minister Sprenger van Eijk in his Memorandum of Reply.[84]

Cremer remarked that it seemed the Chinese interpreters were not always sufficiently consulted. The riots on Borneo after the abolishment of the Lanfang kongsi (1884) could have been prevented if the government had at the time sought to get sufficient information about Chinese customs before taking measures. This remark was evidently inspired by De Groot's recent book *Het kongsiwezen van Borneo* (1885), which had been written because of these riots and had pointed out serious mistakes in earlier Dutch policy towards the Chinese in Borneo.

To this, Minister Sprenger van Eijk replied, very bureaucratically, that in 1875, when it became clear that as a result of financial problems of the Lanfang kongsi, the government might have to take over its administration, the Chinese interpreter (Roelofs) had been asked for advice. And when the kongsi was dissolved after Liu Asin, the last captain of Lanfang kongsi, passed away in October 1884, the local government also had had a Chinese interpreter at its disposal (A.E. Moll).

Since the mission of one of the Chinese interpreters (De Groot) to China had now been approved, Cremer raised the question whether an allowance of *f* 200 per month would be enough, since the expenses for assistants and travels would be considerable. The Minister answered that to his knowledge there was no reason to suppose it was not enough.

Finally, Cremer remarked that according to his information, this mission was not intended for studying the dialects of Guangdong. He now asked if the investigation of the need to train interpreters in Guangdong that had been promised last year, had been effected and what the results were.

The Minister replied that this question had been studied in the Indies, and that the answer was in the negative: the experts had advised not to train separate interpreters for various dialects. Moreover, it was not necessary because the interpreters could at the same time master several dialects.

The Minister's written answers did not satisfy Cremer, and at the 26th meeting of Parliament on 13 November 1885, as the last speaker he amplified his ideas.[85] Cremer first explained that there were two 'main kinds' (*hoofdsoorten*) of Chinese in the Indies: the Fujianese (Hokkians), mainly on Java, mostly quiet merchants, and Chinese from Guangdong province, the Hakkas and Hoklos,[86] mainly in the Outer Possessions, the West Coast of Borneo and East Coast of Sumatra, etc. However, Cremer stated that the Dutch interpreters had exclusively been trained for the dialect spoken on Java, while there was no training for the dialect of the Outer Possessions—Cremer must have been thinking of Hoetink—which was very different from that of Java. The difference was not like that between the dialects spoken by a person from The Hague and by a farmer from Zee-

land or Drenthe, but rather one from Friesland;[87] it would be incomprehensible. The interpreters trained for Fujian would not at all understand the Chinese from Guangdong. It seemed particularly necessary that there should be good interpreters in the Outer Possessions, as there were many new immigrants and it was important and valuable for the government to know what was going on among them in order to maintain peace and order.

For those who had read De Groot's book on the kongsi system in Western Borneo,[88] Cremer said, it was evident that it would be most important to be well informed in the Outer Possessions. Cremer also knew this from his own experience. From this book it had become clear that excellent officials and military officers who had written their memoirs about the war in Borneo (1850–4) had completely wrong ideas about the Chinese. And how one good advice about contacts with the Chinese could have saved millions of money and hundreds of lives.

Now the Minister had stated in his answer that the interpreters could very well learn these dialects, but Cremer could not believe this, even if it only concerned a superficial understanding of the spoken language. Moreover, their service should go further than conducting a normal conversation, even further than assisting in judicial investigation and interrogation: the interpreters were in the first place advisors, as the Indies government had declared several times. After their language studies the interpreters should also pursue many far-reaching studies (*vele en ingrijpende studies*). Cremer could not believe they could learn all this so easily.

Cremer believed Groeneveldt's advice against splitting the corps had been influenced by the existing rule or custom of appointing the interpreters first in the Outer Possessions and later promoting them to the large towns on Java. But since the interpreters should be trained to converse with Chinese speaking different dialects, almost different languages, who in the Dutch possessions did not mix, it seemed to him that the government should regulate things for the interpreters in the same way as for the officials of the Interior Administration, who were destined either to serve in the Outer Possessions or on Java.[89]

With immigration increasing, the Outer Possessions would offer enough opportunities for transfer and promotion; therefore Cremer suggested that if interpreters were to be trained, in particular for the Outer Possessions, this should take place in Guangdong province.[90] He thought things could not be arranged properly if interpreters were to serve both on Java and in the Outer Possessions.

Later that day, Minister Sprenger van Eijk answered that Cremer's speech caused him great difficulties, since he did not know Chinese. He could not judge the differences between the Chinese dialects. He supposed that Cremer, who probably also did not understand Chinese, based him-

self on expert opinions contrary to those mentioned by the Minister. But Cremer's final words afforded a ray of hope. There would probably be no strong objections against splitting up the interpreter corps. The position of interpreter in the Outer Possessions was very important, the Minister agreed, and Cremer's proposal would certainly be realised if feasible.

Indeed, two months later, on 8 January 1886, Minister Sprenger van Eijk wrote to Governor-General Van Rees, that Cremer had raised in Parliament the question of the training and formation of Chinese interpreters. He stated that, based on the letters from Groeneveldt and others, Cremer's remarks on the study of the various dialects and the method of training need not be considered, but that there were reasons for splitting up the corps of interpreters.[91] Although the idea of splitting, first suggested by De Groot, had been rejected by Groeneveldt, the Minister now still valued it.

Governor-General Van Rees answered that on account of the Minister's memorandum (*depêche*) of 19 April 1879[92]—at the time Van Rees was himself Minister of Colonies, so it was his own memorandum—the Netherlands Indies Government strove to cut back the corps, intending to reduce the number of interpreters to four. This was why the training of interpreters had stopped for quite some time, while some interpreters had been transferred to other positions. Under these circumstances, the Council of the Indies advised against splitting up the corps. Van Rees agreed with their advice and suggested the Minister should abandon that idea.[93] That was what the Minister did, but he also made a complete turnabout in policy.

A new training course

Minister Sprenger van Eijk replied to Governor-General Van Rees that he disagreed with the Ministerial decision of 1879 on reduction of the number of interpreters, because in some circumstances it would be regretted if there were only four reliable European interpreters. The interpreters not only did excellent work in the Orphans and Estate Chambers, but such reliable officials should continuously be present in regions with a large Chinese population, in particular in Deli and Western Borneo. The Minister could not take very seriously his predecessor's statement of 1879 that the interpreters rendered but few services. And if there was not enough work in the linguistic field, being talented men with diligence and perseverance, they could be charged with other functions at the Residency's offices. For these reasons, it should be decided soon to train interpreters again, who should study the various dialects spoken in the Netherlands Indies. The Minister was now expecting a proposal from the Governor-General.[94]

When Van Rees received this letter, he first consulted Director of Justice

Buijn and the Council of the Indies. Buijn proposed that it would suffice to train two interpreters, and only in the Hakka dialect. The Council of the Indies disagreed with Buijn on both points. The Council found the number of two insufficient: "three would not be too many." This was because of the need in the Orphans and Estate Chambers, and in the Outer Possessions such as Banka and in particular the East Coast of Sumatra, where tobacco culture was being extended. As to the dialect to be taught, the Council followed Groeneveldt's opinion. The Council found it necessary to start training now.[95] On the basis of these points, Van Rees replied to the Minister that training in Leiden was again necessary. He suggested that three interpreters be trained.[96]

At the time, there was an economic crisis and the Ministry of Colonies was also cutting expenses. Bureau A of the Ministry remarked that for budgetary reasons the training could not begin in 1887.[97] Moreover, Schlegel should first be asked if he was willing to teach. In May 1887, nine months after Governor-General Van Rees' letter, Minister Sprenger van Eijk asked Schlegel if he was prepared to teach three youngsters at the usual *f* 1,200 per year.[98] Schlegel replied within three days that he would receive this charge with the greatest pleasure.[99] However, it was still to take more than a year before he could start teaching.

The third examination: Ezerman, Borel, Goteling Vinnis, and Van Wettum (1888)

In January 1888, Minister Sprenger van Eijk wrote to Schlegel that the budget now allowed for the training of three youngsters, asking if it should begin in October together with the Academic year. He added that Schlegel would probably be made chairman of the examination committee.[100]

Again Schlegel answered within a few days. He suggested arranging the competitive examination as soon as possible, since several young men had already presented themselves for the examination. The time of beginning of the course was no objection, as this course was kept completely separate from the course for simple enthusiasts (*eenvoudige liefhebbers*). He also immediately produced a list of members of the examination committee.[101]

The announcement was published in the *Staatscourant* of 21 January 1888 (no. 18), stating that the students would be taught by Dr. G. Schlegel, "professor of Chinese language and literature" at Leiden University. They should apply before 15 February.[102]

This time there were 43 applicants, not counting the few who were immediately rejected because they were over twenty years old.[103] Some of the 43 candidates had passed the Higher Officials Examination; at the time there was a surplus of East Indies officials, and many who had passed

that examination were not appointed because of cuts in government expenses.[104] Of the 43 candidates, ten withdrew before the examination. In all, 33 candidates took part, of whom seven quit before finishing. The examination was held from 14 to 28 March and from 5 to 11 April 1888.

From now on, only nine subjects were examined instead of twelve; no subjects were split up, and arithmetic and bookkeeping were combined into one subject. All subjects were examined orally, but the four languages, Dutch history, arithmetic, and bookkeeping were examined in written form as well.

In its report of 14 April 1888, the committee stated that to its regret, the quality of the candidates was much lower than in 1873 and 1875. In those years it was not difficult to choose three highly educated youngsters out of 14 and 7 candidates; this year they could hardly find three out of the 33 candidates. There were only 16 candidates who were attending the HBS, of whom only seven had satisfactory results (20 points or more for the four languages). There were only nine candidates with an average score of 5 or more. According to the committee, these low scores should be blamed on the rashness of the candidates, who were completely unprepared. Those who attended the HBS should have known better, but in the first place the schools and examination committees were responsible for this.[105] The committee proposed in the future to require an examination fee of *f* 25, to be returned only to those who achieved an average score of 5 or higher. In this way the high costs of such examinations could be reduced considerably, and the large number of unprepared candidates would be restricted.

A ranking list was made, based on a combination of the scores and the general knowledge of candidates, similarly to previous examinations. Unfortunately the complete score lists and examination papers are missing in the archives; the committee's report only contains a list of total and average scores of the nine best candidates. For comparison with the earlier examination results with 12 subjects instead of 9, the total scores should be multiplied by 12/9 to yield a 'corrected total.'

rank	Name	total	average	'corrected total'
1	J.L.J.F. Ezerman	66	7 3/9	88
2	H.J.F. Borel	58	6 4/9	77.33
3	E.R. Goteling Vinnis	61	6 7/9	81.33
4	B.A.J. van Wettum	59	6 5/9	78.66
5	J.B. van der Houven van Oort	55	6 1/9	73.33
6	A. Jochim	48	5 3/9	64
7	B.Th.W. van Hasselt	46	5 1/9	61.33
8	J. van Gastel	45	5	60
9	G. Huygens	45	5	60

The committee recommended the first three candidates for appointment as student-interpreter. Although Van Wettum's total score was one point higher than Borel's, the committee considered that he should be ranked lower, since he had an unsatisfactory (4) result for French and this could not be compensated by his higher scores in other subjects. Borel was ranked higher than Goteling Vinnis, whose total score was 3 points more, because of Borel's higher intellectual level (*meerdere verstandelijke ontwikkeling*). In case one or more of the candidates would not pass the medical examination, the committee recommended nos. 4 and 5.

Borel would later write that he was surprised to see the teachers of his former school, the HBS in The Hague, as members of the committee. He had been expelled from that school in 1883 because of disrespect for a new teacher.[106] He thought that he obtained this high ranking because of his wide reading (*belezenheid*), which had in particular impressed Professor J. ten Brink.[107]

Johannes Lodewijk Juliaan Franciscus Ezerman (18) was the son of a shopkeeper who ran a grocery and delicatessen in Dordrecht. Henri Jean François Borel (18) was also born in Dordrecht; he was the son of a field officer (artillery) in the Dutch Army who had fought in the Achinese War on Sumatra (Atjeh War) in the 1870s and would in 1891 become Governor of the Dutch Royal Military Academy (KMA); in 1888 the family was living in Roermond. Eduard Reinier Goteling Vinnis (20) was the son of a Lieutenant Colonel of Infantry in the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (KNIL), who had passed away, and he was now living in Haarlem.[108] Bertus Anton Jacobus van Wettum (17) was born in Stompwijk near Leiden; he was a son of a mathematics teacher and school principal who had passed away in 1882, and he was now living in The Hague.

Nothing is known about the motivations of Ezerman, Goteling Vinnis, and Van Wettum. Perhaps Goteling Vinnis was one of those who had earlier asked to be allowed to study Chinese, since he had been studying law in Leiden since 1887. In any case, a fully paid training course and an assured, well-paid position in the Indies was attractive for intelligent youngsters of little means, in particular in those years of crisis. The wish to see the wide world and to have an interesting career could also have been a motivation, as it had been for De Groot. Borel, who was then living in Roermond, was motivated by an instantaneous impulse; he wrote later that he took part in the examination

> because I wished to be in The Hague for a few days, for no other reason! I did not have the slightest hope of passing, and I did not even think of it.[109]

When all had passed the medical test, Minister Sprenger van Eijk decided to appoint four student-interpreters instead of three. No reason for this can be found in the archives or in the letter to Governor-General Van

Rees, but on the draft letter a note was written in pencil: "It seems not necessary to explain the number of four, since the Governor-General suggested training three, but the Council of the Indies wrote 'at least three'." The reason was probably that the report of the committee was ambiguous as to the ranking of nos. 2 to 4 in a similar way as in 1875, when also one extra candidate had been accepted. Moreover, Sprenger van Eijk was convinced of the urgent need of interpreters. Be this as it may, it would later become clear that this was a wise decision.

Schlegel was also informed that four candidates had been appointed and that the course was to begin on 16 June.[110]

Schlegel disciplining his students and Borel's attitude

Schlegel's third course started on Saturday 16 June 1888, but unfortunately, Schlegel no longer wrote the three-monthly reports to the Minister of Colonies that he had been obliged to submit in the 1870s. There are only the short yearly reports to the University, which will be treated below. He only sent two reports to the Ministry of Colonies, showing that disciplining the students was a problem. Apparently Schlegel did not have the friendly relation with his students that he had had in Van der Spek's time. He was now about fifty years old, while his students were thirty years younger than he, and a generation gap between them had appeared. But the main reason was perhaps the presence of the quick-tempered and boisterous Borel.[111]

After three years of study, when the third group should have been ready to be sent to China, Schlegel wrote his first report to the Minister of Colonies A.E. *baron* Mackay. He announced that the students would need a fourth year of study in Leiden and would only be ready next summer. This was because of their lack of study discipline during the first year:

> The reason that the training of these youngsters takes longer than that of previous students is that, except Van Wettum, they worked badly during their first year and seemed not to realise that they should work *very hard* in order to finish their studies in three years.
>
> The lack of rigid school discipline that is typical of our present *gymnasium* and HBS, has had a very harmful influence on the character of our present-day youngsters. They are not being treated and taught as 'schoolboys' by these institutions, but as 'little university students,' and they are no longer accustomed to their studies and their work being checked as meticulously as by the teachers of the old regime.
>
> As a consequence, it took me almost a year to inculcate in them the rigid discipline which I deem necessary for the training course, fortunately with the result that they have been diligent since then. …[112]

A year later, Schlegel mentioned another reason for their lagging behind, namely that some students were often not living in Leiden and could not

work together daily with the others as he required. And indeed, Goteling Vinnis had lived most of the time in Zoeterwoude, a village near Leiden, while Borel often lived in The Hague, and Van Wettum also lived there for almost a year.[113] Only Ezerman was constantly living in Leiden. Those who lived elsewhere probably came to Leiden only three times a week to attend classes.

A third reason for their slowness was that in 1888 Schlegel had not been officially charged with the supervision of the students' moral behaviour. Therefore, when the next (fourth) group was about to begin their studies in 1892, Schlegel wrote the following letter to Minister of Colonies W.K. *baron* van Dedem:

> It would be advisable, on account of my experience with the previous three students, that the new students should be strictly obliged by your Excellency to take up residence in Leiden during the whole course, since it is necessary that the youngsters study together as much as possible and this would not be feasable if each of them lives in another town and they only come to Leiden on the days of their classes. And it would moreover be advisable if I were officially charged with supervision of their moral behaviour etc., just as in the past (…1873). It seems advisable to me that the said youngsters should be notified of this charge by Your Excellency.[114]

For the first time in the history of the Chinese course in Leiden, one of the students quit before finishing. On 14 March 1890, after one year and nine months of study, Goteling Vinnis requested to be honourably discharged, but without giving any reason. Three months later his request was approved after he had paid *f* 1,025; this was the total amount of the allowances that he had received from 16 June 1888 until the end of February 1890.[115] Two years later, the retired interpreter Meeter, who was mostly living in Leiden in 1888–94, would state that he had given the students a negative picture of their future career in the Indies, and that as a consequence one of them (Goteling Vinnis) gave up.[116] But there may have been other reasons as well. Possibly Goteling Vinnis, who was an artist, could not cope with the pressure of the Chinese course in addition to his law studies.[117] He may actually have been discharged after cutting the obligatory classes.

The main sources of information about the course are Borel's diaries, letters, and other works. Borel kept very extensive diaries, which are now in the Letterkundig Museum (Museum of Literature) in The Hague.[118] Unfortunately, there are no diaries from the first two years of study, and Borel also sometimes stopped writing for several months. Most entries are about his main interests: music, art, literature, friends, girls, and feelings. He did not write much about disciplinary problems or his Chinese studies. Borel's correspondence with Frederik van Eeden also gives little information about his studies.[119]

After Goteling Vinnis left, discipline was tight and the atmosphere in classes was tense, as can be seen from a letter from Borel to Van Eeden in April 1890, in which he apologised for having missed an appointment:

> I would have come myself, but I *must* go to class. The relations are so very tense, that I will be discharged if I'm absent even once.[120]

Studying Chinese was mainly a question of working hard. Many years later in retrospect, he simply referred to his studies as: "I went first to Leiden to grind on Chinese."[121] But as an activity for diverting his attention, his Chinese studies sometimes also gave Borel a haven of rest from his volatile emotions. In that respect it was also an exercise in self-discipline. For instance, he wrote to Van Eeden on 18 March 1890, when he did not succeed in writing literature because his emotions had become too intense:

> Then nothing rests of those beautiful feelings! And then I get serious doubts about myself, and find myself so awful and unfortunate because of my incompetence to create beauty. At such moments, I sit down to do Chinese, and then I think: "take care! boy, that you get there! All those thoughts are wrong and don't help you any further. But this 兒女念媽媽 [*ernü nian mama*],[122] all those impossible scribbles and scrabbles, that's what matters for you."[123]

Still, Borel did not work as hard as he should have. During the last year of his studies, when he was reviewing a text that they had studied earlier, and which originally belonged to the curriculum of the second year, he admitted this:

> This afternoon from 1-3 I've been reviewing Chinese in the Library, the *Sacred Edict*, which we did at the beginning of last year [January 1890], and in March and April [1891], and then I didn't do much.[124]

In April 1891 he wrote in his diary that he was moving to Leiden, and he urged himself to work hard on his Chinese studies, but he had other ambitions as well:

> I'm moving to Leiden on the first of May and I'll put my room in order again. All my books will be restored in their honour. I'll take a fine piano. I *must* study Chinese very hard, there is *no other way*. I *have to* work. After my hours of studying I'll have ample time to write and to read. I have to finish my play that can be put on stage next season (September) and I'll have to finish "Little May"[125] in order to publish it later.[126]

Borel usually did not spend many hours on his Chinese studies, but when he did, he worked very intensely, and sometimes it was even too heavy. Schlegel required his students to study together, and Borel mentioned several times that he studied together with Van Wettum, whom he called by his Chinese name "Putam."[127] Studying Chinese gave him a lot of pleasure. In August 1891 he wrote:

> Yesterday I worked too much on Chinese. Today from 1-3[128] and from 7-8 with Putam. Now tonight I may once put away all that. This sounds very tame and sweet in this diary, but it isn't. Because every little Chinese character is a step closer to Happiness.
> I have put everything Chinese on the shelves. Away from my table. I do not wish to see it any more.[129]

In March 1892, he gave a poetic description of his reveries during Schlegel's class from 1 to 3 P.M., showing that his Chinese studies did not have his undivided attention:

> Thursday, 3 March [1892] 2:30 in the afternoon.
> The professor's voice. Putam's voice. Ezerman's voice. Dry and hard. Wintery. Fossilised sounds of Chinese,[130] older than Sanskrit.
> Outside grey weather, naked branches behind the windows. The clock beats half past two.
> And I'm dreaming of my epic poem. …[131]

Although Schlegel's discipline had a positive effect on study results, it did not make him popular with Borel. At least in his remaining letters and diaries, Borel never showed any liking for Schlegel. His first reference to Schlegel was in a letter to Van Eeden, in which he complained about Schlegel's "cynicism" and "stupidity." This letter has been lost, but Van Eeden's answer dated 20 May 1889 has been kept and was later published by Borel. As often, Van Eeden, who was both a psychiatrist and a literator, showed understanding for Borel's psychological and spiritual problems, and tried to guide and comfort him:

> Now I believe I know in which condition, in what "Sturm und Drang" your mind is at the moment. I remember something like it in myself, but that is more than ten years ago. It is the Byron period, the Weltschmerz-, the Werther-period, "the black time" as Beets called it. No wonder that you are so deep into it, because of your many sufferings, and because of the not very fortunate influence of cynical and weak minds such as Schlegel and Ezerman. But thank God I can see that you are stronger than those two and that your healthy vitality grows on regardless.
> Therefore I have to say to you explicitly: "Don't let yourself be fooled by all that pseudo and sinister,[132] don't let yourself be fooled by the cynicism of your stupid professor." …[133]

A month later, Borel showed his dislike for Schlegel as a teacher. When Van Eeden had become a member of the venerated Society for Netherlands Literature (*Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*),[134] Borel wrote to him on the same day (20 June 1889):

> You have been nominated as a member of the Society for Netherlands Literature!!! At the same time as Swart Abrahamsz![135] And do you know *who* also participated in the *voting*? Prof. Schlegel, my type of Sledgehammer! I cannot 'take' it.[136]

A year later, Borel wrote to Van Eeden that he often still felt hurt by Schlegel. On the other hand, he felt even more hurt by his father and by former (unworthy) friends whom he tried to get rid of. He wrote in his letter of 19 April 1890:

> Recently I was faced with a lot of unpleasantness by my father, and by all those youngsters here whom I have dropped because they hurt me so awfully, even more than Schlegel does, and I wasted my time and my temper. They would never admit such a thing and now they are teasing me. Very annoying, such chuckling and jeering around me, but in fact it is harmless, it is even a little good-natured.[137]

In the same letter, Borel mentioned a row that took place during Schlegel's class. It was the result of a conflict between Borel and Professor Ten Brink:

> Ten Brink has vented his anger about me to Schlegel. A scene during class. It was screamingly funny, and Ezerman and I gloated intensely over it.[138]

The next year, Borel even expressed a moral verdict on Schlegel. He believed it was not right to accommodate oneself to him, and he disapproved of his fellow students who in his opinion compromised themselves. But on the other hand, he also was grateful to them for their help. He wrote in his diary in December 1891, when describing all his friends:

> Van Wettum and Ezerman—to whom I owe very very much, oh! so much—are afraid and obsequious and very timid towards Schlegel, who is a very evil man.[139]

This may have been the reason why during their studies in Leiden, Ezerman and Van Wettum at Schlegel's request compiled an article for *T'oung Pao*, while Borel did not take part. In 1890, *T'oung Pao*, the first sinological journal in the Western world, had been founded by Schlegel and Henri Cordier, and it was printed at Brill's in Leiden. Schlegel often contributed to the journal, and also gave his students the opportunity to make a contribution. In 1891 Ezerman and Van Wettum published "An alphabetical list of the emperors of China and of their year-titles or nien-hao."[140] Perhaps Borel just lacked the patience to compile such a list.

A few years later when they were studying in China, it became clear that Borel's relation with Schlegel was not so bad after all. Borel kept up a frequent correspondence with his professor, and both he and Van Wettum also published articles in *T'oung Pao*.[141] So, in hindsight, Borel's opinion about Schlegel was not entirely negative, as will be seen in the next section.

Schlegel's teaching methods and Borel's studies

Schlegel still taught his students six hours per week, probably on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, for two hours from 1 to 3 P.M. at his home,

Rapenburg 51.[142] The curriculum was basically the same as in the 1870s. He again began first teaching his four students the "spoken colloquial" (of Tsiangtsiu) during June and July 1888.[143] In the following academic year he taught "the spoken language of the Tsiang-tsiu dialect, Chinese moral maxims and oral translations from Dutch into Chinese." In the (full) second year, he continued teaching the spoken language, adding translation from Chinese into Dutch, to three students. In the third year the curriculum included "translation from Chinese into Dutch, translation of Dutch essays and stories into Chinese (written and oral), and exercises in the Chinese spoken language."[144] In the last year, he taught "Old-Classical Chinese style, letter style, Chinese accounting, commercial correspondence." Languages of instruction were Dutch and, in the first and fourth year, also Chinese.[145]

As in the 1870s, he did not teach Mandarin, since that was not considered necessary. In any case, he could hardly speak Mandarin. Borel wrote later:

> Even one of the greatest sinologists, of whom the Netherlands can be proud, Prof. Dr. G. Schlegel, told us in his classes that he (who only spoke a few Southern Dialects) could not converse with Chinese diplomats and scholars from the North, whom he met at congresses, since he was not able to speak Mandarin.[146]
>
> At conferences he communicated with Mandarin Chinese using pencil and paper.[147]

The students still copied Schlegel's Tsiangtsiu handbook, which took three years for the slow third group: Van Wettum's copy has on the first page the date 17 June 1888, the second day of the course, and on the last page 15 August 1891.

In the 1870s, Schlegel had complained several times that there were no good language tools for the students. But in 1888, three of the four volumes of Schlegel's Dutch–Chinese dictionary had appeared, and the fourth volume would be completed in 1890.[148] This must have been a great help to the students in making translations from Dutch into Chinese. Moreover, Francken and De Grijs's Amoy–Dutch dictionary had appeared in 1882, and although it was not as good as Carstairs Douglas' dictionary, it was certainly useful. Of course, the students would also make use of Williams' and Douglas' dictionaries.

In Borel's letters to Van Eeden, he never mentioned the contents of his Chinese studies. And in his diaries there are only a few references to Chinese and Western texts which were part of the curriculum, all dating from the last year of his studies.

In July 1891, Borel very casually wrote about his translating a fairy tale, showing how he studied together very agreeably with Van Wettum. He also fantasied how he would impress his girl friend's family with the Chi-

nese characters in his diary, and he showed care for his fellow student in a way which some may now find sentimental:

> By the way, now something else. I really, really even did some Chinese with Putam. Translated, oh, that lovely fairy tale by Grimm "The willow-wren and the bear" *Xiong yu qiaofuniao* 熊與巧婦鳥 into Chinese.[149] …
> How droll to see Chinese in this diary. You see, that's what I have to "buy" my little wife with from the barbarians[150] and their "conventions" …
> I hope that it did some good to Putam to be here, where it is so lovely and full of beauty. We were sitting very enjoyably, with a little cup of coffee and our favourite cigarettes from Algiers (Chebly).[151]

Half a year later, on 2 January 1892, he was again in the university library studying the *Sacred Edict*, and also a new text, the *Qing Code*. Borel described a typical day of his student life. This description shows how he enjoyed his Chinese studies, which were as usual embedded in his many other activities, such as translating Plato,[152] playing the piano, etc.:

> That is how I live these days. It is not good like this, I should get up earlier and go to bed earlier, but if I'm not taking too many risks, I can still keep on this way. I get up around twelve, and then have breakfast, reading in the newspaper or a novel for a while. At half past one I am working on my Chinese in the university library: *Shengyu* 聖諭 *Da Qing lüli* 大清律例, that is the *Sacred Edict* of Emperor Kangxi and the *Civil Code* of the Chinese. When I'm busy with these, I am completely submerged in it. It is so wonderful to find one's way through all those little strokes, it really gives me pleasure. I'm sitting there until half past three. Then take a walk, and play the piano at home. At half past five dinner—Sometimes read the newspapers and the *Amsterdammer*[153] in Café Neuf,[154] but very rarely. Right away home again—Make tea—Work on Plato, and review the Chinese of that afternoon once again completely—The rest of my time is divided among playing the piano, translating Plato, and reading (other works of Plato, Shelley and Milton, nowadays). Go to bed around three o'clock, sometimes half past three.[155]

A few days later he gave a detailed description of his room, mentioning one Chinese book on his table: "The Book of Songs *Shijing* of the Chinese, bound in snake skin with gold, in beautiful colours."[156] It was lying on top of the heavy folios of Plato. It was probably Legge's translation.[157]

During their last year they also studied the *Four Books*, at the same time consulting Legge's translations. Probably inspired by Schlegel's criticism of the translations by others, Borel had ambitious plans for making new and better translations of the Chinese classics, although at the time his Chinese was not yet good enough and his opinions seem 'impressionistic' and subjective. A few years later he would indeed publish his translations of Confucius and Mencius, the first Dutch translations made directly from the Chinese :

> This afternoon in the Library I continued translating Plato, and I also studied Confucius and the Chinese classics. I'm beginning to discover treasures

> in these. But it's oh so difficult. I must find everything myself, because those translators—mostly British missionaries or professors—can only translate literally, but they do not understand it. Their translations are mostly nonsense, and the strange thing is that they themselves add notes in which they say that they do not understand much of it, and complain "that the Chinese text is so obscure." But that text is much less obscure than their soul. I am now beginning to fathom those books, but my Chinese is not yet good enough. I will make translations—good ones—of these within five years, that is a great, Good work.[158]

In March 1892, just before the end of his studies in Leiden, Borel was reviewing the story "Tenth Daughter Du sinks in wrath a chest full of treasures" (*Du Shiniang nu chen baibaoxiang* 杜十娘怒沉百寶箱) from *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀. Perhaps he made use of Van Wettum's manuscript Chinese text, transcription, and translation, which is now in the Borel Archives.[159] He appreciated its literary and human values, in contrast with De Groot and even Van der Spek almost twenty years earlier. He quoted a poem in full and translated it into Dutch:

> In the library, in the afternoon. / I'm again reviewing an old story, from the *Jingu qiguan*, which contains very nice stories and legends. I'll write down the following things, these are very fine poetry: 渾身雅艷遍體嬌香, 兩灣眉畫遠山青, 一對眼明秋水潤, 臉如蓮萼, 唇似櫻桃, 可憐一片無瑕玉, 誤落風塵花柳中。 It is a description of a very pretty, Good girl, who because of misadventure had got onto the wrong track, and ended up in a low-down house: "Her whole body was elegant and pretty / Her whole body was lovely and fragrant. / Her curved eyebrows were like the contours of far-away blue mountains. / Her eyes were clear and soft like the water in autumn. / Her cheeks were like the calyx of the lotus. / Her lips were like red cherries. / How sad that such a spotless gem had chanced to end in wind and dust." How beautiful this is! How pure.[160]

In the margin he made a note showing his interest in Buddhism, which had recently been aroused: "The character for 'lotus,' the symbol of the Chinese Buddhists is: 蓮 Liên (5th tone)."[161] But following this elegant poem there was also an earthier note typical of Schlegel: "It is peculiar that the Chinese also say 'taken,' i.e. made a virgin into a woman 破瓜 [*pogua*], i.e. to break the flower."[162]

As in the past, Schlegel's curriculum strictly speaking contained nothing but language studies,[163] but he also inculcated his students with his ideas about China, the Chinese, Chinese philosophy, even modern politics and many other things. Although in his diaries Borel sometimes wrote about Chinese objects of art, he only twice showed a broader interest in Chinese matters. In December 1891, he expressed his sympathy for a Chinese rebellion against the Manchu government, and at the same time gave vent to his aversion to Christian missionaries and European hypocrisy towards China. These opinions were similar to those of Schlegel,[164] and the diary

notes were probably mostly an account of what he had heard in his class, which had aroused fiery emotions in him. Borel later expanded on these ideas in newspaper articles and in "De Chineesche Kwestie" (1900).

> Something very beautiful is happening in China. Since centuries and centuries there is a great, heavy, mean Oppression over there. The ruling Dynasty is not Chinese but Manchu-Tatar, the Taï-Tsing (大 ...) who even before …[165] entered China and conquered the country. The people, seemingly free, are being exploited and maltreated by the Mandarins serving the Emperor. Therefore that great people (400 million) stood still after they were much further developed than we before Christ was born. Now it *finally* has come to an outburst. When in one province a Mandarin again gave orders to carry off women and girls, the people rose up in revolt. It spread over all of China, and it is a beautiful War of Liberation for which I Oh! have such beautiful feelings.
>
> *Of course* it is accompanied by ugly things, for instance the killing of Christians etc., but that always happens when the people rise in revolt, after so many years of oppression (for instance in 1789).[166] But then, the missionaries should better stay away. The Chinese did not invite them to come. It's none of their business there. They do not content themselves with all that cant and hypocrisy like here all over Europe, where all the barbarians sing psalms on Sunday etc. Everywhere the missionaries come, they sow discord. They destroy whole families, pit people against each other, and all such mean intrigues in order to breed more Christians. (Christianity has always *everywhere* caused murder, fire, and dissension.) Although, like *always*, the manner is not purely beautiful and sometimes horrible, the rebellion itself is an act of great beauty, the struggle of Justice against Injustice, of Freedom against Oppression. It is the beautiful, great Revolution, like it just happened in Chile,[167] and like it will also happen here some time. The beautiful principle of Love and Freedom for which Shelley and all Good People have struggled.
>
> Now you[168] will probably have gained a different impression from what for instance those newspapers write. Those good, virtuous European powers among whom "a cry of outrage came up." Oh! Oh! How virtuous they are. Do you know why they would shoot and fight? For their dirty *money*. Because they are afraid the harbours will be closed again and then they can no longer traffic in opium with which they poison and kill the people. For anything happening or not happening there in China, Europe doesn't give a damn. It's the money. …[169]
>
> Now if you know all this, and more, then you could scream for laughter, but you should also scream about so much perfidity and presumption, when you read how the allied civilised European fleet is now in Chinese waters, because in China a few of those hypocritical missionaries just happened to lose their lives in such a beautiful, great Revolution against Tyranny and Exploitation.
>
> But probably the fleets cannot do anything about it and the revolution will be victorious. If a hundred thousand Chinese are killed by European bullets, there are still enough to throw all those European intruders and the tyrants back into the sea. The Future will show more of all this.[170]

In the spring of 1892, a few months before he left for China, Borel became interested in Buddhism. According to his diary, he was inspired by a lecture

by his friend Frederik van Eeden about "Theosophy in England."[171] The lecture had been given at Minerva, the Clubhouse of the Student Corps in Leiden, on 19 February 1892. It had been organised by the sub-association Doctrina.[172] Borel noted in his diary:

> He gave an outline of the new philosophy, Theosophy or Neo-Buddhism. Very, very important. About the soul and the body. About the now almost proven fact that *through* the ages some people *really* were in fellowship with God, and had been initiated into the highest mysteries. People who knew *what* and *how* the soul was, and who could really make their soul *leave* their body and move for enormous distances in a second. Those initiates, adepts, were for instance Vishnu, Buddha, Jesus, Paul, Moses, Pythagoras, Plato, etc.[173]

Inspired by the lecture, Borel borrowed from the library a book on Buddhism, *Manual of Buddhism* by Spence Hardy, "a very wise and I believe Good scholar."[174] He translated some stories about the Buddha for his girl friend (Christine Zurhaar), and looked forward to his stay in China, where he would have good opportunities to study Buddhism. This latter he must have heard from Schlegel. It was probably the first expression of his romantic adoration for China.

> I have already proven that I am very happy that she is so fond of that story about the Buddha by translating another similar very large passage for her. We shall in China see and hear much more about the Buddha. There are thousands of Buddhists in China. In Amoy and Tsiangtsiu, where we will go, there are many Buddhist monasteries and temples—of course, sublimely built, with wonderful sculptures and all kinds of objects. I'll talk with Buddhist monks, and shall surely get to know a lot of beautiful and new things.[175]

In his diaries and letters, Borel had never referred to Schlegel in a sympathetic manner. Perhaps he did feel appreciation, in particular during his last year of study, but he did not write about it. After his appointment in the Indies, he also disclosed the positive effects of Schlegel's teaching. In a letter to the editor of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (*NRC*) dated 21 December 1894, he showed his indebtedness to Schlegel and his lectures. The letter was published a month later on 23 January 1895, and although its main theme was criticism of Schlegel's views on the Sino–Japanese war of 1894,[176] he began as follows:

> In China it is fitting that a student shows veneration for his teacher, as much as to his own father. Professor Schlegel is my teacher. It was he who with his unequalled tact and his captivating friendliness, initiated me into the mysteries of the Chinese language. His class hours were no gloomy, stuffy things, but they were full of enlightening wisdom and intimate exchanges of ideas. … and from him I learned to understand the sublime beauty of Chinese literature and philosophy.[177]

Borel was even impressed by Chinese ethics to the extent that he began his article by showing the respect indebted to a teacher in Chinese fash-

ion. Clearly, Borel's romantic admiration for China had been fostered by Schlegel:

> Prof. Schlegel is known as a hearty admirer of the Chinese, whom he praises to the skies everywhere, right or wrong. I still know how I visualised the Chinese as a result of his warm ideas, a picture of a perfect people with Old-Testament virtues.[178]

Compared with his letters and diaries during his studies, Borel would later characterise his teacher in a more mature and sedate manner, just as De Groot did in his later years. In the 1911 article in which he sharply criticised De Groot, he praised his former teacher Schlegel as "one of the greatest sinologists, of whom the Netherlands can be proud."[179] And finally, in 1925, when writing about his Chinese and Dutch teachers, he simply said:

> my teacher in Europe, in Leiden, was a very dignified, learned professor, with a ribbon in his buttonhole,[180] and he lived in a large house on the Rapenburg.[181]

Borel's life in art and culture

During his student years, Borel actively took part in cultural life in The Hague, where he also lived for long periods. His artistic interests were very broad: music, theatre, literature, painting, objects of art. His interest in literature, of course, shared the most common ground with his Chinese studies, as soon as he was advanced enough to read Chinese literature.

In literature he was mainly inspired by his good friend Frederik van Eeden (1860–1932), a famous Dutch writer, philosopher and social reformer, who was one of the protagonists of the Eighties Movement (*Beweging van Tachtig*). This movement had been launched by Van Eeden together with the poets Willem Kloos[182] and Albert Verwey[183] and others, and strove for a renewal in poetry and prose, but also in art and society. In 1885 they established the literary journal *De Nieuwe Gids* (*The New Guide*), since they could not have their works published in the authoritative literary journal *De Gids* (*The Guide*, 1836–). The esthetic principles of their movement can be summarised as adoration of Beauty as the purpose and essence of art, the principle of *l'art pour l'art*. They rejected the moralising poetry of the previous generation, in particular the 'clergymen's poetry' of Nicolaas Beets and others, and strove to separate art from morality, using purely esthetic criteria for judging art. The movement was also open to new artistic trends such as French Impressionism and Naturalism. It has sometimes been styled the Dutch version of Impressionism. Originally it was an extremely individualistic movement, but later some members also sympathised with socialism and communism, and the importance of

ethics was again recognised. It had a stimulating influence on literature, despite its sometimes overly extreme word-craft. In 1894 the movement as such ended when Kloos left after internal conflicts.[184]

Frederik van Eeden had studied medicine in Amsterdam, and hypnosis and suggestion-therapy in Paris, and he worked as a psychiatrist. During his studies in Amsterdam he had come into contact with Kloos, Verwey and others. In 1885 he published in *De Nieuwe Gids* his famous *De kleine Johannes* (Little Johannes),[185] a romantic, idealist, symbolic fairy tale, characterised by a great love of nature (Frederik's father was a botanist) and true simplicity and freshness. It was translated into several languages, and a German translation was even translated into Chinese.[186] Through this story and other lyrical, epic, and dramatic works, Van Eeden became a writer of exceptional importance for Dutch literature and for Dutch national culture. He was also an artist of modern complexity, uneven and unbalanced, a man of contrasts. He wrote much and with ease, but this 'ease' sometimes unfortunately conveyed a distinct sense of self-congratulation, leading the reader's attention away from the subject treated directly to the person of the author. Van Eeden was a man of universal interests including social and religious matters in addition to literature.[187]

After Borel came into contact with Van Eeden, he would be an almost life-long friend, and during the first years of their friendship Van Eeden was in many respects his spiritual mentor and advisor.[188] Their first contact was in January 1889, when Borel and Ezerman sent a letter to Van Eeden after reading *Little Johannes*. Borel also sent Van Eeden the first draft of his novel *Het jongetje* (*The little boy*).[189] This autobiographical novel about his love for a girl leading to his expulsion from the HBS in The Hague was later published in 1898;[190] it was at the time very popular and went through at least five reprints. Many years later, Borel would write about Van Eeden's answer:

> Thank God he did not write about its literary value (which was at the time almost absent), but its human value. The human factor has always connected me to Van Eeden, not only the literary.[191]

In his diaries Borel often commented on works of literature, mentioning Paul Verlaine (1844–96), whom he once invited to give a talk in Leiden, and also Keats, Van Eeden, Balzac, Zola, and many others. Borel was already active as a creative writer, writing his novel, poetry in various styles (some poems were later published in *De Gids*) and a play. But at the end of his life, in retrospect, he would state that he was more of a literary critic than a writer.[192]

Borel would later write that actually his main interest was music,[193] in particular Bach and Wagner.[194] He would often go to concerts in the Kurhaus Concert Hall in Scheveningen, writing down the programme in his

diary. He loved to play the piano, and he often played together or in turns with his fellow students Van Wettum and Ezerman.

He was also deeply interested in modern and older painting; in his diaries he often commented on exhibitions or paintings that he had seen, and painters whom he had visited. He also had a small collection of paintings, etchings and art objects, which he cherished.

Art was extremely important for Borel and took up much more of his attention than his Chinese studies, but this subject is too broad and complex to be treated here fully. Much of Borel can be better understood through an artistic credo which he divulged once in his diary, although his interests were even wider. In this, he described his relation to art and his belief in art, showing both his doubts and sufferings, his heroism and contempt, his passion and elitism. The intensiveness of his feelings betrays the artist he was himself:[195]

> Art has for some time been for me the romantic, the exotic, the life of courageous, invincible knights, of maidens pure as roes, of magic castles, and evil spirits, of Indians and trappers. That was when I was ten and fourteen, and much later also.
>
> Later I was alone, and I was rolled about by Life like a little boat on a raging sea. The passions, the deadly sins stood suddenly before my eyes, so mighty and great and tempestuous, that I rushed with a scream of pain and happiness into sinful life, in order to perish beautifully and titanically. Then I loved Byron, and *La terre*[196] and everything that continued suffering and living strongly and proudly, with large eyes full of hate or indifference.
>
> In very superior moments I loved Keats, and Shelley, and Milton. With great fervor I hated the public, which venerated De Genestet as the chosen of Parnassus, and which sneered with a little smile at Kloos and Van Deyssel,[197] for the public which applauded Gillet and Strauss, and which I saw yawning and pouring tea at Wagner and Berlioz, for the public that came with its sickening petty arguments of fine respectability and all kinds of 'principles of art' to wage the grotesque war against mighty works of art such as *La terre*, and *Liefde* (*Love*),[198] where it saw its own sneakily concealed passions gloriously and cruelly revive, in shameless, fiery nakedness.
>
> Then I came to regard extreme Realism as the One True Art, seeing Life beautiful and great in sin and love. … I liked to share voluntarily in the suffering life of shameless sinful women, and I intended to become the poet of the voluptuous flesh, of the loveless hearts. My religion was the religion of Hate and Contempt. …[199]

Borel's personal and student life

Henri Borel's family background had a profound influence on him. With his father he not only shared his love for music, but also his rebellious nature. His father, G.F.W. Borel (1834–1907), had a career as an artillery officer in the Dutch army, and he was twice stationed in the Indies,

the second time during the Atjeh War of 1873–5. After his return to the Netherlands he, a captain, criticised the policy and tactics of his highest superior, the venerated General Van Swieten,[200] which was a courageous act at the time; it brought him a lot of suffering but also many friends.[201] In October 1891 he became Governor of the Royal Military Academy (KMA) in Breda. Henri Borel often had conflicts with his father, but he deeply loved his mother, Suzanna Elisabeth Marcella (1839–1910), who suffered from depressions.

Henri was himself an extremely intelligent and sensitive child, but he was also sentimental, quick-tempered and boisterous. During his studies, he suffered from intense and deep fluctuations of emotion. His interest in literature and art gave him inspiration and recognition for his fiery emotions, and Van Eeden was an ideal older friend for him, being both a creative writer and a psychiatrist. During his studies in Leiden and China, Borel wrote sixty-five letters to Van Eeden, while Van Eeden wrote thirteen letters to Borel.[202] Besides writing letters, they also met each other often in Leiden, Amsterdam, and Bussum.

Borel wrote extensively about literature, art and his personal problems in his letters to Van Eeden, showing the whole spectrum of his emotions. Soon after they started corresponding in the beginning of 1889, Borel wrote him on 23 April 1889 complaining that he had not received a letter from him for some time. He was desperate because of this, and also because his mother was again to be hospitalised. At that time his Chinese studies seemed without any sense:

> I have been angry with you. At the beginning of last week I was at home in an awful mood for four days consecutively. … And I am so insignificant, so miserable, I can do nothing. I'm learning Chinese! It's infuriating. … I wish to scream for fear, now, through the very long, dark Breestraat,[203] where the rain falls down ominously with a sinister rhythm, I wish to cry out, in the middle of the dark night, so that people will shiver with chattering teeth in their beds. So, are they going to take her away from me again, again, again?[204]

No direct answer to this letter has been preserved, and the next letter by Van Eeden, dating from 20 May 1889, shows that it was also for him not so easy to deal with Borel. By that time Borel's mother was already much better. This letter shows how Van Eeden treated him with patience, understanding and honesty:

> I didn't write you until now because I was not able to face it. It is my experience that you often misunderstand me and are offended easily by things that are not meant to offend at all. … In order to clarify your understanding, to bring more order into your thoughts, to end the confusion in your thinking and feeling, a long series of letters or conversations during a long period would be necessary. …[205]

In this letter Van Eeden also comforted Borel, who felt hurt by Schlegel and Ezerman. Van Eeden understood his complex train of thought and showed confidence in him:

> It is very nice of you, but fortunately not correct, to think that I only contradicted you out of the goodness of my heart but actually fully agreed with you. I might perhaps do so with a patient, whom I considered too weak to take the truth, but not with you. You are sensitive, but not weak. You will not break down under your distress and worries, but you will continuously become stronger.[206]

Not many of Van Eeden's letters have been preserved from the time of Borel's studies in Leiden, but in each of them Van Eeden reacted in a calm, sedate way to Borel's cries for help. Later, in 1892, Van Eeden comforted and advised Borel as follows:

> I hope that you do not know how rare they are, youngsters like you. But they are rare. You lack self-discipline and worldly wisdom, but you can still obtain both of these. For the rest you are a fine boy.[207]

From his early youth, Borel was extraordinarily fascinated by women. During his studies in Leiden he often wrote about his girl-friends. In the beginning he also met with less reputable girls, such as singers (*chanteuses*) in the *cafés-chantants*. Once he wrote he had visited a girl friend, "a sweet, soft little singer, but not for money," adding: "those girls are fond of me."[208] Perhaps also under the influence of Van Eeden, Borel changed his habits. Almost a year later, on 18 March 1890, he wrote in a letter to him:

> It is fortunate for me that I turned away from my earlier habits of frequenting *cafés-chantants* and other ugly things. My material life is very, very decent and my only dissipation is a fine cigar or a single glass of beer. I have developed a strong aversion to all those ugly things that I formerly used as a narcotic, and those people here never see me again and no longer understand anything of me.[209]

But he kept his fascination with women, sometimes wondering why. On 13 December 1890 he wrote in his diary, when he had been skating on the Pond in The Hague:

> Now there, when I was at the first Pond with Van Wettum and about to go home, suddenly the blue girl with her golden hair came and said: "Hello Henri" (that name she heard from Amaatje). And then I almost went crying on the ice. Fortunately Putam didn't notice it. I had forgotten everything, of her environment. She was something new, something blond, something girl, something angel.
>
> I was so happy. I gave her my hand and walked with her for a moment. I said she was so sweet. I looked at her in such a manner that she should have kissed me like a little sister, but she didn't. I don't wish to know what she was thinking, but she liked me very much. [page cut out] How soft she was, how warm, how very blond, and how small she still was. Suddenly she was my

> honey. And it often happens like that. Why would it be so? … Actually I don't care why this is so, anyhow I can't do anything about it.[210]

Some time in 1890, he became acquainted with the 18-year old Christine Zurhaar, which brought about a new phase in his emotional life. She had received little formal education and felt deep admiration for Borel. She became his girlfriend, and in February 1891 he wrote to Van Eeden that he was very happy with her.[211] But it would have been untypical of Borel if no other problems arose. The next month he wrote to Van Eeden: "Now she has returned to her parents and I have to marry her because she has been my wife."[212] Her father only allowed Borel to see her once a week on Sundays to take a walk, but this was unacceptable for him.[213] Then her father required Borel to promise in the presence of two witnesses that he would marry her.[214] The situation remained in an impasse until Christine's elder sister helped to find some viable arrangement. At Borel's request, Van Eeden tried to intervene several times; he also met Christine's parents twice, but to no avail.[215] When Borel asked him later, he refused, since there was nothing he could do.[216] Another half year later, after Borel entered the Colonial service, he finally married Christine Zurhaar on 8 June 1892. They went to live in Delft[217] for a few months, and in August she accompanied him to China. Borel was the first sinologist to take along his wife to China. This was again a nonconformist decision on his part. In view of his volatile and sensitive nature, it was also a wise one.

When Borel described his friends in his diary on 15 July 1891, he called Van Eeden his 'best friend.' His other two best friends at the time were B.J.F. Varenhorst (1858–1930), the teacher of Dutch language who came to the HBS in The Hague in 1883, with whom Borel had had the conflict leading to his expulsion, and whom he had met again by chance. The third best friend was the artist Johan Thorn Prikker (1868–1932), with whom Borel would correspond for several years after he left Leiden in 1892.[218] Some other friends were the poet Robert Stellwagen,[219] the student at the Indies Institute in Leiden G.J. Staal,[220] and the pianist and former classmate in The Hague Karel Textor.[221] Finally, Borel also mentioned his two remaining fellow students, Van Wettum and Ezerman, as good friends to whom he owed very much.

From his letters to Van Eeden, it becomes clear that his fellow students were not as important as his other friends, although to a certain extent they shared Borel's interests in literature, art and music, and often accompanied him to concerts and other activities. All three played the piano, and when they were together, they liked to play by turns, listening to each other. Borel also played duets (à quatre mains) with Van Wettum.[222]

The first letter from Borel to Van Eeden in 1889 was written together with Ezerman, and later Borel took him along to see Van Eeden and often

mentioned him in his letters. But in the meantime, both in his letters and in his diaries, he often wrote that he felt a growing aversion to Ezerman.

> I like Ezerman less and less. Perfidious without knowing it himself, egoist, small, ugly and just because of some beautiful things it becomes worse. Sometimes he gives me the impression of being an insect, or Uriah Heep. Sometimes I find him suddenly so poor, so poor—when he plays well (although that is rare)—and then I feel a little pity for him.[223]

Borel still got along well with Ezerman, and later they often went together to concerts, exhibitions etc.

Borel called Van Wettum his "most loyal friend," with whom he often studied together and made music. At the end of the second year, Van Wettum's family had objections against their friendship, perhaps because they worried that Borel might be a bad influence on Van Wettum.

> Problems again. And now from the Van Wettum family. I feel sorry about this. Whoever of the other 'friends' disappointed or offended me, both in joy and grief Bertus always remained loyal to me. I find him simple, sometimes pedantic, and someone who first has to see everything from others, who has nothing out of himself, but he has … a heart of gold. … What a pity that his family in their stupidity are always setting him against me.[224]

Despite their close friendship, when Borel was in distress, he was also particular about Van Wettum:

> Also Bertus van Wettum, the loyal, noble Putam of before, has lost ground with me. During the great recent emergency, he stayed loyal until the end. But still it went out of tune, and became lesser, weaker. If it would have gone on a few months longer, I would have lost him also.
> But now I have overcome everything so peacefully. And I still have him. I still like him very much. He can remain my friend.[225]

When Van Wettum was unhappy and indulged in romantic phantasies, Borel felt sympathy and cared for him:

> Putam had bought the poems of Elizabeth Barret Browning.[226] ... I find Putam lately very unhappy. He will feel even more unhappy if he clings to that silly idea of suddenly meeting someone like Elizabeth Barret. … He lets me talk, loses himself in Buddha, Jesus, John, etc.[227]

After Goteling Vinnis stopped his Chinese studies in February 1890, he still kept in touch with Borel. When Borel visited him in September 1890, he was shown some of his works of art. Borel was greatly impressed: "That Goteling is an artist, that's for sure."[228] At his request he sent a water-colour to Van Eeden to hear his opinion.[229] But a few months later—perhaps after Van Eeden had given his opinion—Borel's opinion changed, and when he saw the water-colour again, he decided Goteling was not an artist after all, and he felt an aversion to him: "So at the time it was a wrong kind of enthusiasm on my part, 'Youthful folly.'"[230]

In the field of literature, in particular concerning his own writings, Borel sometimes felt a gap between himself and his friends and fellow students. When he let them read his 'book,' probably his manuscript of *The Little Boy* (*Het jongetje*), he was disappointed by their reaction:

> Ezerman, Staal and Textor found it sublime. But what does that mean? Not so much. Ezerman found parts of it 'immense' etc. etc. But his whole life is still just as turbulent and ugly and he behaves as if he hasn't read it at all. The same is true of Van Wettum. Don't these mean little men understand that they keep me away from themselves *by going on to live so pettily* after reading my book? That I'm forced to be so boisterous and pseudo-Sturm und Drang in their company? I feel that they are slowly disappearing out of my heart now that it is becoming so holy in there.[231]

In his diary Borel was sometimes haughty and contemptuous towards his friends and fellow students, but he once apologised for this and explained it:

> I wish to note down that those who will read this later including myself, if I dig it up later, should not think that I think and write harshly or cruelly about my friends. I often have a go at Ezerman, Van Wettum, Staal and sometimes even Van Eeden (towards the latter mostly unjustified, not always). But that is only in some, not always nice moods.[232]

Borel was not so active in sports as De Groot and Van der Spek had been. His major sport was taking walks, in particular during the last year of study in Leiden. He once described such a walk in his diary:

> What a busy day today. This morning Chinese. This afternoon Chinese. Then I really had to take a walk. Now I always take the road to Warmond. What a lovely road. On the left, on the right, everywhere, wide, the landscape, where the cows are grazing. …[233]

Another sport most students liked was skating, and Borel was no exception. He wrote in his diary:

> This afternoon I skated on the ice delightfully. I can do it very fast again, but still not like in Roermond, I think. First with Bertus and Willem van Wettum ….[234]

The next day he skated from Leiden to The Hague:

> This afternoon I came here from Leiden on skates together with Putam. Then I skated on the Pond until half past 5. Delightful that way, in the dark over the soft blue ice, with here and there a twinkle.[235]

Cycling was a new sport that was becoming popular in those days. In the beginning Borel wrote to Van Eeden, at the same time showing concern for Ezerman:

> Nowadays Ezerman is practicing the bicycle. However, we can only do it very rarely (for the time being), because it's too expensive. I believe it is very good for him.[236]

The graduation of the third group (1892)

After Schlegel had announced in July 1891 that the students of the third group would need a fourth year of study in Leiden, he was told to report to the Minister as soon as they were ready. A year later, on 31 May 1892, he wrote that they could now go to Amoy to complete their studies. By May he had probably stopped teaching them. He asked to be told the date of departure as soon as possible, adding thoughtfully:

> In view of the summer heat which is almost unbearable in China, I would like Your Excellency to take into consideration not to have the said youngsters leave from here before the month of August. Towards September the greatest heat in China will have gone.[237]

All three students sent letters with health certificates and documents showing fulfilment of military obligations, and they all asked for the special advance payment of *f* 400 for books. Each of them also had a special request, in part repeating Schlegel's suggestion. Van Wettum wrote that he preferred to leave the Netherlands by the end of August due to family circumstances. He had fulfilled his military obligations by appointing a substitute. Ezerman also asked permission to stay until the end of August, since he would come of age (at 23 years) on 24 August and his presence here would save a lot of trouble in arranging family affairs. He had fulfilled his military obligations by paying for a substitute. And last but not least, Borel announced that he had just married Maria Christine Zurhaar on 8 June 1892, and wished to travel with her to China. He had already been exempted from military service in March 1889, because of inflammation or atrophy of the optic nerve.[238] The report of the medical examination now showed that he was "cursed with myopia in both eyes," for which he was wearing spectacles, but he was considered fit for civil service in the Indies.[239]

By Royal Decree of 15 July 1892 no. 22, all three were assigned to the Governor-General, thus entering the colonial service. The usual advantages were to be given them, and Borel was to be accompanied by his wife. Schlegel's request was met with, and the students were ordered to travel on the *Calédonien*, leaving from Marseille on 4 September, to go first to Hong Kong and to report to the Consul there. Their assignment was published in the *Staatscourant* and also in the sinological journal *T'oung Pao*.[240]

Borel and his wife left the Netherlands on 24 August, sent off by Varenhorst to Brussels.[241] Van Wettum and Ezerman probably left a little later because of their personal affairs. All travelled as usual by train via Paris to Marseille. The boat trip was now again shorter than ten years earlier; it took only one month, and after leaving Marseille on 4 September, they arrived in Hong Kong on 5 October, where the Consul immediately ar-

ranged for their trip from Hong Kong to Amoy.[242] They arrived in Amoy on 6 October.[243]

In 1890 for the first time a Dutch professional Consul had been stationed in Amoy: P.S. Hamel (1845–1900), with the personal title of Consul General. He succeeded the German mercantile Consul A. Piehl, who had been Consul for the Netherlands from 1884 to 1890. This was mainly in order to arrange the emigration of Chinese workers to the Indies and other East Indies affairs. When the Dutch Minister Resident and Consul General in China, J.H. Ferguson, reported Hamel's appointment to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he also wrote that J. Rhein[244] would be transferred there to act as an interpreter. According to Ferguson, Rhein was in every respect a capable interpreter, who not only knew Mandarin but also Southern dialects. Therefore, he announced, this would be a favourable opportunity to send Dutch students to Amoy.[245] However, two years later, when the students arrived in Amoy, both officials had already left. Rhein had only worked in Amoy for a few months when the Minister ordered him to return to Peking, and Hamel had to find a native interpreter.[246] In June 1892, Hamel also left Amoy. He returned to the Netherlands because of a serious mental disease,[247] and was succeeded by the German Consul Ch.K. Feindel as acting Consul General for the Netherlands. On 25 September 1892, Rhein was also suddenly struck by insanity; he was transported to Shanghai were he passed away on 9 October.[248] Thus nothing remained of the 'favourable opportunity,' and the students were now received by the German Consul Feindel.

The fourth examination: Van de Stadt, De Bruin, and Thijssen (1892)

A few months after Schlegel had announced that his three students of the third group would be ready to proceed to China during the next summer, on 2 November 1891 he wrote another letter to the new Minister of Colonies, W.K. *baron* van Dedem. Now he again took the initiative as he had done in the 1870s and proposed to call for another new group of three students at the beginning of the next year to supply future needs. Schlegel argued that there were now only five interpreters in the Indies, and two were on leave in the Netherlands, while according to him another seven places had had prescribed (*organiek*) Chinese interpreters and two other places should have interpreters.[249] Therefore, he calculated, there was a need for nine interpreters, while only the two interpreters on leave in the Netherlands and the three students would be eligible, so four places would remain vacant. Moreover, Von Faber and Schaalje, who had been in function for 31 and 27 years respectively, had already long been eligible for a pension. If they left, only three interpreters would remain in the Indies

and the number of vacancies would amount to eleven. Schlegel calculated that every four years at least two new interpreters should be trained.[250]

He reminded Van Dedem of his *nota* of 8 March 1875, in which he had in vain pleaded for the establishment of a training college for interpreters. The training of new students had taken place at very long intervals in a haphazard manner—namely, for six students in 1873–8 and for three in 1888–92, starting only when the old corps had almost became extinct (*uitgestorven*) instead of regularly filling the vacancies.[251] The urgent need of interpreters could be seen from a newspaper clipping that Schlegel had pasted on his letter; it quoted Pieter Brooshooft[252] in *De Locomotief*:

> The constant absence of a Chinese interpreter in a commercial town like Semarang is not right and is being felt even more urgently because of the latest Chinese cases of bankruptcy. Some business firms here will, I heard, at their own expense invite an interpreter from Surabaya to check the accounts of the bankrupt Tjoa Tjoen Kang.[253]

Therefore Schlegel urged to arrange, as soon as possible, a competitive examination for Chinese student-interpreters.

Minister Van Dedem forwarded a copy of this letter to Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk, asking if it was necessary to train interpreters, and he also notified Schlegel.[254]

Pijnacker Hordijk replied on 2 January 1892 that it was desirable to train another three students, adding a copy of the advice of the Director of Justice, W.A. Engelbrecht. To the question whether, and if so, how many students should be trained, the latter had answered that there were prescribed nine Chinese interpreters (instead of Schlegel's number of fourteen); now actually there were five, so there were four vacancies. Engelbrecht was not too enthousiastic about the usefulness of the interpreters:

> There is no indication that the lack of interpreters in those places led to any inconvenience in the government service, nor that it would be necessary to expand the prescribed number of places.[255]

However, his sound bureaucratic conclusion was that the corps should be kept complete as much as possible, and that three students should be trained.

On 20 February 1892, Minister Van Dedem again notified Schlegel of Pijnacker Hordijk's answer and asked him when candidates should be summoned for the examination, and when they should begin their studies in Leiden. At the same time Schlegel was asked to act as chairman of the examination committee and to submit a proposal for its members.[256]

Within two weeks Schlegel replied that the examination should take place in May, because he had to attend all sessions and could not teach at the same time.[257] It would be best to publish the announcement right away, in order that the candidates could get prepared.[258]

Minister Van Dedem agreed, and the announcement was published in the *Staatscourant* of 13-14 March 1892 (no. 62). The text was exactly the same as in 1888. No examination fees were required despite the advice of the previous committee.

On 20 April, Schlegel presented a list of committee members, who were the same as in 1888 with but two exceptions.[259] Van Dedem wrote the committee members, and told Schlegel it was not desirable to ask for an examination fee of *f* 25. It would be better to stop examining a candidate who immediately appeared below the mark, and to make arrangements for this in order that not too much time would be needed for the weaker ones.[260]

The examination took place from 2 to 18 May. There were 26 candidates, one of whom withdrew during the examination. The committee reported that the level of the candidates was not favourable, but much better than in 1888. Six had satisfactory results in all respects; ten had an average score of more than 5, while in 1888 nine out of 33 candidates had achieved such a score.[261] But most candidates were much younger than in 1888, and almost none had already passed the HBS examination—fifteen were attending the HBS, two the *gymnasium*; only four had finished the HBS, and one the *gymnasium*. The top candidate unanimously recommended by the committee was only 16 years old. This time the ranking list was in accordance with the total scores. The scores of the three best candidates were as follows:

Subject	Van de Stadt	De Bruin	Thijssen
Dutch	7	7	8
French	8	6	6
English	7	7	6
German	8	8	4
History	6	7	7
Geography	4	8	8
Arithmetic and Bookkeeping	5	4	5
Physics and Cosmography	8	5	5
Natural History	7	4	7
total score	60	56	56
average score	6 6/9	6 1/9	6 1/9
'corrected total'	80	74.66	74.66
ranking order	1	2	3

Other comments were added to these scores. Van de Stadt was "exceptionally well-educated, bright and lucid"; De Bruin was "well-educated" and Thijssen "well-educated, but less refined."[262] Peter Adriaan van de

Stadt (16) was the youngest son of a physics and cosmography teacher and vice-director of the HBS in Arnhem. Annes Gerhardus de Bruin (18) was the second son of a shopkeeper in Deventer. Emile Franciscus Thijssen (almost 19) was the only son of a career officer in the Netherlands Army who had passed away, and he was living in The Hague. All three were attending the fifth grade of the HBS.

This time the examination was probably organised similarly to that of 1888. The examination papers are still extant. Now not only translations from Dutch into the three foreign languages were required, but also vice versa. As subjects for the Dutch essay, Van de Stadt chose "The cultivation system" (*Het cultuurstelsel*), De Bruin "Prince William IV" (*Prins Willem IV*), and Thijssen "The foreign policy of Jan de Wit" (*De buitenlandse staatkunde van Jan de Wit*). Other subjects were also historical, namely "Daendels", "Oldenbarneveldt" and "The Year 1813" (*Het jaar 1813*). No essays in foreign languages have been found, so this item was probably no longer required.[263]

At the medical examination of the three candidates, it was found that Van de Stadt's left eye only had 1/3 eyesight, and De Bruin was missing the second finger of his right hand, but they were still considered fit. They were notified that they were to be assigned to Schlegel after the summer holiday.[264]

On 29 August, the three students were told that classes were to begin on Tuesday 13 September 1892 at one o'clock, and that their allowances would be paid from that date. They were also told that they should reside in Leiden during their whole study period, and would be under the supervision of Schlegel, including moral supervision (*zedelijk toezicht*).[265]

The studies and graduation of the fourth group (1892–1895)

The curriculum was again similar to the one in the 1870s. In his reports to the University, Schlegel wrote that during the first year he taught six hours per week to three students. The subjects were: "Oral exercises in speaking and translating from Dutch into Chinese; learning by heart short Chinese sayings in the literary language."[266] During the second year the subjects included: "Selections from ancient authors, the Sacred Edict of the Kangxi Emperor, Chinese novel literature, exercises in the spoken language."[267] During the third year he taught seven hours per week to four students (probably including one auditor). The subjects were: "Spoken language, Chinese law, customs and manners, and Chinese sayings." Languages of instruction were always Dutch and Chinese.[268] He may have taught two classes, one on language for six hours, and one on law and customs for

one hour per week. This would be a second example of Schlegel explicitly teaching general cultural subjects (after Lind). The fourth group finished the course in a little more than three years, just as the first and second groups had.

Little is known about their student life. On 30 September 1892, two weeks after the beginning of the course, Van de Stadt registered as a student of the Faculty of Arts at Leiden University. He became a member of the Student Corps, so he probably had the same motive for registering as De Groot had had twenty years earlier. Two years later the other students also registered as students of the same Faculty, but without becoming Corps members.[269] It is not known why they registered, or based on which qualifications. Perhaps Schlegel urged them to do so to upgrade the status of his course.[270]

Hardly anything is known about their studies with Schlegel. In their last year, a few weeks after the reorganisation of the corps and the moratorium had been announced, Minister Bergsma asked Schlegel for budgetary reasons when the present students could leave for China. Schlegel immediately replied that the candidate-officials could leave at the end of the year, for instance in November.[271]

And indeed, on 10 October 1895, Schlegel announced that De Bruin, Thijssen, and Van de Stadt would be ready to go to China at the beginning of December. He took good care of his students, and asked for speedy payment of the gratification and advance payment for books. He also requested that their financial affairs in China be arranged.[272] Evidently he wished to avoid the problems with travel expenses and allowances in China of the previous group.[273]

Thereupon Schlegel was asked the reason for the change in the ranking order of the students, since Van de Stadt was no longer the top candidate.[274] He replied as follows:

> For the change of ranking number I have well-founded reasons. Mr. Van de Stadt did not come up to the expectations which I had about him on the basis of his entrance examination, and both of his colleagues, De Bruin and Thijssen, have outpaced him widely.
>
> Whether the circumstance that Mr. Van de Stadt registered as a member of the Leiden Student Corps (which both others did not) had any influence on his studies, his student life distracting him too much, I dare not decide. He had no lack of talent, but lacked diligence and perseverance.
>
> Perhaps he can still make up for this neglect in China, but for the moment I have to put him in the third place on the ranking list.
>
> Mr. De Bruin is without doubt the brightest of the three candidates.[275]

When Schlegel announced that the students were ready, the Minister did not tell him in his reply of 12 November that his monthly allowance of *f* 100 would end almost immediately, but someone wrote in the margin of

the draft letter: "Prof. Schlegel would understand that his allowance will be paid for the last time over October; it is not necessary to inform him." However, Schlegel was surprised not to receive an allowance over November, and in December he therefore wrote to a *referendaris* at the Ministry of Colonies complaining: "Since the said officials only left for China at the beginning of December, and I more or less taught them until the last day, I am of the opinion that I should still have a right to that allowance." He was then told that he would still receive *f* 100 for November, with the explanation that at the Ministry it was thought the training had ended when Schlegel announced on 10 October that the students could leave.[276] In 1878, Schlegel's allowance had already stopped a month before the students left, so the supposition at the Ministry was not unfounded, but this time Schlegel was probably even less eager to let go of his main function (and its extra salary) than before.

All three underwent a medical examination and were found fit. The military obligations of the two older students had been taken care of: De Bruin was exempted because of 'brother service' (*broederdienst*) and Thijssen because he was the only legal son. The younger Van de Stadt could not guarantee that he had fulfilled his obligation; on 24 October he had drawn his lot, but the Council of the Militia would not meet before December. He expected that he would be exempted since he had two elder brothers, one of whom had already paid for a substitute. But the Minister warned him that in case he was obliged to pay for a substitute, and did not do so, he would not be appointed and would have to return all expenses incurred for him! All three stated that they were unmarried and did not plan to marry before leaving for China. They entered into the Colonial service on 12 November 1895.[277] This was announced in the *Staatscourant* and in *T'oung Pao*.[278]

They left on the *Calédonien* from Marseille on 8 December 1895[279] and arrived in Hong Kong on 8 January 1896, where they were received by the Dutch Consul General for Southern China, F.J. Haver Droeze. From there they took the steamship *Haitan* on 10 January[280] and soon arrived in Amoy, where they were probably received by Consul Feindel.

In January 1896, after the last group of students had left, the Ministers of Colonies Bergsma and of Home Affairs Van Houten proposed to the Queen-Widow and Regent Emma to afford a royal decoration to Schlegel in recognition of his merits in the training of Chinese interpreters for more than twenty years. In their letter they also mentioned that Schlegel was well-known because of his Dutch–Chinese dictionary.[281] By Royal Decree of 3 February 1896 (no. 19) Schlegel was appointed a Knight in the Order of the Dutch Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*).[282]

The reorganisation of the interpreter corps and another moratorium

Almost two years later, on 24 April 1894, a long article appeared in the newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* entitled "Interpreters and language teachers" (*Tolken en taalmeesters*). It was written by an unknown journalist who often based himself on "in every respect competent" sources. Perhaps one of these was the interpreter Stuart, who was then on leave and studying at the Indies Institute in Delft in 1893–4. He was preparing for the Higher Officials Examination, which he would pass a few months later.[283] The author stated that the system of European interpreters of Chinese showed many defects. According to the Colonial budget, there were ten such interpreters for the Chinese language. In actual fact, they were nowhere working as interpreters, but were scholarly advisors (*wetenschappelijke adviseurs*) of the government. However, their social position (including their salary) in the Indies was not in accordance with their function and their expensive studies; therefore several of them had left and gone on to pursue other careers. On the budget there were also five officials for the native languages,[284] who had a higher salary, and there was no reason why scholars of Chinese should lag behind those of Javanese. The author gave a historical overview of the Chinese interpreter system and listed some of the most important scholarly and other contributions of the interpreters. According to competent observers, the number of interpreters could be diminished; the work of interpreting should be left to the Chinese, and the European interpreters should be made into "advisors for Chinese affairs" (*adviseurs voor Chineesche zaken*). They should be given a higher salary in accordance with their competence, and their salary should not be lower than that of East Indies officials. The Government of the Indies in 1879 had considered four interpreters enough, and in 1889–90 there were only four or five in actual service, without any harm to the service of the country, but the author could not judge how large the number should be. In any case, the budget money would be better spent if the number were smaller and the salary higher. Also the language teachers, whose function was not entirely clear to the author, should be better paid. Finally, the author suggested that the Government should ask the advice of the Vice-President of the Council of the Indies, who was also 'honourary advisor for Chinese affairs.' He did not mention his name: W.P. Groeneveldt.

A month later, this article was reprinted in two Indies newspapers, and summarised in *De Indische Gids*.[285] Half a year later, Groeneveldt took an initiative, but without referring to this article. This initiative would lead to a reorganisation of the interpreter corps, and also to a second moratorium in Schlegel's training course in Leiden.

The Governor-General was obliged to consult the Council of the Indies in certain cases, but the Council was also entitled to make proposals on its

own initiative.[286] At the meeting of the Council on 28 September 1894, Groeneveldt, who had been Vice-President since 1893, suggested making use of this right to make a proposal for the reorganisation of the corps of European interpreters for the Chinese language. At the same meeting he offered a *nota* on this subject as a draft proposal; this was circulated among the four other members of the Council.

In this *nota*, Groeneveldt first recounted the earlier efforts to reduce the number of interpreters in 1879 by Minister O. van Rees and the rejection of that policy in 1886 by Minister Sprenger van Eijk. In contrast to the latter, he could not imagine in what circumstances more interpreters would be needed. He therefore repeated his plea of 1878, arguing elaborately why the number should be reduced to at most five, although not too strictly. The reason still was that the interpreters actually did not have enough work to do. He illustrated this with his own experience in Pontianak (Borneo) [in 1864–70], where he had hardly anything to do as interpreter and translator, but used his time profitably by performing other tasks for the Resident—ironically, since in 1885 the urgent need for an interpreter on Borneo had been one of the reasons for the new training course. Groeneveldt argued that the surplus of interpreters should be similarly used in other positions. Many interpreters, highly educated men, were actually eager to leave their corps, and by 1894 three of them had already passed the Higher Officials Examination (De Jongh, Hoetink, Stuart). It could be advisable to allow the other interpreters exemption from this examination.

The interpreters should be consulted more often by the government, and should not be regarded as mere interpreters. They should be made "Officials for Chinese Affairs" (*ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken*) with a certain jurisdiction (*ressort*), where all authorities could ask for their advice. They should be relieved of their specific function of interpreter, although they could still do translation and interpretation work that could not be done by Chinese. With their higher position, they should also receive a better salary equal to that of the Officials for East Indies Languages. Originally, emoluments from translation work had been expected, but these proved to be very few, so that in effect their salary was not as high as that of normal East Indies officials. But their allowance as extraordinary members of the Orphans and Estate Chambers could be abolished, and the (little) work to be done could be included in their function. Groeneveldt gave detailed computations for their actual and proposed salaries and periodical raises, and for elaborate transitional conditions. He expected that even if these measures were implemented, many interpreters or Officials for Chinese Affairs would still prefer to leave the corps. Their position had the disadvantage that they did not have fixed responsibilities (*geen vasten kring van bemoeienis*), since they always had to wait for requests from others to become engaged in any task.

Groeneveldt's proposal comprised five points:

I. The title of the Chinese interpreters should be changed to "Officials for Chinese Affairs."
II. The Officials for Chinese Affairs should upon request give advice and information about Chinese affairs to the authorities of a certain jurisdiction (*ressort*), and do oral and written translations.
III. [a] The number of Officials for Chinese Affairs should be preferably five. But if there are more available, they should also be appointed. [b] In case of a surplus, those suitable should be transferred to other functions and if necessary exemption from taking the Higher Officials Examination should be given.
IV. The salary should be raised to the level of East Indies language officials.
V. The new regulation should take effect on 1 January 1896.

The *nota* was circulated among the members of the Council of the Indies and discussed at the meeting of 5 October. Four members were present: W.P. Groeneveldt; W.O. Gallois, former Government Secretary; J. Mullemeister, former Resident of Yogyakarta; and Mr. W.A. Engelbrecht, former Vice-President of the High Court and former Director of Justice. The fifth member, E.A. Rovers, former Director of Finance, was absent.[287]

All present agreed with points I-III [a], but Mullemeister and Engelbrecht objected to points III [b] (transfer to other functions and exemption from the Higher Officials Examination) and IV (higher salary). Mullemeister stated first that in the *nota* no account was taken of the high training expenses for these officials, which amounted to about *f* 12,000 more than for a normal East Indies official. Therefore they should be "kept like gold" for their original function. But since there were now ten interpreters, and another three were being trained in the Netherlands, the latter should take a different course and be trained as East Indies officials. And the three students who had just finished their studies should also temporarily be appointed in other positions until one or more of the five prescribed (*organiek*) positions became vacant. There was no reason to change their financial position, since their studies had all been paid for by the Government; their actual maximum income was about *f* 900 to *f* 1,000 per month (higher than Groeneveldt had stated because of their emoluments and allowances from the Orphans Chamber), and their function was in some places a sinecure; therefore they had much free time for their own studies. Mullemeister ended with the rhetorical question: How many people are in such a favourable position?[288]

Governor-General Van der Wijck agreed with points I-III [a] and [b] of Groeneveldt's *nota*, so he was in favour of exempting the interpreters

from the Higher Officials Examination. But he immediately agreed with Mullemeister's and Engelbrecht's opinion about the interpreters' salary. He supported the reduction of the number of interpreters even more, since S.W. Tromp, Resident of Western Borneo, had written him after Van Wettum's appointment there, saying he did not need an interpreter.[289] He sent a letter with Groeneveldt's *nota* and the Council's advice to Minister of Colonies J.H. Bergsma on 20 January 1895. The matter of the future disposition of the present students in Leiden was to be decided by the Minister.[290]

Minister Bergsma reported to Queen Emma on 22 April 1895, sending a proposal for the reorganisation of the corps of European interpreters. In his report he began by saying that in the strict sense there was no 'corps': appointment, instruction, title, function and income had never been statutorily (*organiek*) regulated, but only by way of Government decisions. In 1879 it had already appeared that the system was defective. After reading Groeneveldt's *nota*, the advice of the Council, and the Governor-General's letter, the Minister stated that he agreed with the Council and was against exemption from taking the Higher Officials Examination. This could only be given to individuals, not to a certain category of persons, because in that case all those with a doctorate in the East Indies languages or in law could also ask for such an exemption. He was of the opinion that the training, formation, appointment, title, function and income of these officials should be arranged by Royal Decree. Only their instruction and the places of appointment were to be decided upon by the Governor-General.

The new regulations were confirmed by the Royal Decree of 26 April 1895 no. 16 and published in the *Staatscourant* on 1 May 1895 (no. 101). The conditions of the competitive examination and study were the same as those in the Ministerial resolution of 1873. The major additions and changes were as follows.

There were to be officials in East Indies service with the title of Officials for Chinese Affairs (*ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken*), falling under the Department of Justice (art. 1). Their number should preferably be five, and their place of stationing and function should be arranged by the Governor-General (art. 2). There were minor changes in their salary, for instance that leaves of absence did not count toward increases in salary (art. 3). The students were now no longer called élèves, but 'Candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs' (art. 8). Only those who had finished the training course could be appointed (art. 4), and the conditions of appointment were the same as in 1873, but subject to the minor changes of 1893:[291] the total length of study was now six years with a maximum of two years in China (art. 5), and the allowance in China was to be paid in hard guilders instead of Mexican dollars (art. 9). The candidate-officials could now also take along their legal family to China (art. 9), and could obtain an advance payment of *f* 400 for books (art. 10). There were also transitional provisions (art. 11-12).

The journalist who had written the article in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* one year earlier was pleasantly surprised about this news, which he had read in the *Staatscourant*. His comment was: "Fruits do not always ripen so quickly with the government in the Indies!"[292] But he had hoped for change in one other important respect: the salary of the interpreters was insufficient compared with that of the Officials for East Indies Languages, and it could never surpass that of an Assistant-Resident. He suggested that the Minister could still amend this in the budget for 1896.[293]

A few days after publication in the *Staatscourant*, the Minister notified Schlegel of the Royal Decree and added that for the time being, probably for several years, no new students should be accepted.[294] This latter point was also officially announced in the *Staatscourant* of 7 May 1895 (no. 106). As a result, a second moratorium in the training course began, and for the next eleven years no students for the East Indies service were taught Chinese in Leiden. Schlegel never again trained such students,[295] and he completely stopped teaching in June 1902 because of blindness; he passed away in 1903. His successor J.J.M. de Groot began to train a new group of four students in 1907.

The current students were of course very much interested in the new regulations. By the end of May, Van de Stadt's father wrote a letter to the Minister asking for a copy of the text, and a few days later copies would be sent to all three students.[296]

Governor-General Van der Wijck immediately published the Royal Decree in the *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* no. 135 (order of 27 June 1895), but it took a little longer before it was implemented. Almost a year after its publication in the *Staatscourant*, Minister Bergsma wrote to Van der Wijck that he had thought that after the publication of the Royal Decree, the Chinese interpreters would be appointed as Officials for Chinese Affairs, but in the Indies Government Almanac (*Regeeringsalmanak*) of 1896 there still were 'European interpreters for the Chinese language.'[297] The matter was solved two months later, when on 21 May 1896 Van der Wijck decided upon and published the "Provisions for the designation of places of stationing and arrangement of the function of the Officials for Chinese Affairs."[298] These new measures were implemented on 1 October 1896, when almost all interpreters were reappointed as Officials for Chinese Affairs.

Extraordinary students in the 1890s: S.H. Schaank, J.H. Kann, E. von Zach

After the last three students had left, Schlegel continued to teach or help extraordinary students. The most important of these was his earlier student S.H. Schaank. After Schaank's return to the Indies in 1886, he had

been stationed in Western Borneo, successively in Sambas, Montrado, and Lara and Lumar, all places with a large Hakka population. In 1893, he published a long article about the kongsi of Borneo, in which he supported De Groot's criticism of earlier Dutch policy towards the kongsi. He also did linguistic field work and collected materials about the Hakka dialects spoken in Sambas.

On 1 April 1896 he was, at his own request, allowed one year of leave to Europe because of long service. He went to live in The Hague and continued his research on the Hakka dialects. When he found that he could not finish his studies within his allotted leave, he requested an extension of three months. On 20 November 1896 he reported to the Minister of Colonies that he had studied with Schlegel in 1884–5, and, while stationed as 1st class Controller in Sambas, had collected notes about the Loeh Foeng (Lufeng 陸豐, Guangdong)[299] dialect and other Hakka dialects from 1886 to 1896. He planned to work these up in order to make the results of his studies of these little known (and for the Indies important) dialects accessible for others. He added that Schlegel had urged him to do so since knowledge of these dialects was very important, in particular at the present time. However, because of circumstances and "necessary preliminary studies," much time had been lost and he would not be able to finish this project during his leave. He therefore requested extension of his leave until 1 July 1897. At the same time, he asked to be given a copy of Schlegel's Dutch–Chinese dictionary from the national supply.

Department A[1] of the Ministry of Colonies[300] also considered that the study of Chinese by an East Indies official could be very useful for the Colonies. And as to providing Schlegel's dictionary, it was noted that Schaank would be satisfied with the only copy still extant at the Ministry, although one instalment was missing. It could be given to him since it was of no use there in any event. But before a decision could be made, Schlegel should be consulted.[301]

When so asked, Schlegel fully supported Schaank's request:

> He made there [in Borneo] a thorough study of the Hakka dialects which have been studied so inadequately, and he recently showed his results to me.
>
> In view of the Chinese in our archipelago who speak those dialects, who are not native-born Chinese (*peranakan*) and can only rarely express themselves in Malay, I consider it desirable that Mr. Schaank should be given an opportunity to elaborate his work; he should even be given the means for publishing it.
>
> I trust that such a work would be highly welcome to the Officials for Chinese Affairs or the Chinese interpreters in the Indies.[302]

Approval was obtained in a Royal Decree, and Schaank was ordered to stay in Europe until 1 July 1897.[303] The second part of his request, to obtain a copy of Schlegel's dictionary, was probably also met with.[304] The result of

his research, *Het Loeh Foeng dialect* (*The Lufeng dialect*), was published by Brill later that year.

This study begins with detailed phonological analyses with lists of initials (*ingangen*) and finals (*uitgangen*) of syllables, and tone tables with the seven tones of the Lufeng dialect, all with Chinese characters added. These are followed by lists of words (numerals, measure words, etc.), simple sentences and conversations, the latter two first arranged according to structure and later according to subject. The grammatical structure is not analysed, but is clearly shown by way of contrasting examples. Part of the sentences are taken from J. Dyer Ball, *Easy Sentences in the Hakka Dialect* (1881),[305] but now with the addition of tone signs and of course in Lufeng pronunciation. There is a Dutch–Hakka vocabulary list with a list of loanwords from Malay. These chapters are printed in transcription only, without Chinese characters. Then there is an alphabetical character list according to initials, finals and tones. Finally there is a chapter about the phonological differences with other Hakka dialects, such as that of Kia Ying Tsiu. Strangely, Schaank was the first Dutch sinologist to mention and study the variations among the Hakka dialects.[306]

Undoubtedly Schaank's "necessary preliminary studies" refer to his pioneering work on Chinese phonology.[307] This resulted in his reconstructions of ancient Chinese phonology based on ancient rhyme tables, which were published in *T'oung Pao* in 1897, 1898, and 1902.[308] Schaank was not the first to delve into this subject; Edkins and Schlegel and others had also studied it, but he was the first to use a systematic, scientific method. Karlgren would later consider Schaank's studies a sound piece of work, although not without faults. He would often refer to it,[309] while at the same time discarding Schlegel's writings as unscientific speculations.[310]

Schlegel in the 1870s had already urged teaching Chinese to future East Indies officials.[311] Schaank was the only such student who not only studied Chinese with him, but, ironically, afterwards was also the only Dutch sinologist to do linguistic fieldwork among the Chinese in the Indies,[312] and to do fundamental linguistic research as well. The reason that he could do field work was presumably, apart from his linguistic talent and interest, that as a grass-roots official of the Interior Administration in Borneo, he was in constant contact with the Chinese, even more than the regular European interpreters for Chinese, who were often 'kept out' of Chinese affairs by the officials of Interior Administration.

Schlegel's last group of regular students left in 1895, but he continued to teach Chinese to extraordinary students. In his report to the University about 1895–6, he wrote that he had been teaching "Chinese spoken language and literature" for four hours per week to four students.[313] In September 1896 he was still teaching four students: J.H. Kann, two unnamed students of law, and "a young Austrian,"[314] Erwin von Zach.

Jacobus Henricus Kann (1872–1944) was a Jewish banker from The Hague,[315] who in September 1896 had already studied Chinese for pleasure (*uit liefhebberij*) with Schlegel for about a year. He registered as a student in the Faculty of Arts on 11 January 1896.[316] When Li Hongzhang visited the Netherlands in July 1896, Kann was received by him in a private meeting.[317] Kann seems not to have continued his Chinese studies. He had a career as a banker and became an active supporter of Zionism. He and most of his family died in German concentration camps.[318]

Erwin *Ritter* von Zach (1872–1942) had, during his studies of medicine in Vienna in 1890–5, taken lessons in classical Chinese with Franz Kühnert[319] and modern Chinese with Carl Kainz,[320] wishing to go to China and work as a medical doctor. In 1896, while recovering from appendicitis in Noordwijk, a coastal town near Leiden and a popular resort among Germans, he became acquainted with Schlegel, Kern, and other professors in Leiden.[321] Schlegel had a different version, saying Von Zach was "a young Austrian who came specially to Leiden to follow my classes, because he did not find any opportunity to thoroughly study Chinese in Austria, nor in Germany,"[322] and this was probably what Von Zach told him. Von Zach wrote later that on Schlegel's advice, he had registered in the Faculty of Arts of Leiden University on 13 October 1896,[323] and that he studied in Leiden for a full year.[324] In his report to the University about 1896–7, Schlegel wrote that he taught eight hours per week to four students. Subjects were: "Chinese spoken language; exercises in translating Chinese books" and, probably for Von Zach, "Etymological studies of Manchu and Jürched (old Manchu)." Since the latter subject is difficult to combine with the former, and the languages of instruction were Dutch and German,[325] he may have taught two courses, one of four hours to his former three students and Von Zach, and one of four hours to Von Zach only.

During this year Von Zach published, together with Schlegel, his first real article in *T'oung Pao*, containing a translation of an Imperial honorific decree; Schlegel translated the Chinese text and Von Zach the Manchu text.[326] Von Zach would later work in the Chinese Maritime Customs Service from 1897 to 1901 and in the Austrian Consular Service from 1901 to 1919.[327]

Von Zach never showed any gratitude or appreciation for Schlegel; on the contrary, he started publishing his criticism and sarcastic comments on Schlegel's translations as early as 1898–9.[328] When Schlegel responded to the first of these, the editors published part of it, expressing their regret "that … certain strictures by Mr. von Zach on Dr. Schlegel, were allowed to be inserted in their original form." In his letter, Schlegel refuted many of Von Zach's arguments, but his "personal references to Mr. von Zach" were suppressed "in the interest of all parties," and the subject was closed.[329] Therefore, Schlegel was not given an opportunity to explain

the reasons for their conflict. Three years later, Von Zach combined new points of criticism with virulent personal attacks in two pamphlets which he published himself in 1902, and which were Von Zach's first book publications.[330] Among many other invectives, he accused him of dilettantism and being an "academic conjurer" (*wissenschaftlichen Gaukler*), and even "a pathological phenomenon" (*ein pathologisches Phänomen*) for his refusal to accept criticism.[331] Von Zach was a great sinologist and philologist, and Schlegel's translations were certainly not without faults, but Von Zach had exactly the same belief in his own infallibility of which he accused Schlegel. Not all of his comments on translations by others were justified. In his obituary, Alfred Forke recognised Von Zach's greatness as a sinologist, and his wittiness, but also wrote that he was an extremely sensitive and irritable personality. Von Zach's vehement attacks on Schlegel must also have been incited by Schlegel's own unreasonable behaviour. Von Zach seems to have used his whole arsenal of criticism and sarcasm to take revenge for this.

From 1897–1901, Schlegel did not teach any students. But in his report of 1901–2, he wrote that he taught "Chinese language and light literature" for four hours a week to two students. He mentioned no names, but one of them was the classicist M.W. de Visser. The curriculum included "Words and short sentences in the spoken language; translation (written) of fables." The language of instruction was Dutch. This report was written in another hand than Schlegel's, but it was crudely signed by him on 1 July 1902. The next week De Groot wrote in a letter to the University that he had taken over Schlegel's course for De Visser during the last month, since Schlegel had had to stop teaching because of sudden blindness.[332] De Groot then taught him for two years. De Visser would later consider De Groot his actual teacher. He rarely mentioned Schlegel and only characterised him as "a peculiar man."[333]

CHAPTER TEN

SCHLEGEL'S STUDENTS IN CHINA (1877–1898)

The first group: De Groot, Hoetink, Stuart (1877–1878)

During their studies in China, Schlegel's students lived most of the time on Gulangyu, a small island close to the much larger island of Amoy (Xiamen); like Amoy, it is a barren, rocky place. It has scattered huge boulders, on which the waves of the sea make the sound of drumming, whence the name Gulangyu 鼓浪嶼, 'Drum-wave-island.'[1] Most Westerners preferred to live there, fleeing from the crowded and filthy town of Amoy, while the merchants' offices and warehouses were on the Amoy side. The following description is based on *A Short History of Koolangsu* (1878), a short guide to Gulangyu by the British 'second consul' and later famous sinologist H.A. Giles.[2] It gives historical and geographical information and even a complete name list of foreign residents.

On 10 October 1878 there were 251 foreigners residing in Amoy, of whom about 200 were living on Gulangyu and 50 in Amoy. The majority (133) were British, followed by 38 Germans, 21 Americans, 19 Portuguese, 16 Spanish, 8 Japanese, 7 Danish, etc., but no Dutch. Among the foreigners there were 81 bachelors, 51 married men, 13 spinsters, and 45 married women with 56 children. On Gulangyu there were at the time 2,835 Chinese residents.

Shipping and trade in Amoy were mainly a British affair. In 1877, in total 429 steam ships entered the harbour, of which 377 were British, and there arrived 243 sailing ships, of which 103 were German, 93 British, 13 Danish and only 10 Dutch. Tea was the most important item of trade, while the duties paid on opium amounted to more than one quarter of the total trade.

On Gulangyu the foreign community lived in Western houses, the first of which had been built in 1859. There was one Protestant Church, capable of holding 200 persons, there were four Chinese temples, and there was a Masonic lodge. There was "The Club" that had been erected in 1876, comprising a library, a reading room, a billiard room, a bowling alley, a bar, and a committee room. Attached to it there was a small theatre, where during the winter performances were regularly given with the assistance of the ladies. For sports, there were a racquet court, a Recreation Ground with a lawn tennis court, etc. There was a race court on the Amoy side, where yearly races were held; it is now part of Xiamen University. There

was some "extremely good shooting" to be done in the environment and one could take "pretty if somewhat monotonous" walks around Gulangyu. A daily newspaper *The Amoy Gazette* was printed in one of the two printing presses in Amoy. On Gulangyu there were Chinese and foreign shops, where prices were somewhat higher than elsewhere on the China coast. Ice and soda water were produced on the island, and there was a company intending to supply "*pure un-watered milk*" (italics by Giles). Finally, there were several cemeteries for Europeans.[3] Most foreigners were merchants or had other professions connected with the harbour and shipping. The British and Germans each had their own consulate with professional personnel, there was a Customs House and the Danish telegraph company;[4] there were about ten missionaries with their families. The Chinese originated from various places in China, but there were many Cantonese and half-casts. Most merchants did not speak Chinese and communicated with their Chinese 'compradores' (middlemen) in pidgin English.[5]

Unfortunately, little is known about the studies of the first group of Schlegel's students. They arrived in Amoy on 2 February 1877 and left one year later on 9 February 1878.[6] They were received and helped by the Consul, the German merchant C.J. Pasedag, who had been living in Amoy since 1858.[7] He had been appointed by Ferguson as the first Netherlands Consul in Amoy on 23 April 1874 and remained in function until 25 November 1884.[8] Earlier he had given assistance to Roelofs, and he was still assisting Young, who would leave one day after the arrival of Schlegel's students. Pasedag's main task was to handle the drafts of $140 for each student that the Department of Justice sent each month from Batavia, which included $125 allowance and $15 for the teacher's pay; all three students signed each month for the receipt of this draft.[9] There were no financial problems, except that the passage fees from Hong Kong to Amoy had not been payed in advance by the government, but these were soon restituted at the request of the students.[10]

Each student hired a private Chinese teacher, but only the name of De Groot's teacher is known: Tiō Siaó Hun 趙少勳;[11] he was then about forty years old[12] and he would later be Van der Spek's, Borel's, and De Bruin's teacher.[13] Hoetink engaged a teacher from Zhangzhou, whose name is not known.

The students had Chinese names that were probably given to them by their teachers. Of course the characters of these names were to be pronounced according to Hokkien pronunciation. Jan de Groot's name was Ko Iên 高延, but he also had a seal with his complete name in Chinese word order: Ko Iên Iâ-kok hâng dzī 高延琊崋行二 (Jan Jacob de Groot, the second son).[14] Hoetink's name was Hu-ting 富亭 and he had a similar seal with his complete name: Hu-ting Bih-tát-dzū-sū hâng it 富亭篾達裕士行一 (Bernardus Hoetink, the eldest son).[15] No Chinese name of Stuart is known.

Nothing is known about the contents of their studies, but they must have been similar to those of the second and third groups of students, which are described below.

Of course, the students made use of the opportunity to buy Chinese books. Later many of these ended up in the East Asian Library in Leiden. In 1885, when De Groot was on leave in Holland and going again to China, he sold his library of 49 books acquired during his first visit to China to the Leiden University Library. They are listed in Schlegel's supplement catalogue.[16] Hoetink compiled a manuscript catalogue of sixty Chinese books that he must have collected during his studies in China. Many of these are the same as De Groot's books, but half of Hoetink's books were novels or other works of literature, while De Groot collected more books on history and very few works of fiction.[17] After his retirement Hoetink donated his Chinese books to the Leiden Library.[18]

The students must have rented lodgings and engaged house personnel in Amoy. The names of three of their servants are known: Hoetink's 'sampanman' Ts'un-tsuí, house 'coolie' Íng-ŏng 永旺 (*Yongwang*) and his 'boy' P'iao.[19] However, the three students did not always live together. For instance, at one time Hoetink rented a room for one month with a Chinese friend, and he lived alone in Zhangzhou for some time.

From the start, De Groot showed his usual ambition and activity, not only in his studies, but also in society, where he fulfilled a position in the Dutch Consular Court. As from 1 March 1876, there existed Consular Jurisdiction in Amoy. Almost a year later, on 15 January 1877, Pasedag wrote to Ferguson that he had found one assessor for the Dutch Consular Court, but that it was difficult to find a Registrar and Bailiff. There were few people who knew Dutch, and he asked Ferguson to send a Dutch official from Java, who would know both Dutch and Malay. Ferguson replied on 19 January that this was impossible, and that a German would be good enough, or even an Englishman or Frenchman. By happy coincidence, the three Dutch students arrived at that time in Amoy and a full court could be formed. In April two assessors were appointed, the Germans L.A. Andersen,[20] 40 years old, Marine surveyor at Amoy, and M. Rost, 36 years old, merchant; at the same time J.J.M. de Groot, 23 years old, student-interpreter, was appointed as 'Chancellor at the Netherlands Consulate in Amoy and Registrar with the Consular Judge.'[21] All three were sworn in on 10 April. No records of any cases tried were found in the archives. In December 1877, their positions were continued for 1878,[22] but De Groot resigned when he left Amoy and was replaced by Pasedag's two clerks.[23] He and later Thijssen were the only (known) Dutch students fulfilling this position. Not all students were elegible, since the minimum age was 23.

De Groot would use his time in China to great scholarly profit. He studied a lot, but according to one report, he did not speak the language

very well. A year later, when Van der Spek arrived in Amoy, he was told that "De Groot spoke Chinese badly but he studied a lot."[24] In his condensed diary—unfortunately he later destroyed his original diaries—he wrote about his studies in Amoy:

> This year is used mainly for the gathering of information about the yearly festivals of the Amoy Chinese, which I regularly and as much as possible attend and observe in the town.[25]

His teacher Tio must also have been an important source of information on Chinese customs.[26] On the basis of this information and his own observations and studies, he wrote his standard work about the yearly festivals and customs of the Amoy Chinese after he was appointed in the Indies. It was printed in two parts in 1881 and 1883 in Batavia,[27] and he obtained a doctorate in Leipzig for this work on 5 December 1884.

De Groot also travelled around a lot through Fujian province:

> Travel also through the Beixi [北溪?] basin and that of the Min [閩] from its most Southwestern sources until the capital Fuzhou, where I visit for the first time the Gushan [鼓山] Monastery, which would during my second stay in China [1886–90] be of such great service for my studies of the Buddhist monastic system. Moreover I travelled through the region of the Southern parallel river of the Min, and that of the Jinjiang [晉江], with the Quanzhou [泉州] prefecture.[28]

A glimpse of his conditions of travel may be obtained from his study of the yearly festivals. Although this was never explicitly stated,[29] he was probably accompanied by a servant:

> On our travels through Fujian province, each evening we occupied the village temple as it suited us and without ceremony to serve as our lodgings for the night; because inns are not available everywhere, and where they are, it is best to avoid them as much as possible on account of the dirt and vermin. We spread our mats out on the altar table, crept into our blankets and slept as on a bed of state right under the eyes of the gods and goddesses. The populace that came flocking in of course observed all our movements with the greatest curiosity and attention, but no one ever thought of challenging [the appropriateness of] our lodgings, or blaming us for the violation of the altar; on the contrary, in every village we experienced a high degree of courtesy and assistance, although we were certainly considered by the majority to be not better than shiftless tramps. One hundred cash (± 25 cents), laid down each morning before our departure in the ashes container—this was said to be money for incense and candles, but in reality it was a tip for the temple keeper—served to leave behind a good impression and prepare a similar good reception for possible successors. A Chinese who would travel through the countryside in Europe and might try to stretch his tired limbs on the altar of a village church, would encounter a completely different treatment![30]

Reading this account, one can only deplore De Groot's decision to destroy his diaries. He explained the reason for this in his condensed diary. He

expected that these diaries would not be of any interest for other readers than himself. For the same reason he also did not publish travelogues, in contrast to some of his colleagues (De Grijs, Van der Spek, Borel):

> My diary of that whole year of heavy exertions, labour and danger to life I have destroyed, after taking out of it everything that I could use in my scholarly studies.
>
> What's the use for the world and for scholarship of all these details, that, in the end, only touch upon me? I have always disliked reading travelogues and it would therefore be improper for me to write them and in that way make others swallow something that I don't like to eat [between lines: to offer them something that is not to my taste]. These things in general only serve to make the authors themselves and their adventures interesting. Fortunately I have always been able to resist requests from many publishers and editors of newspapers to deliver travelogues for their printing business.[31]

De Groot complained about the short time given him to study in China, blaming Schlegel for this:

> What a bad turn Schlegel again did us by making the Government prescribe that we could only stay one year in China! We were not even given the time to make good for what the thoroughly bad training in Leiden had spoiled! … In China where the opportunity to obtain knowledge was so incomparably better and more favourable, we were only grudgingly apportioned a minimum of time.[32]

Later all sinologists who had studied for only one year in China would agree with this, although they did not explicitly put the blame on Schlegel. They would on their own initiative tell Groeneveldt, the Honorary Advisor for Chinese Affairs, that one year was not enough.[33]

Hoetink also profited greatly from his time in China. When Van der Spek arrived in 1879, he was told that "Hoetink spoke Chinese very well."[34] This was not only because of his talent for languages, but probably also because he could get along well with the Chinese. He had several Chinese friends, who were mostly merchants originating from Zhangzhou and elsewhere in the interior of Fujian. The given names of two friends are known: T'ien-k'it, in characters 天乞兄 (*Tianqi xiong*, elder brother T'ien-k'it) and Hîng-saam [恒三?]. The nickname of a third friend is also known: Puî, in character 肥 (*Fei*, Fatso), a common nickname in China; this person was also once called Puî-luî-lui (very fat). T'ien-k'it seems to have been Hoetink's best friend, and Hoetink lived for one month in a room in his house.[35] T'ien-k'it's brothers became Hoetink's friends as well: T'ien-k'ui, T'ien-tsuí, and his eldest brother T'ien-laî, who had an opium shop in Zhangzhou.[36]

Schlegel had advised to send the students as soon as possible after arrival in Amoy, for instance after a few months, to Zhangzhou to come into daily contact with the Chinese there and learn the most widely spoken dialect

of the Indies.[37] In that way they would be immersed in a purely Chinese environment, which would be beneficial for their studies. Of the students of the first group, only Hoetink seems to have done this. When the second group of students visited Zhangzhou for the first time, they were accompanied by Hoetink's friend and made a 'pilgrimage' (*bedevaart*) to his former house. In that house they found a lantern with the text: *Futing Da Helanguo fanyiguan* 富亭大荷蘭國翻譯官, "Hoetink, government interpreter of the Great Country of Holland." On a later visit to Zhangzhou they paid their respects to this house again.[38] Van der Spek never mentioned that De Groot and Stuart had studied in Zhangzhou.

There is more evidence showing that Hoetink was the only student who went to Zhangzhou. The date of his arrival is not known, but in any case he was there on 12 November 1877. On that day, about three months before completion of his year in China, he wrote a letter in English from Zhangzhou to Pasedag in Amoy. He informed him that he was about to finish his studies in China and that he had written a letter to Director of Justice L.A.P.F. Buijn in Batavia requesting travel funds to Batavia for himself and a Chinese clerk. He asked Pasedag to forward this letter, which Pasedag did the next day.[39] In the archives no such letter from the others was found, and Pasedag never forwarded such letters from the others to Batavia.[40]

About Stuart's studies in China nothing is known, except that he was called the 'Don Juan' of this group.[41]

Before leaving, all three probably engaged Chinese teachers whom they took along to the Indies. On 9 February 1878 De Groot (and probably his fellow students) left Amoy and travelled to Java. On the way, De Groot visited Canton, and from Hong Kong he took a small steamer full of Chinese emigrants to Singapore, in order to personally observe the shipment of coolies (*koelievaart*).[42] On 16 March 1878, all three students arrived in Batavia coming from Singapore.[43]

After arrival in Batavia the three students submitted a formal request to be appointed as interpreters in the Indies; this was normal procedure. On 11 March Director of Justice Buijn asked Groeneveldt's advice as to where they should best be stationed. Groeneveldt had left the interpreter corps the year before and was now working as *referendaris* for the central government, but he also advised the government about Chinese affairs. He replied on 20 March that this question was difficult to answer, since in most places the interpreters had little work to do, at least as long as their functions would remain unchanged—intimating that this should change. He wrote that he would propose places for these newly arrived students, not because he imagined they would have much to do, but since they were here, they should be stationed somewhere. Now that all seven positions assigned in the *Staatsblad* had been filled,[44] Groeneveldt proposed to

appoint them in Cirebon, where an interpreter had once been stationed (De Breuk), on Banka, which position had been abolished for reasons unknown to him (Buddingh), and in Makassar, which had a large Chinese population of 4,193.[45]

Accordingly, on 13 April 1878 De Groot was appointed in Cirebon, Stuart in Mentok (Banka), and Hoetink *temporarily* in Makassar.[46] The first group of Schlegel's students trained according to the new system surely must have felt disappointed when they received this unhearty welcome in the Indies (if indeed they knew). A year later, Hoetink wrote a letter of warning to Van der Spek in Amoy. On 18 May 1879 Van der Spek noted in his *Diary*:

> Hoetink writes that there are changes in the air regarding the interpreter corps and that we perhaps won't become interpreters.[47]

The second group: Van der Spek, Moll, de Jongh (1879–1880)

The second group arrived in Amoy on 28 February 1879 and left for Batavia one year later on 3 March 1880. Much more is known about them as Van der Spek's *Diary* is still extant, [48] and he wrote fourteen "Letters from China" that were published in the newspaper *Het Nieuws van den dag* in 1879–80.[49]

They were similarly received and assisted by Pasedag. They were confronted with similar financial problems as the first group, because expenses in Hong Kong had not been advanced to them, but this issue was solved soon at their request.[50]

From their second day in Amoy, they were also helped and introduced into Chinese society by Hoetink's Chinese friends, in particular by T'ien-k'it, which was to the profit of both sides, as would appear much later.

After a week, for $35 they rented a furnished house on the Amoy side, above the store of the ship chandlers Gerard and Co. (Kopp and Rost), where they lived for one month.[51] From 8 April to 1 December they lived in the German C.O. Kopp's house on Gulangyu, where they rented three bedrooms and three sitting rooms (*see* illustration 16).[52] The last three months, from 1 December 1879 to 25 February 1880, they rented a house in Zhangzhou.

As house personnel they hired on the day of arrival a 'sampanman' (Ts'un-tsuí) and a house 'coolie' (Íng-ŏng 永旺), who had both worked for Hoetink. They also hired a cook (Bô-á) and a large and a small 'boy' (Sing-hai and Ke-á).[53] Later De Jongh and Van der Spek seem to have hired girl servants as well, one of whom was called Amay.[54] When they moved to Zhangzhou, the servants came along.

Their cook Bô-á had earlier worked for a German lady, so that he had



16. Moll, De Jongh, Van der Spek, their landlord C.O. Kopp (?), the teacher Faan Sing (?), large and small boy and another person in their house on Gulangyu, 25 April 1879 (courtesy F.R. van der Spek, Noordwolde).

been trained in Western cooking. Van der Spek highly praised his ability in one of his "Letters from China."[55] The students usually ate Dutch or at least Western food, using knives and forks. On their first trip to Zhangzhou they took along large quantities of potatoes, meat, butter, bread, brandy, soda water, etc.[56] Van der Spek and his fellow students did not like Chinese food, because of its "Chinese smell" (*'t Chineesche luchtje*), although they conceded that it was healthy. They ate Chinese food and used chopsticks only when invited by Chinese friends.[57]

After their arrival in Amoy, Pasedag—usually called 'Poki' 寶記 by Van der Spek, the Chinese name of his company—introduced them in 'The Club,' and they also met his two German clerks August Piehl and Wilhelm Haalcke who were in their mid-twenties. They also immediately went to look for Hoetink's friend T'ien-k'it 天乞, who was not at home but returned their visit later that day. The following days, according to a British custom, they paid courtesy visits to many foreign residents, which were returned later, for instance the British "2nd Consul" H.A. Giles, the German Consul C. Bismarck, and Mrs. Boyd who had known Schlegel, De Grijs, and Francken very well and spent happy evenings with them.[58] They also visited other Consuls and missionaries like John Van Nest Talmage.[59]

On the day of arrival they had already engaged De Groot's teacher Tiō Siaó Hun, whom Van der Spek usually called Tiō-lák-siā 趙六舍, "Sixth Master Tiō."[60] At the introduction of T'ien-k'it, they engaged the second teacher Ong King Tong [王經冬?], who came from the interior of Fujian. He would later be Van der Spek's teacher and accompany the students during their three-month stay in Zhangzhou. In October they learned that Ong had to pay $3 each month to T'ien-k'it, one fifth of his salary, as 'squeeze' (commission)![61] The third teacher, named Fan Sing (or Faan Sing), only appeared once in the diary.[62] Van der Spek did not provide characters for these names. They engaged another teacher later, but no name is mentioned (*see* illustration 17).[63]

Ten days after arrival, on Monday 10 March, they started studying with the teachers. In the beginning the teachers gave the students some presents that might be useful for their studies. Tiō gave each of them a copy of the novel *Pingshan lengyan* 平山冷燕, on which he wrote the Chinese name of each student and a date, and placed a poetic seal.[64] Ong King Tong, whom Van der Spek called in English "the true-born Chinaman," and who came from a wealthy family from Nanjing 南靖,[65] presented them with a small pot of red ink, the biography of his great-uncle, and a Chinese seal.[66] They also received useful presents from Hoetink's former boy P'iao. The day after they had given him a large tip of $5, he brought them "three ink-stones etc." Van der Spek was highly surprised about this generosity and wrote: "Does one find such a thing often among Dutchmen?"[67]

When they began their studies, they were probably given Chinese names by their teachers. Van der Spek introduced these names as follows:

> My name is Sih Péh 薛伯, and my style 字 is Pang Kiét 邦傑, "greatest hero in the land," because the *Book of Songs* says: "Hey, Péh is brave, greatest hero in the land!" 詩經云伯兮絜兮邦之傑也.[68]
> Moll's name is Bú P'ik 武珀 and Arie de Jongh's name is Yông Alí 楊亞理.[69]

Each student had his own teacher and was taught individually. For the first few weeks Tiō was Van der Spek's teacher; later he was taught mostly by Ong. These classes seem to have been given every day except Sunday, but is not clear how many hours they lasted. Sometimes there were only classes in the morning, when they had other activities in the afternoon.

Van der Spek only wrote in his *Diary* about his studies during the first two months, March and April 1879. He sometimes gave the titles of Chinese stories or books that he was working on, or simply mentioned that they were "studying" (*studeeren*). The study programme during these months began with 'colloquialising' stories from *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀 that they had studied earlier in Leiden, namely *Du Shiniang* 杜十娘[70] and *Maiyoulang* 賣油郎.[71] 'Colloquialising' probably meant reproducing the story in Tsiangtsiu colloquial, either in oral form before the teacher or



17. The students with their Chinese teachers, friends and servants in front of the "Dutch Consulate" (note the Dutch flag) on Gulangyu, 29 April 1879. Standing, from left to right: Ts'un-tsuí (sampanman), Hîng-saam (friend), A.E. Moll, A.A. de Jongh, J. van der Spek, T'ien-k'it (friend), Sing-lai (large boy); next row: Ke-a (small boy), sitting: the teachers Tio Siao Hun, Ong Kîng Tong, Faan Sing; in front Bô-á (cook), Íng-ông (house coolie) (courtesy F.R. van der Spek, Noordwolde).

written in transcription, just as Schaalje had done before, or both. Four days later he was working on another story, *Nü xiucai* 女秀才,[72] which he finished in ten days on 26 March. On that day he began with the *Sacred Edict*, and two days later he studied the collection of sayings *Xishi xianwen* 昔時賢文,[73] a version of which had been studied earlier by Hoffmann's students, and a new book, the popular moral tract *Mingxin baojian* 明心寶鑑.[74] Three weeks later, on 19 April, he was reading *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, the famous novel about the Three Kingdoms.[75] This is the last reference to a text which they read. The only other reference to his studies is on 12 August, when he quoted some characteristics of a novel and the structure of an essay.

Apart from reading literature they must have practiced translating Netherlands-Indies ordinances into Chinese, and Chinese account books etc. into Dutch. They had done this also in Leiden, and other students such as Young and Borel did the same in China.

Their studies seem to have slackened off during the hot season. On

20 May Van der Spek wrote: "It is already rather hot and I do not have much desire to study." And on 19 June: "For the rest each day is like the previous day. Doing little work, but not feeling bored."[76]

In addition to reading and translating, they practiced conversation, perhaps beginning by learning by heart a conversation guide as had been done before. From the conversation they probably also learned about Chinese culture and society. Van der Spek never wrote directly about what he learned about China, noting only some strange and shocking opinions of his teachers about Western civilisation, such as:

> Tiō claims that European women have a higher position than men (because the men are always so extremely polite and subservient).[77]

His later teacher Ong said about missionaries:

> Ong tells me that the missionaries cut out the eyes of dead converts and send these to Jesus in order to obtain credit. Moreover he cannot understand that we try to make converts, while they couldn't care less; the Chinese are furious at people who go over to Christianity.[78]

He only once mentioned the third teacher, after one week of studying, showing that he did not have a high opinion about the teachers:

> The teachers are so terribly stupid that Fan Sing thinks Holland is far from China but closer to Japan etc.[79]

Ong King Tong invited the students twice to take part in festivities. On 9 April, after his marriage, he invited them to see his new bride; according to Chinese custom a wife could only be shown to guests during the honeymoon period.[80] In one of his Letters from China, Van der Spek gave a detailed description of this visit, showing his appreciation of Chinese etiquette and courtesy among the literate class. According to him, in this respect the Chinese were much more civilised than the French, who were the model for all Europeans but who still seemed to be 'blunt Hannoverians' compared with the Chinese. This visit was an opportunity to practice their skills in elementary conversation. When they arrived in the bridal room to view the seventeen year old bride, one of the students said to the teacher:

> "I congratulate you. Your honourable wife is pretty and intelligent." The teacher is delighted that his students show that they have become Chinese to a large extent, and he answers: "*Khi kaam* [豈敢 how would I dare to accept?], my stupid Inner Room [內室] (that is: wife) is ugly and stupid; moreover her bound feet are very large." We say: "You are too modest, her golden lilies (poetic name for small feet) are small, only two inches long." Saying this, we again take a look at these parts of the body, at which no one in China takes offence. This interesting and polite conversation continues for almost a quarter of an hour and touches upon the large hall (small room), the beautiful (unsightly) bed, etc. I won't repeat these words, fearing that they will not be sufficiently appreciated by the "Red-Haired Barbarian."[81]

In September, Ong invited them for dinner at his home during the Ghost Festival, when according to Chinese popular belief the Doors of Hell are opened and Hungry Ghosts roam around and should be given food to deliver and pacify them (text in italics is in Chinese):

> We go to Ong King Tong, *to eat the Deliverance Meal*. We have first eaten at home. Moll eats like mad again, *the Lord of the Hungry Ghosts is a great immortal*, lots of fun and jokes, and many women are also sitting and watching.[82]

Van der Spek merrily took part in the festivities, but he was not the keen observer of Chinese customs that De Groot had been, nor did he find inspiration in Chinese festivals and their stories as Borel would later.[83]

During their studies, the students acquired a small Chinese library. About twenty of Van der Spek's books are now in the East Asian Library (KNAG Collection). Most of these are novels and other literature, but there are also the usual dictionaries, law books and the *Four Books*. On most of these books his Chinese name is written by the teacher and the seal of his style is placed.[84] De Jongh's books are now also in the East Asian Library. He donated his Chinese library to the Sinological Institute on 16 January 1936.[85]

Just as they had done in Leiden, the students took active part in the social life of the foreign community of Amoy, which according to Van der Spek comprised about sixty men and twenty women.[86] They went to dinners, 'tiffins' (lunches), parties organised by consuls and merchants, theatre performances, and they regularly visited "The Club" with its facilities. There were ample opportunities to practice their language skills, and they would sometimes speak German, English, and French on the same evening, apart from Dutch and Chinese. They would also often invite others to have dinner at their house. During these evenings, music would be made, they sang songs, told jokes and gossiped, but rarely got drunk. Van der Spek greatly enjoyed some of these evenings, but in general he did not like the merchant talk without any higher aspirations, the rudeness of the Germans and the arrogance of the English. Van der Spek liked to speculate about the national character of different nations. He admired the zeal of the Dutch of the Golden Age (seventeenth century), lamenting the "half-heartedness and little energy" (*lauwheid en weinige energie*) of his present compatriots.[87]

As pastimes, the students almost daily took walks on Gulangyu, often went horseback riding, mostly on the Amoy side, bowled and played billiards at the Club, and went hunting. In particular De Jongh liked to hunt, and he shot a large number of birds during this year; he would later be a member of the Board of the Netherlands-Indies Society for the Protection of Animals (established in 1898).

At this time there were no other Dutchmen living or staying in Amoy,

except captains and other seamen of the few Dutch ships arriving in the harbour, who were often invited for dinner to their house.

Van der Spek's best foreign friend was the Dane C. Hansen, and the students associated most with Danish and German young men. These were Pasedag's two young clerks Haalcke and Piehl, the Germans H. Budler, L.P. Michelsen, Schröte(r) and C.O. Kopp, the Danish telegraphist F. Irminger, and the Scotsman John L. Anderson. In total the names of about forty foreigners are mentioned in the *Diary*.

During the first two months, and later in Zhangzhou, their Chinese friends would invite them for dinners, to see the sights and take part in activities and outings. On 12 March 1879 T'ien-k'it invited them to see a Chinese opera at a friend's shop. This was their first visit inside the town of Amoy, about which Van der Spek wrote in his second letter:

> This was the first time we went into town. Anyone who has never before seen a Chinese town can hardly imagine what it is like. And the little town of Amoy is, according to many witnesses, "more Chinese than Chinese," in other words in crampedness, messyness and indescribable smells it is number one on the list of dirty and cramped towns of what is probably the most unhygienic people of the world. In the broadest streets at most four or five people can stand next to each other, on condition that they do not have too broad shoulders. And if one meets another person in an alley, with which Amoy is well provided, both must push themselves to the walls and slide alongside each other. If one adds that dogs and pigs are roaming in great numbers on the streets, so that one is sometimes obliged to make one's way through with a stick; that the olfactory nerves are put to the heaviest test; that one is every moment in danger of bumping into awfully smelling coolies who never wash themselves; that here and there the faces of beggars, awfully deformed because of leprosy and other illnesses grin at you; and what not! then it is easy to understand that one thinks thrice before going for a walk in Amoy for a second time.[88]

At the friend's shop they were first offered tea and cigars, but to their disappointment the opera was in Mandarin, of which they understood nothing. Moreover, Van der Spek could not at all appreciate the 'unbearable voices,' the faces 'smeared with red paint,' the 'exaggerated, ridiculous movements,' the 'false' women—at first Van der Spek did not know the women roles were played by men—and the spitting of the actors. According to him, not the least artistic illusion was present.[89]

T'ien-k'it later invited them to visit the famous Nanputuo temple 南普陀寺 in Amoy, which also did not make a favourable impression on Van der Spek (25 March). T'ien-k'it also took them on a four-day trip to Zhangzhou (31 March – 3 April). For going to the interior they needed a passport, which was written out by their teacher.[90] They travelled by Chinese junk to Chiobe (Shima 石碼), and then by sampan to Zhangzhou, the total trip lasting about nine hours; on other occasions the trip could take up to fifteen hours. In Zhangzhou they passed the nights in the

opium shop of T'ien-k'it's eldest brother T'ien-laî, where they slept on the hard beds for opium smokers. T'ien-k'it and his brother T'ien-k'ui then showed them the sights. For instance, they made a day long excursion in five sedan chairs to the Baiyun Mountains 白雲山, about 10 km South East of Zhangzhou, where they saw the place where the famous philosopher Zhu Xi (朱熹 1130–1200) had taught and lived. In one of his "Letters from China" Van der Spek described this outing.[91]

The second time they were to go to Zhangzhou, T'ien-k'it was ill, and Hîng-Saam instead took them to his home near Tong'an 同安, where he showed them the sights (30 April – 4 May). For the next four months there are no references to the Chinese friends in Van der Spek's *Diary*, so the students clearly did not become as close with them as Hoetink had been.

That summer, when the Dutch schooner *Velox* was in the harbour, they availed themselves of the opportunity to take a twenty-day trip to Formosa (25 June – 13 July). Coming from dry and barren Amoy, Van der Spek greatly enjoyed the lush vegetation and beautiful scenery of Taiwan, as Buddingh had done sixteen years earlier. They paid several visits to the tea merchant John Dodd, who was both British and Dutch Consul in Tamsui, and for whom Van der Spek felt the greatest admiration, and they visited Twatutia (now Taipei) with its tea stations and Kelung (Keelung) harbour. Van der Spek wrote a long description of this trip in his *Diary* and in his last four "Letters from China," and later also a serial in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*.[92]

When they made an excursion to the sulphur springs in the mountains near Tamsui, they visited a Chinese house, where they gave an impression of their language skills. They could not refrain from playing a practical joke, though it was much milder than their 'student pranks' in Leiden:

> On the way we rested a few times. We entered a Chinese house and pretended not to be able to speak or understand a word of Chinese, which of course did not surprise them. For fun we only spoke Dutch and disregarded their answer: thia˝ boē hiaó tit [聽未曉得] (I do not understand you, literally: 'to listen, not achieving understanding').[93] We were entertained with tea and had a sort of conversation in sign language with the host. Like in all Chinese houses, scrolls of paper were hanging on the walls, on which maxims were written; just as with us Bible texts at the railway stations. Suddenly we begin to read aloud these maxims, and now you should have seen the surprise of the Chinese bystanders! If I say that they were gaping at us, I am putting it very mildly; because the lips of a Chinese always keep a respectful distance of each other, except when he pronounces a word containing *m*, *b* or *p* (no other labials exist in the Amoy language). In short, they exclaimed a long hey! and showed an expression on their faces as if they couldn't believe their ears.[94]

When travelling in the interior, the students could in case of distress request the protection of the Chinese authorities. They did this once in September

1879 in Chiobe (Shima), on the way back from Tsiangtsiu to Amoy. In Chiobe there was only one boat available for Amoy, but the captain dared to ask the absurd price of $6 (or *f* 15). Since he could not be convinced to lower the price, they went to the *Haifang*'s 海防 office,[95] which was responsible for the protection of foreigners, delivering their Chinese calling cards and showing their passes. They were not personally received, but after waiting for a quarter of an hour, they were told that they could travel to Amoy at any price they wished to pay, and were escorted to the boat by ten policemen. The captain had fled, which proved Van der Spek's opinion that Chinese were cowards. Before leaving, the policemen asked for a tip, in English called a *cumshaw*, from Hokkien kám-siā 感謝, literally "thank you," here meaning a "present or tip." As a joke, Moll then said to their servant: "Give them 1 kak 角 (10 cash) each." In total this would amount to 100 cash, or about *f* 0,25.

> The gentlemen of the police became angry and asked if we were not ashamed. Shame is a serious matter for the Chinese. We answered: "Ashamed? Are you not ashamed, that you dare to ask for a *cumshaw*? We are not like the Chinese, who let themselves be plucked and fleeced by the police; but we are loyal subjects of the Great Country of Holland and follow the laws and customs of our country. If you dare once again to ask for anything, I'll have you brought to my elder brother, the *Haifang*, who will have you given a decent beating." They slinked off [without pay] and the captain returned.[96]

After this incident the captain was most obliging, which for Van der Spek was another proof of his cowardice. All these Chinese ways of behaviour, both of the captain and the policemen, would certainly not endear the Chinese to Van der Spek, but on the other hand, the Chinese would probably also feel no sympathy for foreigners priding themselves on their power to evade 'normal tips.'

From the *Diary* one can see that Van der Spek was seriously studying the colloquial language. Chinese names, words and phrases given in romanised form always have the correct tones, which is an important criterion for the level of competence in Chinese. They are mostly in Schlegel's transcription. A few personal names are in Douglas' transcription, probably because that was more common among the foreigners.[97]

Unfortunately, Van der Spek used characters for Chinese names only during the first few days. Later he only wrote characters when quoting book titles and written texts. Characters were not so important when one was studying the colloquial language.[98]

Van der Spek referred a few times to their level of competence in Chinese. When they visited Zhangzhou for the first time in March, he described their conversation with the Chinese teachers during a walk as "murdering the Chinese language" (*Chineesch radbraken*).[99] In August he did not have a high opinion of his own knowledge of Chinese, because,

for a certain reason (not clearly expressed), he was ready "to bet my little knowledge of Chinese (it is not much, but aside from that I have distressingly little)."[100] But later in Zhangzhou, when they were receiving a group of Chinese guests, he wrote: "we can understand most of them well."[101] However, he never reached the level on which he could enjoy a conversation in Chinese, probably not only because of his dislike for the Chinese, but also because his competence in Chinese was insufficient for a real conversation.[102]

In general, Van der Spek did not have a high opinion of China and the Chinese. He not only disliked Chinese theatre, art and food, but also had a negative opinion about the Chinese character in general, often referring to Chinese men as *staartmannen* (queue men) and women as *kleinvoeters* (small-footers, after Hokkien pák k'a 縛腳, "bound feet"). Such designations were not uncommon in the nineteenth century. Like many Westerners, he considered the Chinese in general a cowardly, crafty, treacherous, superstitious and ugly people—only once, on their visit to a tea plantation in Formosa, did he spot beautiful women.[103] Moreover they were in his opinion extremely unhygienic and even immoral. These were at the time common Western ideas, but in his *Diary* and "Letters from China" he gave examples from personal experience. Only for their immorality did he lack personal examples, mentioning Schlegel's essay about Chinese prostitution as proof. Van der Spek did not find any inspiration in Chinese literature, but only examples of queer Chinese national characteristics, and he still continued quoting his favourite European poets and other authors.

On the other hand, being a student of Chinese language and culture, he did make his own observations and had a talent for putting things in perspective. He sympathised with the hard life of the coolies, for instance on his outing in a sedan chair near Zhangzhou:

> Indeed, one should feel pity for those ill-fed Chinese, who have to carry a beef-eating European while the sun burns their bodies that are ¾ naked. It would be easy to understand if such people would have communist tendencies. True, they are not being forced to act as beast of burden for their fellow humans—except by hunger, and they do their best to obtain a load of "human meat" and earn a few stupid cents; but I do not consider this work fit for humans. Yet in the interior one has to make use of it, if one wishes to see anything without getting a sunstroke. However it is ridiculous, even irritating, that the lazy foreigners in the harbour towns, even for absurdly short distances, have themselves transported in a 'sedan.' [104]

During this trip, he also felt sympathy for the simple Chinese village people:

> After another hour we arrived in a village and stopped to give the carriers some rest. We were soon surrounded by a number of rustics. It was a pleasure to observe their childish cheerfulness and curiosity: our cigars, lorgnettes, water bottles, everything surprised them and they asked questions. … I do not

> have much experience with this, but I prefer the industrious, merry, natural Chinese rustics to the artificial, priggish, pedantic scholars among them.[105]

Through his contacts with many Chinese, he at times became well aware of Chinese aversion to Europeans, but he was also aware of the reasons for this:

> What have they heard and seen of us? They have hardly heard more than cannons and clerics, who roar almost equally hard; and seen hardly more than the arrogant English merchants, who consider it a greater sin to enjoy a glass of alcohol after twelve o'clock on Saturday evening than to treat John Chinaman as a dog.[106]

As interpreters, they would take their own, neutral position, but because of their personal contacts during their studies, they tended to sympathise with the Chinese:

> John [Bull] does not particularly like anyone who is friendly to John Chinaman, and speaks his language. … My two Dutch friends and I who are here to finish our studies of Amoy Chinese and see no reason to kick someone with slant eyes and a queue as if he were an animal, have more than once been treated with benevolence and hospitality by them, if not friendship.[107]

And being scholarly trained sinologists, they knew how to respect Chinese culture. For instance, after an account of Chinese geomancy (*fengshui*), which to Europeans was just a superstition blocking the construction of railroads etc., he wrote: "Foreigners take too little account of such deeply engrained prejudices."[108]

Studying in Zhangzhou

Schlegel was in favour of studying in Zhangzhou, and Hoetink had done so two years earlier. Probably for this reason, the second group decided to study there for some time, and in September they went to Amoy to talk this over with T'ien-k'it.[109] However, finding a house in this entirely Chinese environment was not so easy, and in three visits to Zhangzhou they did not manage to find suitable lodgings themselves. They were either 'squeezed' by T'ien-laî, cheated by a bogus landlord or simply chased away. Finally John Anderson's *godownman* (warehouse keeper) and their 'boy' found a suitable house for them.[110]

On 24 November, a week before moving to Zhangzhou (Chang-chow), they wrote a letter in English to Pasedag asking for his assistance:

> We beg to inform you, that we consider it necessary for our study of the Chinese Language and Customs to live in the city of Chang-chow, 漳州府, from the 1st December of this year till the 1st March 1880.
> Therefore we request you very kindly to communicate our purpose to the

> Tao-tai [Resident] of Amoy, in order that H.E. may send information about this to the Chinese authorities in Chang-Chow-fu.
> We hope that in this way we will be protected by them, according to the Treaty between Their Majesties the Emperor of China and the King of the Netherlands, signed at Tientsin in the year 1863.[111]

On 1 December 1879 they moved to Zhangzhou with their servants, the girl servant Amay and two teachers. They went to live in a two-storeyed house measuring 10.5 × 5.8 m, located on a lonely open spot in the town, much of which had been destroyed by the Taipings in 1864. On the ground floor there were a large hall (t'ia˘ 廳) which they used as dining room, four small rooms including one used as a bathroom, and a courtyard. On the second floor there were three bedrooms with a common verandah.[112]

From now on they were living in a completely Chinese environment. Like in Amoy, they began by being visited and paying visits to many Chinese. They met Schlegel's and Francken's teachers several times (no names are given), and local Mandarins, military Mandarins, merchants, and the Chinese physician Tân 陳, who was a student of Western medicine trained by Dr. Patrick Manson in Amoy.[113] Some Mandarins did not come themselves but sent red Chinese calling cards.[114] The only foreigners they met were a Roman Catholic priest whom they visited a few times and friends from Amoy coming over. In the new environment Van der Spek at first gave longer descriptions of his activities. Besides visits, they took long walks in the early mornings, sometimes with their teacher Ong. They also visited nearby villages and climbed the hills. He never mentioned their studies with the teachers. A typical day is the following:

> In the morning a walk and we also visit T'ien-laî. Walk from 6:30 to 9:00 in and out of the town. Zhangzhou lies within a circle of mountains, close by or farther away. Closest by the hills there is heavy clay soil. From my window I see rather high mountains. … In the afternoon eight or so guests arrive, some friends of Hoetink, others of the teachers, mostly 'show-offs.' One of them is a Moslem, a rather interesting guy. After a lot of talking, while we can understand most of them well, we take a walk with those guys, also to a garden; small but pretty. Trees, flowers, two flights of stairs to an artificial rock, small bridge, etc. A *wuyinshi* [五音石].[115]

During one of these meetings they played a 'students' prank.'

> Morning walk. In the morning two military officials come to visit us. Present cigars and after ten puffs he gives it to his neigbour to smoke. They get some bad red wine, of which they take a small sip and we carry out a plan to keep all leftover wine in a bottle and hereafter to present it again.[116]

Later that day, when they visited the Manchu official Bashisi 八十四,[117] who of course spoke Mandarin, their boy translated this into (pidgin?) English; this boy may have been from outside town, perhaps he was Cantonese, otherwise he would probably have spoken Hokkien.

> In the afternoon a visit to Bashisi, in four chairs with the boy. He stands at the door and we greet, sit down and greet, while the boy makes his body bow to the right and to the left, get tea. One hundred cops etc. around us. Boy interpreter Mandarin–English. Rise up and bow, at the door again, when getting in the sedan chair again. Visit Schlegel's teacher.[118]

On 3 December 1879, about three months before their period of study was to end, the three students wrote a joint letter announcing this to Director of Justice Buijn in Batavia, which they asked Pasedag to forward for them.[119]

In Zhangzhou Van der Spek inserted even more Hokkien words and phrases in his *Diary* than he had done in Amoy. These were now romanised in Zhangzhou pronunciation. He sometimes seems to have used Hokkien words for reasons of keeping his privacy. On the last day of John Anderson's five-day visit, they went to a Chinese brothel. Van der Spek's description in his *Diary* is unintelligible unless one understands Hokkien. In the following quotation the Hokkien words in the original are given in italics:

> Nothing special, take a walk. In a *bawdyhouse*, where I take the *prostitute* on my *knees* and feel through her *sleeve* the *tits* and *pubic hair*. Moll smokes opium.[120]

In this Chinese environment, Van der Spek seems to have acquired a better feeling for the Chinese language and people, appreciating Chinese humour:

> Now I'm starting to like some Chinese jokes; in the beginning I found them awful.[121]

The Dutch students were usually received in a friendly and polite manner, but once they met an unfriendly reception, when in the company of an unnamed Chinese musician they visited a village near Zhangzhou to attend a religious festival: k'oà˘ hiu˘ [看香], literally 'to watch the incense.' They were surrounded by an enormous mass of people, got separated from each other, and then suddenly clods of earth and stones were thrown at them. When the situation became threatening, they decided to return. Later they heard that a rumour had been spread that the foreigners, who were wearing white hats and light coloured suits, seemingly funeral clothes, had come to disturb the festivities.[122]

Despite many interesting experiences in Zhangzhou, Van der Spek was usually unhappy there. He wrote several times that he "disliked the Chinese" (*land aan de Chinezen*) and once that he "terribly hated the whole Chinese language and all Chinese."[123] At Christmas the students refused to speak a word of Chinese during the whole day. Clearly the immersion in Chinese culture was too intense for them. But Van der Spek not only disliked the Chinese; he also felt a grudge against his old friends from

Amoy, such as Hansen and Piehl, when they came over to visit them in February.[124]

They celebrated the Western New Year at home, with some dishes prepared by Pasedag's cook. While they treated their guests to cheap red wine, to their surprise the Chinese brought them a banquet! At midnight, fireworks were set off and guns were fired, and they sang Dutch songs.

But strangely, Van der Spek wrote nothing about the festivities of Chinese New Year, which lasted from 10 to 24 February.[125] In his last "Letter from China," written on 20 February 1880, he described his feelings at the end of his studies in Zhangzhou, indirectly referring to the New Year festivities:

> We now have been living for almost three months in Zhangzhou, completely isolated from other Europeans. A very good way of getting to know the Chinese national character, I agree, but for the rest … "Oh, loneliness, where are thy charms that the wise have discerned on thy face?" One hardly takes notice any more of the roaring or raging of that *mare magnum* [great ocean], the outside world; one becomes indifferent to *the bright tumuli* of civilised life, one finds oneself in solitary confinement, one vegetates, one is a living corpse. Slowly the days creep forward; when the mail arrives, one pounces on one's letters and reads them again and again, two or three days, and afterwards one eats, drinks, sleeps, takes the same familiar walks, sees the same familiar, annoying things and becomes silent as a statue for lack of matter for conversation.[126]

They left Zhangzhou on 25 February 1880, boarding a Chinese sailing ship transporting wood with very little space for sleeping. This was on the day after the Lantern Festival, the last day of the Chinese New Year Festival, but Van der Spek wrote nothing about it.[127] When he left he quoted the words that Voltaire supposedly had said when leaving the Netherlands:

> *Adieu canaux, canards, canaille,* or rather *au diable*. The canals (few and narrow, stink like Hell); no foreigner would eat ducks, because of the … [filthiness] of the Chinese; canaille, no question about that.[128]

They stayed one week in Amoy. As a farewell present they gave Pasedag a very European present: the illustrated *Goethe-Gallerie* by the German painter Wilhelm von Kaulbach. They signed the contracts with the teachers who would accompany them to the Indies,[129] and left on 3 March for Hong Kong. Then they travelled to Singapore, where they stayed for twelve days, meeting many Dutchmen and Germans, and visited the Maharaja of Johore. On 27 March they arrived in Batavia, where they stayed in the Java Hotel. Van der Spek's first impression was:

> We ended up with the matron in the Java Hotel and discovered that it was a less fine lot, all officers, who even did not abstain from cursing in the presence of women, etc.[130]

They were received by several high government officials and had a collective audience with Governor-General Van Lansberge. They also met five of their colleagues: Groeneveldt (six times) and Albrecht (twice), who had both left the interpreters' corps; the two interpreters in Batavia, Von Faber (twice) and Roelofs (thrice); and De Groot (thrice) who happened to be in town.[131] Van der Spek in particular appreciated his many visits to Groeneveldt, whom he found "extraordinarily nice" (*buitengewoon aardig*). They also visited the Museum of the Batavian Society, the clubs Concordia and De Harmonie, Buitenzorg (Bogor), etc. In his *Diary* Van der Spek wrote down all kinds of gossip and stories about the sinologists and others, and a large number of jokes that he had heard. Although the students knew Schlegel's liking for fantastic stories, they may still have been surprised by one joke of Groeneveldt's. He said to De Jongh, who had the greatest admiration for Schlegel:

> Do you know what Schlegel should have become? A quack doctor, then he would have been world famous.[132]

Van der Spek asked Groeneveldt's opinion about Schlegel's translations: "So-so." Groeneveldt gave Van der Spek more or less the advice to leave the corps when there was an opportunity,[133] an advice that he would take at heart. Government Secretary J.H. Pannekoek spoke with De Jongh about the same subject, advising him not to leave the corps immediately, but to wait and see,[134] which he would subsequently also do.

On 26 April all three were appointed in *temporary* positions: Van der Spek in Makassar, Moll in Cirebon, and De Jongh in Rembang (Java).[135]

On the way to Makassar, which took twelve days, Van der Spek visited Semarang, where he did not see De Grijs, and Surabaya, where he visited Meeter several times.[136] He arrived in Makassar on 18 May, was sworn in on 28 May, and was received by the Governor on the next day. Thus ended the *Diary*'s account of Van der Spek's studies and life in China and the Indies.

Financial problems of the third group: Ezerman, Borel, Van Wettum (1892–1894)

The third group arrived in Amoy on 6 October 1892. They planned at first to stay for one year just as the two previous groups had done, but their study period was later extended for another year at their request, and they left Amoy in August and September 1894. The colonial and consular archives give some information about their studies, but from Borel's letters to Van Eeden, his diary, and his publications much more is known about him and his studies than about his fellow students.

Upon their arrival they were received by the acting Consul General for Southern China, Karl Christian Feindel, who was at the same time career Consul for Germany. He had been made acting Consul General after P.S. Hamel became ill and left China in June 1892.[137] As before, the task of the Consul was to hand over the monthly drafts to the three students and give necessary assistance. This time, from the start there were serious financial problems that would take almost a year to be completely solved. (The reader not interested in these financial troubles can skip this section and proceed to the next.)

As with the first and second group, only the passages from Holland to China had been paid for in advance by the government, that is the travel fees up to Hong Kong. The extra travel fees from Hong Kong to Amoy, amounting to $35 per person, had not yet been paid to them. In order to pay these fees, the students had borrowed in total $100 from Consul F.G.G. Seip in Hong Kong. Borel, who was always short of cash, borrowed $70 of this for himself and his wife.

The second problem was that a monthly allowance of only $125 was paid to each student, and not the additional $15 for the teacher's salary, while in the 1870s all students had received a total of $140 per month.

The third problem was the most serious. The students were paid $125 in dollars, as prescribed by the Ministerial Resolution of 1873, but in the last twenty years the dollar had lost about one third of its value. While in Schlegel's time the official exchange rate for the (Mexican) dollar had been 2.50 hard guilders (for the Spanish dollar 2.55), it was now only 1.60.

The allowances were always paid at the end of the month; accordingly, four days after arrival Ezerman and Borel, who were clearly less prepared than Van Wettum, already asked Feindel for an advance payment of $20.[138]

On the previous day, Feindel had written a letter in English to Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk, explicitly raising the two problems of the passage fee from Hong Kong and the teachers' salary, adding that he could hardly be expected to give advance payments to students with such low allowances:

> Pasedag used to advance funds necessary for their sustenance & draw on the Colonial Exchequer for sums disbursed.
> This arrangement is impracticable under the altered circumstances as the amount of official fees in hand would hardly meet the contingency, and I am not sure that I am authorised to use Government means for the purpose indicated.[139]

At the same time the students also sent a request to the Governor-General, which was forwarded by Feindel.

Borel raised the same question a few days later in his first letter to Frederik van Eeden, dated 15 October 1892. While he wrote enthusiastically about China, he also apologised for not sending him any presents

and not repaying a certain debt to him. Now the value of the dollar had decreased from *f* 2.50-2.75 (when Schlegel was interpreter) to *f* 1.25-1.30 at present (the latter exchange rate proved to be exaggerated):

> As a result we have been simply cheated with our 125 × *f* 1.25, that is about *f* 150 per month. Since the government *continued* to pay in silver and not in gold, so that we only have half of what our predecessors received, because all prices have risen … You understand that with my 125 dollars per month that are worth *f* 1.25 here, I have to live in highly straitened circumstances and can only buy what is necessary. It was a great disappointment for us. We had fully expected the promised *f* 4,000 per year and it had been told us with certainty. … However, we intend to worm our way through and I am considering writing about China for newspapers to earn a little more; otherwise I *cannot* make ends meet. It is only for one year, and then I'll have a large salary and as much again in private emoluments in the Indies.[140]

Almost thirty years later, Ezerman wrote that the teachers also did their best to give assistance. While the students were humbly writing for help to the upper echelons in Batavia, the teachers, who as strict Confucianists at other times pretended to despise the superstitious divining practices in the temples, very thoughtfully went to the temple of Guanyin, and after making a sacrifice and offering presents, asked the will of the gods, whereupon they predicted a favourable outcome to the students.[141]

But in the beginning of December, two months after the students wrote their first request, and despite a second request to the Director of Justice, none of these problems had been solved and the Consul in Hong Kong was threatening to take judicial action against Borel. Thereupon Feindel wrote to Borel's father to inform him of his son's predicament. The students also sent letters seeking help from Schlegel in Leiden and Groeneveldt in Batavia.

In the meantime, on 24 December 1892 Pijnacker Hordijk decided to restitute the travel fees and to pay the teachers' salaries retroactively from October 1892. On 17 January 1893 Feindel sent a draft of $100 to Seip in Hong Kong repaying the students' debt. On 3 February they received the Governor-General's decision and three drafts of $184 for their January allowance and the teachers' salaries from October to January.[142]

However, Pijnacker Hordijk had made no decision on the devaluation question. Therefore, although in the meantime part of their request had been met with, the students' pleas for help to Schlegel and Groeneveldt would still prove to be indispensable.

When Schlegel received the students' plea for help, he wrote an 'urgent and confidential' letter dated Leiden 25 January 1893 to Minister of Colonies Van Dedem. Of course, he did not know that the matter had been partly solved, and still proposed that the full passage fees from Hong Kong to Amoy for the three students and Mrs. Borel should be restituted. Because of the danger of legal proceedings, he proposed to arrange the

question of the teachers' salaries also as soon as possible, if necessary by authorising the Netherlands Consul in Amoy by telegraph to settle the debt and advance the necessary teachers' salaries. Because of the devaluation of the dollar, now worth only *f* 1.60 or 800 Chinese cash, compared with the former rate of *f* 2.55 or 1,200 Chinese cash, the students could hardly make ends meet with their monthly allowance of $125. Schlegel proposed to give them an extra personal allowance of $25, resulting in a total of $150. He also forwarded the letter from Feindel to Borel's father, confirming that Borel was actually being held liable for a debt of $70. He requested to comply speedily with the youngsters' justified requests.

Minister Van Dedem indeed took swift action. He sent a telegram to Pijnacker Hordijk saying he wished to restitute travel fees from Hong Kong to Amoy, and he also wrote a letter explaining that it was fair to restitute these passage fees, although they had not been mentioned in the Royal Decree of 15 July 1892 no. 22 by which the students had entered the colonial service. In the second place, the question of the salaries of the teachers was not clear. It was not mentioned in the Resolution of 1873 (*Staatsblad van N.I.* 123), and it was not known if these had been paid in 1879–80. He let the Governor-General decide. Finally, $125 was too low because of the present exchange rate. The conditions of study should be changed or the students should be given personal allowances as Schlegel proposed.[143]

At that time Groeneveldt was nearing the summit of his official career; he was not only Honourary Advisor for Chinese Affairs but also a member of the Council of the Indies, and he would later that year become its Vice-President. When he received the students' plea for help, he wrote to Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk on 29 January 1893 that he assumed the teachers' pay had been neglected by mistake, since it had been given in the past. He had already informally heard that the Director of Justice was taking measures to arrange the matter. He did not mention the passage fees from Hong Kong, which had already been paid. The second complaint was about the devaluation of the dollar, making their income insufficient. He considered this complaint also well founded. Although they were formally allowed $125 per month, and according to the letter of the Resolution they could make no claim for more, their incomes had gradually decreased owing to the continuing devaluation of silver, while on the other hand the government profited in the same measure, having had to pay a smaller amount of guilders for those $125. This could not be the intention of the Resolution. The government should take a fixed value for the dollar and each month buy drafts for each student, just as for the Chinese teachers in the Indies who were engaged at $25 per month, but were paid in guilders (25 × *f* 2.55 = *f* 63.75). Therefore the Director of Justice should also pay each student monthly 140 × *f* 2.55. In that way they would receive a larger amount of dollars, so that the devaluation of the dollar would no longer

cause a significant loss for them, actually resulting in a slight gain for the government.[144] These measures should also be made retroactive.

Thereupon Pijnacker Hordijk consulted the Director of Justice, W.A. Engelbrecht. He agreed with Groeneveldt but added that in the draft budget of the Netherlands Indies for 1893, *f* 312,50 (125 × 2.50) had already been reserved, and he proposed an exchange rate of 2.50,[145] as had been effective by law in 1856 and 1873.

After Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk had received the Council's and Engelbrecht's advice and the letter from Minister of Colonies Van Dedem (which must have arrived by the middle of March 1893), he decided in accordance with Engelbrecht's advice on 14 April 1893 (no. 5).[146]

From February to April 1893 the students had duly received a monthly allowance of $125 + $15 = $140.[147] On 13 May they received a letter from the Governor-General announcing the full compensation of the exchange rate, which they would receive around 1 June.[148] But when on 2 June they received drafts of $433.68 as compensation for October to April and a monthly allowance of $207.44 for May (allowance and teacher's pay), this was a great disappointment. The official rate at the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation in Amoy was 1.60, while the Department of Justice had bought the drafts in Batavia at a rate of about 1.70. The students again wrote a letter of protest, stating that their monthly allowance should be $227.50 and the compensation for October to April fell short by $124.62. They asked to be paid in guilders in the future.[149]

During this bickering about their financial conditions, probably an essential role was played by Borel, who not only had no qualms about protesting against his superiors, but also had great difficulty in budgeting his own expenses and was always short of cash.

In reaction to their protest, the Indies Government used a better form of remission, and for the month August the students received $222.93.[150] This was still not satisfactory, and Dr. Franz Grunenwald, who was now acting Consul General,[151] also wrote a letter to the new Director of Justice, A. Stibbe, at the same time requesting on behalf of the students to arrange that the drafts should arrive at the beginning of each month instead of at the end.[152] As from September they were paid in drafts in guilders that could be exchanged at Tait & Co in Amoy, and the drafts would arrive earlier. After about a year of constant complaints and protests, the financial situation of the students was finally arranged in a satisfactory manner.[153]

The extension to two years in China

On 24 February 1893 the students received a letter from Groeneveldt informing them that he had forwarded their request and done his proposal

to Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk. He probably also suggested that they could extend their studies if they wished. Two days later Borel wrote to Van Eeden:

> I like it here so well that I am thinking of probably staying longer than the prescribed one year, and of going to the Indies in January or February 1894 (instead of October). When requested this is always allowed.[154]

When the Governor-General announced the compensation in the letter received on 12 May, he also notified them that if they wished, they could stay a year longer in China. Two days later, Borel wrote this in a letter to Van Eeden, adding: "I will accept this with pleasure."[155] No doubt they were told that they had to submit a well-argued request if they wished to stay longer, and studying another dialect may have been suggested as a positive condition. The idea of offering the students a second year in China must have come from Groeneveldt. He was the only high official with a well-founded personal opinion about this question.

A week later, on 22 May 1893 two students, Ezerman and Van Wettum, sent a request to Pijnacker Hordijk for extension of their studies in China with another year. Their argument was that from October 1892 to May 1893 they had experienced how useful their stay in China was for learning the spoken language, but that they feared after one year they would not yet be advanced enough to be able to adequately fulfill their functions in the Netherlands Indies. Therefore they hoped to have an opportunity to practice the spoken language more, in particular in the interior, and to learn more about Chinese customs and conditions. If permission were given, they intended to stay for a few months in the Hakka districts in order to learn the basics of the Hakka dialect as well.

Director of Justice Stibbe, advised taking the request into consideration, although it was without the seal required for requests to the government. Since the time allowed for their studies by Ministerial Resolution, a total of five years, had passed, it would be impossible for the Governor-General to decide in the affirmative, but he could ask the advice of the Honorary Advisor for Chinese Affairs, and then request putting it on the national budget.[156]

Two weeks after Ezerman's and Van Wettum's request, on 5 June 1893, Borel wrote exactly the same request to Pijnacker Hordijk, with one exception:

> that he is not unconditionally sure that, if permitted, …, he would stay a few months in the Hakka districts, because he might have to devote all his time to learning the Amoy and Tsiangtsiu dialects;
>
> that he therefore wishes to be given the liberty to decide later if it seems desirable to him to proceed temporarily to the Hakka districts, and that he, if he cannot go there, and is later stationed in a place where Hakka is the main dialect, wishes to be given the privilege that his predecessors had, of studying the Hakka dialect for some months in that town in the Netherlands Indies.[157]

The Council of the Indies, with Groeneveldt as Vice-President, advised on 7 July 1893 to take Ezerman's and Van Wettum's request into consideration, although it was without seal, because it was an official matter that could have been requested in a normal letter (*missive*). The same was true of Borel's request, which had not been seen by the Director of Justice. The advice of the Council began:

> According to the Council's Vice-President, one year for studies in China is certainly too short. However much the youngsters may have learned in Leiden, they cannot become very proficient in the Chinese spoken language, and they need one year of practical exercise in China before they are able to use it to any extent.
>
> Only then they are adequately equipped to study successfully the characteristics and customs of that nation, by way of free and easy contacts with the Chinese; this part of their training should not be neglected, since in the Indies they are often asked to give information on these topics.[158]

Groeneveldt added that all interpreters trained according to the Resolution of 1873 had told him that one year in China was not enough, and previously the studies in China had lasted at least two years and often much longer. It would be profitable for the State if these requests were accepted. This matter should be regulated by a Ministerial Resolution, since the extension was because of generally prevalent reasons and not confined to this case. There would be no need to change the budget since the extra costs could be transferred within the budget from the projected interpreters' and their clerks' salaries in the Indies, which would amount to about the same.[159]

Since the original study period would end in October, there was still time to consult the Minister of Colonies, but the permission should be given by the Governor-General, so it would be best if the Minister answered by wire.

Pijnacker Hordijk agreed with this advice and sent it to Minister of Colonies Van Dedem on 20 July 1893. At the Ministry, Bureau D (personnel) also advised positively, remarking that no objection had been raised against having to wait another year for the interpreters, so that should not be a great problem—evidently, the need for new interpreters was not so urgent.

On 12 September, Minister Van Dedem sent a telegram to Pijnacker Hordijk: "longer stay interpreters China O.K." (*langer verblijf tolken China goed*).[160] The latter wired a similar message to Amoy on 16 September 1893.[161]

At the same time, Van Dedem asked Schlegel if it would be necessary to change the Resolution of 1873. In his reply, Schlegel proposed without much enthusiasm that the original maximum study time of five years could be extended to six years, of which at most two years could be spent in China. He added that in general the students could easily complete their

studies in five years, but the last three youngsters in Leiden had taken a little more time than the earlier ones—they actually needed eight months more—for which they themselves were to blame: they had definitely not studied with the same diligence and seriousness as their predecessors, and made too much misuse of the freedoms of student life. Therefore they now needed to compensate their losses in China.[162]

Nevertheless, Schlegel also considered it in the interest of their later service to the government to extend their studies in China to a maximum of two years.

He also proposed to raise their monthly allowance in China, because of the devaluation of the dollar, which was now only worth *f* 1.50—even less than at the beginning of the year. He proposed to raise their allowance from $125 to $175 per month, and also pay $15 for the teachers (without a raise).

Schlegel continued that for the present students, the situation had been ameliorated, but it had taken a lot of writing in both directions (*heen en weer geschrijf*), during which the students were so to say in want, in particular of the necessary funds for settling in the interior, and consequently had lost precious study time.

In the future, students in China should immediately be compensated for travel fees from Hong Kong to Amoy, and the Consul should be authorised to pay the monthly allowances, so that they would not be dependent upon the Consul's benevolence and have to wait for months before receiving their allowances.

Minister Van Dedem changed the resolution on 9 October, but only in part followed Schlegel: the study time became as Schlegel proposed, but the allowances were to be reckoned in Dutch guilders, as Groeneveldt had written, but at the official rate that had been decided for the present students in April. From now on, all students could study for two years in China, and the allowances would be *f* 312.50 for students and *f* 37.50 for teachers, with a fixed exchange rate for the dollar of 2.50.[163]

The dialect question again (1893)

Almost a decade earlier, in 1884 and 1885, the dialect question had been raised in Parliament by J.T. Cremer. He had asked if it was advisable to train students in the dialects of Guangdong, and whether the interpreter corps should be split into two sections, one for Hokkien and one for Hakka. After consulting Groeneveldt and other experts, Minister Sprenger van Eyk had answered that splitting the corps was not necessary since the interpreters would be able to master two dialects. In addition, he decided that a new Chinese course should start in Leiden. In 1888, after Schlegel's course had been started, the same question was raised again in Parliament:

> The Chinese interpreters only learn the Hokkien dialect. On Sumatra other dialects are also spoken nowadays. Is it not necessary to take account of this during their training?

The Minister answered that from now on the government intended to have the student-interpreters also learn "the other dialect spoken in the Indies, Hakka;" but in the opinion of the advisors of the Netherlands Indies government, this could only be done in China; in the Netherlands only the basics of the Chinese language were being taught.[164]

In October 1893, during the debate about the Netherlands Indies budget for 1894, the same question was raised again, doubtless again by Cremer. He remarked that the plan to train interpreters in the Guangdong (Kuantung) dialect had not been realised, although immigration from Guangdong province in the Outer Possessions had continued. Now the study period of the student-interpreters had been extended by the Ministerial Resolution of 9 October.[165] Cremer asked the Minister of Colonies if care had been taken to train them in "the Guangdong dialect."[166]

Minister Van Dedem asked Schlegel for his opinion, adding that from the students' requests it appeared that they were studying more than one dialect, but it was not clear if this was "the Guangdong dialect."[167]

More than thirty years earlier, there had been a misunderstanding within the government because the name "Canton" could refer both to Guangdong Province (Kuantung, Kwangtung) and to Canton city (Guangzhou 廣州). As a result, five Dutch interpreters had studied Cantonese, a dialect that was at the time rarely spoken in the Indies. This misunderstanding was now repeated: while Cremer and Minister Van Dedem meant Guangdong *province* with its Hakka and Hoklo dialects, just as in the parliamentary minutes of 1884–5 (when Schlegel's advice was not asked), Schlegel understood it as Canton *city* with the Cantonese dialect. He must have been confused because the Minister used the *singular* form,[168] and the names Guangdong and Canton are identical when written in Chinese characters (廣東).[169]

Schlegel replied immediately to Van Dedem's letter, as if bitten by a hornet. On 1 November 1893 he wrote that there were no strong objections to learning a second dialect for the student-interpreters, but that it should *in no way* be "the Guangdong dialect" (*Kuan-tung dialect*, meaning Cantonese), because this was spoken nowhere in the Indies:

> The older interpreters (to whom I also belonged) have had to learn this dialect on orders of the government, with the sad consequence that they laboured for nothing and frittered away their time.[170]

The second dialect to be learned by the students should be Hakka, which was spoken by the Chinese in the Outer Possessions.

Still it would be better, according to Schlegel, if the students did not

learn a second dialect in China. This would only lead to confusion, and instead of learning to speak one dialect reasonably well, they would learn to speak two dialects *poorly*. For instance, if one of the students was appointed on Java, he would never be able to use his Hakka and would forget it within a few years. The same would be true if he had learned Hokkien and was stationed in the Outer Possessions, such as Montrado, Pontianak, or Banka. The government had been messing about too much with the interpreters.[171] But since the students wished to learn a second dialect, there were no strong reasons for not allowing them to do so.[172]

Three days later, Van Dedem replied by asking Schlegel why he did not mention the East Coast of Sumatra (Deli), while the parlementarian minutes of 1885 were about that region. He asked if Hakka and not "the Guangdong dialect" (dialect from Guangdong province) was spoken there.[173]

Schlegel replied on 7 November, continuing the misunderstanding about the name "Guangdong" (Kuantung), which he now spelled correctly "Kwangtung."

He wrote first that he did not understand why the Minister was asking the same question again, since he had clearly written that "the Guangdong dialect" (Cantonese) was nowhere spoken in the Indies. He referred to his *nota* of 1873 about the Chinese dialects in the Indies,[174] concluding that on the plantations of the East Coast of Sumatra a mixture of dialects was spoken, while Cantonese was only spoken by some prostitutes from Canton. Then he summarised Schaank's 1885 article about the Chinese in Deli.[175] Schaank's conclusion was that for Deli (East Coast of Sumatra) one should mainly study the Hoklo and Hakka dialects, although the Amoy (Tsiangtsiu) dialect could also be useful.

Schlegel expected that the Amoy dialect would gain the upper hand in Deli, since coolies were as much as possible to be brought from Amoy in order to end the endless feuds between Chinese from different regions.[176] Schlegel was evidently irritated; greatly exaggerating, he said that if the Netherlands Indies would appoint an interpreter for every Chinese dialect, the corps of eight would have to be enlarged to forty interpreters. He added that Chinese from other regions always learned the locally predominant dialect in order to communicate with the other Chinese. For instance, all Hakkas and Cantonese on Java spoke Amoy Chinese; just as Germans who settled in the Netherlands learned Dutch (like his father and his teacher Hoffmann). His conclusion was that the interpreters should only learn two dialects: Tsiangtsiu (Amoy, Hokkien) and Hakka.

Van Dedem wrote in the margin that he was surprised about Schlegel's statement that "the Guangdong dialect" was nowhere spoken in the Indies, but that on account of this he had changed his draft answer in Parliament.[177] The result was as follows:

> The Guangdong dialect [Cantonese] is spoken nowhere in our Colonies, therefore training in it would be useless. The Chinese in our Outer Possessions either speak the Tsiangtsiu (Amoy) dialect that is common on Java, or a related dialect [Hoklo], or the Hakka dialect, and the student-interpreters who are now in China are studying that dialect.[178]

Life on Gulangyu

When the students arrived in Amoy, there was no European house available on Gulangyu, and they first stayed in the hotel. They rented rooms at the reasonable rate of $1.50 per night, about $45 per month.[179] Three months later, in January 1893 Borel and his wife were still living in the hotel, but by then the hotel keeper agreed to charge a cheaper rate of $75 per month for both.[180] In June 1893 they moved to a bungalow atop a rock in Gulangyu, which they rented until October.[181] This house had a beautiful view on all sides. It was called Tsióh t'aô bé 石頭尾, 'Stone's Tail' (Stone's End).[182] Borel was very happy here. Since one could not live in the house during the winter, they again stayed in a hotel in October, and from November 1893 they lived in another, ordinary house close to the sea.[183] It is not known how long Ezerman and Van Wettum stayed in the hotel, but at some time they also moved to a place for themselves.[184] Like Borel, they probably continued to live on Gulangyu. There is no evidence that any student went to the Hakka districts or studied the Hakka dialect.[185]

For Borel, the main reason for renting a house during the summer of 1893 was that his wife was expecting a baby in September. They rented the house for $40, but they also engaged domestic personnel including a cook, a 'boy,' two coolies etc., with expenses for food ("very cheap, 50 cent per day") in total costing $110 per month, so Borel still had $100 to spend.[186] At least in September, Borel also engaged an Amah.[187] On 5 October 1893, Borel's wife gave birth to a daughter, Wilhelmina Suzanna (Mientje). Other members of his household included at times a monkey, various birds, and a large pack of dogs, one of which was a large hunting dog called Hector.[188]

Disciplining his servants was just as difficult for Borel as it had been for Schlegel to discipline Borel. After he had kept a household for about half a year, and after a few incidents, he finally knew how to deal with his domestics. On 25 November 1893 he wrote to Van Eeden about the Amoy Chinese:

> They are a queer kind of people. In the past, when I was nice to them, talked with them etc., I was cheated and robbed. *Now* I snap at my servants, and never concern myself with them, and if the least thing is not in order, I scold them. And now it's smooth sailing all the way. Now they think I'm a great mandarin. Isn't that miserable? And so much depends upon them. When you

> are served badly, get bad food, and your things are dirty, that has a greater influence on you than you realise. In order to have those people feel respect for you, you absolutely have to invite now and then a Consul, *haí koàn* [海關, Customs official], for dinner, who is the greatest foreign Mandarin. They love to serve such distinguished guests who dine with their *Daotai* [Resident] and Vice-Roy. A Mandarin is after all a different kind of being than an ordinary Chinese. By chance my teacher got to know that my father is a great military Mandarin. Now *all* the Chinese call me Taī Dzîn (大人), that is Great (Grand) Man, the title of the Mandarins.[189]

Borel had very little contact with his fellow students and seldom mentioned them. On 15 May 1893 he wrote to Van Eeden:

> Ezerman and Van Wettum I rarely see. I lost them completely during the last year. In particular Ezerman, I cannot stand him any more. I have still tried to get along with him somewhat, but it is impossible. I feel *physically unwell* when he is near me.[190]

The next time he mentioned them was in December. On 5 December he invited them over to his house for the Saint Nicholas Day festival. He wrote to Van Eeden that although he did not like them, on such an evening it was possible to be together like brothers and forget it, giving a long description of the festivities and the presents given.[191]

Although he noticed that by living in isolation from other people, not seeing anyone, he had made progress in his studies and thinking, his relationship with his wife suffered because of his bad temper when she disturbed his thinking. Later, after he changed his behaviour, his relationship with his wife and colleagues improved. On 18 December he wrote:

> Therefore I have been more sociable lately. For instance, every Saturday I invite Ezerman and Van Wettum (of whom I do not think much) and we play a game and drink something nice, very commonplace. I also pretend interest in all kinds of small trifles and act as if I knew nothing about art and philosophy. When I am so humdrum, Christine always comes through with a very strange sweetness, which helps me much more than a long session of thought.[192]

Borel also had little contact with other foreigners in Amoy. The only person with whom he could talk was the British Consul Forrest, who had introduced him to antique shops.[193] He found it very unpleasant that he could not talk with anyone about literature, and wrote about the foreign community: "a few hundred Europeans, who don't amount to much" (*niet veel zaaks*).[194]

In one letter to Van Eeden he described a social gathering at which something special happened:

> Yesterday I had a beautiful experience. I had dined at the home of a certain Mr. Hughes, the 'bigwig' of the island. You should know that I sometimes on purpose mix among the people, to be normal, to speak English, and keep myself informed of things. But it is a real chore. Those English are rather stupid

> people. The ladies (there are about thirty of them here) are awfully dressed and always flirting. It is very disgusting, that ugly behaviour of married women. After dinner and the traditional cigar smoked by the men, I appeared again in the drawing room, where they were making music. Very bad, much poorer than in Holland, all those songs. Something like *café chantant*. There was among the ladies one who had newly arrived, with a very gentle face, still young but with grey hairs on her forehead. That made an impression of sadness with her light eyes and the rest of her hair that was light gold. She was the only one I could talk to, and she loved music so much, she said. I absolutely had to play, but I warned Mr. Hughes that it would not at all go down well. Now you should know that I really like to play because I play so rarely, I have no piano. And I played that (I think Adagio) beginning of the *Moonshine Sonata*. Nice that they became so silent, all those ugly people, as if they had a vague premonition that something would happen. I had forgotten what was sitting around me, and I played it continuously, very well and simply. When I stood up they were all a little taken aback, but soon afterwards again started a 'song.'[195]

Borel's wife told him that the new lady had been crying during the music and had been watching him with a very sad look. For Borel, who loved to play the piano and had a weak spot for women, this was a most interesting experience.

Borel's greatest hobby was collecting Chinese art. He had already bought his first piece in The Hague, and now seems to have spent all his money on buying art. Collecting also was an important motivation for Borel's travels to the interior. He became proficient in evaluating prices and recognising fakes. He often wrote to Van Eeden and Thorn Prikker about new additions to his collection. One of his favourite pieces was a Pik Ting (*Bai Ting* 白汀) porcelain statue of Guanyin, a photograph of which later appeared as frontispiece in his *Kwan Yin*. In the summer of 1893, he had a picture taken of himself in Chinese dress, in his House on the Rock, sitting surrounded by his art and leafing through a traditional Chinese book (*see* illustration 18). He sent this picture to Van Eeden and Thorn Prikker.[196] His fellow students Van Wettum and Ezerman also collected Chinese artifacts and art.[197]

During his first year, Borel had a very high opinion of the Chinese and of his teachers, mainly based on their outward appearance. In his first letter to Van Eeden, ten days after arrival, Borel wrote about the educated class in his typical impressionist style:

> I found in them nothing of rudeness, unwieldiness, or the like, but found them so beautiful and elegant of movement and gesture that I loved them. They have a singular walk, a way of lifting their hands, when they want to get something, a way of bowing, so very sensitive, that one would think they are a better people than we are. I first did not wish to observe these people from the inside, but only wished to have the beauty of their outward appearance enter into me, of their gowns, their walk and gestures, just as they live before my eyes in colour, line and movement.[198]



18. Borel in Chinese dress in his house on the rock on Gulangyu, summer 1893 (B745/IV/13, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).

And three months later, Borel wrote with great sympathy about the misery and cheerfulness of the lowest classes of Chinese:

> The Chinese are a very unhappy, poor, neglected, but good people. A very clever people, but also very naïve. You have no idea how primitive they are.
>
> I penetrated deeply into Amoy itself. Foreigners rarely go there, except in the suburbs. One million people live in filthy slums, in narrow alleys with dirt, and bins with faeces, and mud, and damp vapours coming out of the soil. Much, much worse to see than what I saw of slums in Paris. A beautiful city for your eyes, those narrow little streets full of gold, everywhere gold, gold, gold on black shops and sign boards, everywhere red, and in the twilight there is mist and golden vapour with a glory of light from lamps, and in the golden mist the gowns of the Chinese, softly moving colours. But too horrible to find it beautiful in a way that would make you glad and happy. A misery which makes you hurt, as if something terrible had been done to you personally. Thousands of coolies toiling under enormous burdens, worse than beasts, and they are lean, and sick with misery. Beggars move around with bodies that are not human, but rotten pieces, decayed legs upon which pus and sores are golden-green, sometimes swollen as elephants' feet. Also bodies without legs, that jump forward on the ground. And screaming, roaring like beasts, because the coolies run with their burdens shouting "k'ap tióh, oa-á, oá" [磕着, 倚阿, 倚] (Watch out for bumping! Out of the way!), without end.
>
> But within that misery an agility, a great liveliness. Say something to one of those beast-coolies and he laughs like a child; ask those wretches something,

> and they begin to talk like children, and laugh, laugh out of pure pleasure that such an ugly foreigner in all those black clothes understands them. Among themselves also a lot of fun, when they have a moment of rest. Not the rudeness and dirtiness of a low-class Amsterdammer. But with lively, elegant gestures and laughter, such movements and sounds that one sees directly that they are a better people. Yes, that merry cheerfulness of those Chinese in their misery is really something, it is an emotion to see and you begin to love them in the mass.[199]

But after a year, and after several conflicts, and suffering from the hot climate and his too intense studies of Buddhism, leading to a month of illness in October, his opinions changed drastically and became similar to Van der Spek's final negative opinions in 1879. In a letter to Van Eeden of 21 December 1893, he first expressed his regret about the decline of Chinese artists and art, but ended in a general complaint about the Chinese:

> It is a pity that the Chinese nowadays no longer include such types, and are such enormously bad, mean people. I think that I earlier wrote rather enthusiastically about the Chinese, but I was misled, typically Mr. Artist … But "take care!" It is a degenerate race; they are cowardly slaves, cheats, and pederasts. It is so serious that for instance onanism, pederasty etc. are not even considered vices here, and become publicly known. These people have no feeling at all for good or bad, right or wrong. For instance, yesterday I talked for two hours with my teacher about the fact that if someone could sell something worth 5 cents to me for 100 dollars, saying that it is worth that much, a Chinese does *not* consider this cheating. They are such crafty thieves that they have made theft into a virtue. They cheat the foreigners and they cheat each other. They do not know gratitude. I had a coolie who said his breast was hurting because of the water-hauling from the well. To the great amusement of my English friends, I then hired another coolie for that work. One week later the former robbed me.[200]

Borel's teachers

The students started their studies with the teachers on Friday, 19 October 1892, two weeks after their arrival.[201] Like their predecessors, they also took on Chinese names that were probably chosen with the help of their teachers. Borel called himself Bú-lé 武禮 (*Wuli*), literally: "Military Etiquette," a combination of warlike and peaceful virtues. This name can be found on a red seal in his diary from Amoy. Van Wettum's name was Bík-tam 墨湛 (*Mozhan*), literally "Imbued with Ink [Scholarship]." He also had a style (*zi* 字) which matched his name: Hān-hiong 翰香 (*Hanxiang*), literally: "Fragrance of the Writing Brush." Seals with these names were printed on the Chinese books that he acquired in Amoy. No Chinese name of Ezerman is known.

Borel gave long descriptions of his teachers in his letters to Van Eeden.

In January 1893 he was taught by a teacher named Ts'î Pik Kang 徐伯江,[202] whom Borel always called by his given name Pik Kang. He wrote to Van Eeden:

> And then my teacher Pik-kang, with his pointed nose, and his Apache face, just like an American Indian with a queue. I do not understand anything about that character. He explains to me those super-wise books of Confucius and Laozi, in such a way that he must surely understand all of it to be able to say it that way. … explaining it to me as if it is as simple as an ABC-book, speaking, gesturing. His gestures are worth gold. … He makes gestures for almost anything when I do not fully understand his words.[203]

Borel was at the time very fond of Pik Kang, and he even wished to take him along to Europe on his leave. Pik Kang must have been the teacher of one of his fellow students. Borel later wrote that in the beginning they often switched teachers, but later he stopped using their teachers. He wrote to Van Eeden almost in a doctor's style:

> In the past I sometimes switched with the two other teachers of Ezerman and Van Wettum, but they are too much addicted to opium to ever recover. I have often tried to do something for them but nothing helps against opium illness if you cannot constantly observe the patient.[204]

From the start, his own teacher was Tio Siao Hun 趙少勳, who had also been De Groot's and Van der Spek's teacher, and who was now almost sixty years old (*see* illustration 19). On 16 May 1893 he wrote about Tio:

> I owe a lot of my progress in Chinese to my old teacher Tio Siao Hun. Enormously learned is that man, and at the same time so surprisingly ignorant. … He is an eminent man. What a 'spirit' in a Chinese! You should see him once, when he is talking about the Chinese theatre! He is himself almost an actor. His gestures are wonderful to see. Everything that he tells you, you can see happening before your eyes. Besides, he is a very capable artist. … Tio never had a chance to study and he was a poor schoolmaster, who did not have much time to be alone with his art. … He makes those simple landscapes from which you can feel he is a real artist.[205]

At this time, Borel also planned to take along this teacher to the Indies as his 'secretary,' and later to show him Europe during his leave. Borel also promised him that he could come to live in his new house:

> He hates filthy Amoy with all its misery, and is very happy that in June he gets a room in my rather large house to live in. This summer I'll keep him out of Amoy, because with the fierce heat there is cholera, fever, etc, and it would be a great loss for me, an unsurmountable loss, if he suddenly passed away.[206]

More than thirty years later, Borel wrote an article about his first teacher, his "first-born" ("De eerstgeborene"), a literal translation of Chinese *xiansheng* 先生, "teacher." In this article he said that he engaged Tio for a monthly salary of $12 for four hours of teaching per day, "which certainly



19. The teacher Tio Siao Hun in Amoy, ca. 1893 (Henri Borel, uncatalogued, Letterkundig Museum).

cannot be considered a great amount of money" (*wat toch stellig geen rijkdom mag heten*). But Borel had paid his teacher better than he remembered; he had not underpaid him. According to undated lists of monthly expenses in his notebooks from Amoy, he paid him $15 when living in the hotel, and when renting the house on the rock, once $18, several times $20 and once even $24.50 and $25.50.[207] This should be more or less in accordance with the varying amounts paid to him by the government. The teacher's salary of *f* 37.50 should in dollars be about $22.

In this article he described Tio's outward appearance as follows:

> He was an old man, far into his fifties, who always walked in a long, silken gown, on thick felt slipper-shoes, with his long queue solemnly on his back, and spectacles with extra large glasses. When he sat down on a chair, he did so slowly, reverently, as if he were landing on a throne, and he remained seated with his silken gown in superb folds and his colossal sleeves hanging down widely, as if he were a statue, in motionless rest. It was not long—just as long as I needed to learn to understand him—before I noticed that he actually was my spiritual father, and I, who engaged him, his child.[208]

Despite Borel's exalted description of his teachers, there was also a dark side to them, which he soon noticed, and which would in the end have a serious consequence. 'Squeeze' was one of the facts of life in China, and Borel knew already in January that Pik Kang was squeezing him when

introducing him in the shops of Amoy. But Tio not only did that, he also monopolised Borel's household. No vendor could come to his house without paying 'squeeze' to the teacher, probably when Tio was living with Borel. After more than a year Borel finally found this out as well, and now he understood why Tio had accepted his meagre salary![209]

One can only guess that this was the reason why in the autumn of 1893 Borel suddenly fired his beloved teacher Tio. He only once casually referred to this incident in a letter to Van Eeden:

> Nowadays I have another teacher, a Chinese from Zhangzhou, and he is even a *xiucai* (doctor in literature), a real bigwig, who knows much more about it than the old Tio. (This Tio had cheated me and I had to remove him.)[210]

He added about the new teacher:

> A *xiucai* is a true bigwig, since the literati are the highest class. A simple *xiucai* is here *really* more respectable than a millionaire. His father is a *juren* (one grade higher), and he has a large placard and a wooden board before his doorpost, on which he is praised as an example, and he can visit the highest mandarins.[211]

A few years later Borel wrote in an essay entitled "The Glamour of the Chinese" about his former teacher Tio: "He was a bad man, a scoundrel, a cheat, like the others."[212] Of course, nothing remained of Borel's magnificent plan to take Tio to the Indies and to Europe, and he probably never engaged him again; at least he never mentioned his name again in his letters or diary. From now on he only referred to "my teacher" without giving any name.

In his diary, Borel seems to refer indirectly to this and other incidents that had happened during the preceding months. On 22 November 1893, he started keeping a diary for the first time in China, writing:

> Let me not now attempt to unravel what a great many unpleasant things have happened to me. When I come to think about it, I have been very unhappy. Mostly due to myself. I have given too little consideration to other people's positions and affairs. I wanted to get too much out of life. And now I have more of less discovered for the first time ... that—I do not know how and why—I am a very evil man, and also very good, but everything is relative. ... My first duty should be: to forgive, to have compassion, to love.[213]

Many years later, Borel would express his indebtedness to his first teacher Tio, just as he would be grateful to Schlegel. In 1916, after hearing that Tio had passed away, he dedicated his collection of essays about Chinese literature and philosophy *De Geest van China* (*The spirit of China*) to Tio with the words:

> Dedicated to the memory of my simple, old Chinese teacher TIO SIAO HUN who first initiated me into Chinese philosophy and imparted to me the Spirit of China, in the years 1892–4.[214]

In 1920, when Borel revisited Amoy, he also payed his respects to Tio Siao Hun's grave.[215]

Borel's studies

A few days after their arrival in Amoy, each student received from the Consul, on behalf of the Governor-General, a copy of Volume I of De Groot's *Religious System of China*, which had just been published in Leiden.[216] They were not only to study the Chinese language, but also Chinese customs and manners.[217]

The studies in China were much more intense than they had ever been in Leiden. Now they were taught four and a half hours per day, 27 hours per week, while in Leiden Schlegel had only taught them six hours per week. On 17 January 1893, Borel wrote to Van Eeden:

> Do you know how we live here? Very simply, and every day the same. In the morning from 9:30 to 12 I study Chinese with my Chinese teacher, read books, talk about things etc. In the afternoon from 2 to 4 the same. From 4 to 8:30 I take a walk, and eat. From 8:30 to an indefinite hour, sometimes 1:30 at night, I review and drill, only interrupted by an hour of teaching English to Christine.[218]

The curriculum consisted of reading (colloquialising) stories from *Jingu qiguan*, classical literature and later mostly practical texts. Borel's first notebook from Amoy, dated 19 October 1892, contains a vocabulary of "Du Shiniang," a story from *Jingu qiguan* which they had read in Leiden as well, and which they probably colloquialised.[219] In January 1893, his teacher Pik Kang explained 'Confucius' and 'Laozi' to him in a very simple manner.[220] In February 1893 he was also studying and translating a book about Guanyin, *Guanyin jidu benyuan zhenjing* 觀音濟渡本願真經.[221] He made a Dutch translation in a small notebook.[222] He wrote very enthusiastically about this book to Van Eeden. Borel always found much inspiration in this and other Buddhist sutras, but he conceded that he would still need another ten years before he could master the language.[223]

In May 1893 he was reading another book, the *Zhongyong* 中庸 (Doctrine of the Mean), one of the *Four Books*, which he perhaps had read in Leiden as well. In a letter to Van Eeden he criticised James Legge's translation, just as Schlegel often did in his dictionary:

> The most famous sinologist, James Legge, translated all the *Five Classics* and the *Four Books* (the so-called Classics, no Buddhism) but horribly. There is one book among them, the *Zhongyong* of Confucius, the Doctrine of the Pure Middle, which he spoiled awfully by seeking all kinds of things behind it that are not at all actually in it. It is a very simple book, and everything is written very clearly, it is sublime in its simplicity. … I am translating it, orally in the colloquial, the spoken language.[224]

Borel also studied the *Daodejing* 道德經, which was not taught in Leiden:

> There is another book, by Laozi, the *Daodejing*. That is beautiful and it can make the sinologists shiver if they hear its name. Schlegel wrote me not to begin with this, because he himself also understood nothing of it, he said. I began reading it; it is very simple, and therefore I believe they have not understood it, they look for too much behind everything.[225]

Probably on Schlegel's advice, Borel had to concentrate his studies on preparing for his core activities as an interpreter:

> I am not allowed *now* to work too much on such books. I am employed not as a sinologist, but as a Chinese interpreter. I must do all kinds of miserable work such as reading merchants' letters, studying Chinese merchants' account books, Chinese laws, Chinese bookkeeping, etc., etc. You don't do that for fun.[226]

From the start, Borel complained about the difficulty of the Chinese language:

> … I have to work very, very hard. That is so strange, I was not at all used to it, but now I *have* to. It is so tiresome, specially for your eyes, that Chinese. And time and again there appear characters that you have never seen in your life. … All those little strokes, Oh, they are so difficult. But if you know them well, they are actually quite beautiful. The characters themselves are so alive, so to say.[227]

He regarded the Chinese characters not just as the writing system of a language, but as a kind of symbols for ideas. This view of the Chinese writing system was very common in the nineteenth century, and it was also propounded by Schlegel. Borel continued:

> It is such a beautiful way of reading, the Chinese language, but strange in the beginning. That is, you don't read the 'sound' of each word, but each word is a symbol that depicts the meaning. But this would become a very long letter if I had to describe it in detail.[228]

After he switched teachers in the autumn of 1893, Borel complained twice about the difficulty of his studies:

> It is not at all easy. You have no idea of the wretched, dull exhaustiveness of my Chinese studies. Not the reading of the classics. But the unravelling of shorthand, of commercial account books, and Chinese malversations. Every time, that brings me down out of it. Sometimes I do not write in my Book[229] for four days because of my listlessness. Besides, I now again have a piano and I give myself a real treat of Bach's Preludes and Fugas.[230]

A few weeks later he complained again:

> It is a pity that I am still struggling in my poems. That is because I do not have enough time to go into it. I have to do such exhausting Chinese work. You should not forget that I have so little time and live as in a prison.[231]

He wished to get rid of his daily obligation to study Chinese with his teacher. In his Diary he wrote on 5 January 1894:

> I would give a lot to have the following: A simple room with white walls. A normal table with paper, ink and a penholder. No books. To be alone in that way from 10 to 12 in the morning and from 2 to 4 in the afternoon. Nobody comes in. And it is impossible to obtain this … Is this not great misery?[232]

All students bought a small library of Chinese books. Borel mentioned in his letters that he had ordered Chinese Buddhist books in Peking, or tried to get hold of a sutra of a sect of vegetarians.[233] One can obtain an impression of his library from the auction catalogue of his books in 1934.[234]

A large part of Van Wettum's library has been preserved. It was auctioned in 1917,[235] and at least 54 Chinese books were acquired by the Royal Netherlands Geographical Society (*Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*). These books are now in the KNAG Collection in the East Asian Library in Leiden. The books that he bought in Amoy can be recognised by one or both of his Chinese seals printed on the cover.[236] These comprise the usual books: the *Four Books*, school books, encyclopaedias, *Shiwu yin* 十五音, the *Qing Code*, books about popular religion, and many novels and stories (*Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, *Haoqiu zhuan* 好逑傳, *Yu Jiao Li* 玉嬌梨, *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋志異, *Xixiangji* 西廂記, etc.). Some of these show intensive use; *Haoqiu zhuan*, for instance, is full of notes and corrections of misprints.

Travels

Borel always continued to live on Gulangyu and there is also no evidence that Ezerman and Van Wettum moved to the interior for their studies. However, all students undertook travels to the interior of Fujian.

In April 1893, Ezerman and Van Wettum wrote a letter in German to the acting Consul, Grunenwald, announcing their plan to travel to Tachien (probably Datian 大田) in the interior of Fujian, asking him to notify *Daotai* (Resident) Lin.[237]

In May 1893, Borel planned to take a seven-day trip by sedan chair (!) to Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, and Dehua 德化, together with his teacher Tio. He wished to leave as soon as the compensation for his allowance arrived.

The choice of these places he explained in a letter to Van Eeden:

> I go there to hunt for one or two Pik Ting [*Bai Ting* 白汀 porcelain] pieces, which I can buy for little money compared with the value in Europe. In Quanzhou there is still some old bronze. It will be an interesting tour. Europeans never go there, the missionaries don't get further inland than Zhangzhou.[238]

However, he never wrote about this planned trip later, so it was probably cancelled.[239] He also planned to live near Nanputuo Temple in Amoy during the summer of 1893, and to go to Zhangzhou for his studies in October, but these plans were also not realised. Of course, after his daughter was born in October, it would have been inconvenient for him and his family if he moved elsewhere.

At the end of 1893, Borel already had made several trips to Zhangzhou and other places.[240] In a letter to Van Eeden, he expressed a positive opinion on the Chinese in Zhangzhou, but only after superficial contacts with them, just as after his first contacts with the Amoy Chinese:

> Zhangzhou is a very large city. What you can also learn there is how to be patient. There you are surrounded by thousands of Chinese. In the midst of one million Chinese there are living only two or three missionaries, so the majority of them have never before seen a foreigner. As long as you keep quiet they will not harm you. Chinese in Amsterdam run twice as much risk of being harassed than I did in Zhangzhou. The intense fun of those people when they hear that you speak their language is delightful.[241] And none of them wishes to hurt you, and—most remarkably—there are no street urchins. They never throw dirt or other things at you. That is because the children here have so much respect for grown-ups.
> I noticed that the Chinese in the interior are *better* than those here on Gulangyu and the suburbs of Amoy, who have had more contact with Europeans. The Zhangzhou Chinese seem to me to have retained better the national virtues (and vices), but *no* European wickedness.[242]

On 19 November 1893, Borel wrote a letter in German to Grunenwald asking him to arrange travel passes for Van Wettum and himself to Zhangzhou, where they wished to go in the next week.[243] This trip was postponed until 25 December, and lasted less than a week.[244] In his diary he described the beautiful clouds and river scenery, about which he wrote a poem. He wrote about the city of Zhangzhou:

> In Zhangzhou the large Nanshansi temple was the first Chinese Buddhist temple that I found a real God's House. ... Zhangzhou itself, seen from the outside, is a metropolis from ancient times, where now still gleams the grandeur of the lost, immense beauty of centuries ago.[245]

The largest trip Borel made was to Hong Kong and Canton, from 17 February to the beginning of March 1894. He took this trip on the advice of his doctor; the sea voyage would be good for his ailing health. In Canton he hoped to find antiquities: "Would there still be old porcelain? And bronze? And jasper?"[246] After a refreshing sea voyage of two days, he stayed a few days in Hong Kong, where he wrote to Van Eeden: "I had difficulty imagining that I was in China. As to the bustle, it seems like Paris."[247]

He also commented on the language situation:

> The Chinese do not understand a word of me nor I of them. They speak the Canton dialect. For instance, Amoy 'to buy' *bé* [買] is in Canton *maí* etc. The Chinese in the larger shops speak English, but not everywhere. I made myself understandable at one antiquarian's by writing characters with a writing brush on paper. There is no very beautiful old art here, enormous Japanese vases, etc., but all new. And a lot of imitations.[248]

About Canton he wrote:

> Anyone coming there for the first time is struck with disgust, so strong that he is unable to see the beauty everywhere. But I already knew that appearance of stuffiness and decay, from before, from so many other Chinese cities.
> And there is a very beautiful soul in those depressingly dark Chinese cities full of dirt and stench.[249]

In Canton he visited the Wah Lam Sze (Hualinsi 華林寺), the temple of the five hundred Arhats, which made a deep impression on him.[250]

He also paid a visit to a flower boat, just as Schlegel had done thirty years earlier. He went there at the invitation of a young student-interpreter at the British Consulate, who could speak Cantonese well. Since Borel knew very little Cantonese, he could not have the interesting conversations that Schlegel had had. He also knew little Mandarin. When Borel was introduced to a Chinese official on one of the flower boats, all he could do was:

> I bowed a little and mumbled something in the little Mandarin that I knew, the dialect which throughout the whole country any high ranking Chinese should understand.[251]

Borel's publications

In the first week after arrival in Amoy, Borel already planned to write articles for Dutch newspapers in order to compensate for his meagre allowance. Later he presented some articles, including one about a Chinese marriage ("Een bruiloft"), to the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* with the help of his friend Thorn Prikker, who wrote to him on 22-28 January 1893 that his article had been refused:

> As you know, I sent your article about China to the editor of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. Luck was against you. They would want you as a correspondent from China, but then you'll also have to write about other things and *in particular* write Dutch. You should know that according to the editor of the *NRC* there exists "Dutch," and there exists "*Nieuwe Gids* language." They don't want the *Nieuwe Gids* language; therefore there is no alternative to writing in pure Dutch. They will now correspond with you directly. I'll try to have your article published somewhere else for the necessary cash. … The editor wrote literally to me: "We still need a correspondent in China. If Mr. Borel ... should be inclined to write *normally* about facts and to make things the main topic, that is, to deliver newspaper work, then we could correspond about that."[252]

No evidence could be found that Borel's article about the Chinese marriage was published in any journal, but three years later, in 1897, it appeared in his collection of essays *Kwan Yin*.

Borel's first article to be published was an article in *T'oung Pao*, which appeared in the last issue of 1893, no doubt with the support of Schlegel, but of course without pay. It was a translation into French of two pledges of friendship.[253] Borel sent off-prints to his friends Thorn Prikker and Van Eeden, who were very impressed.[254]

In a letter to Van Eeden, Borel had expressed his admiration for Schlegel as a linguist. On 26 February 1893, when talking about the miserable translation of the *Daodejing* by other sinologists, who in his opinion sustained nothing of the original intention of the book and misunderstood almost everything, he stated that translation of the old books needed devotion and love, without which everything became nonsense:

> Strangely enough, for such a person, our Professor Schlegel *does* have that, and he is the *only* person in whom one can trust safely, and who is an oracle in Chinese. I have *great* respect for him as a Sinologist, to the extent that such a thing is possible.[255]

The next year, Van Wettum wrote an article in English that was published in *T'oung Pao*.[256] Borel also wrote an English article that he intended for *T'oung Pao*, "Chinese Principles of Poetry," which he finished on 26 January 1894.[257] But Schlegel seems to have refused publication.[258]

Borel was fascinated by the Chinese theatre and he wrote several articles about it. As early as 16 May 1893, he sent a short piece about the Chinese theatre to Van Eeden, announcing that he was writing a larger article on the same subject.[259] He planned to offer that article to the "old" *Gids* for publication via his cousin, the well-known drama critic J.N. van Hall,[260] who already in 1892 had asked him to write about China for this journal.[261] Two months later he finished it,[262] and he sent it to *De Gids*. On 25 November 1893, Borel wrote to Van Eeden that *De Gids* had accepted his article![263] Most of this article was written in a detached, descriptive style, not the exalted style typical of *De Nieuwe Gids*. It was published in the second 1894 issue of *De Gids* as "The Chinese Theatre" (*Het Chineesche tooneel*, pp. 363-93).[264] This article at once established Borel's name as a writer and China specialist in the Netherlands. Thorn Prikker wrote to Borel:

> Fellow, my dear fellow, your piece about the Chinese actors, do you know that almost all newspapers have published summaries of your piece in the old *Gids*? You would never guess what the *Haagsche Courant* … just wrote about it.[265] Something like this. The piece was written by someone who left here two years ago with a lot of poetical talent. Not bad, right? You would never have dared to think that, right? … If I were you, I would send more such pieces to *De Gids*. … we must in this society be shrewd politicians, the more seriously so the better.[266]

His second article in *De Gids*, "A Dead Mandarin" (*Van een dooden Mandarijn*), was a description of a Chinese funeral. From now on Borel would publish a series of articles and poems in this journal.[267]

Borel had hoped he would meet wise Buddhist monks in China and learn from them. However, the Buddhists whom he met in Amoy were only "meek donkeys" (*goedige ezels*).[268] Reading Buddhist texts was the only method of attaining this purpose, and also to better understand his collection of Buddhist art. He read these texts with his teacher, who could not be of much help, and he had to rely on his own reference works in order to understand these texts.

He also studied Taoist authors such as Laozi and Zhuangzi, searching for wisdom. Giving expression to this quest, he wrote an article titled *Wu wei* (無爲 in Mandarin pronunciation), in which he collected what he had read and seen; he at first called this "A study after Laozi's philosophy" (*Een studie naar aanleiding van Lao Tsz's filosofie*). He finished it on 2 July 1894[269] and also sent it to *De Gids*, in which it was published in 1895 (vol. II, pp. 41-276). When it was reprinted in *Kwan Yin* in 1896, he changed the subtitle on advice from various quarters, probably including his sinologist colleagues, and called it "A phantasy after Laozi's philosophy" (*Een fantazie naar aanleiding van Lao Tsz's filosofie*). It is a story about a boat trip to a small island in the sea near the city of Hā dó, probably a pun on Hā bûn 廈門, the literary pronunciation of the characters for "Amoy."[270] On this island Shien Shan [仙山], the Mountain of the Immortals, he met a wise man who was said to know "the secrets of Heaven and Earth," with whom he had a long conversation about life, art, poetry and love. This story he dedicated to Frederik van Eeden, and it would remain Borel's favourite work throughout his life. It was also reprinted as a booklet several times, and translated into English (twice), French, German, and Italian.[271]

In the end, Borel also succeeded in publishing articles in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. From August 1894 on, he became a self-styled "war-correspondent" by sending 'Private Correspondence,' reporting in a detached and factual manner on the historical background of the Sino–Japanese War and its repercussions in Amoy. After leaving China, he continued publishing similar articles in the *NRC* about the war and other topics.[272]

The students' relations with the Consulate

As in the past, the students were sometimes asked to render translation services to the Consulate. Their linguistic and also advisory skills made them indispensable to the German Consul, in both Dutch and Chinese affairs. But getting to know the Chinese from the Indies was also profitable for themselves, since in this manner they could practice their Hokkien

and learn about the position of the Chinese in the Colonies. Being students of the Chinese language, they often sympathised with the Chinese, sometimes trying to help them and protect them against injustice by local mandarins. Borel described the following case in which he was himself involved:[273]

> A Chinese, Tan Boen Tjen, grandson of a *majoor* of the Chinese, and son of a *kapitein* in Batavia, who was staying in Amoy, was sued by a cousin and summoned to pay 5,000 dollars. Being a Dutch subject (in the Indies) he was entitled to protection by the Consul, and invoked his aid. Since—note this well!—neither the Consul nor his interpreter understands the Amoy dialect (only the Mandarin dialect, which the population of Amoy understand just as little as Hebrew), the assistance of one of the student-interpreters temporarily residing in Amoy was invoked. It was an extremely simple case. Tan Boen Tjen gave assurance that the debt had already been paid by his grandfather; inquiries could be made with the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Batavia, which had managed the estate, and the receipt was now kept by a notary in Batavia. When asked for his advice, the student-interpreter suggested to the Consul to request the *Daotai* (the Chinese Mandarin in charge of the case) not to administer justice before Tan Boen Tjen had had an opportunity to claim that receipt from Batavia. The Consul agreed or at least pretended to do so. At his request the student-interpreter wrote himself—since the Consul does not write Dutch—to the Orphans and Estate Chamber, after having first answered the Consul's question: "What is actually the Orphans and Estate Chamber?" And Tan Boen Tjen wrote to the notary. One can imagine the indignation of the Dutch student-interpreter, when he heard three days later that Tan Boen Tjen nevertheless had been apprehended and condemned to pay 5,000 dollars. The Consul did not interfere at the time, although the *Daotai*, who is on very good terms with the foreign Consuls, in such cases usually would obey the Consul.
>
> But the nice thing was: after a sizeable period of time the receipt did arrive in Amoy, proving that Tan Boen Tjen was fully within his rights. Thereupon again nothing was done to help him.[274]

In the same article, Borel wrote about the strained relations with the German acting Consul General Grunenwald, who had recently been transferred from Peking:

> The Consul—a German—does not speak Dutch, reads a little Dutch (but don't ask how little!) and does not write Dutch at all. The consequence was that when the three student-interpreters were in Amoy, they were charged with all correspondence, which they at first did willingly. In the end the Consul simply sent to them a coolie with documents for translation, without a polite request, after which one of the students respectfully reminded the Consul that they were not employed by the Consulate, and that a polite accompanying letter would be appreciated, since the translations and correspondence were done out of courtesy, not duty. The answer was not in Dutch style, but in Prussian-militarist style, namely that the Imperial Royal (*kaiserliche königliche*) Consul, at the same time acting Dutch Consul, gave them an "order" to make a translation. Whereupon one student, glad to be a Dutchman, answered by returning the documents without translation.[275]

This incident almost got the students into trouble, since Grunenwald sent a letter to Batavia. On 3 October 1893, he wrote a letter in English to the Director of Justice, A. Stibbe, in Batavia, suggesting to formally regulate the relationship with the students. In this letter he had discarded his autoritarianism, but it is clear that he did not feel much respect for the students, opining that they were better salaried and less fully occupied than the student-interpreters in Peking from other nations:[276]

> The three gentlemen sent here by the Government to learn Chinese are in no connection whatever with the Consulate General. Sometimes, however, it is not to be avoided to ask for their services for translating essential notary acts into Dutch, although I restrained myself as much as possible from asking for a service which they are not officially obliged to grant and which I am unwilling to regard as a favour done to me personally. The German, English, and French Governments also send students out to China (to Peking) with the principal purpose that they shall learn Chinese. But at the same time they are attached to their respective legations and bound to do all the services their superiors may think fit to ask them for. In this way the three Governments save the expenses for a clerk and for a second interpreter. As now the three Dutch students here, who besides get a higher salary than their more occupied colleagues of the other nations at Peking, will stay one year longer at Amoy I beg to draw your attention on the principle other nations follow with regard to their students and to propose that the three gentlemen (Van Wettum, Borel, Ezerman) and whoever may be sent out in future ought to be officially given to understand, that they are officials to a certain point, belonging to the Consulate General and, therefore, have to render their services to the latter, whenever they are wanted. Such an arrangement made, the Consulate General would be always able to dispense with a clerk and an interpreter, who *otherwise* would be necessary, if the Government should deem it apt to send out from home a new Consul General. By this way the Government would save expenses and the young students would acquire a certain knowledge of the official work which may not be without advantage for their future career, without interfering in the least with their Chinese studies. [277]

Director Stibbe replied on 23 November 1893 that the Consul should write to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who could then contact the Minister of Colonies about the conditions.[278] However, no further correspondence by Grunenwald about this subject could be found in the archives.

Three years later, the Minister of Foreign Affairs asked the Minister of Colonies if he could borrow "the six students in China" to work in the Consulates. When Schlegel was consulted, he first told him there were only three students in China, but he advised against using them for this purpose, since studying Mandarin would interfere with their studies of the Southern dialects. He proposed to establish a special training course of Chinese for consulate personnel. Thereupon the Minister of Colonies refused the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The reasons for this were the moratorium in the training of interpreters and Schlegel's negative advice.[279]

Yet two years later the Minister of Foreign Affairs consulted Knobel, Groeneveldt, De Groot, and Hoetink about the possibility of such a training course,[280] but took no action, and another ten years later, in 1910, a special regulation was created for training Chinese and Japanese interpreters for the Foreign Service.[281] The first Chinese interpreters so trained were J.J.L. Duyvendak and Th.H.J. de Josselin de Jong.

The third group finish their studies in Amoy

After two years of studies, the level of competence in Chinese of these students was supposed to be higher than that of their predecessors. However, Ezerman would later concede that during his studies in Amoy he only obtained a "working knowledge" of Chinese.[282]

Three months before the end of their study period in China, the Governor-General decided to allow the three students to engage teachers under the usual conditions, and passage fees for themselves and Mrs. Borel. The Director of Justice informed the students of this via the Consul in a letter of 27 July 1894.[283]

That summer there was a plague epidemic in Canton and Hong Kong, and the harbour was in quarantaine; no ships were allowed to visit Hong Kong. Since the Infectuous Diseases Act was in force in Hong Kong,[284] the French Mail was now redirected to Shanghai, and the students were to travel by way of Shanghai. They planned to take the French Mail on 1 September to Singapore.[285] However, since it was later announced that Hong Kong would be declared free of plague by 9 September, Borel decided to travel with his wife via Hong Kong instead. Ezerman and Van Wettum probably travelled via Shanghai, and Borel and his wife travelled a little later via Swatow, Hong Kong, and Singapore.[286] In the South China Sea they met with a typhoon and Borel arrived stricken with illness in Singapore.[287] After arrival in Batavia, Borel wrote a postcard to Van Eeden saying: "… I am here in Batavia to pay my respects to all kinds of bigwigs. …"[288]

On 24 October 1894, all three were appointed as Chinese interpreters in the Outer Possessions. Borel had requested to be stationed in Riau, "which should be almost like Gulangyu,"[289] and this request was granted. Ezerman was stationed in Mentok (Bangka) and Van Wettum in Pontianak (Western Borneo).[290]

The fourth group: De Bruin, Thijssen, Van de Stadt (1896–1898)

The fourth group arrived on 8 January 1896 in Hong Kong, where they were received by the Dutch Consul General, F.J. Haver Droeze.[291] The

latter was a retired military engineer, who would play an important and active role during their studies in China. The students left Hong Kong two days later, and arrived on 12 January 1896 in Amoy.[292] Like the third group, they studied in China for two years, leaving for the Indies on 13 January 1898.

The conditions of their studies were the same as the previous group,[293] but they also studied two other dialects. They studied Hokkien for one year and four months in Amoy, Hoklo for three months in Chaochow, and Hakka for four months in Kia Ying Chow (Meixian).

In Amoy they were received and helped by the acting Consul, H. von Varchmin, and later by his colleague F. Reinsdorf, who were both, like Feindel, in the first place representing Germany. In 1895 the Dutch "Consulate General" had been moved from Amoy to Hong Kong, and from then on Feindel's title was no longer Consul General but only Consul.[294] From 1896 on, the Consul General in Hong Kong, F.J. Haver Droeze, who was a career Consul, would be the intermediary between the students and all Dutch authorities. Accordingly, most documents concerning the students in China are now in the archives of the Consulate General in Hong Kong.

In 1896, F.M. Knobel, Minister-Resident in Peking,[295] wished to end the consular representation by German career Consuls.[296] On 14 April 1897, he reported to Minister of Foreign Affairs J. Röell that, if needed, one of the students could temporarily be made acting Consul in Amoy, under the strict supervision of the Consul General in Hong Kong.[297] He added that in October of the previous year he had met them in Shanghai, where Van de Stadt and Thijssen had made a favourable impression on him.[298] This suggestion did not lead to any results. As of 9 June 1897, the German merchant August Piehl was again appointed Consul in Amoy.[299] At the time no suitable Dutchman could be found.[300]

Consul General Haver Droeze received a letter of credit for one year for the students, on the basis of which the students' monthly drafts with their allowances and teachers' fees could be paid.[301] Consul Von Varchmin received these drafts in Dutch guilders, as before, for which the students signed receipts, and they were paid in dollars.[302] The passage fees from Hong Kong to Amoy were this time directly paid by the Consul General in Hong Kong.[303]

Since there was no empty house available, for the time being they stayed in the Cosmopolitan Hotel, but they later must have rented other lodgings. The general conditions of the studies of this group are well documented, such as where and when they studied which dialects, because the archives were kept by the Consul General in Hong Kong. But in contrast to the earlier groups, no diaries or letters (except the official correspondence) could be found. Therefore less is known about their feelings about China.

On 16 December 1895, even before the three students arrived in Amoy, Consul General Haver Droeze suggested to Knobel to appoint one or more of them as members of the Consular Court in Amoy, if they were 23 years of age.[304] When they arrived in Hong Kong, Droeze immediately notified Knobel that they were too young: Thijssen and De Bruin were 22 and Van de Stadt was only 19.[305] But one year later, in February 1897, Consul Reinsdorf in Amoy suggested appointing Thijssen as "chancellor and secretary," and in March Thijssen was indeed appointed as "secretary" (or: Registrar, *griffier*) of the Consular Court in Amoy for the year 1897.[306] Hardly anything is known about their studies in China. Only the name of one of their teachers is known: Tio Siao Hun, who had also taught the three previous groups of students.[307] Another teacher hailed from Formosa.[308]

The students used Chinese names that were probably provided by their teachers. Annes (Anton) de Bruin called himself 眉綸安敦 (Bî-lûn An-tun, *Meilun Andun*),[309] Emile Thijssen 戴先意明 (Tài-sien I-bîng, *Daixian Yiming*), and Peter van de Stadt 施達闢 (Si-tát Pit, *Shi Dapi*). These were all queer names containing transcriptions of both surname and first given name, in customary Chinese order. The names were needed in the summer of 1897 for their application for passes to the interior of Guangdong. The data sent to Haver Droeze for this purpose included the following descripion of the students:[310]

	A.G. de Bruin	E.F. Thijssen	P.A. van de Stadt
age	23	23	21
height	medium	tall	medium
hair	light blond	brown	brown
eyes	blue	brown	blue
special marks	lost forefinger of right hand	moustache, spectacles	moustache

Von Varchmin's complaint about De Bruin

During the first months in Amoy, an incident occurred involving De Bruin and Consul H. von Varchmin which led to a complaint by Von Varchmin to the Governor-General. De Bruin later described the origin of the conflict in a letter to Consul General Droeze:

> More than fourteen days after my arrival here, I came across Mr. Von Varchmin, who, it seemed to me, said in a rather sharp tone: "Aren't you studying? You have to do a lot of work!" Since I was confident that I was already fulfilling my duties in the field of studies, this was the immediate cause of the incident.[311]

The incident happened a few weeks later, when Von Varchmin paid a visit to the students and invited them for dinner. During this visit, De Bruin did not deign to appear, and as to the invitation for dinner, he let Von Varchmin know by way of one of his fellow students that he did not wish to come (*Er wollte nicht*).

Von Varchmin was shocked by this impolite behaviour. On 17 February, he first wrote a private letter to Consul General Droeze in Hong Kong explaining the matter and asking him to reprimand De Bruin. However, Droeze seems not to have taken it very seriously, answering that De Bruin was at the disposal of the Governor-General and was absolutely not placed under him. He did not even consider himself competent to call him to account for such a matter, which was completely outside consular jurisdiction.

Having found no redress, on 27 February Von Varchmin repeated his complaint to Governor-General Van der Wijck, saying De Bruin had behaved so outrageously (*flegelhaft*) towards him that if this young man did not receive an official reprimand, he would refuse to have the least social or official contacts with him. He would be completely indifferent to such a non-person, who, to judge from his manners, was of the lowest class origin, but in his function as Consul of the Netherlands, he considered that Dutch subjects should behave themselves politely towards him. He asked the Governor-General to reprimand De Bruin in a proper manner and give him instructions on how to behave towards the Consul. While the other two students were nice and pleasant youngsters, with whom he had the most friendly contacts, De Bruin was isolating himself completely and had contact with no one at all, which for that matter did not concern Von Varchmin anyhow.[312]

After Governor-General Van der Wijck had received Von Varchmin's complaint, on 15 April Government Secretary C.B. Nederburgh sent a letter requesting De Bruin to answer for this matter, at the same time asking Droeze to investigate it and report on it.[313]

On 25 April Droeze replied to the Governor-General that he would first await De Bruin's answer, adding that after receiving the Governor-General's decision of 22 December 1896 no. 21, he had on 9 January 1896 written to Von Varchmin, announcing the three students' arrival in Amoy and asking him, when needed, to give the students assistance and introductions to the authorities. He had not taken measures after Von Varchmin's letter of 17 February for the reasons mentioned above, and he asked whether he could investigate the matter in writing, or had to go to Amoy in person.

On 8 May, Droeze received De Bruin's letter of 3 May answering for his behaviour, in which he explained the origin of the incident and concluded:

> Even leaving aside position and higher age, I confess that I behaved disrespectfully and therefore I have offered my apologies to Mr. Von Varchmin, which he found completely satisfying.[314]

Droeze reported this immediately to the Governor-General.[315] Thereby this storm in a teacup ended.[316] However, it gives some insight into the students' position in Amoy, and into both men's characters and sensibilities.

Studying Hoklo in "Swatow and the interior"

On 27 February 1896, Consul General Haver Droeze wrote to Governor-General Van der Wijck requesting his attention for the need for the candidate-officials to study the Swatow dialect (Hoklo). His argument was that emigration from Swatow had increased considerably, and in the years 1892–4 yearly 30,000 to 50,000 Swatow Chinese had emigrated to the Straits Settlements, many of whom would probably end up in the Netherlands Indies. Droeze had heard that recently more and more Swatow Chinese had arrived in Deli. He wrote about the language:

> The languages spoken in Amoy and Swatow are closely related, similar to Spanish and Portuguese, but anyone who understands the language of Amoy still needs a few months before he is also competent in that of Swatow.

He advised that possibly one of the students could at a convenient time also spend a few months in Swatow and the interior in order to study the languages spoken on the coast and in the interior. [317]

The idea to have one candidate-official study the Swatow dialect was most probably connected with Knobel's ambitious scheme for annexation of the Swatow region and the Hakka districts in the interior by the Netherlands. He had already seriously considered this plan when travelling in the Swatow region in January and February 1896.[318] A few months later, in July 1896, Knobel would propose this plan to Minister of Foreign Affairs Röell, who refused to consider it (*see* below).

Based on Droeze's proposal, Governor-General Van der Wijck consulted the Director of Justice and decided on 29 April 1896 to charge the students "before the end of their study period to proceed for a few months to Swatow and the interior in order to study the languages spoken there."[319]

Although this was not made explicit, Thijssen and later Hoetink understood this as meaning that both Hoklo *and Hakka* had to be studied, since Hakka was the usual second dialect to be learned.

Thijssen expressed his doubts about the feasibility of learning two more dialects in such a short time. Schlegel, who was always opposed to studying even a second dialect, recounted this in a letter to Minister of Colonies Van Dedem of 14 September 1896:

> Now already the three above-mentioned candidates have received orders from the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies to spend a few months in Swatow and the Hakka districts, in order to study the languages spoken there as well. The candidate Thijssen, who told me this, adds: "I do not believe it will be possible to learn to speak those dialects in a few months."[320]

No exact time was stipulated in the decision, and the place for study was later interpreted as meaning only the Hoklo-speaking region "Swatow and Chaochow." More than half a year later, on 15 December 1896, Van de Stadt wrote to Droeze that he and his colleagues had decided to go to Swatow and Chaochow at the end of January or the beginning of February 1897, which seemed the most suitable season. He asked Droeze what should be done to obtain a house, and how they should receive their monthly allowances, which at the time could only be paid by the Chartered Bank in Amoy. He suggested that one of them could come to Hong Kong to discuss the matter.[321]

Droeze wrote to Ivo Streich, acting Consul for the Netherlands in Swatow, asking if the students could rent a European or Chinese house at Swatow or Chaochow. He also arranged for their allowances to be payable in Swatow, and he reassured Van de Stadt that all matters would be arranged in time. There was no need for one of them to come to Hong Kong.[322]

In January 1897, Thijssen made preparations by travelling to Swatow and then to Chaochow, where on 13 and 14 January he rented three different houses for three months, finally returning to Amoy.[323]

On 16 January 1897, Van de Stadt, as always representing the three students, wrote to Droeze, informing him that they planned to leave Amoy within a few days, since the rent was already running. He asked if the government intended to compensate the travel fees, which would be about $30 each. He also apologised for not being able to see the Dutch warship *Koningin Wilhelmina der Nederlanden*, which would soon visit Swatow and Amoy.[324]

On the same day, De Bruin also wrote a letter to Droeze thanking him for his gracious help on their journey to Chaochow, but also expressing doubts similar to Thijssen's. After one year in Amoy, he had noticed insufficient regulation of their studies, the relative importance of Hakka vis-à-vis Hoklo, and the impossibility of learning so many dialects in such a short time:

> I find it awkward and strange that still so relatively little is regulated in the training of Officials for Chinese Affairs. Mr. Hoetink wrote to me recently that knowledge of the Hakka dialects is most necessary, at least during the first years, and therefore advised me to take leave of Amoy for good as soon as possible. But if I consider how many subjects there still are, despite our training in Leiden and the trouble that I have taken here, about which it is

> impossible to engage in a conversation, then I wonder how gruesomely little Hakka Chinese one can pick up in a short time, the more so since study tools such as dictionaries are lacking. If the climate in the Indies allows, I would be glad to continue my sinological studies there, but I still do not see clearly what is the best way. Anyway, the future will have to show us.[325]

On 19 January 1897, only Thijssen and De Bruin left for Swatow, while Van de Stadt remained in Amoy. Acting Consul Reinsdorf had asked him to postpone his trip and work for the Consulate, since Secretary C. Steuber had passed away. Van de Stadt left Amoy on 11 February.[326]

From Swatow, Thijssen and De Bruin travelled to Chaochow by sedan chair with three coolies, and they hired four coolies to carry their luggage, for a total price of $9.50 each. Van de Stadt would later travel in the same manner. [327] On their return trip from Chaochow to Swatow they took a "Hakka-boat" instead of sedan chairs, which cost them only $1.50 each.[328]

Nothing is known about their studies in Chaochow. They probably made use of teaching materials and Bible translations in romanised Chaochow dialect compiled by missionaries. Droeze informed the Director of Justice as follows:

> They will settle down in Chaochow Fu for several months, nine hours away from Swatow, the residence of the Daotai, where there is a large population and they will have ample opportunity to study the Swatow dialect.[329]

Strictly speaking, the Chaochow (Teochiu, Tjoe-tjoe, Tio-tsioe) dialect is slightly different from that of Swatow, but this difference was never mentioned in the correspondence. The students, however, would designate the dialect always as "Chaochow dialect," and their teachers as "Chaochow teachers." They rarely used the name "Hoklo," which was originally a slightly derogatory name given to the population of Swatow and Chaochow region by outsiders, meaning "those characters from Fujian" (*die snuiters van Hok(kian)*).[330]

The students stayed less than three months in Chaochow. Thijssen and De Bruin arrived about 20 January, but they had returned in Amoy by 8 April, and Van de Stadt was back on 15 April.[331]

After their return to Amoy, the students realised that the *f* 350 for their allowances had from the start been exchanged at an unfavourable rate, and asked for a more favourable arrangement and recompensation. They received about $250 at a rate of 1.40, while the official rate was now even as low as 1.21; thereby they lost $35 every month. But since their suggested remedy, to change the guilders into Mexican dollars in Batavia instead of China, amounted to a return to the old system that had proven unfavourable, their request was refused.[332]

Van de Stadt's request to study Mandarin in Peking

Even before the students went to study in Chaochow, in September 1896 Van de Stadt sent a request via Consul General Haver Droeze in Hong Kong to the Governor-General in Batavia, asking the latter to charge him, in addition to his assignment in Swatow, to go also to Peking for six months to study "the language of the Mandarins" (*taal der mandarijnen*) and become acquainted with their opinions and ideas.[333] This request was supported by Droeze as follows:

> Staying in Peking could offer an opportunity to study various matters, about which one can not or not as well gain knowledge in Amoy.
> And since Mr. Van de Stadt has shown himself to be an intelligent man, I do not doubt that he would make use of it in a profitable way.[334]

At about the same time, Minister of Foreign Affairs Röell asked Minister of Colonies Bergsma if the studies of the Candidate-Officials in China would allow them to be temporarily stationed in Peking to study Mandarin. Bergsma then asked Schlegel for advice, who wrote that this would lead to an even greater "fragmentation" (*verbrokkeling*) of their Chinese studies, since they had been ordered to study Swatow and Hakka dialects as well, and Mandarin would be of no use to them in the Indies. Consequently, Bergsma replied that the students should not study Mandarin.[335]

However, this correspondence had not been made known to the Indies Government. Therefore Director of Justice J.C. Mulock Houwer on 11 November 1896 consulted Hoetink, who was since 1892 stationed in Batavia.

In his letter of 16 November 1896, Hoetink conceded that it was understandable that the Candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs wished during their studies in China to see more of the country. He himself had also had a feeling of dissatisfaction after he only got to know the Southern provinces of Fujian and Guangdong without seeing other parts of the Chinese Empire, in particular the capital Peking.[336] If one were to advise with authority on Chinese affairs in general, one should have seen the workings of the government in the capital, and also know Mandarin.

However, Van de Stadt had not been sent to China at the government's expense to acquaint himself with conditions in the Chinese Empire, nor to acquire skills to make him suitable for the consular service in China, but with the well-defined purpose of being trained for the position of Official for Chinese Affairs in the Netherlands Indies.[337] For that position, it was not necessary to stay in Northern China or to study Mandarin.

Hoetink repeated the old arguments: the Northern Chinese did not emigrate to the Indies, and the Official for Chinese Affairs would hardly ever profit from a knowledge of Mandarin. The Netherlands Indies gov-

ernment would also probably never ask him for information about Northern Chinese affairs, and if needed, he would be able to give it without ever having been in Peking.

Hoetink did not know why the study in China had recently been lengthened to two years, but he *guessed* it was done in order to learn the dialects and customs of other "tribes" in Guangdong. Among them, the most important one was the Hakka dialect, widely spoken in some of the Outer Possessions (Borneo, Banka, Medan), and recently, Hakka immigrants were also increasing in Batavia. Therefore he presumed that the decision of 29 April 1896 no. 38 was meant to oblige the Candidate-Officials to go to the Hakka districts in Guangdong and study Hakka. When they were sufficiently familiar with this dialect, they could also study other widely spoken dialects such as Cantonese (*sic!*) and Hoklo. But for a decent study of the language and customs of the Hakkas, one year would be hardly sufficient, since they would have to start from scratch.

Hoetink considered a stay outside Southern China for several months to be not in the national interest, and he advised refusing Van de Stadt's request. On the other hand, there was no objection to allowing Van de Stadt, after finishing his studies in China, to go to Peking for a few months at his own expense. Hoetink considered this a luxury (*eene luxe*) which could only be paid for by Van de Stadt himself.[338]

Four months later, on 21 March 1897, when the students were halfway through their stay in Chaochow, Governor-General Van der Wijck decided on the basis of Hoetink's advice to refuse Van de Stadt's request to study Mandarin in Peking. But Government Secretary Nederburgh wrote in an accompanying letter to Haver Droeze that according to an announcement from Minister of Colonies Bergsma, there might be an opportunity for one of the Candidate-Officials to be temporarily appointed as Secretary-Interpreter in Peking.[339] He had already notified Bergsma of Van de Stadt's request.[340] However, three months later, on 25 June 1897, Nederburgh wrote that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had already abandoned this plan. Therefore there could be no opportunity for Van de Stadt to be officially stationed in Peking.[341]

In this way, the study of Mandarin by an enterprising Dutch sinologist was frustrated. It would be more than a decade before Borel, in 1909, as the first Dutch sinologist in the East Indies service, would be allowed to study Mandarin.

The decision to study Hakka as well

Van de Stadt's request (and Hoetink's letter) would have another consequence for their studies in China. Hoetink had stated in his letter that the

decision of April 1896 to go to "Swatow and the interior" would probably be understood by the Candidate-Officials as an order to study the Hoklo dialect and customs. According to him, this would not justify the lengthening of their study period in China, even if they went to the interior in Chaochow. Therefore they should proceed to the Hakka districts and preferably settle in Kia Ying Chow.[342] If this understanding was correct, the Government should charge the students to act accordingly.[343]

Government Secretary Nederburgh had added in his letter to Droeze that Hoetink was not completely right when he presumed the study period in China had been extended in the first place to study the Hakka language and customs, but the importance of these studies could, according to the Governor-General, be a reason to change the decision of 29 April 1896 no. 38: one or more of the students could be charged to go to the Hakka districts to live there for some time. Nederburgh asked Droeze for his opinion or submit a proposal.[344]

On 5 April 1897, Droeze sent the Governor-General's decision to turn down Van de Stadt's request, and copies of the other letters, to Van de Stadt in Chaochow asking him to consult with Thijssen and De Bruin and answer him together or individually.[345]

On 15 April, Van de Stadt replied from Amoy, also representing the other two students. He stated that they could not judge whether the Hakka dialect was predominant among the Chinese in the Indies, but they were prepared to believe that the information supplied by Hoetink was correct. In that case, it seemed desirable that the Candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs should also study the Hakka dialect, and they would be highly pleased if the Governor-General would order them to do so.

However, Van de Stadt continued, Hoetink's remark that a year would be hardly sufficient for learning Hakka was entirely correct. While the Chaochow dialect was only a variant (*eene nuance*) of the Amoy dialect, which could be learned within a few months, Hakka was an independent language utterly different from the Chaochow dialect. Therefore they proposed, if they were ordered to study Hakka, to go there for at least one year. They asked the Consul General to make such a proposal to the Governor-General. However, they feared that the extension of their period in China would entail a considerable financial loss, influencing their rights to furlough and pension. Therefore they asked, in case of extension, to have their period of service start from 1 January 1898.[346]

After receiving this letter, Droeze first consulted Ivo Streich, Netherlands Consul in Swatow, about studying the Hakka dialect, asking him in English whether:

> this could be done without fear of any difficulties. If the Taotai of Swatow is informed that one or more gentlemen are living in the Hakka districts, could he prevent any molestation or annoyance?

> And which would be the best place to live in: Kia Ying Chow would have the advantages of a city, but for reasons of health and quietness it would appear to me that a smaller place for instance Sam Ho Pa, Tsja Hang or Ko Pi would be preferable.[347]

After having gained sufficient information, he wrote to the Governor-General on 29 April 1897, first giving an introduction on the Hakkas, whose language had much in common with Mandarin. Anyone speaking Mandarin could more or less express himself among the Hakkas, while this was impossible with the population of Swatow or Canton City. Hakka was most purely spoken in Kia Ying Chow, and it would be desirable to study there for a few months. The students should ideally settle in the suburbs, as the centre of the town was extremely dirty and unpleasant for a European to live in. The students should seek assistance from missionaries of the Basler Mission who published books in Hakka and were well acquainted with their customs and manners, and local conditions. There was no reason for fear:

> I heard that there needed be no fear for bad treatment in Kia Ying Chow. The American, English and German missionaries in the Hakka districts have at least until now had little or no annoyance from the population.[348]

The English missionary D.W. Cooper, who visited Haver Droeze on that day, had studied the language for nine months in Kia Ying Chow. According to Cooper, nine months or one year would be enough to learn to express oneself; the students, who had already spent a few months in Chaochow and had an idea as to how much time would be needed to learn Hakka, wrote to Droeze that one year would be hardly sufficient. Their request to arrange it in such manner that they would not suffer financial loss, was reasonable. Droeze therefore proposed to charge the students to settle in Kia Ying Chow to study the language, customs and manners of the Hakka for one year, and to decide that their period of service would start on 1 January 1898.

Not all of Droeve's suggestions were accepted. A few months after their return to Amoy, the students received a sequel to the previous order from the Governor-General, dated 25 June 1897:

> to proceed until the end of their study period to Kia Ying Chow (Ka Yin Tsoe) in order to study the Hakka dialect spoken there.[349]

On the same day, Government Secretary Nederburgh wrote to Droeze that the need of extending the study period had not been sufficiently proven. With due respect to Hoetink's opinion that one year would be hardly sufficient, he stated that the opportunity to study Hakka was not lacking in the Indies. An amount of money could be allotted for continuing their Hakka studies, as had earlier been given to Ezerman to study Hakka in Mentok.[350]

On the day of receipt of this letter, 12 July 1897, Droeze notified the students in Amoy of this decision.[351] The result was that they would have less than half a year to study Hakka.

Studying Hakka in Kia Ying Chow

On 16 July 1897, as soon as the students received Droeze's letter and other documents, Van de Stadt immediately replied to Droeze that they wished to leave as soon as possible for Kia Ying Chow, asking him to apply to the authorities of Guangdong province for passports for the interior, also including the list of their personal data mentioned above.[352]

One week later, on 23 July, Van de Stadt wrote a second letter to Droeze, stressing that the students wished to leave as soon as possible, since the study period in the Hakka districts was so short. To win time, the passports should best be sent directly to Swatow. He would go alone to Swatow in a week or so to rent a Hakka boat. They would not be able to travel very fast: Streich had written him that on account of the flooded river, they would at least need two weeks to reach Kia Ying Chow.[353] They would travel along the Han Jiang 韓江, the river at Chaochow (Chaozhou) named after the famous writer and local magistrate Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824).[354]

More than two weeks later, Van de Stadt wrote a letter from Swatow on 10 August. He had arrived on 4 August but had great trouble finding Hakka boatmen, and he finally hired a houseboat from the American Baptist Mission for five months. Since the missionaries did not dare to have it cross over to the Swatow side because of a typhoon threat, Van de Stadt took the plunge and sent a steam launch to tow it over. It could be cleaned and slightly repaired on the same day. As soon as Thijssen and De Bruin would arrive, they could leave. The passports had been ready since a few days previously. He also chartered a second boat for as far as Kia Ying Chow, on which the cook, coolie and teachers could live, and where meals could be cooked.[355] They took along at least one teacher from Chaochow and their house coolie from Amoy. Students often did this when changing dialect, probably to keep up their skills in other dialects.

Almost a month later, on 5 September, Van de Stadt reported their arrival in Kia Ying Chow on 30 August. They had left Swatow on 13 August, the day his colleagues arrived. The captain had warned them of the high water, and indeed, they had to wait for five days in front of the bridge of Chaochow, until the water had fallen enough to pass under it. The rest of the voyage was without problems, but slow because of the strong current. In Kia Ying Chow they hired a nice little house with a verandah looking out on the river, and stone steps leading down to the river, where they

would moor their boat. They got to know the German medical doctor Wittenberg and the missionary Lörcher, and sent their calling cards to the Sub-Prefect (*zhouguan* 州官) and other officials, who answered with their own cards, offering to have the boat protected by soldiers and to have the students escorted by sergeants (*vaandrigs*) on their travels. "Of course, we declined this offer with thanks," Van de Stadt wrote. His first impression was as follows:

> The impression that I have of Kia Ying Chow and the Hakkas, is for the moment very favourable. I find the people here infinitely more pleasant than the people of Chaochow. I believe that time will pass quickly here and will not at all be so disagreeable as we originally imagined.[356]

Little is known about their studies. Learning three dialects in a row was not easy. One of the students[357] would later comment about their studies of Hoklo and other dialects of Southern China:

> Whoever travels there—we know it from experience, because we lived in Swatow for three months and then we left for the Hakka country—still experiences great difficulties, although the language is closely related.
>
> The Chinese languages are monosyllabic and the variations in tone make every small deviation immediately into a puzzle.
>
> One finally gets so many sounds in one's head that a mild form of insanity is the tragic but unavoidable fate of every serious sinologist. Aside from working in white-lead factories, studying the languages and dialects of Southern China is surely the most dangerous and treacherous labour one can devote oneself to.
>
> Moreover, one needs sheer inexhaustible patience, because one time and again loses what one has learnt.[358]

In October, Van de Stadt showed his scholarly interest by studying the variation of dialects. When travelling from Amoy to Kia Ying Chow by another route, he walked for five days through the interior:

> My purpose was mainly to observe the gradual change of dialects and to see to what extent I could express myself with my knowledge of Amoy, Tsiangtsiu, Chaochow, and Hakka. When in Thaipu [Dabu 大埔] I had returned to fully Hakka territory, but it became clear to me soon that this language differs considerably from that of Kia Ying Chow.[359]

In general, the students' relations with the Hakkas were excellent. Van de Stadt wrote to Droeze:

> Our relation with the population is … excellent. We are very rarely abused and even surprisingly little gazed at.[360]

There was one small incident, again at first concerning De Bruin, which led to unforeseen developments, but in the end without serious consequences. It began about three weeks after their arrival in Kia Ying Chow:

> On a walk through town Mr. De Bruin was continuously abused by three lanky fellows as a "foreign devil," "foreign dog" [*fangui* 番鬼, *fangou* 番狗] etc. After some time this began to annoy my colleague—he turned around and grabbed one of the fellows by the collar. The latter then denied having abused him, and Mr. De Bruin let him go.[361]

Afterwards De Bruin found it desirable to inform the Sub-Prefect in a letter which he wrote with the assistance of his teacher. The Sub-Prefect answered by issuing a proclamation in which the population was told

> that we were Dutch officials who were fully entitled to live here, and that we were not to be harassed.[362]

A few days later, on 4 October, anonymous placards of a highly inflammatory nature were posted at the four city gates, "informing the whole prefecture." These were directed against the missionaries, who were said to mislead the uneducated people, squandering money to buy land for building churches, and posing as medical doctors. At the Meeting Hall new regulations were said to have been made to the effect that Chinese in town were to stop renting houses to the "foreign devils," and those who would not obey within a few months were threatened with having their houses set on fire. But the final sentence seemed the most serious:

> In the first place, those who catch the head of a foreign devil are offered an award of $200. The award can be collected at the Meeting Hall; this is certainly no idle promise.[363]

When the students discovered the placards, they personally tore them off the walls and sent copies to Colin M. Ford, acting Dutch Consul in Swatow, and to the Prefect in Kia Ying Chow. Van de Stadt wrote to Ford that he considered there was absolutely no danger, but that he only thought it desirable to inform him. In his letter to the Prefect, Van de Stadt pointed out that such an inflammatory proclamation could harm the friendly relations and asked for measures to punish the culprits and prevent such utterances in the future.

The letter was returned unopened with the message that the Prefect's servants should receive at least three or four dollars for delivering it. The students refused to accept this, and Van de Stadt paid a personal visit to the Mandarin, where he was received very politely and had a long conversation with the Prefect (*zhizhou* 知州), Guan Guanghuai 關廣槐. The latter seemed to regard the matter as a joke and impressed upon Van de Stadt that there was nothing to fear, offering to send two soldiers for their protection, which Van de Stadt declined. He gathered the general meaning of the conversation, although his language level was limited:

> It was of course difficult for me to have a conversation since my knowledge of both Mandarin and Hakka is highly insufficient.[364]

The Prefect would later describe this meeting in a letter to Ford as follows:

> A certain Dutch translator named Van de Stadt, who is studying the local dialect here, came to my office asking for an interview, explaining about the anonymous placard. I told him that the local authorities should of course always protect foreigners travelling in the interior according to the treaty, and that there was certainly no further danger at all, and that the unfounded slander of the moment was actually unreliable. I impressed upon him that there was no need to become suspicious, comforting him with friendly words.[365]

Later that day Van de Stadt discussed the matter with the American missionary George Campbell,[366] who considered the matter much more serious than the students did. He thought the Prefect did not dare to issue a new proclamation. He had already written to the American Consul asking for assistance. Unfortunately, at that time the German missionaries were not in town and could not be consulted. Campbell told Van de Stadt that the Chinese who had abused De Bruin belonged to the most powerful clan in Kia Ying Chow, and according to a rumour, they were enraged over the Mandarin's proclamation in which they were called 'evildoers,' and therefore issued this 'anti-proclamation.'

Thereupon Van de Stadt decided it was best to discuss the matter personally with acting Consul Ford in Swatow. After five days of travel down the river, he arrived in Swatow on 11 October and had a meeting with Ford, who had just received his letter and had written to the *Daotai* (Resident) of Chaochow. At this point, Van de Stadt seemed to become somewhat nervous himself: he wrote to Droeze asking for pistols. But in a later letter he explained that this was not because he thought he would ever need them, but for safety only.

When Van de Stadt returned to Kia Ying Chow, travelling via Amoy, the Prefect had posted a new proclamation.[367] In his letter to Ford, the *Daotai* of Chaochow explained the measures taken:

> At the same time I issued a proclamation to the inhabitants saying that each should behave himself and respect the laws, that it was strictly forbidden to provoke the foreigners, create trouble and spread unfounded rumours, hoping that the Chinese and the foreigners would live in peace together. Moreover, I ordered the police to visit and capture the rascals of the anonymous placard, and to bring them to justice; their case is now pending. … and to send soldiers to protect each foreigner and church whenever needed.[368]

In this way the whole matter blew over.

Later, during their travels in the interior, De Bruin and his fellow students always felt safe:

> Chinese criminals cannot be compared to those in Europe: this is shown by the safety with which one can travel in the interior—except in times of xenophobia—if one knows the language of the region.
>
> We slept several times in inns, ten to twelve days of travel from the coast,

> surrounded by one hundred to one hundred and fifty of the most low-down individuals, without protection and without weapons, yet we never experienced any trouble.[369]

The incident also had no consequences for De Bruin, who would later express his great appreciation for the Hakkas as follows:

> A frugal way of living, coupled with toughness and a rarely seen perseverance, these are the characteristics of this highly likeable people.
>
> The months that I spent in the midst of the Hakkas count among the most pleasant of my life.[370]

In August 1897, Droeze asked Van de Stadt to give him as much information as possible about the geography and population of Kia Ying Chow. Van de Stadt replied that he would be happy to give all information he could obtain during his study in the Hakka districts.[371] This resulted in a memorandum (*nota*) entitled "Some remarks about the Hakka Chinese," dated December 1897. The memorandum comprised subjects such as "Differences with the Hoklo," "The Position of Women," "Hygiene," "Language," and several economic subjects: "Trade and Shipping," "Trade in Kia Ying Chow," "Industry," "Agriculture," and "Husbandry." This memorandum gives an idea of what the students learned about local customs and manners, and about the linguistic situation. It also shows Van de Stadt's fascination with Hakka women. The following are some selections.

> *Differences with the Hoklo*
> Hakka means 'stranger,' and the Hakkas truly deserve their name. Anyone who would settle among the Hakkas without having first stayed in other parts of China would get a completely false impression about the character and customs of the Chinese.
> *The position of women*
> There is one circumstance to which all characteristics can be ascribed which distinguish the Hakkas from the Chinese surrounding them. That is that it is not customary among the Hakkas that women artificially make their feet smaller. The difference caused by this circumstance is almost incredible. The Hoklo woman (Chaochow) is a painted doll, whose only use is to be a means of procreation. She can only move around as if walking on land with skates under her feet. She is totally unfit for work of any significance. One seldom sees her on the streets, and with the shyness of a doe she curiously watches the foreigner from behind her reed curtain hanging in front of the door. The Hakka woman is completely different. Proud as a queen, with a bearing worth carving in marble, she strides forwards. She is a living and thinking creature and has her part in the daily work. Her family is supported by her at least as much as by her husband. As a result of her fitness for work outside the household, she has a more casual and natural relation with the other sex. When one arrives on a Chinese passenger ship at Kia Ying Chow, the ship is immediately swarmed by women, eager to carry the new arrivals' luggage. And one need not fear to trust heavy loads to her; they are in general stronger or at least better trained in carrying than the men are. A large number of women earn their living by carrying from the morning to the evening heavy

> buckets of water from the river to different corners of the city; for a certain distance there is a fixed rate of a few cash. Washing clothes is also mainly done by women, and even the wives of the well-to-do go to the river's shore to cleanse their own clothes. Jollity and jest are never lacking. When the boatmen of the surrounding ships call out innocent pleasantries to them, they always have a quick-witted answer ready. One has to have lived among other Chinese to realise how un-Chinese this behaviour is. Our Chaochow teacher and also our Amoy coolie were extremely annoyed by the boldness of the Kia Ying Chow beauties. …
> *Hygiene*
> What otherwise distinguishes the Hakkas in a positive sense is their cleanliness. Whoever walks through the streets of Amoy and afterwards through those of Kia Ying Chow, will immediately notice the enormous difference. The Hakkas are also cleanly as regards their bodies, they bathe every evening with warm water.
> *Language*
> Much more important than differences in customs, manners and traditional costumes, is the difference in language with the surrounding inhabitants. A Hoklo can understand absolutely nothing of Hakka, while a Nanking or Peking Chinese can make himself understood without great difficulty. … The Hakkas are proud to belong to the Northern tribes and mostly regard the Hoklos and Cantonese as a conquered people, who are not entitled to be called Chinese. Our teacher in Kia Ying Chow claimed that "the Hoklo language is no language, it is just a kind of stammering."
> This urge to be counted as Northern Chinese drives many Hakkas to learn Mandarin, and almost every inhabitant of Kia Ying Chow with any education can speak rather pure Mandarin.
> We were often confronted with the problem that our teachers, out of pedantry, used Mandarin expressions that are not understood by the lower classes. …[372]

Droeze found the memorandum very worthwhile because it had been compiled in the midst of the Hakkas, although he considered the account of the position of women exaggerated: low-class women among the Cantonese and other tribes also had big feet and did heavy work. When Droeze asked Van de Stadt to write this report, he did not tell him for what purpose this information was needed,[373] and Van de Stadt probably never got to know the real purpose. This information can only be found in the secret correspondence between Droeze and Minister of Foreign Affairs De Beaufort, where the memorandum was one of the documents provided to convince De Beaufort that the Netherlands should annex part of Southern China!

Droeze already cherished this annexation plan in January and February 1896. And in the summer of 1896, during his visit to the Netherlands, Knobel proposed to Minister of Foreign Affairs J. Röell that, since China was on the verge of disintegrating anyway, it would be in the Dutch interest to annex parts of Eastern Guangdong, including Swatow, Chaochow and Kia Ying Chow. In this way a constant flow of new coolies for the

Indies could be guaranteed, and would not be hampered in case Germany would annex Swatow. Knobel's proposal was supported by Groeneveldt. But Röell was from the start firmly opposed to his plan. In January 1898 Knobel made a second attempt with the (new) Minister of Foreign Affairs, W.H. de Beaufort. This time he was supported by Haver Droeze, who wrote his extensive report including concrete measures and methods of organising.[374] This attempt was also not in the least convincing to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. De Beaufort refused, arguing that, in the first place, the Netherlands did not have the means to organise such an enterprise, being constantly occupied in wars in the Indies, and in the second place the Netherlands wished to maintain a neutral position and not offend the British and Germans; whether it might be offensive to the Chinese seems to have been no issue at that time.[375] In that year (1898), four Western powers obtained large concessions in China: Britain leased the New Territories for 99 years for better protection of Hong Kong (its ending entailed the handover of Hong Kong in 1997), and also leased a concession in Weihaiwei (Shandong) for 25 years; Germany leased a concession in Kiaochow (Qingdao, Shandong), France in Kwangchow Wan (near Hainan), and Russia in Manchuria (Port Arthur, Dalian). Van de Stadt's memorandum had almost played a part in the 'scramble for concessions' at the turn of the century!

On 18 November 1897, Van de Stadt wrote from Kia Ying Chow to Droeze asking him about the rules for engaging teachers and the time they were to leave China or to arrive in the Indies. The students had never received any official instructions about these matters, but in 1896 Hoetink had written to De Bruin that all Officials for Chinese Affairs in the Indies had a Chinese clerk with a salary of *f* 63.75 per month, advising them to engage teachers in China under these conditions. Van de Stadt asked Droeze if this was correct. He was planning to take along his Amoy teacher, and Thijssen his Chaochow teacher, who were both on half pay, while De Bruin wished to hire a Hakka teacher.[376]

One month later, on 22 December 1897, before having received a reply from the Indies, all three students returned to Swatow. One of the reasons was that Van de Stadt had been ill for some time while the German doctor Wittenberg was not in town. He had gone to Swatow to see a doctor two weeks earlier, and now went for the second time, accompanied by the two others. From there Thijssen first went to Chaochow to collect his teacher.[377]

Thijssen also returned to Amoy to arrange some of their financial affairs, while De Bruin and Van de Stadt travelled directly to Hong Kong. By that time the decision of the Governor-General allowing them to engage teachers had arrived.[378] All three students left Hong Kong on 13 January 1898.[379] They arrived together in Batavia on 21 January 1898.[380]

One month later, on 20 February 1898, De Bruin was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Mentok (Bangka) and Van de Stadt in Rembang (Java).[381] Six weeks later, on 3 April 1898, Thijssen was appointed in Pontianak.[382] These places of stationing were no doubt connected with their choice of teachers: in Mentok Hakka was the most common dialect, on Java the Amoy dialect (Hokkien) and in Pontianak the Hoklo (Chaochow) dialect.

However, De Bruin and Van de Stadt were stationed there for a short time only: De Bruin would already be transferred to Medan (also Hakka-speaking) in November 1898 and Van de Stadt would be transferred to Makassar (Hokkien-speaking) in June 1899.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE COMPILATION OF DICTIONARIES

Hoffmann's Japanese dictionary

The compilation of Chinese dictionaries in the Netherlands should be seen in the context of J.J. Hoffmann's Japanese and Chinese dictionaries.[1] After he became Von Siebold's assistant in 1830, he began studying Chinese and then Japanese, and soon started compiling a Japanese–German dictionary for his own use. He based himself on the Japanese thesaurus 書言字考 *Shogen jikō*, which contained Chinese explanations of Japanese words. In 1835, a lithographic reprint of this thesaurus was published in Von Siebold's and Hoffmann's *Bibliotheca Japonica*.[2] Hoffmann finished the "skeleton" or general plan of his dictionary in 1839,[3] and continued working on it in the 1840s and 1850s.

During more than 200 years, Japan had had regular contacts with the West only through the Dutch settlement in Nagasaki. Especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, many Japanese studied the Dutch language, and several Dutch–Japanese dictionaries were compiled. When Japan was forced to open its doors by the Americans in 1853, Dutch was the *lingua franca* for all contacts with the West. In the following years, the Dutch government wished to maintain this precedence of the Dutch language, mainly for commercial purposes. Therefore in 1854 and 1855, Minister of Colonies[4] Pahud in secret letters asked J.H. Donker Curtius, the Dutch chief in Nagasaki, and Hoffmann, the newly appointed professor in Leiden, for their advice. They were to report about the best means to promote the knowledge of the Dutch language among the Japanese, in particular among interpreters, and to promote Japanese studies in the Netherlands.

Both advised in the first place to compile Japanese grammars, conversation guides, and dictionaries. In 1855 Hoffmann also proposed, in the newly established Literary Section of the Academy of Sciences, to buy Chinese type in order to print books for Chinese studies. At the time he could not yet disclose that these were primarily intended for printing Japanese studies, since all correspondence with the Minister about this subject had been classified as secret. The next year Hoffmann sent Pahud a detailed plan for publications. He suggested publishing first the Japanese grammar that had been compiled by Donker Curtius, and then concise Dutch–Japanese and Japanese–Dutch dictionaries etc., expecting that this could

be finished within a year; in the end he casually remarked that his own grammar and dictionary could then be published.[5] And indeed, as a first result in 1857, Donker Curtius' grammar came off the press at Sijthoff in Leiden; it was edited by Hoffmann and published at the expense of the Ministry of Colonies.[6] In 1858 a set of Chinese type was acquired in Hong Kong, of which new matrices were made in Amsterdam. In 1860, one set of type was placed with the publisher Sijthoff in Leiden.[7]

Surprisingly, the first book printed with the new type was not published by the Ministry but by Hoffmann himself. In 1861, he published as his own venture his *Shopping Dialogues / Winkelgesprekken*, a practical Japanese–English–Dutch conversation guide. At the same time, Hoffmann and Sijthoff set up a budget for the printing of Hoffmann's grammar and dictionary for the Ministry of Colonies. Sijthoff was prepared to print 1,000 copies of both works for *f* 15,897.00.[8]

When the British Minister in the Netherlands, Lord Napier, heard about the dictionary and the new type, he suggested adding English explanations, thus making it a Japanese–Dutch–English dictionary. In that case, the British government would be prepared to pay a subsidy amounting to about half of the costs, as soon as the dictionary came off the press.[9] Although officials at the Ministry of Colonies welcomed this idea, under these conditions Hoffmann found a subsidy unprofitable and impractical. But he fully agreed with the suggestion to add English explanations:

> My dictionary would only serve its purpose if an English explanation were added to the Dutch explanations. Other nations are also looking forward to the publication of this dictionary. If I restrict myself to the publication of a Japanese–Dutch dictionary, then in Britain or America they will soon make it into a Japanese–English one and this imitation will push aside the original work abroad.[10]

A few months later the new Minister of Colonies, J. Loudon, decided not to accept the British offer and to publish the Japanese–Dutch–English dictionary at the expense of the Dutch government only.[11] Four months later, in January 1862, this item appeared on the budget, and *f* 6,500.00 was reserved for its publication during that year, to be paid upon declaration of expenses. Hoffmann was officially notified on 1 February 1862, and he was thereby 'charged' to edit and publish his dictionary.[12] Half a year later he was also allowed a personal remuneration of *f* 3,000 in total.[13]

Despite these favourable circumstances for publishing Hoffmann's dictionary, from now on a period of optimistic promises and almost continuous delays began that was to last for forty years. Only the high expectations of Hoffmann's grammar were fulfilled, but the dictionary was never completed and ended in a failure.

Hoffmann first worked on his grammar, which he considered an indispensable introduction to the dictionary, expecting it could be printed within two years. Actually it took six years, and one of the reasons for the delay is obvious. In 1862, Hoffmann had for the first time come into direct personal contact with Japanese;[14] this and subsequent contacts led to numerous additions. Finally, in 1868 Hoffmann's grammar appeared in Dutch as *Japansche spraakleer* and simultaneously in English as *A Japanese Grammar*.[15] The English edition was soon sold out, and a revised English version appeared in 1876.[16]

The English edition was highly acclaimed abroad, and a long review article appeared in *The Saturday Review*.[17] Another review in *The Friend of India* stated:

> As the work of a philologist who has never been in Asia, and who has never heard the language spoken except in his intercourse with Japanese in France, England and especially the Netherlands, the minuteness with which Dr. Hoffmann handles his subject may well excite astonishment.[18]

For this reason, the Minister of Foreign Affairs suggested to his colleague at Colonies, E. de Waal, to make Hoffmann a Knight in the Order of the Dutch Lion, but the latter found that this should wait until the whole dictionary was published.[19]

A few years earlier, in 1863, shortly after he had been charged to publish his dictionary, Hoffmann announced that the manuscript now contained all necessary words and was finished in this respect, but that the translations were in German; according to him, these could without any difficulty be changed into Dutch and English.

Four years later, in 1867, Hepburn's Japanese–English dictionary appeared.[20] In 1870 Hoffmann wrote to the Minister that he expected printing of the letter A could begin within a few months, but that the publication of Hepburn's dictionary had made a certain revision necessary.[21] He had first used a traditional Japanese word order,[22] not the Western alphabetical order, and he now decided to use Hepburn's alphabetical order. However, he did not wish to change his historical and literal spelling into Hepburn's phonetic spelling.[23]

Unfortunately, during the last ten years of his life, Hoffmann's health had deteriorated so much that the burden of rearranging and editing became too heavy for him. He had first hoped Schlegel could help him, but in 1875 he changed his mind and recommended his student Lindor Serrurier. The latter was willing to do so on condition that he could at the same time accept another job—otherwise his prospects of finding work seemed bleak. He optimistically expected that he could finish this task within four years! Thereupon, in April 1875 Serrurier was charged by Royal Decree to edit the dictionary under Hoffmann's guidance.[24] At the same time,

the Ministry sold the Chinese type at Sijthoff to Brill, and a contract was concluded giving Brill the monopoly, on certain financial and other conditions, to print works containing Chinese and Japanese characters for the government.[25]

A few months earlier, in January 1875, Hoffmann, who was now too ill to finish the dictionary on his own, had already been made a Knight in the Order of the Dutch Lion for his contributions to Dutch scholarship.[26]

At some time it was decided to publish the Japanese–Dutch and Japanese–English dictionaries, like the grammars, in two separate editions. In the years after 1875, only a few sheets of both were printed. Serrurier did very little work for various personal reasons, such as his law studies until 1877 and from then on his curatorship in the Ethnographical Museum. Accordingly, when Hoffmann passed away on 19 January 1878, Professors Kern and Schlegel were asked to investigate the matter. In their report they held to the original high expectations, optimistically estimating that the dictionary was far enough along and that Serrurier could still complete the job. There was a lot to be done, the most serious problem being that quite a few words were without any translation and were only followed by examples of use. They calculated that Serrurier could finish the editing in about seven years—if he worked five evenings a week for ten months per year![27]

They also advised to cancel the Dutch edition, since the Dutch language had long ceased to be the *lingua franca* in Japan. But the Minister decided to keep both editions, as otherwise no Dutch interest would be served by this publication.[28] The dictionary was to be published in instalments in order to profit earlier from scholarly comments and to check Serrurier's progress.[29]

Three years later, by the end of 1881, the first two instalments of Hoffmann's *Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek* and *Japanese–English Dictionary*, comprising the letters A and O, were finally published.[30] In a review article, Schlegel highly praised this publication, considering it a reason for pride on the part of the Dutch government and Dutch nation. The printing, too, was beautiful, surpassing anything published in other countries—this would enhance Brill's position as a paramount printer of Chinese and Japanese. But Schlegel also had a few points of criticism; these were, however, all based on his knowledge of Chinese, not Japanese. Apart from a few obviously wrong characters, he typically pointed out that Serrurier—following Hepburn—had wrongly translated the word *onara* as "a destructive wind" (*een verwoestende wind*), while from the Chinese characters 放屁 one could easily see that this should mean "a foul wind, a fart" (*een stinkende wind, een scheet*). Schlegel rebuked any prudishness in scholarly works, although it was commendable in children's books. In a dictionary an equivalent forceful expression (*Kraft-Ausdruck*) should be sought as a translation of every word.[31]

During the next eleven years, from 1882 to 1891, no new instalments appeared. This was in part due to the slackness of Serrurier, who in 1881 became director of the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden and who was more interested in ethnology than in Japanese. But during these years he was also not pressed by the Ministry or by Schlegel; no correspondence about the Japanese dictionary could be found in the Colonial archives in the period from 1883 to 1891. Therefore, another reason for the delay was probably the publication of Schlegel's four volume Dutch–Chinese dictionary in 1882–91. It would have been technically impossible for Brill, and financially for the Ministry to print and publish two such large dictionaries at the same time. Besides, Schlegel was very eager to have his dictionary published quickly.

The relation between Serrurier and Schlegel, which had been disturbed since 1875, had in the meantime deteriorated even more because of various conflicts. Accordingly, when Serrurier in 1892 finally published the third volume of the Japanese dictionary containing the letter B, Schlegel wrote a very critical review in which he showed anger about the delay and pointed out numerous mistakes; he also blamed Serrurier for his "verbosity."[32] In privately published pamphlets, a debate between Serrurier and Schlegel ensued, in which they did not abstain from vicious personal attacks; for instance Serrurier reproached Schlegel for having a liking for pornography.[33] Thereupon, seeking to find support for his view, Schlegel asked the British japanologist W.G. Aston[34] for his opinion, which he even published in *T'oung Pao*. According to Aston, this dictionary was "a very defective work," both in method and accuracy. Many important sources had not been used, leading to a great number of omissions, "even though it gives a fair number of new words."[35] It was no wonder that the dictionary was so defective, since both Hoffmann and Serrurier had never been in Japan.

Despite these criticisms, Serrurier optimistically went on with his editing, and announced to Minister Van Dedem that a fourth volume, comprising the letters P and R, was about to appear. When asked how much time was necessary for completion of the whole dictionary, he now answered that he hoped to finish it in eight to ten years.[36] But subsequently only a few sheets of the fourth volume were printed, and no further volumes appeared.[37]

In 1896, Serrurier decided to leave the Netherlands and move to the Indies, mainly because he did not receive the necessary government support for the museum. He wished to continue editing the dictionary in Batavia, and after arrival requested Governor-General Van der Wijck to allow him the assistance of a Japanese clerk. He found arguments for this in a letter from Aston dating from many years earlier, when the first two instalments of the dictionary had appeared. In it, Aston had pointed out quite a few mistakes but given him the following sympathetic advice:

> Many of the errors would have been avoided, if you had had Japanese assistance. Now, why should not the Dutch Government procure you the help of a native scholar? He need not be a very learned man, there should be nothing in it in the smallest degree derogatory to yourself. In Japan no European scholar dreams of doing serious work without native help and revisions. Even at the British Legation, where the standard of Japanese scholarship is as high as anywhere else, there is always a Japanese literate at hand for consultation in cases of difficulties. *Such men too keep one from making mistakes in common matters which are apt to escape the notice of scholars*.[38]

Van der Wijck forwarded his request to Minister of Colonies J.T. Cremer, but the latter now refused to give approval, since he did not wish to further increase the expenses on the dictionary;[39] subsequently he even decided to stop publication altogether.[40] Serrurier protested, still wishing to continue, because he felt a moral obligation towards his teacher Hoffmann to do so.[41] Therefore in 1899 Cremer asked advice from Professors De Groot and Kern as to the need for the dictionary. Both advised against continuation, since the dictionary had now become completely outdated. De Groot explained that, on the one hand, there was no longer a need for this dictionary, as other dictionaries in various European languages had appeared after Hoffmann's death. At most, all that was not included in the other dictionaries could be collected and published in a journal on Japan. The delay in printing was blamed on the lack of drive of the editor Serrurier. On the other hand, when Hoffmann had started to compile his dictionary, Japanological studies were still in their infancy, and words and expressions were entered without due sifting or criticism. In the meantime, much more had become known about stylistic variations within the Japanese language. De Groot's conclusion was that discontinuation of publication would not harm scholarship in any way. Kern agreed, adding that the "agony of the dictionary" (*lijdensweg van het woordenboek*) proved there was no hope of completion. Cremer then decided to follow their advice without the least hesitation.[42] Brill was partially compensated by the Ministry.[43] Two years later, in 1901, Serrurier passed away, 55 years old.[44] The 27 volumes of the Japanese–German (24 vols.) and Japanese–Dutch (4 vols.) manuscript dictionaries were later transported back to the Netherlands and are now kept in the Leiden University Library.[45]

Manuscript Chinese dictionaries and word lists

Apart from his Japanese dictionary which he compiled for himself, starting in 1849 Hoffmann also worked on a Chinese–Dutch dictionary with Mandarin transcription for his students. Some of these students were very young: Gustaaf Schlegel was only 9 years old when he began to study Chinese, and Maurits Schaalje and Jan Francken were only 14 and 16; they

needed such a dictionary. Like his Chinese grammar, this dictionary only existed in manuscript and it was never printed; it was actually a card file, copied by hand by each student. It contained the vocabulary of the texts that they had read with Hoffmann, with his lexical explanations. Hoffmann's original manuscript has survived in the Utrecht University Library. It is written in German and has the title "*Wên tszé yáo-liŏ* [*Wenzi yaolüe*] 文字要略, *schinesisches Handwörterbuch.* Bearbeitet von Dr. J. Hoffmann, Leiden 1849–1854." It consists of a large stack of about 2,000 small cards, 22 cm high, arranged in alphabetical order; on each card one or more characters and combinations of characters are explained. This dictionary not only gave pronunciations in Mandarin, but also in Cantonese and sometimes in Hakka. All of Hoffmann's students copied it, translating it into Dutch. St. Aulaire's copy is also kept in Utrecht, consisting of a stack of about 800 larger cards, 10 cm high, with Dutch explanations.[46]

After the first Dutch student-interpreters arrived in Amoy around 1858 and started to learn the Amoy and Tsiangtsiu dialects, they followed Hoffmann's example and began to compile their own dictionaries. At that time there were no dictionaries or textbooks of those dialects except two works by Medhurst and Doty.[47] W.H. Medhurst's *Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dialect of the Chinese Language* (Batavia & Macau 1832)[48] contained mainly the literary language, not the colloquial, and E. Doty's *Anglo–Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect* (Canton 1853) was not much more than a thematic word list. Medhurst's dictionary provided the Tsiangtsiu pronunciation from the Chinese rhyme dictionary *Shiwu yin* 十五音,[49] while Doty gave the Amoy pronunciation. In the absence of a suitable dictionary, each of the students therefore immediately began compiling Chinese–Dutch and Dutch–Chinese dictionaries.[50] This was a very slow process, in particular for the colloquial language, "because every expression, every word, had to be written down out of the mouths of the Chinese."[51] Francken started to compile an Amoy–Dutch dictionary of the colloquial, while Schlegel worked on a Dutch–Chinese dictionary of the written language specially for use in written translation from Dutch into Chinese. These two dictionaries were later published, and will be described in detail below.

Other students also compiled their own dictionaries, but only a few have survived. Schaalje compiled an Amoy–Dutch dictionary, which he finished in Amoy in 1864, with 9,674 entries.[52] Many years later, long after his appointment as an interpreter and while on leave in the Netherlands in 1889, he also compiled a Dutch–Chinese dictionary of the colloquial language of Amoy with about 7,000 entries. This is essentially a reverse version of Francken's Chinese–Dutch dictionary published in 1882.[53]

Another Dutch–Amoy dictionary known to have existed was compiled by the Dutch merchant A. Bloys van Treslong Prins.[54] In 1874, he present-

ed some pages of his manuscript to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences for publication, but it was refused. The reason given was that many Dutch words were lacking and, more importantly, Francken's dictionary was still at the press.[55]

Von Faber also compiled a Chinese–Dutch dictionary. After his retirement, in 1898 he offered the unfinished manuscript for sale to the government, but this was rejected.[56]

Apart from dictionaries, some students also made collections of sayings or special word lists. De Grijs compiled a list of almost 300 Amoy sayings with the title *Chineesche spreekwoorden, verzameld en vertaald door C.F.M. de Grijs* (Chinese sayings collected and translated by C.F.M. de Grijs).[57] Schaalje compiled a collection of 951 sayings, entitled *Dictons van het Emoi dialect bijeen verzameld door M. Schaalje* (Sayings in the Amoy dialect collected by M. Schaalje).[58] Francken made a list of more than 2,000 Amoy sayings.[59] Special Hokkien vocabularies are, for instance, the lists of the names of family relationships by Schlegel[60] and Schaalje.[61]

While studying in China, the students compiled a list of more than 100 standard translations for the names of government officials and institutions in the Indies.[62] They knew that the native Chinese officers did not translate these, but only transcribed the Dutch names in Chinese characters,[63] just as the Malay and Javanese did in their writing systems. The Dutch interpreters highly disapproved of this manner of representation and wished to use Chinese equivalents. Schaalje's copy of the standard list has survived; it is entitled *Namen van Ambtenaren & Collegien in Nederlandsch Indie* (Names of officials and boards in the Netherlands Indies) *Yandi guanxian* 燕地官銜.[64]

Later, when Schlegel began teaching Chinese in Batavia in 1871, he started making a Dutch translation of E. Doty's *Manual* for his student Roelofs, which he finished in Leiden in 1873. Schlegel also changed the Amoy pronunciation into Tsiangtsiu, giving it the title *Nederlandsch–Chineesch handboekje van het Tsiang-tsiu dialect, door Rev. Doty, bewerkt door G. Schlegel, 1873* (Dutch–Chinese manual of the Tsiangtsiu dialect, by Rev. Doty, edited by G. Schlegel, 1873).[65] Just as Schlegel and his fellow students had copied Hoffmann's dictionary and grammar during their studies in Leiden, Schlegel's students would copy this manual. Five copies have survived that were made by B. Hoetink, H.N. Stuart, A.A. de Jongh, B.A.J. van Wettum, and an unknown student.[66]

There also existed several Hakka vocabularies. Schaalje made or copied an abridged translation of Doty's *Manual*, with the pronunciation indicated in the two Hakka dialects of Kia Ying Chow and Chonglok, entitled *Ka yin tsiu P'ak wá* (嘉應州白話 *Jiayingzhou baihua*, The colloquial language of Meixian).[67] Von Faber made a Hakka vocabulary with a preface, introduction, stories, and dialogues, which he presented to the Batavian

Society of Arts and Sciences for publication in 1866. The Board, considering it of little scholarly value, followed Von Faber's alternative suggestion to present it to the government for publication. This work would be useful for government officials on Banka and Western Borneo, who could learn enough from it to engage in daily conversation. It was to be printed by the Government Press. But because of the insufficiency of Chinese type at the Government Press, the publication was cancelled in 1871.[68]

Linguistic problems

A compiler of a dictionary of Southern Fujianese is confronted with four types of problems: 1. the choice of dialect (in this case, Amoy or Tsiangtsiu); 2. the choice of a transcription system; 3. the difference between colloquial and literary readings of characters; and 4. the lack of characters to represent the colloquial language.

The Tsiangtsiu and Amoy dialects are closely related variants of Southern Fujianese or Southern Min (Minnanhua), which in Southeast Asia is usually simply called Hokkien (Fujianese). Southern Fujianese can be divided into five main subdialects: 1) Amoy (Xiamen), 2) Quanzhou, 3) Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou), 4) Longyan and 5) Datian.[69] The Amoy and (especially) Tsiangtsiu dialects are widely spoken by Chinese in Southeast Asia.[70] For this reason, W.H. Medhurst chose Tsiangtsiu pronunciation for his dictionary. Another reason was the existence of the Chinese rhyming dictionary *Shiwu yin*, which has Tsiangtsiu (or more properly Zhangpu 章浦) pronunciation. Medhurst compiled his dictionary mainly by rearranging the entries of *Shiwu yin* according to the alphabet, giving transcriptions and adding some classical quotations as examples. In 1832, when Medhurst published his dictionary, Amoy was still closed to Western shipping, but it had for centuries served as the main port for the Fujianese junk trade with Southeast Asia. Only after 1843, when it was opened for foreign trade, did Amoy become an important international harbour, where many missionaries began to work. E. Doty was one of them, and he published his *Manual* in 1853.[71]

The Dutch student-interpreters also had to choose a system of transcription. Medhurst's system was based upon the idiosyncracies of English pronunciation; for instance, he wrote *e* for [i], *ew* for [iu], *oo* for [u], and *ey* for [e].[72] This system was already outdated in the 1850s. Doty's system was much more practical and general, mostly using the same letters that would later be used in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA, 1886). Doty wrote that his system, "with one or two minor variations, is that employed by most of the missionaries residing at Amoy."[73] The missionary Carstairs Douglas, who came to Amoy in 1855, also devised a system similar to

Doty's, and later used it in his dictionary in 1873. Schlegel's system was also an adaptation of Doty's system, making use of some elements of that of Medhurst; it was a cosmopolitan system not based on Dutch pronunciation. Probably Schlegel also knew Lepsius' *Standard alphabet*, a book that from 1862 on was bought by all of Hoffmann's students. Schlegel wrote in the introduction to his dictionary in 1884:

> As will be seen, our system of transcription differs in some respects from that of Douglas, though we did our best, during our stay in China [1858–62], when we had fixed upon our system of transcription, to convert him to it; in which we only partially succeeded.[74]

Schlegel then gave two examples. The most important difference with Douglas' system was that Schlegel used one and the same phoneme, *ts*, in words such as *Tsing* and *Tsan* (曾, in Mandarin *céng* and *Zēng*), following *Shiwu yin*, whereas Douglas followed Medhurst's English spelling rules and distinguished *ch* and *ts*, writing *Cheng* and *Tsan*. Moreover, Schlegel spelled *-ing*, like most other languages, where Douglas wrote *-eng*. In these respects Schlegel's transcription was closer to the later IPA than Douglas'. All Amoy transcription systems used the same diacritics as Medhurst did to indicate the tones.[75] The missionaries' spellings later became the basis for the Romanised Amoy that was used in Bible translations and other writings; it was even used as an alphabetic version of the Amoy dialect, and is still being used to write the colloquial language.[76]

The third linguistic problem was the existence of both a colloquial and a literary pronunciation of characters. All Chinese dialects have characters which have two or more pronunciations, one of which is "literary" and the other "colloquial," but Southern Min dialects have the most extensive set of double readings.[77] Historically speaking, these different pronunciations in Fujian can be explained as belonging to different linguistic strata originating in migration from Northern China during the Qin and Han dynasties (221 B.C. – 220 A.D.), the Southern and Northern dynasties (420–550), and in the literary standard in the Tang dynasty (618–907).[78] The first two strata went through many phonological changes, resulting in the colloquial pronunciation, while the last retained more ancient phonological features that survived in the literary pronunciation. The literary pronunciation was later influenced by Mandarin, so some of the literary pronunciations are close to Mandarin. In the nineteenth century, the literary pronunciation was still used for reading, reciting, and learning by heart Chinese texts. It was therefore called *ziyin* 字音, "pronunciation of the characters," in English usually called "reading pronunciation" or "literary pronunciation." It was clearly distinguished from *baihua* 白話 or *suhua* 俗話, "colloquial" or "spoken language." Most differences between the two are in the finals of each syllable (17×); there are but very few in the initials

(2×) or in both (2×).[79] In *Shiwu yin*, these two kinds of pronunciations are distinguished in colour; literary pronunciations are printed in red and colloquial in black. In the twentieth century, the literary pronunciation disappeared from use as reading pronunciation. Starting in the 1900s, Chinese schools began teaching Mandarin, thereby replacing the literary pronunciation by Mandarin.

On the other hand, many literary pronunciations have been taken over in the colloquial language as loanwords and exist side by side with the colloquial pronunciations, expressing different meanings or used in other contexts. This phenomenon also exists in European languages, where words of the same etymological origin borrowed at different times can coexist, for instance English "pauper" and "poor," or Dutch *pact* and *pacht*. In Southern Fujianese these two pronunciations are now called *wenduyin* 文讀音, "literary *reading*," and *baiduyin* 白讀音, "colloquial *reading*." They are written with the same Chinese character, and are therefore called different "readings," but linguistically these are different words. For example, the character 馬, "horse," has two pronunciations: *má˘* is the literary pronunciation used in *má˘ siāng* 馬上, "immediately," while *bé* is the colloquial pronunciation used in *bé ts'ia* 馬車, "carriage."[80] The character 月, "moon, month," also has two pronunciations: *goát* is the literary pronunciation used in personal names, while *géh* (Tsiangtsiu *goéh*) is the colloquial pronunciation used for the word "month."

In addition to the cognate words described above, etymologically unrelated words can also be used as colloquial readings. For instance, the character 肉, "meat, flesh," has the literary reading *dziók* (as in *dziók kuì* 肉桂, "cinnamon") and the colloquial reading *bah* (as in *bah mī˘* 肉麵, "pork and noodles, bami"). When a character is used in this way, it is called *xun* 訓, "gloss, explanation" or *xunduzi* 訓讀字, "character to be read as a gloss."[81] Some characters even have three readings: literary, related colloquial, and unrelated colloquial. For instance, the character 乾, "dry" has the literary pronunciation *kan* and the colloquial pronunciation *koa˘*, but it is also used to represent the colloquial word *ta*, "dry." It depends on the context which of these three pronunciations should be used, for instance: 乾糧 *kan* niû˘, "dry provisions;" 果子乾 ké tsí *koa˘*, "dried fruits;" and 乾草 *ta* ts'aó "dry grass, hay."[82]

The fourth problem was the insufficiency of Chinese characters to represent the spoken language. In Southern Fujianese, just as in other dialects except standard Mandarin, not all words could be written with characters.[83] In the sixteenth century, some Minnanhua popular literature was published in the colloquial language, making special use of characters or even creating new ones, but by the nineteenth century most of these colloquial characters were but rarely used.[84] *Shiwu yin* still has a few of these

specially created characters, but mostly uses standard Chinese characters as glosses.

There were four ways of writing non-cognate colloquial words to cope with this lack. The first way was using a gloss character (*xunduzi* 訓讀字). The second way was using another character with the same sound (*baizi* 白字); for instance, the characters 查某 were used for writing *tsa bó*, "woman," in which case the literal meanings of these characters, "to search" and "someone," are irrelevant. The third way was to add the mouth radical 口 to an existing homophone character, showing that the character represented the sound only. In Southern Min dialects, this was often applied to foreign loanwords, just as in Mandarin.[85] An example is *lan* 嚂, which was sometimes used in *hô lan* 荷嚂 "Holland."[86] In Cantonese this method of adding the mouth radical is used widely for creating characters for dialect words.[87] The fourth way was the creation of a new character, but this was rarely done. One example is 賻 for *pak*, "to rent," which like most Chinese characters consists of a radical and a phonetic.[88]

All Western dictionary makers were confronted with this problem of representation in characters. Medhurst solved it by making use of a Chinese dictionary (*Shiwu yin*), which already had characters, and translating the entries into English. Doty made ample use of gloss readings or just left out one or more characters. Douglas, to his regret, had to leave out Chinese characters altogether, because no characters could be found for about one-third of the words in the colloquial language; besides, printing characters in Europe was also a problem at the time.[89]

The publication history of Francken en De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch dictionary (1864–1882)

After J.J.C. Francken passed away in 1864, it took more than eighteen years before his manuscript dictionary was edited and finally came off the press in 1882. It was published by the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences as *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt* (Chinese–Dutch dictionary of the Amoy dialect). The delay was caused in the first place by technical and financial problems with the printing of Chinese characters. The Batavian Society did not have Chinese type, and it lacked the means to buy a set of such type, so the printing had to be entrusted to the Government Press, which could only do it very slowly and in time left over from other jobs.[90] Another cause was the problem of editing, since there were too few Dutch sinologists available for the task. The first editor, Schlegel, left the Indies in 1872; he was succeeded by De Grijs, who was living far away in Semarang, which was very inconvenient. Fortunately, during most of these years some sinologists were members of the Board

of Directors of the Batavian Society: Schlegel in 1870–2, Groeneveldt in 1875–95, and Albrecht in 1878–85. It was due to them that the dictionary was published at all.

The vicissitudes in the publication history of this dictionary are well documented in the minutes of the Batavian Society.[91] In January 1866, almost two years after Francken passed away, Governor-General Sloet decided to donate the 36 books and five manuscripts from his estate to the Batavian Society.[92] Half a year later, in June 1866 the Board of Directors of the Society decided to place the printed books in the library of the Society, and to consider publication of the manuscripts.[93] Albrecht, who was Francken's successor in Surabaya, wrote a *nota* for the Board of Directors with a description of these, which included:

1. A manuscript copy of Hoffmann's Chinese–Dutch dictionary.
2. "A Chinese-Dutch dictionary arranged according to Tsiangtsiu pronunciation of the Hokkien dialect, which is generally spoken on Java. As only few and very insignificant works on this dialect exist, Francken's manuscript certainly is the most complete dictionary, and for that reason very valuable. It contains many expressions that until now no one has collected, which considerably enhance its value."
3. A Dutch–Chinese dictionary in draft, which was a reversed version of the preceding.
4. "A collection of more than 2,000 Chinese sayings with translation and explanation, unique in its kind, and the more noteworthy, because they provide deep insight into the manners and customs of the Chinese nation."
5. Translations of some Chinese classical works into Dutch, typical of a student.

Albrecht concluded that nos. 2 and 4 were valuable and could be published without much editing.[94] The Board decided to ask Schlegel, who was a member, if publication was desirable from a scholarly point of view and if he would be willing to correct the proofs.[95]

One month later, Schlegel gave his comments. According to him, Hoffmann's dictionary could not be published because the copyright was held by the author. Francken's collection of sayings was the "richest ever made by a sinologist," but the Chinese–Dutch dictionary was the most important:

> The advisor was present when this dictionary was compiled and can state with confidence that it is one of the most excellent products in the field of Chinese linguistic studies and well worth the cost of publication.

The only problem was the insufficiency of Chinese type at the Government Press, because the available characters were almost constantly needed for printing official works.[96] Schlegel thought it would be best to acquire another set of type from the Netherlands.[97] Finally, he declared that he was willing to correct the proofs. The costs of buying Chinese type, according to him, would amount to at least *f* 2,400. Since this was too expensive for the Batavian Society, the Board decided to have the two Chinese manuscripts printed by the Government Press.[98]

Five months later the Batavian Society obtained Government support. In February 1867, Governor-General Mijer decided to have the dictionary printed by the Government Press without cost to the Batavian Society, but on condition that it would be done in spare time between other printing jobs. And it was not altogether free, because the Batavian Society would have to provide the paper needed, pay for the carving of extra characters and pay an allowance of *f* 16 per sheet of 8 pages to the printing personnel.[99]

The printing proceeded very slowly, and almost four years later hardly anything had been printed; all private efforts to urge the printer failed. In December 1870 Schlegel, who was now a member of the Board of Directors of the Batavian Society, suggested officially requesting the government to speed up the printing of the dictionary, and the Board decided to act accordingly.[100] But this was also to no avail, and in March 1871, the Board had to acknowledge that despite all efforts, it had not succeeded in publishing Francken's two manuscripts, mainly because of the lack of Chinese type. Von Faber's handbook on the Hakka dialect had not been published for the same reason.[101]

Half a year later, in October, Schlegel presented a *nota* with the results of inquiries as to the price of Chinese type in China. He asked the directors to consider buying a set of 240,000 type for *f* 2,700 at the American Mission Press in Shanghai. These were smaller type than those of the Government Press and they could be used very well in combination with European letters. For the time being no decision was made, and the question was never raised again.[102]

For Schlegel there was also another personal interest at stake. From February to June 1872, the Batavian Society's printer Bruining & Co. would print his *Sinico-Aryaca*.[103] During this period Bruining would borrow Chinese type from the Government Press, and Schlegel arranged for the carving of about 800 new characters for his book.[104] This certainly would not speed up the printing of Francken's dictionary. Besides, Schlegel was also teaching Roelofs, and he probably had little time left to spend on the editing and proof-reading of the dictionary.

After Schlegel left the Indies on sick leave in June 1872,[105] Von Faber took over the work of editing and supervising the printing of the dictionary, but after a few months he was obliged to resign. According to the

president of the Batavian Society, T.H. der Kinderen, Von Faber resigned because of the pressure of his official work, even though a fee was offered to him.[106] Von Faber was at that time the only Chinese interpreter in Batavia; another reason was perhaps that his major dialect was Cantonese, not Hokkien, and therefore he may have felt unqualified for this task. Another editor had to be found, and when Der Kinderen visited Semarang in the beginning of November 1872, he asked De Grijs to take care of the editing and proofreading, which he was willing to do.[107] In his preface (*voorbericht*) to the dictionary, De Grijs explained that he considered it his sacred duty to do this for his good friend Francken, adding that only a few sheets had been printed at that time. The Government Press was to send the manuscript and the proofs to De Grijs.[108] In January 1873 De Grijs wrote that he would start correcting as soon as he received the proofs.[109]

In the meantime, in 1873 and later in 1875, Schlegel wrote reports to the Minister of Colonies, pleading for a training course in Leiden and a professorship for himself. Both times he also suggested the printing and correcting of Francken's dictionary should be continued in the Netherlands. He argued that in two or three years time only 16 sheets had been printed (128 pages), and that it would take many years before the dictionary could be finished in Batavia. Since there was also Chinese type in Leiden, it could be printed there as well.[110] The Minister gave no comment on his suggestion about the dictionary, but he accepted his plan to train Chinese interpreters in Leiden.

Surprisingly, Schlegel did not mention in his reports that De Grijs had been charged with the editing, although Der Kinderen must certainly have told him. The reason was probably that Schlegel wished to continue the editing himself and perhaps even felt a grudge against De Grijs. Nor did he mention De Grijs' name as one of the compilers in the introduction to his own dictionary.[111] But later developments would show that De Grijs' editing inadvertedly brought about much inconvenience and slowed down the printing process even more.

In December 1873, almost a year after De Grijs had agreed to do the editing, he received the first proofs. After checking a few sheets of the dictionary, which he now saw for the first time, he discovered that some sentences in literary style should be omitted and that much should be added. He asked permission to make additions, considering that probably no similar work would be published in the near future. The Board allowed him to continue editing according to his suggestions.[112] Only now was Francken's manuscript sent to him; he received it in March 1874.[113]

Still the printing process was heavily hampered. One and a half years later, in July 1875, Groeneveldt, who on 9 March of that year had become a member of the Board, made inquiries into the printing and discovered that only one sheet per month was being printed:

> If the correction process had been organised in another way, three sheets could be printed per month. The problem is that the Chinese characters are inserted in the proof, and therefore a large part of the copy has to be set up again.

The Board thereupon asked De Grijs to change his working method.[114] In August, De Grijs wrote that he would try once again—apparently he had tried before—to have the characters set up in proof at the Government Press, instead of adding them to the first proof.[115] This time he was successful, as is shown by one surviving page of proof with written corrections in his hand.[116] On this page about half of the characters were directly printed in proof, and De Grijs added the other half in spaces left open for them. This made it unnecessary to set up the whole page again.[117]

If three sheets a month could have been printed, as Groeneveldt had said, the printing could have been finished in a few years. But four years later, only about half of the dictionary was printed. In the meantime, Groeneveldt and Albrecht had successfully pleaded with the Governor-General against the need and usefulness of a large number of Chinese interpreters, indirectly opposing Schlegel's training ambitions. At a meeting of the Board of the Batavian Society in April 1879, Groeneveldt now also raised doubts about the need and the quality of Francken's dictionary. He found that in 1866 Schlegel had greatly exaggerated its value, when he considered it "one of the most excellent products in the field of Chinese language studies." More correct was Albrecht's opinion that because of the lack of works on the Tsiangtsiu dialect, it was at the time "the most complete dictionary and therefore very valuable." Groeneveldt considered this dictionary the work of a promising beginner, carefully edited, but far from complete; in the past it would have been valuable because no similar work existed. If it had been published right away, it would have been very useful for Dutch sinologists and others in the Indies. It was highly unfortunate that, probably on Schlegel's advice, characters had been added for all words and expressions. These would be of use only for those who also studied the written language, and even for them, characters at the beginning of each main entry would have sufficed. Because of this, the dictionary had become twice as large as it should have been. For other users, officials and merchants, characters would be distracting and make the language seem more difficult than it actually was. Moreover, they slowed down the publication: after twelve years, only about half was ready. Meanwhile an excellent dictionary had been published by Carstairs Douglas,[118] missionary at Amoy, who was not a beginner and had spent many years on his dictionary, and had access to extensive materials compiled by his predecessors. Having this dictionary in which all Chinese characters were omitted,[119] no Dutch sinologist would make use of Francken's work.

Therefore Francken's dictionary was only destined for use by those who wished to learn something of the spoken language for their contacts with the Chinese. If things continued unchanged, another twelve years would be needed, and by that time the dictionary would perhaps be even more outdated. Groeneveldt suggested that publication should either be stopped altogether or continued without the characters. Before the Board of Directors made a decision, it asked Groeneveldt to inquire about the cost of publication at the Government Press.[120]

Four months later, in August 1879, Groeneveldt reported that about 20 sheets were still to be printed, costing *f* 480.[121] But if characters were omitted, only 8 to 10 sheets would suffice, and the printing could be finished within half a year. It would be best to economise in any possible manner on this dictionary, which in many ways was an unfinished work. Moreover, the tone signs were printed in a way that made them hardly recognisable, which was an important disadvantage to the user. Finally, Groeneveldt added that De Grijs fully agreed with his negative opinion on the dictionary.[122] The Board then decided to continue printing without Chinese characters, except at each main entry in the margin.[123] As in most Chinese dictionaries, there are 'main entries' consisting of one character. These are written in the margin, and their pronunciation and meanings are given. The 'main entries' are usually followed by a list of 'sub-entries' of two or more characters. These are compounds and sayings that always contain the same character as the 'main entry.' For instance, the main entry Taō 荳, "bean" has as one of its sub-entries taō gê, "bean sprouts" (p. 577).

From now on, the printing of the last third of the dictionary proceeded swiftly. In March 1882 the printing was finished except for the preface.[124] As a result of the change in editing, there is a clear dichotomy: pages 1 to 520 have Chinese characters in most entries, while pages 521 to 774 only have characters at the main entries in the margin.[125] Despite the simplification, however, the remaining costs were twice as much as estimated.[126] Finally, in October 1882, Albrecht reported that the dictionary was ready and could be sent to the members.[127]

There is another, less prominent dichotomy in the dictionary. During this long period of printing, the old Dutch spelling of Siegenbeek dating from 1804[128] was gradually replaced by the new spelling of De Vries and Te Winkel devised in 1864.[129] As a result, the first half of the dictionary was written in the Siegenbeek spelling, while the last half usually has the new spelling. Some examples of words spelled differently are *regtvaardig* (righteous), *ligchaam* (body), *fraaije* (beautiful), *blaauw* (blue) and *Chinesche* (Chinese) in the first half, which were spelled *rechtvaardig*, *lichaam*, *fraaie*, *blauw* and *Chineesche* in the second half.[130] The older spelling in the first half would only strengthen the feeling that the dictionary was outdated.

The publication of Francken's dictionary, despite its shortcomings, was

a great achievement for both the editors and the Government Press in Batavia. Unfortunately, little is known about its reception, apart from the negative comments by Groeneveldt, De Grijs, and later Schlegel.[131] Probably the sphere of use and the number of specialists was too small to invite publication of any review. Only one announcement of its publication is known, appearing in the *Indische Gids* of 1883; it gave no more information than De Grijs' preface.[132] But in 1889 Schaalje wrote in the introduction to his manuscript Dutch–Amoy dictionary that Francken's dictionary had been very useful to him. One reason for this was that he did not possess Douglas' dictionary.[133]

Description and evaluation

The full title of the dictionary is *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt door J.J.C. Francken en C.F.M. de Grijs* (Chinese–Dutch dictionary of the Amoy dialect by J.J.C. Francken and C.F.M. de Grijs). De Grijs probably preferred to use Amoy in the title because the main entries, compounds and sayings are first given in the Amoy pronunciation, and the main entries are alphabetically arranged according to this dialect. In his introduction, De Grijs presented the dictionary as purely of Amoy dialect, only providing a list of the names of eleven dialect variants of Hokkien or Southern Fujianese without any explanation.[134] On the other hand, Francken, Albrecht, and Schlegel always designated it as a Tsiangtsiu dictionary. Actually it is a dictionary of both the Amoy and the Tsiangtsiu dialect. In cases where the pronunciations in these dialects are different, Tsiangtsiu pronunciation is given on the next line. Except in the main entries, it is usually placed between brackets, or both pronunciations are connected by another large bracket (}). Sometimes the Tsiangtsiu pronunciations or expressions are explicitly indicated by the addition of the word *(Tsiangtsiu)*, *(Ts-ts.)* or a footnote.[135]

In contrast to Douglas' dictionary, colloquial and literary readings are not indicated as such. But footnotes are often added simply referring to another reading of a certain main entry (*zie verder onder…*), without mentioning the kind of reading. Sometimes cross-references are also supplied between the Amoy and Tsiangtsiu pronunciations, for instance between *-e* and *-oe*, but without any explanation.

For all practical purposes, as is the case nowadays in Southeast Asia, the distinction between the two dialects was probably not considered very important, since speakers of both can usually understand each other. It was also not felt necessary to distinguish explicitly between the literary and the colloquial styles. For the interpreters it was enough to get to know the meaning of words. In this respect, Douglas' dictionary is clearly superior

since it indicates the various dialect pronunciations and also the literary (Reading) and colloquial styles.

In total, the dictionary has about 33,000 entries, including about 5,000 main entries and about 2,000 sayings. Francken's collection of sayings was perhaps incorporated into the dictionary.[136]

Although the main entries are arranged alphabetically,[137] the compounds and sayings under each main entry are randomly listed. All sub-entries are conveniently written vertically, while simple compounds are mostly at the beginning and sayings at the end. Douglas listed all sub-entries continuously, as in most dictionaries, and divided them into paragraphs.

As mentioned above, about two-thirds of the dictionary has Chinese characters for almost all entries (pp. 1-520), while the rest only has characters in the margin for the main entries (pp. 521-774).

Two different fonts of characters were used. The large majority of characters are in the metal type acquired from the Netherlands from 1862 on, the same as that used by Brill, with regular additions. Since new matrices could not be made in the Indies, missing characters could only be carved in wood.[138] These were made in written style (*kaiti* 楷體), not in the style of printed characters (*Songti* 宋體). These carved characters appear in great numbers at the beginning of the dictionary, which was edited by Schlegel, for instance the character used for *k'ah* 籪, "fish basket."[139] Since Hoffmann had arranged that all new type made in the Netherlands would be sent to Batavia as well, some characters first appear in wooden and later in metal type, such as 虱 *sat*, "lice." For this character there appear two different carved characters on p. 38, but a metal type was used later on pp. 209 and 498 (*see* illustration 20).

The fundamental insufficiency of Chinese characters to represent the colloquial language often resulted in a loose relationship between the characters and the romanised words. The meaning is well represented, but not the colloquial words themselves. Therefore the romanised text is primary and the characters secondary, which is just the opposite of what a Chinese user or a sinologist knowing only Mandarin would expect. This dictionary uses the same methods of representing the colloquial words in characters as *Shiwu yin*, Medhurst and Doty did, as described above, but it does not strive at consistency. The various types of representation can be classified as follows.

1. No character could be found; in that case the character was simply left out, or (rarely) in compounds represented by a small circle (○) (p. 484).
2. One character may have two or more pronunciations (for instance 馬 *má˘, bé*; 乾 *kan, koa˘, ta*).[140]
3. One word is represented by two or more characters. For instance *kaó*, "to arrive," can be written as 到 or 至 which both have the

BA

at tēng / *» tuī* | 斷, doorbreken, in tweeën breken.

at lóh, | 下, ten onder houden, temperen.

at lóh t'aò, | 下 首, het hoofd buigen, bukken, bedaarder worden.

at hoe ki / *» hoa »* | 花 枝, een' bloemtak afplukken.

at sèng / *» suì* | 算, op de vingers tellen.

bó at sèng / *» » suì* 不 | 算, niet berekenen, bedenken (als de onkosten die nog van iets afmoeten).

at tse giáh beh hāi ih / *» » » boeh « »* zoo berekenen dat men elk (zijner schuldeischers) een deel kan betalen.

at tiaò, 按 憍, de maat slaan.

at tsèng t'au á / *» tsing « »* | 手 指, de vingers doen knappen.

Ba

痲 Bà *bà hong*, | 瘋, melaatschheid.

bà pì, | 痺, slapen (van den voet).

bà ioh, | 藥, geneesmiddel tegen melaatschheid; pijndoovend geneesmiddel.

bà bīn, | 面, mottig, pokdalig.

boē bà bīn, 不 | 面, zich niet schamen, schaamteloos.

ts'eu bà bà, 凉 | |, kil, verklimd, stijf van koude.

貓 Bà Lichtekooi, hoer.

bā ts'iong / *» ts'iang* | 娼, lichtekooi.

p'aī bà, 歹 |, do.

pi nó tsù bà, 嫖 子 |, do. (scheldwoord).

BAH

貓 Bà Wilde kat.

soa bà, 山 |, do.

bà dzi gán, | 兒 眼, katterige, dodderige oogen door dronkenschap.

鯊 Bà *pan bà*, 班 |, spaansche vlieg.

bà li, scheepshut (maleisch *balé*).

kap i bà lī, intiem met iemand zijn.

覓 Bā Zoeken naar, uitzien naar.

bā t'aò lāi | 生 路, naar eene kostwinning, betrekking uitzien.

bā ts'ù, | 厝, naar een huis uitkijken, zoeken.

碼 Bà Eene el, (van het Engelsche *yard*).

密 Bā *bā bā*, digt, geheim.

bā sún, 涘 筍, met zwaluwstaarten bevestigen.

bā lī, goed overeenstemen.

bā lí soaī, tamelijk, het kan er nog door.

霧 Bā Verstikt.

ts'iū bā / *ts'iōng »* 汚 跡, verstikt (van kleêren).

bā hióh / *laī »* 鷄 鷹, wouw. (Milvus Govinda).

bā hióh bā koe á / *laī hióh boáh ke á* 鷄 鷹 掠 鷄 子, de wouw steelt de kuikens weg.

bā bā, 峇 峇, op Java of in den Archipel geboren Chinees, *tiplap*.

Bah

肉 Bah Vleesch (varkens vleesch).

gù bah, 牛 |, rundvleesch.

iù bah / *iò »* 羊 |, schapenvleesch.

ti bah, 猪 |, varkensvleesch.

20. Page from Francken and De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch dictionary, 1882 (page edited by Schlegel). The last entry of the previous page, continued here, is 壓 at (ya).

same meaning; one is in Mandarin and the other in literary Chinese (p. 209).[141] In one instance, as many as four different characters are used for one colloquial word in different contexts: the main entry *ham*, translated as "eyelid" has itself no character, but in the four examples it is represented as 睭, 銜, 疔 and 蛉.[142] The representation by characters is often inconsistent; for instance *tsiep* (or *tsap*) (p. 709) is mostly written 汁, but also once with the carved character 浹 (in *koê tsiep*, p. 300).

4. The number of characters does not correspond to the number of syllables, for instance *bô ū tsit ê lē* 無此例, "that is not the custom, that is not usual."[143] Another example is *tsa p̲o̲ gín á* 男孩, "small boy."[144]
5. Colloquial compounds are represented by a synonym (gloss) in the written language instead of its component morphemes; for instance *ang î*, "female fortune-teller, witch,"[145] is represented by 女巫 (characters pronounced: *lú bû*); but elsewhere these two morphemes are written correctly 尪 (*ang*, p. 8) and 姨 (î, p. 153). Another example is *k'ià p̲o̲ bé ê tsa b̲ó̲* 騎報馬的女人, "a wicked woman, wife wearing the breeches,"[146] in which the last three characters are glosses.
6. Colloquial sayings are represented by a similar one in the literary language, which is customary and easier to understand. For instance *beh tsiáh kín, kòng p'oà oá¯* 欲食快打破碗, "by wanting to eat quickly break the bowl, i.e. to mess up something by hurrying too much."[147] If the individual morphemes were directly represented as 欲食緊攻破碗,[148] this would only be understood by dialect speakers well versed in this kind of representation. Another example is *kā kaó ɛ¯m haó* 咬狗不吠, "a biting dog doesn't bark;"[149] the latter two morphemes are elsewhere correctly written 唔 and 吼 (pp. 43, 86).

Apart from the above problematical representations in characters, the dictionary has a rather large number of character misprints, for instance mixing up 書, 晝 and 畫; 默 and 墨 (p. 26), and characters in the wrong order, for instance *tsít siáh tsiú* 一桌席 instead of 一席桌.[150] A few characters are even turned 90 or 180 degrees out of proper alignment (pp. 605, 625). Since the romanised text is primary, mistakes in the indicated pronunciation are more serious, for instance the wrong tone of *hó* 和 instead of *hô*; it has the same pronunciation as *hô* 荷 (p. 118); and *hat* 轄 instead of *hoat* 發 in the word *hoat tiaô* 發條, "spring (of watches, mattresses)."[151] Tsiangtsiu and Amoy pronunciations are sometimes mixed up. There are many mistakes in the diacritics for the tones and nasalisation,[152] and these are also difficult to distinguish, specially ^ and ˋ, and _ and ¯.[153] De Grijs was well aware of the unavoidable printing errors, in part caused by the long distance between Semarang and Batavia.[154]

During the printing process, doubts about the quality and usefulness of the dictionary were raised first by Groeneveldt in 1879. They were confirmed by De Grijs and later repeated by Schlegel in 1882.[155] This was mainly because of the publication of Douglas' much more detailed and better dictionary in 1873. A general comparison with Douglas' dictionary shows that Francken's translations are often typically those of a beginner, who had learned only one meaning of an expression, for instance ông iâ 王爺, "god said to investigate all that happens on earth,"[156] while the more general translation by Douglas is "title of imperial princes; name given to a great many idols" (p. 352). On the other hand, Francken has retained quite a few lively explanations, for instance *bōng ling hāng* 摸乳巷, "narrow alley, lit. 'breast-feel alley'," with a footnote by Schlegel: "Name of a narrow alley in Amoy, where one has to stretch one's arms in order not to bump into each other, and therefore often grabs the breasts of the women one runs into;"[157] while Douglas wrote "*bong-ling*, to touch a woman's breast (counted a pledge of illicit intercourse)" (p. 25). Other examples are *dziók gán* 肉眼, "meat/flesh eyes, (for someone who disrespectfully does not make a distinction between elders and youngsters),"[158] and *toā p'à˘ tsîm* 大冇蟳 "a large hollow crab; a fat but weak person, someone who seems rich but actually is not."[159] Moreover, Francken's translations of the main entries are often very detailed, for instance the various meanings of *sí* 死 ("to die," p. 504).

The dictionary still contains many classical expressions that were not sifted out by De Grijs, such as *pan bûn lōng hú* 班門弄斧, "to handle the ax at the door of *Pan*, (god of carpenters), *i.e.* to wish to show off one's knowledge in front of brighter people."[160]

There are some expressions that are typical of the Netherlands Indies, but not many, such as *kong si* 公司, "company, association; in the Netherlands Indies the common title of Chinese officers."[161] There are a few Malay loanwords, but the origin of these is usually not indicated, for instance *sa lông* 沙籠, "sarong" (p. 489); *lê long* 嚟撐, "auction" (from Malay *lelang*).[162] An interesting hybrid word is *ko p'i tê*, "infusion of coffee" (*aftreksel van koffij*, p. 583); this word consists of a loanword from Malay *kopi*, "coffee," combined with the Chinese word *tê* 茶 "tea, infusion."[163] Other typical Indies terminology is missing, such as *toā lát* 大叻 that was used by De Grijs himself to transcribe the Malay *tuan Raad*, "Gentlemen of the Court (*Raad van Justitie*),"[164] and even the common terms for Chinese officers such as *kah pit tan* 甲必丹.[165] These were probably not considered Chinese words.

The dictionary has many shortcomings, but the addition of the characters, especially the more or less complete representation on pages 1 to 520, is an advantage compared with Douglas' dictionary. In combination with its liveliness, this makes it a useful and entertaining reference work on the Amoy or Tsiangtsiu dialects for anyone who can read nineteenth-century Dutch.[166]

The publication history of Schlegel's Dutch–Chinese dictionary

In two of his *notas* pleading for a Chinese professorship for himself in Leiden in 1873[167] and 1875, Schlegel had already mentioned the need of a Dutch–Chinese dictionary. According to him, the existing English–Chinese dictionary, probably meaning Medhurst's dictionary of 1847–8, was only suitable for translating Christian tracts, not East Indies ordinances and proclamations. He announced that he had been compiling a Dutch–Chinese dictionary since he arrived in Amoy in 1858; at that time it was not yet completed.[168] Moreover, in his three-monthly report to the Minister in July 1875, he stressed how difficult it was for his students to translate government ordinances. His own manuscript dictionary was too large and elaborate to have the students spend their valuable study time copying it.[169] Two years later in his inaugural lecture in 1877, he repeated this plea for government support.[170] During these years there was no written reaction from the Ministry.

In the summer of 1881, almost three years after his last group of students had left, and just before the publication of the first two instalments of Hoffmann's Japanese dictionaries, Schlegel wrote an elaborate *nota* to Minister of Colonies Van Goltstein about the need for a Dutch–Chinese dictionary, announcing that his own dictionary was now ready for the press. He explained again that the existing English–Chinese dictionaries were totally insufficient for the needs of Dutch interpreters in the Netherlands Indies. Their work was altogether different from that of the British interpreters at the legation and consulates in China, who took care of the correspondence with Chinese authorities, but who usually did not themselves translate into Chinese. They only needed to give an oral explanation to their Chinese clerks, who then wrote the Chinese letter, which after due checking by the interpreters was copied and dispatched. For translating from Chinese into English, they had good dictionaries at their disposal. But in the Indies, the main task of the Dutch interpreters was translating Dutch ordinances, laws, rules of tax-farming (*pachtvoorwaarden*) etc. into Chinese, and not translating from Chinese into Dutch. After arrival in the Indies in 1862, Schlegel had experienced the need of a good and complete Dutch–Chinese dictionary. The difficulties of translating into Chinese were almost insurmountable; searching for the correct translation of technical and legal terminology was extremely time-consuming, and often without success.

Schlegel then gave explanations of some peculiarities of the Chinese language and writing system, which do not seem directly related to his dictionary, but give an impression of the difficulty of the Chinese language in general and dialects in particular.

After fourteen years of compiling, he had advanced enough in 1872 to

start editing, which he had been doing continuously since then. Now the letters A to U were finished and ready for the press; and he would only need a few years to complete the letters V, W, and Z.

The more and more urgent requests from the younger interpreters in the Indies for publication of the dictionary moved Schlegel to ask Minister Van Goltstein to publish it at the expense of the Ministry. This could of course not be a private enterprise, since no financial profit could be gained from it; only the government would be able to undertake it. The Dutch government had shown its true scholarly spirit by publishing Hoffmann's Japanese dictionary, since that book would profit the British more than the Dutch. Therefore Schlegel hoped that the Minister would not object to publication of a Dutch–Chinese dictionary that besides its scholarly use would mainly fulfil a practical need:

> A need, which, I fear, can never be supplied for in the future, since my patience to continue and finish the gigantic labour spent on this dictionary was only supported by my scholarly zeal and the wish to facilitate my former colleagues, the Chinese interpreters in the Netherlands Indies, in their official work for the government.[171]

Schlegel continued that, despite his official duties and the preparation of other scholarly works, he had spent twenty-four of the best years of his life on this dictionary, in the hope of doing a useful job and trusting that the government would not let that labour of almost a quarter of a century go to waste. Publication could be effected in a gradual manner without too much burdening the Treasury. Brill would be prepared to publish the dictionary on the same conditions as Hoffmann's Japanese dictionary. Moreover, it should be understood clearly that the publication of this dictionary would not be subject to delays. It was ready for the press, while the Japanese dictionary had still had to be edited sheet after sheet. It would comprise about 200 sheets of 16 pages, of which each year 40-45 sheets could be printed, so the printing could be finished in about five years. Schlegel added one proof page which he had set to give an example of his manner of editing and to show that he had already reached the letter V. This page contained the words from *vaderlandslievend* (patriotic), *vaderlandsliefde* (patriotism) to *vaderons* (the Lord's Prayer), all words that were apt to evoke warm feelings in the Minister and other government officials.[172]

Bureau A[1] suggested asking Governor-General F. s'Jacob if this dictionary was necessary and how many copies would be needed; it could possibly be subsidised indirectly by subscribing in advance for a certain number of copies. But Secretary General H. van der Wijck considered it unnecessary to consult him: "Officials of the Internal Administration or the judiciary would be sensible enough not to try to speak Chinese with the Chinese, but to force them to speak Malay."[173] The dictionary was only

necessary for the interpreters. If the government would only pay for the copies needed for government use, this would amount to rejecting Schlegel's proposal, and that would be wrong. But it would also not be advisable to publish the dictionary at the expense of the government: the government would then get stuck with 500 copies that it had to sell. He advised to show hearty appreciation of Schlegel's proposal—and write that it could not be published by the government, but could possibly be subsidised.

Minister Van Goltstein thereupon wrote to Schlegel that he had read Schlegel's letter about his dictionary with the greatest interest. He agreed with the usefulness of the dictionary for the Chinese interpreters, but not with the proposal to publish it at government expense. It should remain a private enterprise, for which a yearly subsidy for a certain period could be considered. He asked Schlegel to consult with Brill and make a detailed proposal.[174]

Schlegel answered a week later, sending a calculation of the costs. The dictionary was to be published in four volumes of about 800 pages each, totalling 3,200 pages, and 400 copies were to be printed. If printed at the expense of the government, the latter would obtain the whole edition at *f* 75 per copy, in total *f* 30,000, which could be paid in four instalments upon the appearance of each volume. But since the Minister wished it to remain a private enterprise that could be subsidised, Schlegel and Brill made another calculation which would cost *f* 6,000 less. A subsidy of *f* 24,000, that is *f* 4,000 per year for six years, would suffice. The publisher would supply 60 copies to the Ministry. Brill would undertake the remaining *f* 6,000 at their own risk, expecting to sell 80 copies. They would also pay for a large number of matrices for new characters, which would remain the property of the government.

Schlegel finally gave two other arguments for government support. When even the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* (Dictionary of the Dutch language) by Professor De Vries, a dictionary that was bought by thousands of Dutchmen, had to be highly subsidised by the government,[175] it was no wonder that a dictionary of an Oriental language could not be published without considerable subsidy. And in view of the high profits to the Dutch State from Chinese industry and commerce in the Indies, and in particular the tax-farming of government assets (*verpachting van 's Lands middelen*), it was to be hoped that the Minister would subsidise a dictionary that would mainly be used for the Netherlands Indies' government and its Chinese subjects.[176]

Before making a decision, Minister Van Goltstein asked Bureau A[1] to do some preliminary research. In the first place, he wished to receive a list of existing Chinese dictionaries in order to find out if a translation into one or more of the most common European languages should be added in case of government support, just as with Hoffmann's Japanese dictionary.

The result was a list of six dictionaries, four of which were in English.[177] In the second place, Van Goltstein wished to know the total costs of Hoffmann's dictionary until now. These were as of then *f* 16,447.21.[178]

Secretary General H. van der Wijck had an interview with Schlegel, after which he concluded that the addition of an English text[179] "would not greatly increase the sale of the dictionary, considering that the British made use of Chinese clerks for translating into Chinese and this dictionary would be of no help for the spoken language."[180] Schlegel agreed that this subsidy would require a considerable amount of money, but he could not persuade Brill to offer more liberal conditions. He told Van der Wijck that, during the years of the Atjeh War (1874–9), he had been waiting with his proposal, but now he dared wait no longer, fearing that publication might be cancelled because of his death or some other circumstance. "Indeed an awful thought for the author, that all that work would for ever remain in manuscript only!"[181] Van der Wijck advised the Minister to accept Schlegel's proposal.

Van Goltstein then made his decision accordingly and reported to the King, asking for Royal Approval for *f* 24,000 over six years for the publication of the dictionary, of course on condition that Parliament would approve the budget. He ended his report to the King as follows:

> If publication would not be realised now, the existing need for a Dutch–Chinese dictionary would probably never be met, owing to the almost insurmountable problem of compilation, as a result of which a scholar would very rarely have the courage to take upon himself that task and bring it to a favourable conclusion.[182]

The King gave his approval by Royal Decree of 27 July 1881,[183] and Parliament also assented. In December of that year, as soon as the government budget for 1882 had been approved,[184] Brill immediately began printing.[185] A few months later, when ten sheets were ready, Schlegel asked Van Goltstein when the subsidy would be payable. The Minister answered that it could be claimed at the end of the year, and he requested to be sent immediately 60 copies of the printed sheets.[186]

The next week Schlegel had these sent to the Ministry. Actually, these were 20 half sheets of 8 pages each, comprising 160 pages. This was the beginning of volume III, which would contain the letters O-S. On the reverse side of the provisional title page the reason for this was explained:[187] in this way the dictionary could be of immediate practical use, because it contained adjectives, adverbs, and verbs composed with the prefixes *om-*, *on-*, *ont-*, *op-* and *om-* (about, un-, in-, on, over-),[188] probably since these words were often difficult to translate.

Minister Van Goltstein sent ten copies to Governor-General s'Jacob, asking if he needed more. He would await his answer before distributing the other

copies.[189] In October, Brill sent the second set of printed sheets (nos. 21-46, pp. 161-368) to the Ministry, thereby completing the first instalment. Soon afterwards Governor-General s'Jacob's answer arrived, saying that he needed fourteen copies: twelve for the interpreters, one for the honorary advisor of Chinese affairs (Groeneveldt) and one for the Batavian Society.[190]

The first complete instalment also contained a Dutch and English introduction and a new title page.[191] The full title was: *Hô Hoâ Bûn-Gí Luī-Ts'am* 荷華文語類參 *Nederlandsch–Chineesch woordenboek met de transcriptie der Chineesche karakters in het Tsiang-tsiu dialekt. Hoofdzakelijk ten behoeve der Tolken voor de Chineesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië, bewerkt door Dr. G. Schlegel, Hoogleeraar in de Chineesche Taal- en Letterkunde aan de Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden* (Dutch–Chinese dictionary with the transcription of the Chinese characters in the Zhangzhou dialect. Mainly for use by the Chinese interpreters in the Netherlands Indies, edited by Dr. G. Schlegel, Professor of Chinese Language and Literature at the National University in Leiden).

The Minister made a list of persons, institutions and libraries that were to receive copies, mainly following the list for Hoffmann's dictionary, and sent it to Schlegel for comments.[192] Typically, Schlegel suggested deleting the names of Willem Vissering, Kern and other Leiden professors, because they were studying Japanese or other languages, not Chinese. He proposed to add the British Museum, the Royal Asiatic Society and the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the French government, and Chinese and Japanese diplomats in Europe, etc.; this was accepted. But his suggestion to add Legge, d'Hervey de Saint Denis, and other sinologists, was not; the Minister wished to keep nine copies at the Ministry for future use. The final list included the King of the Netherlands, the Dutch Royal Library, KITLV, Dutch universities and the Indies Institute in Delft. Twenty-eight copies for foreign institutions and persons were distributed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[193]

From now on, new instalments were issued regularly. When volumes III (1884) and I (1886) had been completed, half of the dictionary had appeared, but it already comprised 2,682 of the expected total of 3,200 pages. In April 1886, Schlegel wrote a preface in Dutch and English to volume I, in which he explained the enlargement of the dictionary, expecting it to have double the size of the original estimate. This was caused by delays in the printing process, since the Chinese type at Brill was insufficient for such an elaborate dictionary. According to Schlegel, 4,000 new type had had to be made for the first two volumes, mainly by combining existing characters, and this was a very time-consuming job for Brill's type-setter.[194] On the other hand, these delays had given Schlegel more time to enrich and complete his dictionary, and the subscribers would receive a work almost twice as large for the same subscription price (*f* 80).[195] Moreover,

Schlegel was happy to receive news from many interpreters in the Indies about the usefulness of the dictionary and the benefits that they had derived from it. In this preface he also thanked his student Abram Lind and Mr. F. de Stoppelaar of Brill for helping him read the proofs.[196]

Of course, the enlargement of the dictionary would have financial consequences. A year later, in 1887, the fixed period of six years of subsidy was nearing its end. At Schlegel's initiative, Brill and Schlegel wrote letters to Minister of Colonies J.P. Sprenger van Eyk asking for an extension. Brill requested an extension of the *f* 4,000 subsidy for another three years, explaining that as to the quantity of sheets printed, they had more than fulfilled the contract, but that the dictionary was not complete; another 130 sheets were necessary according to Schlegel.

In his explanatory letter, Schlegel referred first to his two letters of 1881 about the urgent need of a Dutch–Chinese dictionary. He added that he had been using all his spare time in editing and compiling the dictionary. His purpose had always been to make it as complete as possible. When necessary, he made excerpts of foreign publications on Chinese literature and used information given him by interpreters in the Indies, adding these to the dictionary. Schlegel remarked casually that the dictionary was also appreciated abroad: a few days ago he had learned that he had been awarded the Prix Stanislas Julien for his dictionary.

Giving an estimate of the size of such a dictionary was always difficult, Schlegel continued, but the calculation made by him and Brill in 1881 had seemed at that time reliable. While editing, Schlegel found that he had to add a lot of material from sources in the Leiden University Library that were not available in Batavia.[197] Moreover, the printing process was often delayed because they had to wait for the new Chinese type that were made in Amsterdam, and since it was being printed anyhow, Schlegel incorporated the newly collected materials in the dictionary. He was convinced that the Minister would not refuse an extension of the subsidy even though the costs would be a little higher. The publication of this dictionary was a matter of great national interest:

> A wrong translation of ordinances, publications, laws etc. for the so numerous Chinese population in our Colonies, a wrong interpretation in the courts, can not only lead to gross injustices, but also to large damages, both to the government and to its subjects, as I experienced too often during my stay in the Indies.[198]

Until then 220 sheets had been printed, about 2/3 of the whole dictionary, which would be 130 sheets larger than estimated. Brill would also have to pay for the production of hundreds of matrices, which according to contract would remain government property. From this, new type could be made cheaply for the Government Press in Batavia.[199]

All officials at the Ministry immediately agreed with Brill's request. The main argument was that if it were not approved, publication of the dictionary would have to be discontinued, and that would be extremely regrettable. Secretary General H. van der Wijck remarked: "When publishing scholarly works, it seems that one can never be free from limping horses coming behind."[200] But he also wrote that Schlegel had now assured him that the work was finished and would not be enlarged. He advised the Minister to await the budget for 1888 for the final decision. Sprenger van Eyk replied to Brill and Schlegel accordingly.[201]

In December 1887, the Dutch Parliament approved the continuation of the *f* 4,000 subsidy for three years, and in January 1888, Royal Approval was obtained as well.[202] With this extension the total government subsidy would amount to *f* 36,000.

This time publication continued smoothly, and indeed, three years later the last instalment was published. The next year a Supplement with errata list was added.[203] The publication dates of the four volumes in fourteen instalments were as follows, the date of the last instalment of each volume being the date of that volume.

Vol. III (O-S), no. 1, October 1882; no. 2, May 1883; no. 3, May 1884
Vol. I (A-G), no. 1, November 1884; no. 2, May 1885; no. 3, December 1885; no. 4, May 1886
Vol. II (F-N), no. 1, December 1886; no. 2, June 1887; no. 3, December 1887
Vol. IV (T-Z), no. 1, July 1888; no. 2, June 1889; no. 3, February 1890
Supplement (*Aanhangsel*) with additions and errata list, April 1891[204]

Schlegel's last estimate was correct: the whole dictionary now contained 327 sheets (including preface and introduction 331 sheets).[205] The total number of pages was 5,220,[206] two thousand more than the original estimate.

The reception of the dictionary

After the publication of the first instalment of the dictionary, there appeared a few notices and reviews in the Dutch and English press. In December 1882, it was first mentioned in the *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* (The bookseller's newspaper) as "a work of which the Dutch printers could be proud, as there would be few printers, perhaps a single one in foreign countries, where Chinese type were so abundant and were set with

so much knowledge and thoroughness." A notice quoting from this review appeared in *De Indische Gids* in 1883.[207]

At the same time, the journalist J.A. Uilkens announced the publication in an article entitled "Again a Chinese Dictionary" (*Alweer een Chineesch woordenboek*) in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* of 12 December 1882. He had received Brill's Dutch–English prospectus of the dictionary and lamented the exorbitant costs of *f* 40,000 at this time of crisis—which he by mistake computed to be almost twice as high as officially announced, almost coinciding with the final costs. Since the number of European interpreters of Chinese was to be reduced to four, the dictionary would therefore cost *f* 10,000 per head! But Uilkens also stated:

> Still the dictionary can become very useful in the future, since the continuous increase of the Chinese population in these regions in numbers, riches and influence, will despite the cutback that has been ordered, make necessary a number of European officials proficient in the Chinese language and customs, for checking and restraining the influence of the Chinese … .[208]

He ended by saying that the printing seemed fine and the dictionary should presumably be rather complete since Schlegel had worked on it for 25 years.

In January 1883, a review appeared in *The London and China Express*.[209] This would be the first and for the time being only review written by a sinologist. The reviewer remarked first that it seemed strange that Schlegel had chosen the Tsiangtsiu dialect, of which there were already the dictionaries by Douglas and Medhurst, but the explanation in the introduction gave a very good reason for this. Then he agreed with Schlegel that the British government had done little to encourage the compilation of Chinese dictionaries. He regretted this, as it accounted in part for the interpreters' dependence on native clerks at the British consulates in China. This "dictionary promises to be an extremely useful work," but as Schlegel had invited criticism, the reviewer pointed out a few objections to its arrangement. In the first place, Schlegel did not distinguish among colloquial, literary, and classical phrases, and his explanation in the introduction about the styles chosen left the reader in doubt: Schlegel first stated that he had collected "the written language," then "the whole vocabulary of the language, as well as the colloquial as the written language," finally writing that the phrases were "all in classical Chinese." However, a glance at the contents showed that the last-named was not strictly adhered to:

> Such expressions as *Ts'a put to* [差不多], for "ongevéér," [about, roughly] and *Put iao* [不要] for "onwillig," [unwilling] cannot certainly be called classical, and should barely find place in any literary composition; and as a matter of fact a large proportion of the phrases given might be looked for in vain in the classics.

Although many phrases were not purely classical, they were "good," and the reviewer suggested that in future instalments Schlegel should distinguish these three styles using suffixed letters, as was done in Satow's English and Japanese dictionary.[210]

Another point of criticism was that Schlegel had used Medhurst's tonemarks, such as grave and acute accents, which the reviewer found confusing. Schlegel should rather use the traditional Chinese system with signs at the four corners of the characters.[211]

There was nothing else to find fault with in the dictionary, which was "well and carefully compiled, and beautifully printed." The reviewer finally remarked:

> Only one thing is needed to give it a still wider circulation than it is sure to acquire, and that is, that Dr. Schlegel should publish an English edition of it.

The next year, after instalment 3 of vol. III had come out, another short notice was published in the same weekly. Here the reviewer wrote again that it seemed a pity "that this enormous mass of really good work by a most competent scholar should have to appear in the Chang-chow [Tsiangtsiu] dialect." He also repeated his major point of criticism:

> We are still at a loss to know whether Dr. Schlegel has employed the classical, literary or colloquial phrases quoted; at all events we are given specimens of all. For the rest, the work is most carefully compiled, and will rank high in European–Chinese literature.[212]

In the Netherlands only one long review appeared, which however was not written by an expert. When the second instalment of vol. III appeared in May 1883, it was just in time to be shown at the Colonial Exhibition in Amsterdam, where the reviewer came to know of it. On Sunday 13 May 1883, his article was published in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. The author praised the knowledge and energy of the Leiden professor and the high quality of the printing. Of course, the professor's knowledge could not be fully appreciated at an exhibition, but only in the study room after using it for a long time. Leafing through the book and reading a few entries, one could clearly see that these were not the fruits of one summer. The author praised Schlegel's ambition to give idiomatic translations. "Thanks to this ambition, one leafs through the dictionary with pleasure, which can rarely be said of dictionaries." Just as De Vries' *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* did to a greater extent, Schlegel's dictionary dedicated a short article to each relatively important word. These often comprised a few pages, explaining the meaning or use in different senses, with many quotations from Chinese authors. One could say that parts of the dictionary "read like a novel."[213]

The author ended his review with two suggestions. After quoting from

the "very appreciative" English review mentioned above, he also expressed the hope that an English edition would soon be made under supervision of Schlegel. In that case, he advised acquisition of a second, smaller set of type to print the innumerable examples in the text. The book would be less bulky and easier to handle, but the reviewer was aware of possible financial objections.

Both suggestions were never realised. No English edition appeared, and Brill continued using the large type until 1964. The advantage of this type became evident when H.A. Giles had the second edition of his Chinese–English dictionary printed by Brill in the years 1908–12, exactly because Brill's type was larger and clearer than that used by Kelly and Walsh in Shanghai for the first edition (1892).[214]

At the International Conference of Orientalists held in Leiden in September 1883, Schlegel not only presented his catalogue of Chinese books in Leiden, but also gave a lecture entitled "Sur l'importance de la langue Hollandaise pour l'interprétation de la langue Chinoise"[215] (On the importance of the Dutch language for understanding Chinese). This was mainly an apology for using Dutch, a language of but limited distribution, for such an extensive dictionary. The reasons were, as he had written in his introduction, in the first place because the dictionary was intended for the Chinese interpreters in the Indies, to help them in translating Dutch legal texts into Chinese. In the second place, it could be useful for the Japanese, because Dutch–Japanese dictionaries were very defective and the Japanese could read Chinese anyhow. A third and new reason for preferring the Dutch language was that Schlegel had discovered there were many similarities between Chinese and Dutch, showing that there was some truth in the nickname for the Dutch as "the Chinese of Europe." When translating Chinese into English, French, German, and Dutch, he had personally experienced that Dutch was better suited to precisely render Chinese idioms than the other three. In his dictionary many examples of this could be found, while he now only gave a few examples.[216]

According to Schlegel, it would be relatively easy to construct an English–Chinese or French–Chinese dictionary on the basis of his Dutch–Chinese dictionary. And even with a superficial knowledge of the Dutch language, and with the help of Dutch–English or Dutch–French dictionaries, an Englishman or Frenchman could easily consult this dictionary. Still, he was fully aware that this dictionary, be it large, was incomplete. To make a complete dictionary would be beyond the powers of one person.

Schlegel ended his lecture with an appeal to the British government to appoint a commission of eminent sinologists for compiling Chinese–English and English–Chinese dictionaries, as had been done with the large Sanskrit dictionary published at the expense of the Russian govern-

ment.[217] He hoped that the conference would support him in this appeal, which it did.[218] A lively discussion about dictionaries ensued.[219]

After more than half of the dictionary had been printed, in May 1887 Schlegel obtained international recognition for his work when he was awarded the Prix Stanislas Julien. This prize had been created by Julien in his testament in 1872, by which he left a yearly interest sum of 1,500 francs to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres to found an annual prize for the best publication concerning China (*meilleur ouvrage relatif à la Chine)*. The prize was awarded for the first time in 1875 to James Legge for his translation of *The Chinese Classics*.[220] Other compilers of dictionaries who were awarded the prize were Seraphin Couvreur in 1886 and 1891 for his *Dictionnaire Chinois–Français* and H.A. Giles in 1911 for the revised edition of *A Chinese–English Dictionary*. Some of Schlegel's friends were also laureates: d'Hervey de Saint-Denys in 1876 for his *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine* and Henri Cordier in 1880 for his *Bibliotheca Sinica*. Other contemporary Dutch laureates were Willem Vissering in 1879 for *On Chinese Currency* and J.J.M. de Groot, who thrice won a shared prize, in 1894 for *Le code du Mahâyâna*, and in 1898 and 1902 for different volumes of *The Religious System of China*.[221]

For such a large dictionary, notices and reviews were scarce. Certainly hardly anyone would be able to judge this combination of languages: Dutch and Chinese, and the latter in Tsiangtsiu pronunciation. Only a few other reactions to the dictionary are known.[222] In 1887, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* mentioned that the Society had received Part I, instalments 1 and 2 of this "valuable" dictionary from the Netherlands government.[223] At some time between 1890 and 1892 a German newspaper ranked the dictionary as one of the "megastructures of our century" (*Riesenbauten unseres Jahrhunderts*) together with the Firth of Forth Bridge (built in 1882–90) and the Eiffel Tower (1889).[224] And in the section about the Netherlands in his article "Half a decade of Chinese studies (1886–1891),"[225] Schlegel's friend Henri Cordier first of all mentioned the dictionary. He said full of praise: "This Dictionary is one of the best and most complete work[s] of the kind published on the Chinese language."

In 1892, after the American anthropologist Frederick Starr (1858–1933), professor at the University of Chicago, visited Leiden and other places, he mentioned the dictionary in an article about anthropological studies in Europe. After writing that Kern and Schlegel were "men, who without being professional anthropologists, have more or less directly done work of importance to anthropological science," he praised Schlegel's dictionary:

> Professor Schlegel's Chinese Dictionary is far more than a "word-book" and is a treasury of ethnological material to which all students must refer.[226]

This opinion was ten years later repeated by Dr. J.D.E. Schmeltz, then director of the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden (1897–1909), in his obituary of Schlegel:

> When we, in 1882 appointed as curator, came here, a little earlier the first instalment of his above-mentioned dictionary had appeared. Leafing through it our eye fell on a notice about shell-money which attracted our attention on account of a recent publication by one of our friends in Hamburg.[227] We continued leafing through; from then on we immediately as it were devoured each instalment of this work, and drew mainly from it our knowledge about the ethnography of the Chinese Empire. Each time we wished to obtain knowledge about any subject, we profited from this work, … which will continue to be an 'eternal monument' for the deceased.[228]

In 1892 Schlegel published a review of De Groot's *The Religious System of China* (vol. I), in which he first dilated upon De Groot's choice of the English language.[229] A Dutch reviewer in the Amsterdam newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* had disapproved of De Groot's use of English in a government-subsidised publication, since in this way the British would profit more from it than the Dutch.[230] Schlegel denounced the narrow-mindedness of this reviewer, at the same time lamenting the loss of Latin as the common language of scholarship in Europe, which loss had been disadvantageous to the smaller languages and profitable to the larger ones. De Groot had written this work with government approval in English in order to reach a wider audience, and it would have been regrettable if he had done so in Dutch.

Nine years after his energetic apology for the use of Dutch in 1883, Schlegel now took quite an opposite view, writing:

> This author had the weakness to publish his major opus, a complete "Dutch–Chinese dictionary" in four large volumes … in the Dutch language. Of all his works this dictionary has given him the least satisfaction. The enormous treasure of ethnographic and other useful information lies buried in it because the Germans, British, French and Russians do not read Dutch.[231] And, in order to refute the statement by the *Handelsblad* for ever, I may add that in the Netherlands it is *not* being read *at all*. And that neither the *Handelsblad*, nor any other of the large Dutch newspapers deigned to notice it, and that the author could have just as well published this book, which was also heavily subsidised, in Turkish or in the language of Kamchatka.
>
> If he had written it in English, it would not only have had a larger market, but it would also have been better known and appreciated. This experience is really enough to deter a Dutch scholar from writing in the Dutch language.

After labouring for so many years, he may have been disappointed by the lack of attention for his completed dictionary. Perhaps he was also still irritated by Ferguson's criticism (*see* next section), and Serrurier was possibly not the only person accusing him of "pornography." Schlegel's younger colleague and collaborator Meeter may have vented similar objections

during his stay in Leiden in 1888–94; he would later publish an extremely critical review (*see* below). Schlegel's remarks were probably the result of momentary feelings of dejection, since just a little earlier he had written to the Minister that the dictionary was without exception highly praised in the foreign press![232]

And indeed, the dictionary would still be highly acclaimed for years and considered a reason for pride in the Netherlands. Internationally it was also well respected. In his obituary of Schlegel, Cordier would praise the dictionary as his major work, saying that it was easy to consult without knowing Dutch.[233] In 1917 Couling wrote in his *Encyclopaedia Sinica*: "Schlegel published a very fine Dutch–Chinese Dictionary in four volumes in 1882–1891."[234]

International scholarship may not have profited from the dictionary as much as it could have done if it were in English, but for its primarily intended users, the Dutch interpreters of Chinese in the Indies, it was an extremely useful tool. At least, Schlegel wrote in his preface of 1886 that he had received reports from many interpreters in the Indies about the usefulness of the dictionary and the profit they had derived from it.[235] His student A.E. Moll showed his appreciation by making a list of about 1,300 corrigenda, mostly mistakes in tones and characters, which was printed in the Supplement.[236]

Only one review by a Dutch sinologist is known, namely by Meeter in his article comparing Schlegel and Carstairs Douglas in 1895.[237] It should be remembered that Meeter had only studied Hakka, not Hokkien, in China; as a journalist he was known for his outspoken views, and he had left Leiden in 1894 after a conflict with the university, probably with Schlegel. In this article Meeter also vented some extremely negative comments on Schlegel's morals and on his dictionary. He disapproved of his "interest in Chinese women, mainly women of a special kind: prostitutes" during his studies in China, as could be discerned from his study on Chinese prostitution and his translations of "obscene novels." He only seems to have appreciated Schlegel's work on secret societies. Perhaps partly as a result of this, his comments about the dictionary were extremely negative:

> By its sheer proportions, in particular if interleaved with white pages and bound into many volumes filling a complete shelf in a bookcase, this dictionary undeniably makes an overwhelming impression on the layman in Chinese linguistics. However, it is a dictionary of the *written* or so-called *book-language* of the Chinese, so that a student of practical Chinese linguistics [meaning the colloquial language] shall probably consult it either in vain or shall often be led astray by the tendency of the compiler to find or … to make up an equivalent in Chinese of every Dutch word—which is of course impossible because of the difference in customs and traditions. Therefore it is a book for the European armchair scholar, who, without ever having been in China, wishes to study the Chinese language for pleasure, and he will not notice the

> many lacunae, but will see on each page of the contents that the materials for this extensive work have been mainly drawn from the obscene Chinese novels mentioned above. But the Chinese interpreters in the Netherlands Indies for whom, according to the title, it has been compiled in the first place, will probably leave it neatly standing in their book cases as a useless thing.[238]

One month later, Borel wrote a letter to the editor agreeing "with pleasure" with most of Meeter's article,[239] writing:

> Professor Schlegel now and then needs something like this for his pedantic and ridiculous behaviour towards anyone disagreeing with him.[240]

After giving some examples of Schlegel's objectionable behaviour (including towards himself), he wrote that he was unpleasantly struck by Meeter's allegation that Schlegel had translated "obscene novels." Borel considered the stories from *Jingu qiguan* as "high literature," and Schlegel remained a sympathetic person to Borel on account of his translations of these novels and his introductions to them. Unfortunately, Borel did not elaborate on the quality of Schlegel's dictionary—he probably had too much respect for Schlegel's linguistic knowledge—only commenting with one sentence:

> It is a pity, as Mr. P.M. says appropriately, that he inserted precisely the obscene parts of that literature everywhere in his dictionary, as a result of which this is also a dictionary of Chinese pornography.[241]

Both reviewers had a grudge against Schlegel, and a favourable opinion could hardly be expected from them.

In any case, according to Schlegel, there was another group who unexpectedly profited from the dictionary. They were not the Japanese, as he had expected, but Chinese in the Indies, among whom the dictionary was in great demand.[242] Learning better Dutch was for them a way to improve their standing in colonial society, and it was probably also useful for the native Chinese interpreters.

Still, like Hoffmann's *Japansche spraakleer* and *Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek*, a large number of the printed volumes remained unsold in Brill's storehouse, mostly in the form of unbound printed sheets. Most unfortunately, in 1977 these sheets ended up in the paper shredder,[243] while the bound copies were unofficially sold at knockdown prices. A few stray students of Chinese were lucky enough to obtain a copy of the nowadays highly coveted dictionary.[244]

J.H. Ferguson: an offensive and scandalous work

Starting in 1882, the Minister of Foreign Affairs regularly sent three copies of each new instalment of Schlegel's dictionary to J.H. Ferguson, Minister

Resident and Consul General of the Netherlands in China. These were respectively destined for the Chinese government, the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai and the Dutch Legation.[245]

However, Ferguson failed to comply with the instruction to forward the instalments, and kept them at the Legation instead. When the dictionary was complete, in 1892, he sent letters to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, G. van Tienhoven, in which he objected against presenting it to the Chinese government, saying it contained many politically and morally offensive expressions. He explained this in two letters of 15 February and 13 March 1892. Unfortunately, these letters could not be found in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but their contents can be reconstructed with the help of the comments by others and a similar letter by Ferguson to Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk of 15 March.[246]

From this letter it becomes clear that it had all begun with the Chinese literator Hsië Shan-tsien,[247] who was employed at the Chancellery of the Legation in Peking. He had drawn the attention of the two Dutchmen working at the Legation, Jan Rhein, the Secretary-Interpreter, and Ferguson, to these objectionable expressions. In his first letter of 15 February, Ferguson only mentioned that vol. IV contained expressions that "would sound most offensive and rebellious to the Imperial Government and all Chinese loyal to the dynasty."[248] He gave a few examples, for instance two quotations to illustrate the word *verdelgen* ("to exterminate"): "to exterminate the Tatars and Manchus" 收清滅滿 and "to exterminate the Tatar [Qing] dynasty" 反滅清朝.[249]

One month later, on 13 March, Ferguson wrote a second letter, now objecting to expressions that were highly offensive to morality. According to him, these obscene expressions came from novels that were forbidden in China itself[250] and could only be found among "the scum of the Chinese emigrating to the Indies;"[251] these expressions had been used thoughtlessly and needlessly in the explanations of words and in quotations. The Dutch translations of these were too disgusting to be fit for copying, and Ferguson only provided a list of almost one hundred numbers of pages on which they appeared.[252] He found it incomprehensible that the professor had used quotations using such dirty brothel language (*vuile bordeelentaal*) in his dictionary, which was to be used for training youngsters to serve the country. Why had he not chosen his quotations from the many excellent classical works in China? Ferguson expected that the Minister would understand that the introduction of this dictionary in China would be extremely harmful to friendly relations between the Netherlands and China.

For a better understanding of Ferguson's arguments and the ensuing discussions, some examples of contested expressions are given here. Some of them concerned bodily functions such as urinating, defecating or giving birth, for instance one example given for *pissen* (to urinate): "They shit and

pissed for fear." 嚇得他屁滾尿流.[253] But most of them had sexual connotations, for instance one phrase for *betasten* (to feel up): "He stretched his hand and felt the lower part of her body." 就伸手去摸他下體.[254] Some were descriptions of the sexual act, for instance for *minnestrijd* (love battle): "Wenxin then let Zhenkong go, pushed Xianru on a chair and began a wild love battle with her." 文新放了真空，隨把閒如推倒椅上，乓乓乓乓大弄起來.[255] Many of the latter were quotations from stories about prostitutes, for instance one phrase for *gebroekt* (deflowered): "I heard that after you had been deflowered, you didn't wish to receive any client." 聞得你自梳弄之後，一個客也不肯相接.[256] For words without primary sexual connotations, sometimes also similar phrases were chosen, for example for *overeind* (upright, standing): "His penis stood immediately upright" 陽物驀然擧托起來.[257] In general, these erotic phrases are not of the kind that R.H. van Gulik would have translated into Latin in his *Sexual Life in Ancient China*.[258]

Each time Minister of Foreign Affairs Van Tienhoven received one of Ferguson's letters, he forwarded it to his colleague, Minister of Colonies Van Dedem, asking him for his comments.[259] After the first letter about the politically offensive expressions, Bureau A[1] of the Ministry of Colonies observed that these had not been invented by Schlegel, but had been quoted from official publications (as Schlegel wrote in his introduction). If the Chinese government were as sensitive as Ferguson thought, it could be offended by some of them, but not by all. In any case, the matter was not worthwhile to spend many words on, and since the Chinese government would profit precious little from the dictionary, and this kind of presents were usually immediately stolen by the "gentlemen with the coloured buttons" to be sold to the highest bidder, one could refrain from presenting it to the Chinese government for the sake of Ferguson's peace of mind. But there was no reason not to present it to the Royal Asiatic Society.

When the second letter about the obscene expressions arrived the next week, Bureau A[1] agreed that these were certainly of very low-down quality (*laag gehalte*), but observed that the dictionary was not made for schoolboys, but for the interpreters. Perhaps it would be useful for them to be able to read all literary products circulating among the Chinese in the Indies. However, "certainly professor Schlegel could have chosen better quotations, but they are there now regardless." Van Panhuys, the chief of Bureau A[1], concluded again that presentation to the Chinese government was not necessary, and Secretary General Van der Wijck agreed.

But in the margin of their draft letter for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister Van Dedem wrote quite a different comment:

> It seems ridiculous that a Dutch–Chinese dictionary should not contain obscene words. This confirms my opinion that Mr. Ferguson is a man of strange ideas and I would consider it desirable to inform Mr. Schlegel of his letters

> and ask for his comments. From the East Indies point of view, methinks, it is also important to know if we are represented in China by a sensible man.[260]

The draft letter was cancelled, and Minister Van Dedem wrote first to Schlegel, asking his opinion about Ferguson's two letters.[261]

Schlegel answered a week later that he had with the greatest surprise, not to say indignation,[262] taken note of Ferguson's letters. He first explained how Ferguson had been motivated by feelings of spite and resentment. Almost twenty years earlier, when Ferguson was leaving for China, Schlegel had at his request had a short conversation with him. After Ferguson posed him a few absurd questions, Schlegel was obliged to tell him that these questions showed that he knew nothing about China; and that it was impossible to explain China in half an hour to someone who was totally ignorant. And in 1876, Schlegel had told the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Ferguson moved the Consulate General from Shanghai to the quiet and cheaper Chefoo in Shandong mainly for personal financial gain.[263] Later Schlegel heard that Ferguson for this reason had always held a grudge against him.

Although Schlegel deemed an answer to Ferguson's remarks beneath the dignity of himself and of scholarship, he still gave a lengthy apology for his dictionary. He began by explaining that it was in the first place destined for serious men of scholarship, not for schoolchildren. A dictionary should contain all vocabulary, including expressions that might be offensive to narrow-minded ears. In the second place, it was destined for the Chinese interpreters in the Indies, who would have to know the names of all kinds of crimes and misdemeanors, and in particular the vices occurring so often among the Chinese in the Indies (according to Schlegel).[264]

Such expressions should be present in this dictionary, which Professor Frederick Starr had praised as an encyclopaedic and ethnographic work. Prudishness was not fitting in such a work, as Schlegel had written in his review of Hoffmann and Serrurier's Japanese–Dutch dictionary in 1882. For instance, it would be easy to find dozens of similar "indelicate and disgusting" (*onkiesche en walgelijke*) expressions in the large Sanskrit–German dictionary published in Saint Petersburg by the Russian government.[265] No one had ever thought to comment on this, just as no one objected to descriptions of types of human lice in works on Natural History or "disgusting" gynaecological diseases in medical works. Scholarship did not distinguish between decent and vulgar (*fatsoenlijk en gemeen*), and the most dirty expression in a language was for the linguist just as important as the most refined, as P.J. Cosijn, professor of Dutch language in Leiden, had recently remarked.

Besides, all expressions in the dictionary, except those preceded by an asterisk, were taken from books printed in China that were generally known,

many even from the Chinese *Penal Code*, and not, as Ferguson had stated, "from novels that can be found among the scum of Chinese emigrating to the Indies," because that scum cannot read.

Perhaps in a novel such indelicate expressions could be offensive, but not in a scholarly work. Besides, one should not forget that "Chinese ears are not as morbidly fastidious as ours at the present time."[266] When reading older Dutch literature, one could see that one century earlier, our ears and eyes were just as little squeamish as in present-day China.

The omission of such expressions in the presently existing Chinese dictionaries had given rise to the most deplorable mistakes of missionaries while preaching the Gospel. For example, the British missionaries in Amoy used to translate "children" in the well-known saying of Jesus "Let the children come to me …, for to such belongs the kingdom of God." as *sió kiá˘ á* (小囝仔). This was literally correct, but in Amoy and environs this word was nowadays used to designate a catamite (*schandjongen*).[267]

When Schlegel heard about this, he had made a comprehensive list of such ambiguous expressions that was gratefully copied by all missionaries in Amoy, and incorporated in Douglas' Amoy dictionary.[268]

Schlegel had therefore not hesitated to enter these in his dictionary, not with an immoral, but with a very moral purpose, namely to warn against the many pitfalls in language, in particular in the Chinese language. It would be desirable to do the same in the Netherlands, and French and Dutch dictionaries should warn schoolboys of the meanings of the French verb *baiser*, originally meaning "to kiss," which was now only used to express sexual intercourse.

As to the expressions about "exterminating the Tatar dynasty," these were all taken from ordinances against the Secret Societies in China by the Tatar (Manchu) government itself. Schlegel stated that he could not mention the sources of the quotations without tripling the size of the dictionary, and that these were generally omitted in bilingual dictionaries of modern languages. Other political quotations were simply misunderstood by Ferguson.[269]

Schlegel concluded that he had been obliged to extensively disprove Ferguson's objections, which were evidence of his lack of knowledge and scholarship, and were only inspired by his animosity to Schlegel and his cowardly sycophancy to the Manchu government. There was no reason for the Dutch government to refrain from disseminating the dictionary.

A few years earlier Schlegel had, at the request of General Tcheng Kitong of the Chinese Legation in Paris, given him a copy of *The Hung-League* to send to Peking without any problem, although it contained clear hints that Schlegel sympathised with the Chinese patriots who wished to see a real Chinese emperor on the throne. It was now generally known what patriotic Chinese thought about the ruling dynasty, as had been ex-

pounded in Schlegel's and De Groot's writings. But Ferguson, despite his twenty years' stay in China, was not at all aware of these facts, since he completely relied on the clique of Chinese officials for his opinions.[270]

Schlegel dared to guarantee that no Chinese official would be offended by the "political" quotations contested by Ferguson: they would perfectly well understand that these only functioned as explanations of words without any ulterior motive.

Moreover, even if Ferguson's comments were justified, and the presentation of the dictionary could be understood as a provocation to the Chinese government,[271] there would be no reason not to offer it. The Dutch government was not responsible for what Schlegel had written, and there was no reason to painstakingly spare the Manchu government, since that government was not so scrupulous toward the Dutch government. The Governor-General of Guangdong, Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, had written slanderous lies about the treatment of the Chinese subjects in the Dutch colonies, about oppressive taxation and enforced naturalisation.[272]

Schlegel ended his letter with another attack on Ferguson, about whom J.J.M. de Groot and others could give more information. Schlegel advised the government to replace Ferguson as soon as possible.[273]

Schlegel's letter was forwarded to Minister Van Tienhoven, who on 2 July again charged Ferguson to present the dictionary to the Chinese government.[274]

In the meantime, Ferguson's letter to Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk arrived at the Ministry of Colonies. Bureau A[1] reported to Minister Van Dedem that Ferguson even went so far as to confide to the Governor-General his foolish objections against Schlegel's dictionary. But Pijnacker Hordijk seemed not to have attached much importance to the matter, since he just forwarded Ferguson's letter without any comment. Subsequently, Minister Van Dedem informed the Governor-General of Schlegel's report and the reply to Ferguson.[275]

Despite the repeated directives to present the dictionary, Ferguson held to his objections and added a few in a letter of 29 August. Now he stated that the use of some expressions would be considered "high treason" in China, giving the following examples: "They will swallow up the Chinese empire in a single bite" 一口食盡大清國[276] and "to overthrow the Qing dynasty and restore the Ming dynasty" 反清復明.[277] Schlegel's argument that these were "quotations from government ordinances against the Secret Societies" was true, but they had of course been mentioned in order to interdict all writings in which they appeared, and certainly not to recommend them as classical expressions. Ferguson mentioned again the large number of "highly disgusting quotations."

This was not the first time that Ferguson had refused to present a sinological work from Leiden to the Chinese government. In 1878 he had

done the same with Willem Vissering's *On Chinese Currency* for similar but less serious political reasons. Subsequently it had been offered to several Chinese authorities by private agents.[278] Ferguson now suggested this solution for the dictionary to avoid any trouble.

Another problem was that all instalments had arrived heavily damaged in China and some were missing; Ferguson needed one more complete set. Moreover, the copy to be presented to the Imperial Library should be bound in yellow silk and wrapped up decently, as was customary in China, which would be quite expensive.

Van Tienhoven again forwarded this letter to Van Dedem, whose opinion remained unchanged.[279] A few weeks later Van Tienhoven asked what to reply to Ferguson about the yellow silk. Would the Ministry of Colonies be willing to pay for the binding? Van Dedem again asked Schlegel's opinion.[280]

Schlegel replied that the only European book presented to the Chinese Emperor had been bound in lemon-yellow morocco leather (*citroengeel Marokkijn*) with yellow silk lining. Books presented to a sovereign were usually bound, and this courtesy could also be shown to the Chinese Emperor. But the binding need not be very expensive, because the yellow silk used in book covers in China would not cost much. According to Schlegel, Ferguson only brought forward this problem in order to postpone the presentation of the dictionary *ad calendas graecas*. Van Dedem agreed to this binding and informed Van Tienhoven.[281]

Four months later, on 26 April 1893, Van Tienhoven sent new and seemingly final instructions to Ferguson. He wrote that he had found no new objections in Ferguson's last letter except the binding, which could be provided easily. Van Tienhoven added that instalments of the dictionary had been presented before to several Chinese diplomats, who never showed any objection. The dictionary should be bound as Schlegel had suggested, at the expense of the Ministry of Colonies. But the Minister also made a concession: it could be presented in the name of the author instead of the Dutch government, with the Dutch Legation acting only as intermediary.[282]

Ferguson, who was known as a tenacious and even stubborn man, did not answer this letter and failed to comply with the repeated instructions.[283] The next year, after 22 years of service in China, and at 68 years of age, he handed in his resignation. He left Peking on 8 December 1894 and was discharged on 22 January 1895. At the same time his successor, F.M. Knobel (1857–1933), was appointed. When the latter arrived in Peking in November 1895, he found the Legation and its archives in a great mess.[284]

Three years later, when Knobel returned to Holland on the occasion of Li Hongzhang's visit, he wrote to Schlegel that he had discovered four copies of the dictionary in the Chancellery, and asked him what to do with

them. Without referring to the conflict with Ferguson, Schlegel answered on 14 June 1896 that one copy was obviously for the Legation, another should be offered to the Chinese Emperor, and the last two could be given to the Russian Mission in Peking and to the "Peking Oriental Society," unless Li Hongzhang knew a better destination. Perhaps a copy could be offered to Li Hongzhang on his coming visit to The Hague[285] at the beginning of July. In this way, Li Hongzhang could see that his language was being studied in a scholarly and practical manner in the Netherlands. Schlegel added:

> We Dutchmen cannot impress the Chinese Government by *military* ostentation, because in that respect all other nations are superior to us, but we can make an impression with our scholarly, peaceful endeavours in Chinese language studies.[286]

Thereupon Knobel wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, *jonkheer* J. Röell, conveying this suggestion, asking permission to handle the "three or four copies" in Peking, which were all in bad shape according to the above-mentioned letter of 26 April 1893. No further correspondence could be found in the archives, and Knobel probably never received any answer from Minister Röell. Half a year later he wrote on the draft of the letter: "In case Foreign Affairs does not answer to this, it is best to let the matter take its course. Peking, Nov. '96 Kn."[287] That is probably how the matter ended.

Schlegel and Li Hongzhang in 1896

In 1896, Li Hongzhang at 74 years of age made a tour around the world, first visiting Russia, where he attended the coronation of Tsar Nicholas II, and then Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Britain, and the United States, but not Japan which had just brought a humiliating defeat to China in the war of 1894. During his visit to the Netherlands on 4 to 8 July,[288] a copy of Schlegel's dictionary was indeed presented to him by Minister Röell, specially bound and with a printed dedication to Li.[289] On the evening of Sunday 5 July, the Dutch Government received Li Hongzhang almost in royal fashion with various festivities in the Kurhaus, which had been opened in 1885 at the seashore in Scheveningen near The Hague. Besides a banquet in the dining hall lavishly decorated in Chinese style with Schlegel's assistance, the programme included a motion picture, a concert, and fireworks. At the banquet, Li was seated between Minister Röell of Foreign Affairs and, with his interpreter in between, Minister Bergsma of Colonies. Some of the many other prominent guests were W.P. Groeneveldt, who had just retired as Vice-President of the Council of the Indies and who still knew enough Mandarin to engage in conversation

with the Chinese guests,[290] the member of Parliament J.T. Cremer (who would become Minister of Colonies a year later on 26 July 1897), several old Governors-General of the Indies, Professor Schlegel,[291] Minister-Resident Knobel, but also his predecessor J.H. Ferguson and the latter's 25-year old son Th. T.H. Ferguson, who had been appointed as the official interpreter for the Dutch government.[292]

At the initiative of the director of the Kurhaus, Bernhard Goldbeck, Schlegel had made a translation of his words of welcome, the menu and the programme, a copy of which was printed by Brill on yellow silk bordered with gold. The same texts were printed on yellow paper and offered to all participants in a special edition of the *Courrier de Schéveningue*.[293]

At the dinner Li asked who had translated these texts, and had a short conversation with Schlegel, who was sitting opposite. At this well-known incident in Dutch sinology, highly embarassing for Schlegel, he, the professor of Chinese in Leiden, was unable to converse with the Chinese guests, since he did not know Mandarin. The conversation must have taken place by means of written notes, as Schlegel was used to doing in such cases, or with the help of Li's interpreter. Li Hongzhang asked Schlegel how old he was and where in China he had studied.[294] According to Schlegel, Li Hongzhang was surprised to find five Dutchmen who knew Chinese in a country as small as the Netherlands, while in Germany he had met none.[295] At the request of Goldbeck and in answer to Schlegel's text, Li later wrote a poem and a short notice in the *Golden Book* of the Kurhaus, in the first sentence of which he praised Dutch literary achievements: 荷蘭多文學 "Holland has many literary men."[296] Li Hongzhang was very pleased with his visit to the Netherlands. He would give Chinese decorations to quite a few Dutchmen, such as Mr. Wirtz, director of Hotel des Indes where he stayed, and probably also Groeneveldt.[297]

Schlegel later wrote an article about Li's visit to the Kurhaus that was published in *T'oung Pao*, with both texts, but very understandably, he did not mention a small drama that was behind all this. He had made a mistake in his translation, really a translator's nightmare, by addressing Li Hongzhang as Li Hongzao 李鴻藻. Not only was this name wrong; Li Hongzao also happened to be one of Li's enemies in the government. Afterwards it became clear that Li Hongzhang was highly displeased on this account.

In November, Schlegel sent ten offprints of his article, in which he had of course corrected the mistake,[298] to Knobel in Peking, asking him to forward copies to Li Hongzhang and others. In his letter to Knobel, Schlegel, who was dearly missing appreciation for his dictionary, also complained that he had not received a decoration from Li Hongzhang:

> It somewhat surprised me that Li, who had so lavishly distributed Chinese decorations in the Netherlands, had forgotten me. Methinks, and this is also

> the opinion of Mr. Groeneveldt and others, that he could also have thought of the representative of Chinese scholarship in the Netherlands.
>
> At least the public here was highly surprised.
>
> Perhaps you may on account of this find an opportunity to point out this omission to His Excellency Li. I do believe that the Dutch–Chinese dictionary offered to him in itself affords me a sufficient ground for this claim.[299]

For the time being, Knobel only forwarded the off-prints without referring to Schlegel's merits. Li Hongzhang immediately replied in English, in a letter of thanks that he signed in Chinese, saying:

> I have to thank Your Excellency for forwarding to me in behalf of Professor Schlegel four copies of a pamphlet by him as a souvenir of my visit to Scheveningen. I will keep one copy and distribute the others as requested. Pray convey my thanks to the Professor for this interesting paper, in which he displays much ability as a sinologue.[300]

Knobel reported to Schlegel on 13 January 1897, forwarding Li Hongzhang's and others' letters of thanks, which were to be returned, and on 11 March 1897 Schlegel replied. He was very grateful for the letters, but also explained in detail the origin of the mistake, repeating his claim for a decoration:

> The most important letter was certainly the one by Li Hongzhang himself. As I got to know him, as "every inch a Chinese," his statement that I "display much ability as a sinologue" is of special value, the more so since I had to edit the Chinese text and to have it printed in six hours' time, because Mr. Goldbeck appeared so late with his request.
>
> This was also the reason for the misprint in the name on the programme. Since it was impossible to find in European newspapers how the name of Li Hongzhang should be written in Chinese characters, because—except the surname Li—his given name Hongzhang could even be written in twenty ways, I telegraphed to Paris and got the false report Hongzao, who happens to exist as well and even to be an enemy of Hongzhang.[301] I can understand perfectly well that His Excellency was offended by this—yet not I should be blamed, but professor Cordier in Paris, who gave me a wrong name, and there was not enough time to do further research into the characters 李鴻章. As His Excellency will see, the mistake has now been corrected in the printed article, and that will exist longer than the ephemeral programme of the Kurhaus in Scheveningen.[302]

Schlegel stressed that his claim on a Chinese decoration was not based on this article, but on the dictionary and a recent article about the Chinese inscription in Kara Balgassun.[303] Moreover, Schlegel reminded Knobel that he, similarly to the former German diplomat Von Brandt, had been "the first and only person who had both in Dutch newspapers and in *T'oung Pao* defended China against Japan, and had written with great appreciation about Li, while the whole of Europe was enchanted with Japanese civilisation (?) and railed at the humiliated China."

In consequence, Knobel wrote a long letter to Li, repeating Schlegel's reasons for the mistake and giving two arguments for accepting Schlegel's apologies, namely his support for China and his dictionary and article about the inscription, ending with a subtle request for recognition of Schlegel's merits.[304] In the archives of the Dutch Legation, only Knobel's Dutch draft letter could be found, not a Chinese or English translation, nor any answer from Li Hongzhang. But in February of the next year, Schlegel did finally receive his highly coveted decoration from the Chinese Emperor: the Order of the Double Dragon.[305]

Description and evaluation

In his introduction, Schlegel explained his ideas about what a dictionary should be, stressing the importance of "equivalence" of idiomatic expressions. He wrote that his dictionary was "constructed upon a quite different plan from that of other bi-lingual dictionaries." According to him, the latter seem to be more suitable for a foreigner to look up words that he does not understand, while the need of a native speaker who wishes to translate from his own language into the foreign language has almost always been neglected.[306]

> In other words, our bi-lingual dictionaries give, it is true, the [literal] translation or explanation of the words, but not the exact equivalent.[307]

Schlegel gave many examples of various German and French idioms that are missing or according to him translated incorrectly in German–Dutch and French–Dutch dictionaries, to show that these are no "dictionaries of equivalents, but only translated vocabularies." Schlegel's dictionary was not primarily intended for Chinese to learn Dutch, but to facilitate a Dutchman (or other European) translating from Dutch (or any other European language) into Chinese. He had therefore tried to give the genuine Chinese equivalent for Dutch expressions and had added phrases to show the use of words and the shades of meaning (*nuances*). All examples were extracted from Chinese authors or composed by Chinese teachers. He had not contented himself with giving a list of translations without any explanation, as Medhurst had done. Shades of meaning had been clearly indicated, so that the translator knew which word to choose. He also gave idiomatic expressions and sayings.[308] According to Schlegel, Chinese equivalents for Western expressions could always be found, and therefore he concluded:

> We trust that our Dictionary will prove that, in reality, Chinese thought and expression is not so different from ours as is generally thought, and that it will be possible, with the help of a *good* dictionary, to translate all the products of Western thought into Chinese.[309]

Schlegel gave some details about the compilation process that help to explain the structure of the dictionary. He stated that he had avoided "the cliff whereupon his predecessors have been wrecked, as they contented themselves by simply reversing a Chinese and English dictionary."[310]

As has been shown above, making reverse translations into Chinese was a common exercise for students of Chinese in the nineteenth century. Although his was not a reverse dictionary, Schlegel also partly used a reverse method in compiling it. Wishing to collect the whole vocabulary of the written language, he searched Chinese works, translating words and phrases into Dutch. These words and phrases were written on small sheets of paper and kept in a wooden box, easily accessible to the compiler. They were later copied and arranged as copy for the dictionary,[311] probably resulting in a card file similar to Hoffmann's Chinese–Dutch dictionary, but sorted according to the Dutch word used as a translation. In this manner, he actually presented the Chinese text as a 'translation' from the Dutch. In the introduction to his dictionary he described his method as follows:

> we never studied or read without pen or pencil and a flyleaf at hand. Complete sentences and expressions from Chinese authors were copied out, and inserted alphabetically in the Dictionary, at the different words contained in such a sentence or expression.[312]

Besides words collected while reading, Schlegel must also have incorporated words from his own translations into Chinese. He recounted elsewhere that when translating East Indies government ordinances containing technical and juridical terminology, he sometimes spent days searching for suitable Chinese equivalents. He had to search through voluminous works and documents on these subjects to find the correct translation. If nothing suitable was found, a new term was coined with the help of a Chinese teacher or clerk, which had the disadvantage of not always being understandable.[313] These words were probably also inserted in the dictionary.

While editing his dictionary after his return to Leiden, Schlegel must have consulted a Dutch dictionary in order to complete the entries. Presumably he used the *Nieuw woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* (New dictionary of the Dutch language) by Van Dale of 1872–4.[314] When one compares the entries of Schlegel's dictionary with those of Van Dale, it turns out that Schlegel inserted many rare words from Van Dale, for instance compounds of *aal* (eel): *aalschaar* (eel scissors), *aalspeer* (eel spear), *aalsteker* (eel catcher) etc. Such words are usually followed by a translation only, without quotation.

Another dictionary that he consulted in Leiden was "a Dutch–Japanese–Chinese dictionary." He did not give any title, but most of his quotations are from the large dictionary 和蘭字彙 *Oranda ji'i* (1855–8).[315] In his introduction he quoted lavishly from this dictionary to show that

its translations were not "equivalent" (idiomatic). For instance, the Dutch expression *Dat gaat hem het een oor in en het ander oor uit* (in one ear and out the other) was only explained in Japanese as 彼ハ其事ヲ直ニ忘ル, meaning "he forgets this affair straightaway," neglecting the purely Chinese equivalent 一耳入一耳出 ("entering into one ear and leaving the other ear").[316] But in the main text of his dictionary, Schlegel still often made use of its other translations, again vaguely indicating their source as "a Dutch–Japanese–Chinese dictionary."[317] He probably checked all entries with this dictionary.

The ordering of the entries is not strictly alphabetical. Main entries are always first followed by their compounds as sub-entries, not by the next word according to the alphabet. These main entries are usually printed in larger type than the compounds. For instance, the main entry *Burger* (civilian, in large type) is followed by compounds in smaller type: *Burgerdeern* (middle-class girl, non-alphabetically combined with the synonyms *Burgerdochter* and *Burgermeisje*), *Burgerdeugd* (civilian ethics), etc. to *Burgerzoon* (middle-class boy). The latter is followed by the next main entries in larger type: *Burgerij* (citizenry) and *Burgerlijk* (civil, etc.).[318]

Each main entry and compound is followed by the Chinese character text and Schlegel's Tsiangtsiu transcription. Since this was a dictionary of the written language, only literary readings were provided, even if the word itself was usually pronounced in the colloquial. For example *rijtuig* (carriage) is followed by the combination *paard en rijtuig* 馬車 *má kí*, while these characters would in the colloquial be pronounced *bé ts'ia*,[319] the normal word for "carriage." These literary readings were probably taken from *Shiwu yin*. Schlegel must have intensively used this dictionary, since his own copy, with handwritten transcriptions of the pronunciation of most entries, is worn and has been repaired (*see* illustration 8).[320]

Although Schlegel stated in his introduction that the dictionary only provided translations in the written language, he quite often added the Tsiangtsiu colloquial. These additions are indicated in a similar fashion as in Francken and De Grijs' dictionary. The literary pronunciation is then followed by a second, colloquial pronunciation printed between brackets. This is either a colloquial pronunciation of the characters or a free translation. For instance, *eene zweep klakken* (to clack a whip) 拂鞭 *hut pien* (*sut bé-pi*).[321] In a few cases colloquial characters are provided, for instance *grafheuvel* (burial mound) has 墓丘 *bō k'iu* (*bōng ku* 墓龜) (Vol. I, p. 1431). In rare cases only colloquial expressions are given, for example *dieventaal* (thieves' slang) is followed by some examples of that slang (Vol. I, p. 881). The colloquial expressions may be preceded by the word 'Colloquial', 'Coll.' or 'C,' but mostly the user just has to deduce this from the brackets. The reason for inserting the colloquial words was perhaps that Schlegel wished to warn against colloquialisms in written translations.

Apart from the Tsiangtsiu literary and colloquial pronunciations, Schlegel sometimes provided those in other dialects that he happened to know, such as Amoy and Cantonese. For instance, *guava* is followed by translations into Amoy, Tsiangtsiu, and Tong'an 同安 dialect, and in Cantonese (Vol. I, p. 1466). There are also a few examples of Mandarin pronunciation to explain the characters used to write Western names; for instance, the name John Napier 若往納白爾 is unrecognisably represented in literary Tsiangtsiu as *Dziák-óng Láp-pík-dzí*, but in Mandarin it is *Johwang Nahpihr*.[322] Only one example of a Hakka pronunciation could be found.[323]

The quoted phrases and texts often contain Chinese personal and geographical names. In the Dutch translations of these, Schlegel used the French transcription system for Southern Mandarin. In contrast to Hoffmann, who devised his own transcription system for Mandarin, Schlegel always used the French transcription in his Dutch translations. He explained this as follows in his preface to *Het gebloemde briefpapier* (The flowered letter paper):[324]

> When translating personal and geographical names we followed the French spelling, because as long as no generally accepted Alphabet for imitating the sounds of foreign languages has been adopted,[325] the use of different spellings only leads to hopeless confusion.

In the introduction, Schlegel announced that terms coined by foreign sinologists or extracted from their works were all marked with an asterisk. He warned users that these new terms for Western techniques should be used with caution, as they were not generally understood (*see* illustration 21).[326]

For some new European matters or concepts, Schlegel did not add an asterisk, but gave an explanation, for instance for *turf* (peat), which to his knowledge was seldom or not used as fuel in China. He first translated it as *dimiantan* 地面炭, literally "earth surface coal," a term which he presumed to have been created by a European. He also mentioned the Dutch–Japanese–Chinese dictionary's translation *nitan* 泥炭, which actually later became the modern Chinese word for "peat." Finally Schlegel added a list of fifteen compounds including *turf*, for which he created translations, from *turfboer* (peat seller) 賣地面炭者, via *turftonster* (woman who measures pieces of *turf* in a barrel) 量地面炭婆 to *turfzolder* (peat attic) 地面炭棚.[327] The usefulness of this list for a Chinese translator in the Indies was of course dubious.

Schlegel usually indicated the different meanings by dividing the translations into two or more sections, and by indicating the different meanings in brackets. As the reviewer in *The London and China Express* remarked, Schlegel did not indicate the style of the phrases (classical, literary, col-

Chevalier-d'industrie 光棍 *kong kùn*; v. ZWENDELAAR.

Chicane (rechtsverdraaiing) 枉曲 *óng k'iok*; ik ben door zijne —s berooid geworden 被他枉曲致我困窮 *pī t'a óng-k'iok, tì ngá k'ùn-kiŏng*; — (gemeene streek) 詭計 *k'uí kè*; 奸計 *kan kè*.

Chicaneeren 行枉曲之事 *hîng óng-k'iok tsi sū*; 用詭計 *iōng k'uí-kè*; 用奸計 *iōng kan-kè*; 用詭詐 *iōng k'uí-tsè*; v. PLAGEN.

Chicaneur z. HAARKLOVER; RECHTSVERDRAAIER.

***Chiffonnière** 匱櫃 *tók kuī*; 抽斗匱 *t'iu-tó kuī*.

Chignon 髮鬌 *pī t'è*; 假髻 *ké koat*; 假髻 *ké kè*; v. PRUIK.

***Chijl** (melksap, gedurende de spijsvertering gevormd) 精液 *tsing ik*; 津液 *tsin ik*.

***Chijm** (spijsbrij) 糜 *bî*; beter 消食汁液 *siao-sît tsiep-ik*.

Chimère z. HERSENSCHIM.

Chimonanthus fragrans 臘梅花 *láp-moĕ hoâ*; 九英梅 *kiú-ing moĕ*.

China, deze naam is eene verbastering van den naam van het rijk *Tsin* 秦 waarvan één der vorsten in het jaar 221 v. Chr., alle kleine feudale staatjes, waarin het rijk toen verdeeld was, onder zijne heerschappij bracht, en zich tot Keizer over geheel China deed uitroepen. De indische Boeddhisten noemden het rijk dientengevolge *Tsîna* en schreven dit 支那 *Tsi nâ*; 支那 *Tsi-ná*; 指那 *Tsí-ná*; of 震旦 *Tsìn-tàn*; 眞丹 *Tsin-tan*; van daar verbreidde deze naam zich zoowel naar het Westen, Perzisch چین *tsjien* en Arabisch جين *dzjien* of صين *ssien*, als naar het Oosten, Maleisch *Tjina*. In de Engelsche taal, die evenmin als de Nederlandsche eene beginletter *Ts* bezit, is die dubbelklank teruggeven door *Ch*; en zoo ontstond de schrijfwijze *China* (die eerst nog *Tschiena* uitgesproken werd, maar thans in het Engelsch *Tschijna* klinkt). De somtijds door Nederlanders gebruikte spelling *Sina* is echter geheel foutief, en het is beter *China* te schrijven, hoewel het wenschelijk ware, dat de goede spelling *Tsina* weder ingevoerd werd. De Chineezen zelve noemen hun land 中國 *Tiong kok* (het Middelrijk); 中華 *Tiong hoâ* (de Bloem van het Midden); 華夏 *hoâ hā* (de bloemrijke *Hia*); 赤縣 *ts'ik hiēn* (het roode district). Dikwijls wordt — ook naar de regeerende dynastie genoemd, en zoo heeft het achtereenvolgens de namen van 漢國 *Hàn kok*; 唐國 *Tông kok* of 唐山 *Tông san* gedragen. Thans heet het 大清國 *taī Ts'ing kok*, het Rijk der groote, reine dynastie, of 天朝 *t'ien tiaŏ*, het hemelsche hof.

Chinaasappel [1]) 橙 *tîng*; 橙棖 *tîng*

1) De — is wel degelijk eene oorspronkelijk Chin vrucht. Daar de Nederlanders echter hunne —en meestal uit *Messina* betrekken, is de foutieve spelling *Sinaas* (Messina's)*appel* in zwang gekomen.

21. Page from vol. I of Schlegel's Dutch–Chinese dictionary (1885).

loquial Mandarin). He did, however, indicate vulgar words (*vulgo*, *laag woord voor* … "low word for…"), and colloquial Tsiangtsiu words.

Sometimes he gave more or less precise sources of quotations or added footnotes on the source, in particular in the later instalments. Very unfortunately, these are a small minority. The value of the dictionary would surely have been greatly enhanced if he had indicated more sources.[328] As an apology, Schlegel once wrote that it was not customary to provide this information in bilingual dictionaries, exaggerating that, if added, the size of the dictionary would be tripled.[329] In this respect, Serrurier was much more conscientious in his Japanese dictionary, always giving sources, and also providing a bibliography of works quoted.

The sources that are mentioned by Schlegel are Chinese and Western dictionaries, translations from Chinese and sinological studies, Chinese books, and Western scientific and other works. Here only the most frequently quoted sources can be mentioned. When he adopted a translation of a (technical) term from an earlier dictionary, he often indicated the source, for instance "Medhurst Dict." or "Perny," sometimes commenting on it or adding a question mark (?) indicating doubt. The most cited dictionaries and vocabularies are the following, in chronological order:

W.H. Medhurst, *English and Chinese Dictionary* (2 vols.) (1847–8).
S. Wells Williams, *A Tonic Dictionary of the Canton Dialect* (1856).
B. Hobson, *A Medical Vocabulary in English and Chinese* (1858).
J.J. Hoffmann and H. Schultes, *Noms indigènes d'un choix de Plantes du Japon et de la Chine* (1852, Dutch revised edition 1864).
W. Lobscheid, *English and Chinese Dictionary* (4 vols.) (1866–9).
P. Perny, *Dictionnaire Français–Latin–Chinois de la langue Mandarine parlée* (1869–72).
C. Douglas, *Chinese–English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (1873).
S. Wells Williams, *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1874).
G. Lemaire and P. Giquel, *Dictionnaire de l'Arsenal de Fou-tcheou* (1874).
W.F. Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual* (1874).
J.J.C. Francken, *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt* (1882).

He often quoted from a few native dictionaries:

"The little Tsiang-tsiu dictionary" [*Shiwu yin*]
"a Dutch–Japanese–Chinese dictionary" [*Oranda ji'i*; *Yakken*]
Kangxi Dictionary [*Kangxi zidian*]

The translations by sinologists that are most often mentioned are the following:

> James Legge, *The Chinese Classics* (1861–72), with volume and page numbers.
> Eduard Biot, *Le Tcheou-Li ou rites des Tcheou* (1851), with volume and page numbers.
> "Chinese Penal Law" (*Chin. Strafwet*), with paragraph numbers from Staunton's translation.[330]

Some other sinological works often mentioned are old textbooks: J.F. Davis, *Chinese Moral Maxims* (1823); J. de Prémare, *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* (English translation of 1847);[331] E.C. Bridgman, *Chrestomathie* (1839, 1841); St. Julien, *Examen critique* (1841), J. Edkins, *Chinese Conversations* (Shanghai, 1852), etc. Some modern works were Vissering, *On Chinese Currency* (1877), various articles by Hoffmann, Schlegel's *Hung-League*, *Het gebloemde briefpapier* (*Hoa Tsien Ki*, 1866), *Uranographie* (1875) etc.; A. Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature* (1867), J.J.M. de Groot's *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezen* (1883); articles from *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, etc.

Chinese books often mentioned are the encyclopaedia *Gezhi jingyuan* 格致鏡原[332] and the *Sacred Edict*. There are quotations from "a Japanese Encyclopaedia," probably *Wakan Sansai Zue* 和漢三才圖會. There are also explicit quotations from other Classics such as *Liji* 禮記 and *Erya* 爾雅, and from various Chinese philosophers.

The quotations in the colloquial (Mandarin) language are all from novels and short stories, but their sources are rarely indicated. There are many quotations from stories in *Jingu qiguan* that were read in Schlegel's classes, such as *The Oil-Vendor* 賣油郎 (protagonist Qin Zhong 秦重), *Du Shiniang* 杜十娘, *Wang Jiaoluan* 王嬌鸞, *Nian'er niang* 廿二娘, and from *Huajianji* 花箋記 (*Hoa Tsien Ki*, featuring protagonists Yaoxian 瑤仙 and Liang sheng 梁生). There are also many quotations from erotic novels such as *Wu feng yin* 五鳳吟 and in particular *Yu Lou Chun* 玉樓春 (with protagonists Wenxin 文新 and the women Yuniang 玉娘, Cuilou 翠樓 and Chunhui 春暉). The quotations from these novels were often in colloquial style and would not be helpful for the student when translating East Indies ordinances.

There are quotations from Chinese translations of Western documents and books, such as China's treaties with Britain (1858) and with the Netherlands (1863),[333] and J.F.W. Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy* (London, 1849).[334] There are also quotations from Chinese translations of East Indies ordinances and proclamations, but these are almost all without any indication of the source.[335]

The best-documented Western source is the Chinese Bible, from which innumerable quotations appear, mostly with a precise indication of the source. These are all from the so-called Delegates' Version of 1854–5, which was the standard Bible in classical Chinese (*wenli* 文理) from 1855 to 1919.[336] This translation was made by a committee of learned missionaries,[337] who were assisted by equally learned Chinese including the very talented Wang Tao 王韜 (1828–90s), and its quality was widely acclaimed. But Schlegel often commented on the translation, considering it too literal, not idiomatic and sometimes incomprehensible. In those cases, he would give an alternative Chinese translation using an original Chinese metaphor instead of the literally translated one. For example *zoekt en gij zult vinden* (seek, and you shall find) is literally translated in the Delegates' Version as 尋則遇之, while according to Schlegel it would have been better to use a well-established Chinese expression that is easier to understand: 誠求有應 (earnest seeking will meet a response).[338]

Sometimes the same Chinese quotation appeared in different translations, for instance a phrase from *The Oil-Vendor*: 今日眾小女都有客, "Today all girls have guests," which appeared with *altemaal* (all, Vol. I, p. 223), *bespreken* (to order, p. 455), *deern* (girl, whore, p. 833) and *gezelschap* (company, p. 1379).[339]

As Professor Frederick Starr wrote in 1892, Schlegel's dictionary is much more than a "word-book"; it is an encyclopaedic dictionary. Some quotations are so long that they give much more than linguistic information about certain subjects. There are many translations of technical texts, for instance about a watch crystal (*horlogeglas*, Vol. II, pp. 196-7), a sleeping chair (*slaapstoel*, Vol. III, pp. 848-50), sugar refining (*suikerstoken*, Vol. III, pp. 1202-3) and tables of multiplication (*vermenigvuldiging*, Vol. IV, pp. 631-3).

Apart from quotations, Schlegel also provided short translated texts, often printed in vertical columns, some of which were probably composed by himself. Examples are the announcement of the opening of a lawyer's office in Batavia in 1863 (*advocaat*, Vol. I, pp. 129-30), the appointment of a Chinese officer in the Indies (*patent*, Vol. III, pp. 406-7), an announcement of the gas company in Batavia (*gas*, Vol. I, p. 1226) and other official announcements and advertisements.[340]

Some of these full-text documents were original Chinese texts, such as models of birthday letters (*verjaarbrief*, Vol. IV, pp. 571-3), sale contracts from a popular encyclopaedia (*verkoopcontract*, Vol. IV, pp. 588-9) or a Chinese courtroom sentence (*vonnis*, Vol. IV, pp. 876-7).[341] Other texts were taken from Hong Kong newspapers.[342]

Schlegel also often provided instructions to the translator, for instance that a certain noun should be translated as a verb (*wenschelijkheid* (desirability, Vol. IV, p. 1157); *begunstiging* (favouring, Vol. I, p. 340)), or that

a certain word should often be left out in translation (*hij* (he), Vol. II, p. 140).[343] The user is warned to carefully translate difficult words such as the Dutch *neef* (meaning both nephew and cousin; to be translated into Chinese with one of eight different possible terms, Vol. II, pp. 1081-2).

Schlegel gave the standard translations of names of East Indies officials and institutions adopted by the interpreters (*[Hoog]gerechtshof* (High Court, Vol. I, p. 1328); *secretaris* (secretary, Vol. III, p. 830).[344] In general, the older transcriptions of these Dutch terms are not given, with a few exceptions such as *notaris* (notary, 梁礁 *niû˘-ta*, Vol. II, p. 1126).[345] The user is advised against designating the *hoofdschout* (chief of police, Vol. II, p. 178) with the colloquial name 大狗 *toā kaó*, because this literally means "large dog." Actually, this is probably just a transcription of Malay *toean skout*, "Mr. *schout*."[346]

There are also, as the Dutch reviewer in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* wrote in 1883, many short articles often occupying as much as several pages. In this respect Schlegel's dictionary resembles that of Perny, who may have inspired him; Schlegel took over his family tree (*geslachtboom*) with names of family relationships (Vol. I).[347] These articles are on a great variety of subjects. Some subjects were part of Schlegel's language course, for example *spellen* (spelling, an explanation of *Shiwu yin*, Vol. III, pp. 956-61), *toon* (tones, Vol. IV, pp. 155-9). Others were about Chinese music (*muziek*, Vol. II, pp. 1016-20), names (*naam*, Vol. II, pp. 1027-30), riddles (*raadsel*, Vol. III, pp. 549-51), spiritism (*spiritisme*, a hot topic at the time, Vol. III, pp. 978-81), theatre (*tooneel*, Vol. IV, pp. 160-2) or about scientific or technical subjects such as the names of organs and bones in the body (*anatomie*, Vol. I, pp. 232-8) and the working of a clockwork (*uurwerk*, Vol. IV, pp. 385-90), both lavishly illustrated.

There are also many short comments on Chinese customs, such as *afscheidskus* (goodbye kiss, not done in China, Vol. I, p. 171), *hoed* (hat, Vol. II, p. 147), *klapperman* (night watchman, Vol. II, p. 455), *visitekaartje* (name card, Vol. IV, pp. 786-7).

Legal matters were also often explained, and while *burgerlijke stand* (registration of births, marriages and deaths) was translated 戶籍, as it is presently in China, Schlegel also delved into the *Zhouli* to search for a similar system in Chinese history (Vol. I, p. 738-9). He did the same for *tolk* (interpreter, Vol. IV, p. 150).[348] And he gave a succinct explanation of the *legitieme portie* (child's statutory share of an inheritance), which was normal in Dutch law, but highly controversial among the Chinese in the Indies (Vol. II, p. 688).

Some articles were contributions to the scholarly debates of the nineteenth century, such as a long exposé about the best translation of the name of God. This debate, the so-called "term question,"[349] was mainly about the choice between *Shangdi* 上帝, propagated by the British, and

Shen 神 as preferred by the Americans. Schlegel contributed to this debate in his typical manner, based on his wide reading of Chinese literature and personal experience as an interpreter. He proposed to use *Tiangong* 天公 or simply *Tian* 天 (Vol. I, pp. 1401-4).

Another subject in which Schlegel was particularly interested was zoology. There is a long article about *kat* (cat; one can read time from their eyes; Vol. II, pp. 402-3); an article about *klauwier* (shrike, Vol. II, p. 457), *nachtegaal* (nightingale, Vol. II, p. 1042), *wouw* (kite, Vol. IV, p. 1244) and many other birds. There are also many articles about botany (names of plants, sometimes with long quotations, passim), astronomy (names of stars, passim), and the theme of his doctoral thesis: children's games (*hinken*, to hop, Vol. II, p. 142; *spiraal*, spiral, Vol. III, pp. 977-8).

There are also fully quoted poems (*berekening*, calculation, Vol. I, pp. 413-4; *ouderdom*, old age, Vol. III, pp. 298-9; *rijm*, rhyme, Vol. III, pp. 633-4; *tent*, tent, Vol. IV, p. 58; *toorts*, torch, Vol. IV, p. 165), and lines from German poets to show the similarity of Chinese and Western thought (*Helena*, Vol. II, p. 98; *hemel*, heaven, Vol. II p. 104). Equivalents of the names of ancient Western gods and proverbial historical figures are also given, for instance Diana 嫦娥 (Vol. I, p. 860) and Nero 桀 (Vol. II, p. 1090).

Schlegel's special interest in dirty stories and indecent language is also well represented in the dictionary. Ferguson was not completely off the mark with his objections; indeed many more examples can be found than he did. The dictionary contains names for various sexual matters[350] and terms used in brothels, many of which are hidden in the dictionary between neutral words. Some pages containing much indecent language can be found at *bijslaap* (intercourse, Vol. I, p. 562); *geil* (horny, p. 1272); *hoer* (whore, Vol. II, pp. 153-5), *minne* (love, and its compounds, pp. 943-7); *scheede* (vagina, Vol. III, p. 748); *voelen* (to feel, Vol. IV, pp. 831-2). There are also a number of Hokkien and Cantonese (!) curses (*aluinwater*, alum water, Vol. I, p. 225; *zeug*, sow, Vol. IV, p. 1306; *karperogen*, carp's eyes, Vol. II, p. 398; *verdoemd* 3, damned, Vol. IV, p. 512). In one case Schlegel's translation of a dirty word was represented by ***, since in the Chinese original the character was represented by a circle ○ (*vervloeken*, to damn, Vol. IV, p. 719).

To illustrate technical and scientific terminology, the dictionary contains 68 woodcuts, a list of which is provided in the Supplement. Many of these are copied from "a Japanese Encyclopaedia," namely *Wakan Sansai Zue*. Other illustrations are copied from Western works.

This dictionary is different from most others for several reasons, as Schlegel wrote in his introduction. He certainly had a talent for finding "equivalents"—both idiomatic and cultural—of Chinese expressions. Many examples can be found, for instance *'t is alle dagen geen Kermis*

(Christmas comes but once a year, 不得夜夜元宵, literally: it can't be Lantern Festival (last day of the New Year's Festival) every evening, Vol. II, p. 424). Another example is *de arm der wet* (the arm of the law) translated into Chinese as "the net of law" 法網 (Vol. I, p. 254). Typical of his precise analysis is the example of 'lightning' (*bliksem*, 電, Vol. I, p. 595) which should idiomatically often be translated as 'thunder' (*donder*, 雷) in Chinese. However, his translations are not without faults, and the reader may not agree with every choice Schlegel made.[351]

In another way it was also different from other dictionaries: it is a very personal dictionary. Not only the selection of vocabulary and expressions was partly dictated by Schlegel's personal predilections, but he also often vented his personal opinions. He commented upon the translations by other sinologists (Legge, Biot, the Delegates' Bible etc.). He also often added personal observations, experiences and anecdotes, for instance about a discussion with missionaries on how to translate the English word *gentleman*.[352] He commented on Dutch and Chinese law about rape by favouring the more cynical Chinese view (Vol. IV, pp. 593, note). He sometimes took the opportunity to criticise the Indies government, for instance for its lack of understanding of Chinese gambling (*speler* (player), Vol. III, p. 956, no. 1). These opinions, in combination with the many well-chosen lively quotations, and the explanations of Chinese customs, contrasting them with Western customs, make it "read like a novel," as one reviewer wrote.

Indeed, this "word-book" contains a wealth of anthropological information, but it lies hidden in the dictionary. There is no systematic way to extract this data, because it is often classified under words where one would not expect it.

Schlegel strove to make the dictionary as complete as possible, therefore he seems to have inserted all vocabulary collected on his sheets. The disadvantage of this indiscriminate insertion was that the dictionary also contains a large number of translations that are of value only from a scholarly point of view, but are impractical and useless for interpreters. For instance, for a very practical matter, such as the oath, he quoted a phrase from the *Shujing* for "So help me God" (*Zo waarlijk helpe mij God almachtig*) 天棐忱.[353] His wish to find an 'equivalent' in this case resulted in a disputable and useless phrase.

Unfortunately, Schlegel's dictionary was not to become a *classic* dictionary that would long be in use. Apart from the impractical scholarly digressions and the unavoidable mistakes in any work of this size made by only one person, and the use of Tsiangtsiu pronunciation which was only practiced by Dutch interpreters in the Indies, there are several reasons for this which cannot be blamed on Schlegel. One was the change in the function of the interpreters in 1896. From then on, translating and interpret-

ing would only be requested from the sinologists if it were for "important reasons." In 1900, ordinances were still being translated into Chinese in Batavia, but the last known printed translation dates from 1891, and the last known manuscript from 1900. The translation of ordinances perhaps stopped entirely in 1916, when the Bureau of Chinese Affairs was established in Batavia.[354]

Moreover, the Chinese on Java were becoming less Chinese, adopting Malay as their common language. As a result, there was no need to translate East Indies ordinances into Chinese; the Malay translation would be sufficient. The Chinese Council in Batavia also began keeping some of the records in Malay instead of Chinese from 15 January 1909 on, and from 1920 on exclusively used Malay.[355]

But the dictionary also soon became outdated because of changes in the Chinese language. After 1900, the Chinese written language underwent an enormous change owing to the introduction of new words as translations of Western terminology. A large proportion of these words entered the language by way of Japan, where standard translations had been made earlier.[356] For example, the modern translations of such common words as 動物 "animal" (*dier*), political terms such as 共和[國] "republic" (*republiek*), and juridical terms such as 檢察官 "public prosecutor" (*Officier van Justitie*) do not appear in Schlegel's dictionary. Instead of these, he gives for "animal" 獸, 物, 畜, 蟲, 生物 (beast, etc.), etc.; for "republic" 不立王之國 (state without a King), etc.; and for "public prosecutor" 明刑師爺 (master clarifiying the punishments).[357] Moreover, after the Literary Revolution of 1917 in China, colloquial Mandarin gradually replaced the classical and documentary styles.

For these reasons, the dictionary was probably only used for a relatively short time. In the late 1930s, after the establishment of the Sinological Institute by J.J.L. Duyvendak, it was mainly known to his students as an interesting and entertaining source of indecent words.[358] Nowadays the translator of Dutch into Chinese can usually find only indirect inspiration in Schlegel's dictionary.

On the other hand, if Schlegel had compiled a Chinese–Dutch dictionary—which this one already is to a certain extent—and had used a Mandarin transcription, it would probably have been useful for a much longer time, and might still be consulted by Dutch students of pre-modern Chinese literature.

Van de Stadt's Hakka dictionary (1912)

The third and last Chinese dictionary compiled by a Dutch sinologist in the Indies was P.A. van de Stadt's *Hakka-woordenboek*. When he published

the dictionary, Van de Stadt was General Agent of the Billiton Mining Company (*Billiton maatschappij*). He had already studied Hakka in China, and had been an Official for Chinese Affairs for nine years from 1898 to 1907; he had been stationed in Rembang and Makassar for five years and in Mentok (Banka) for four. Since 1907 he was living on Billiton.

The dictionary was printed at the Government Press (*Landsdrukkerij*) in Batavia in 1912. It is a practical dictionary of the Hakka dialect as spoken on Banka and Billiton (Belitung), with transcriptions mostly according to the "Ka-Yin-Tsju" (Kia Ying Chow, Meixian) dialect, which was locally the most widely spoken. Van de Stadt's aim was to fill the need of a handbook on Hakka for the European officials working in the tin mines, since very few Europeans could speak Hakka and there were hardly any tools for learning the language. He left out the book-language and thereby "sacrificed the requirements of scholarship to those of practical use." But by doing so he gave a much truer representation of a Chinese dialect as spoken in the Indies than the earlier works by Francken and Schlegel, which makes his work similar to that of Schaank. Accordingly, the dictionary included many loanwords (*bastaardwoorden*) from Malay and Dutch. Van de Stadt explicitly disclaimed completeness for both the Dutch–Hakka and Hakka–Dutch parts of the dictionary.

From the preface (*voorrede*) it is clear that Van de Stadt compiled the dictionary on his own initiative. Unfortunately, except for the dictionary itself, no further information could be found about the background or the publication history, and hardly anything about the reception of this dictionary.

A short anouncement appeared in the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* of 3 October 1912, summarising the preface and stating "We think that with the publication of this book a really felt need has been satisfied," and "it is sold at the reasonable price of *f* 5 at G. Kolff & Co." [359] In advertisements in the same newspaper it was praised as:

> A very practical dictionary, that can be extremely useful for all those who have to deal with Chinese, in particular for European officials at the tin mines on Banka and Billiton.[360]

The dictionary consists of a short preface, an introduction about pronunciation (with instructions and including some dialect variations, pp. VII-IX), intonation (without explanation of how to pronounce the tones, but the advice to ask a literate Chinese to read aloud the characters given as examples of the six tones, following Schaank, p. IX), a few pages about syntax (pp. IX-XIII), a list of consulted works about the Hakka dialect (including MacIver's Hakka dictionary[361] and Schaank's *Het Loeh-foeng dialect*, pp. XIII-XIV), and a comparative table of the transcription systems of Van de Stadt, MacIver, and Schaank (pp. XIV-XXXI).[362] At the end of the

book there are lists of geographical names (pp. 408-9) and errata (pp. 410-2; this list is not exhaustive).

The main body of the dictionary is divided into two parts. The first (pp. 1-324) is a Dutch–Hakka vocabulary containing about 7,500 entries, with many sub-entries; the second part (pp. 325-407) is an alphabetical Hakka–Dutch vocabulary of about 4,600 Hakka 'roots' (*wortels*) with characters and Dutch translations. Van de Stadt instructed the user to check these in the first part in order to better understand the meaning of the Chinese syllable. This is also necessary in order to find the full word if that is composed of two or more syllables. Some dialect variations can also be searched in this list.

In the first part, Dutch words are followed by Chinese characters and Hakka transcriptions. If no characters were known to Van de Stadt, syllables are represented by small circles (○). The number of characters (or circles) matches perfectly the number of syllables in transcription. This is a different, more scientific solution to the impossibility of representing a dialect fully in Chinese characters than Francken and De Grijs had chosen half a century earlier. The circles are used in quite a few colloquial expressions, in particular onomatopoeias, for instance *klotsen* (to splash, p. 118) ○ ○ ○ ○ *kít kít kép kép*.

The dictionary was printed with the old Government Press type from Holland. For (dialect) characters that were not available in metal type, new wooden type were carved, just as in Francken and De Grijs' dictionary.[363]

As in Schlegel's dictionary, different connotations of each word are given between brackets, for instance the many Chinese translations for *dragen* (to carry, pp. 56-7) and *koeli* (coolie, p. 119). Van de Stadt also provided some directions for translation of difficult words or morphemes, such as *ge-* (prefix of the past participle, p. 72), *mijn* (my, p. 152), *naar* (to, p. 153), *neen* (no, p. 155).

There are sometimes short phrases as examples, all of a very practical nature, such as *wiens fout is het?* (whose mistake is it? p. 70) 倷儕個錯過 *nài sa kài tshò kwò*;[364] *voor hoeveel is het verpand?* (pawned for how much? p. 275) 當幾多錢 *tòng kí to tshiên*; *ik wil graag een gulden voorschot* (I would like an advance pay of one guilder, p. 291) 我愛支一盾錢 *ngâi òi tsji yit tún tshiên*.

Quite a few common Dutch sayings are included with lively Hakka equivalents, for instance *de beste stuurlui staan aan wal* (the best coaches are in the stands, p. 239) 看花容易綉花難 *khòn fa yùng yì siù fa nân* (literally: it is easy to watch [embroidered] flowers, but difficult to embroider them); *nieuwe bezems vegen schoon* (new brooms sweep clean, p. 30) 新亞嫂三年早 *sin a sáu sam nyên tsáu* (literally: a new daughter-in-law rises early for three years).

This dictionary is meant for learning to speak and understand Hakka

as spoken in the Indies; therefore, loanwords from Malay and Dutch are included in great numbers. Van de Stadt wrote in his preface:

> As a sinologist one may feel annoyed with loanwords such as *min-thap* (Malay *minta*) and *tó-lông* (*tolong*), but it is a fact that on Banka and Billiton these are the words mostly used for "to request" and "to help," and as such they should in my opinion be included in this dictionary of the spoken language.[365]

For easy identification, the loanwords are printed in the dictionary in italics (here they are underlined). Some examples are: *mijn* (mine, on Banka and Billiton, p. 152) 巴力 *pa lit* (Malay *parit*, moat), *politieoppasser* (police guard, p. 190) ○ ○ *o pat* (Malay *oppas* from Dutch *oppasser*), and *vertegenwoordiger* (agent, on Billiton, p. 279) 卦儕 *kwà sa* (Malay *kuasa*, authorised representative).

There are many examples of hybrid loanwords, such as *hospitaal* (hospital, p. 99) ○ ○ 屋 *sa kit wuk*, ○ ○ 間 *sa kit kien* (Malay *sakit*, ill; literally: sick house, from Malay *rumah sakit*, Dutch *ziekenhuis*); *ui* (onion, p. 255), on Banka and Billiton also called ○ ○ 菜 *wun tong tshòi* (Malay *untung*; fortune, good luck, literally: lucky vegetable), because the Hakka word for onion *khiau thêu* has the same sound as *khiau* meaning "poor" and is therefore unlucky.

Apart from Malay loanwords in Hakka, the dictionary is full of Malay words that were used and known by Europeans in the Indies, but that are uncommon in modern Dutch, such as *barang* (luggage, p. 18), *ketela* (sweet potato, p. 113), *mandiën* (to take a bath, p. 141), *pangkal* (jetty, harbour, p. 183), *tandakken* (to dance, p. 241), etc.

Names of Dutch colonial institutions and officials are translated into the colloquial names, not the 'official' ones prescribed for written translations by Schlegel. For instance, *resident* and *gouverneur* are both translated as 大王 *thài wông* (literally: great king); *assistent-resident* has two translations: 二王 *ngi wông* (on Billiton; literally: second king), ○ ○ *pui tut* (Malay *petor*; used in other places; from Portuguese *feitor*, trader); *controleur* is simply transcribed 官都力 *kon tu lit*.[366]

For the names of Chinese officers, both a common Chinese transcription (in Hakka pronunciation) and a native Hakka version are given, for instance *kapitein* (p. 110) 甲必丹 *kap pit tan*, 甲太 *kap thái*, and *luitenant* (p. 138) 雷庭蘭 *lûi thîn lân*, ○ ○ *lit lan*.[367]

Schlegel's translations are used only for judicial officials, such as *rechter* (judge, of the *landraad*, p. 197) 同審官 *thûng sjím kwon* and *advocaat* (lawyer, p. 7) 狀師 *tshòng s*. A new term with a formal translation is *ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken* (Official for Chinese Affairs, p. 14) 漢務司 *hòn wù s*, who is addressed as: 大人 *thài nyîn* (literally: great man).

The dictionary contains a lot of vocabulary about work and life in the tin mines, useful for European officials including medical doctors. Some

examples of technical terms are *centrifugaalpomp* (centrifugal pump, p. 43) 麒麟頭 *khî lîn thêu* (literally: Chinese unicorn's head), terms for different kinds of ore: *erts* (ore, p. 66) (*met zand gemengd*, mixed with sand) ○ 沙 *kak sa*; (*schoon tinerts*, clean tin ore) 錫砂 *siak sa*, 錫米 *siak mí*; (*verspreid liggend erts*, scattered ore) 狗跡砂 *kéu tsiak sa* (literally: dog track sand). Organisational terms are for instance *eten vrij* (free food, food paid by the employer, p. 67) 食頭家 *sjit thêu ka* (literally: to eat [from] the boss),[368] *dagtaak* (day's task, certain amount of earth moved, p. 46) 冒 ○ *màu po* (Malay *borong*, total; literally: to venture the total amount). Social terms are for instance *oostindisch doof* (pretending not to hear, p. 54) 詐聾 *tsà lung*; *onbetrouwbaar* (unreliable, negligent in one's work, p. 163) ○ ○ ○ ○ 做事 *la la li li tsò `s*. Medical terms include the names of diseases, such as *eczeem* (eczema, p. 62) 發癬 *pot sién*, 濕癬 *sjip sién*, physical defects such as *met maar één kloot* (having only one testicle, p. 117) 單 ○ *tan hák*, and outward characteristics of man such as *centenbak* (*hanglip*) (Neanderthal jaw, p. 43) 神龕 ○ [嘴] *sjín kham tsjòi* (literally: idol shrine mouth).

Compared with Schlegel's dictionary, there are some interesting modern words, although nowadays also in part superseded, such as *republiek* (republic, p. 200) 民主國 *mîn tsjú kwet*; *automobiel* (automobile, p. 16) *tsh` hâng tsjha* 自行車, *thièn fó tsjha* 電火車; *fiets* and *rijwiel* (bicycle, pp. 69, 207) 腳車 *kiok tsjha*, 踏車 *tháp tsjha*; 腳踏車 *kiok tháp tsjha*.

Dirty and abusive words have not been avoided, but are not as conspicuous as in Schlegel's dictionary. For instance *wat een lul van een vent* (what a bastard, p. 138) ○ 奘棍 àn lín kwùn.[369] The meaning of one of the most vulgar Hakka curses is given in a less offensive manner: *geslachtsomgang met je moêr* (sexual intercourse with your mother, p. 80) 屌你亞姆 *tiáu ngî a mi*.

While the earlier dictionaries were all the works of pioneers, Van de Stadt could consult and make use of several other dictionaries and studies of the Hakka dialect.[370] Although it is the shortest dictionary of all, this enhanced its usefulness and reliability. It appears to be an accurate and intelligent guide to the language as spoken on Banka and Billiton.

Fourteen years after Van de Stadt's dictionary had been printed, another simple language textbook was published by Tjen Fo Sang: *Eenvoudig leerboekje voor het Hakka–Chineesch* (Muntok: Typ Bankatinwinning, 1926). This was a systematic language guide with more grammar and practical sentences, but it lacked Chinese characters. It was reprinted four years later, showing the practical need for such guides among European officials in the tin mines.

Schlegel had already noticed Van de Stadt's talent for languages at his entrance examination in 1892. After the publication of his Hakka dictionary, Van de Stadt did not stop his language studies. A few years later he studied Japanese and went to Japan for two years. When he returned to the

Indies he was appointed Advisor for Japanese Affairs, working at the Office for Japanese Affairs in Batavia from 1921 to 1932. During that time he compiled both a Dutch–Japanese and a Japanese–Dutch dictionary, which were published in 1922 and 1934.

CHAPTER TWELVE

WORKING AS INTERPRETERS AND TRANSLATORS

The interpreters' directive of 1863

When in 1853 Governor-General Duymaer van Twist reported to Minister of Colonies Pahud on the need for reliable European translators of Chinese, his motivation seemed to be twofold. On the one hand, reliable European translators were needed, since the existing Chinese interpreters (the Chinese officers) could only translate into Malay, and this was considered "as a matter of course defective." He mentioned the example of the Banka case in which there existed two conflicting translations of one document and the authorities were unable to decide which was correct. Reliable interpreters were also needed in court trials for both accused and witnesses. On the other hand, and this was according to some the main reason,[1] the government needed to be better informed about the Chinese, since more was becoming known about their illegal activities. This concerned in particular Chinese secret societies, which had been prohibited in 1851. Moreover, the contents of Chinese publications in the Indies could be harmful and should also be known to the government.[2] The government seemed to have in mind that these European interpreters should also be a kind of intelligence officers or advisors. But the responsibilities of the interpreters were not yet clearly defined.

On 9 August 1860, the first two interpreters, Albrecht and Von Faber, were appointed in Mentok (Banka) and Pontianak (Borneo) in the Outer Possessions. A few months after their appointment, Government Secretary A. Loudon asked both interpreters to devise after one year of service a directive and list of standard fees for the European interpreters of Chinese and send these via the local Resident.[3]

At the time there only existed the 1819 directive for translators of French, German, and English at the European courts on Java, and probably none for the native interpreters. The translators were sworn in at the regional *Raad van Justitie* (Court of Justice) and were paid for each translation and interpreting job according to a fixed rate, both for their services to the government and to private persons.[4] They did not have a fixed salary such as the European interpreters for Chinese would have. In case no sworn translator or interpreter was present, the court could, from 1837 on, assign anyone knowing the language to act as such after being sworn in.[5] In 1859, the text of the translators' oath had just been revised at

the request of the Resident of Surakarta,[6] a town where several translators were charged with translating Dutch ordinances into Malay and Javanese. The text of this oath was to be sworn—or for those who had religious objections against swearing an oath, to be affirmed—in front of the head of regional government. It concerned integrity, good faith, speed and conscientiousness in fulfilling the translators' duties, the personal integrity of the translators themselves, and confidentiality, fees according to government regulations, and the affirmation that they had not obtained their position by corruption.[7]

Albrecht and Von Faber may have sworn this oath or affirmed its text when they assumed their functions. But as to the content of their work, it must quickly have become clear to them that this was quite different from what they had expected: there was hardly any work for them to do. Moreover, they had been studying the wrong dialect: Cantonese was not understood in the Outer Possessions. Details about their actual position will be discussed in Chapter Thirteen. As a consequence, after one year of service, Albrecht seems to have refrained from writing a *nota* containing a directive and fee list for the interpreters, and he only replied in November 1862 after he had been requested to do so for a second time.[8] In Montrado, Von Faber could at least do something. After about one year of service, he duly wrote a *nota* containing a directive and fee list for the interpreters.[9]

After Schlegel and Francken arrived in Batavia in July 1862, Albrecht and Von Faber travelled to Batavia to meet them and of course discussed their predicament. Originally, the Government planned to appoint Schlegel in Riau[10] and Francken in Pontianak in the Outer Possessions, but they must have convinced the government that Cantonese was not spoken in the Indies and that the most important dialect studied by them, Hokkien, was spoken on Java.[11] Thereupon, on 20 August 1862, two interpreters were appointed in Batavia: Schlegel and Von Faber, and on 22 September Francken was stationed in Surabaya.

After Von Faber's *nota* and Albrecht's belated letter with the directive and fee list and accompanying letters from the local Residents had arrived, the Resident of Batavia D.F. Schaap, probably after consulting Schlegel, also sent a proposal. None of this correspondence could be found in the archives, but a later report summarised Schaap's arguments.[12] This report stated that during the discussions resulting in the Directive of 1863, in particular the question was raised whether, in connection with the work to be assigned them, another title, namely 'advisor for Chinese affairs' (*adviseur voor Chineesche zaken*) would not be more appropriate. Schaap stated that since the government knew little about Chinese institutions and customs, more profit could be obtained from the extensive studies of the sinologists than could be expected from their work purely as interpreters. He mentioned the position of 'protector of the Chinese' which at the time

already existed in Hong Kong and carried more responsibilities.[13] Moreover, the title 'advisor' would give the officials a higher status among the Chinese than that of 'interpreter,' which in China was considered a very low position. These arguments are similar to those used by Schlegel later, and may have been inspired by him.[14]

These suggestions, however, met with no sympathy from the Council of the Indies. Making the interpreters mediators (*middelaars*) of the Chinese with the government, as 'protector of the Chinese,' would be contrary to Article 73 of the Government Regulation (*Regeerings Reglement*), which placed the Chinese under the leadership of their own officers.[15] Starting in the early seventeenth century, the Chinese had been ruled by their *kapitein* (headman or chief); later this was interpreted as a military rank, and therefore his assistant was called *luitenant*. In the nineteenth century the function of *majoor* was added above *kapitein*.[16] This point was later elucidated by Albrecht as follows:

> It has indeed always been the wise policy of the Dutch to rule over the various ethnicities in the Indies by their own chiefs; these should therefore be fully trusted by the European government; but if one gives a European official who does not exercise any authority, official charges that belong to the actual responsibility of the chiefs, or if the government uses him to investigate and check the doings of these chiefs, this will deal a severe blow to their prestige, and the evil engendered by this is disproportionate to the discovery of a few wrongdoings.[17]

In this way, however, from the start an unavoidable flaw was created in the position of the interpreter. This flaw could paralyse them in the execution of any function that was not strictly that of interpreter and translator.

On 15 April 1863, Governor-General Sloet van de Beele decided upon the "Directive and fee list for the European interpreters of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies."[18] This remained in force until 1896. The complete Dutch text can be found in Appendix Q: the following is an English translation of the Directive; the fee list is discussed in the section "Private Translation and Interpretation Work."

> A. Directive for the European interpreters of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies
>
> Art. 1 The sworn European interpreters of the Chinese language render their services of written or oral translation from Dutch into Chinese and vice-versa, as often as required by the judicial or administrative authorities.
>
> They are not entitled to a fee for their required services, except in criminal cases where a verdict of guilty is pronounced, in which case the fee can be claimed from the convicted person according to the fee list referred to below.
>
> Art. 2. They provide information to the head of regional government—if need be after a previous investigation by them on orders of this head—as well as considerations and advice about affairs concerning the Chinese.
>
> They accompany the head of regional government on his tours of inspection, as often as he deems necessary.

> Art. 3. They also provide their services at the request and for the sake of private persons, for a fee according to the list referred to below.
>
> Art. 4. Before assuming their position, the interpreters of the Chinese language swear the following oath or affirm the following in front of the head of regional government, and if they are already in function, as soon as this instruction shall be known to them:
>
> "I swear (affirm) that I shall be observant and loyal to the King and the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies, the latter being the representative of the King; that I have not given or promised, nor shall give or promise anything to anyone, whoever he may be, indirectly or directly, under whatever name or pretext, for obtaining my position as interpreter for the Chinese language in …;
>
> that I shall render all oral or written translations with the highest faithfulness and conscientiousness;
>
> that I shall keep secret what should naturally be kept secret or of which secrecy is requested from me in my official position;
>
> and further that I shall behave with diligence and conscientiousness in the exercise of my duties, as befits a good and honest official."

Article 1 defines the primary functions of translating and interpreting, in accordance with their official title "interpreter for the Chinese language" (*tolk voor de Chinesche taal*). The second paragraph of this article, surprisingly, states that the interpreter could in case of a guilty verdict claim an extra fee (in addition to his fixed salary) from the convicted person, thereby profiting from such a verdict. Unfortunately no explanation or rationale for this provision could be found. Despite the interpreters' oath of faithfulness in translation, such an opportunity for an extra fee could be a temptation jeopardizing their neutrality, but none of the interpreters seems to have expressed any worry about this. In actual practice, fortunately, this provision remained a dead letter, and the right to claim such an extra fee was abolished in 1895.[19]

Article 2 concerns the advisory and intelligence tasks of the interpreters. Nowadays the different tasks mentioned in articles 1 and 2 in general cannot be combined in one person, or at least not simultaneously. The combination of the two functions of translating and giving information and advice could lead to conflict, on account of the interpreters' obligation to confidentiality. This problem seems never to have been raised by any of the interpreters in the Indies, who considered themselves in the first place advisors and not pure interpreters. The advisory functions will be discussed in the next chapter.

Accompanying the Resident on his tours of inspection was the interpreters' only representational duty.

Article 3 entitled the interpreters to do translations and interpretations for private persons as well. It was expected that they could earn substantial emoluments from this. This will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

Article 4 contained the interpreters' oath, which was very similar to the 1859 version of the translators' oath, except for the addition of loyalty to the King and behaving as a good and honest official. These were obvious additions, since the interpreters were officials receiving a fixed salary from the government.

This directive also makes clear that the interpreters did not have any administrative or judicial responsibility. Although they could receive orders from the 'head of regional government,' usually the Resident, they had no position within the administrative hierarchy. The same was true with the judicial authorities. From 1870 on, when the Department of Justice was established, they were simply subordinates of the Director of Justice in Batavia.

Working as interpreters

The interpreters could do interpreting at the *Landraad* (District Court for natives and Chinese), the *Raad van Justitie* (Court of Justice for Europeans and Chinese), the civil and military High Courts (*Hoog Geregtshof*), at the so-called *policie-rol*, the "Police Court" of the Resident handling minor cases, and at the Residency's Court (*Residentiegeregt*) in the Outer Possessions etc. They could also act as interpreters for the administrative authorities.

Within a month or so after Schlegel's appointment, he was asked to act as interpreter in a major criminal case against fourteen Chinese who were accused of piracy and murder. Schlegel would later on various occasions mention this case to show the importance of interpreting, and therefore it will be recounted here in detail.

In those days piracy was a serious problem in general, but most pirates, many of them Chinese, were active in the waters around the Outer Possessions. In this case, a group of seventeen suspected pirates had been apprehended on 30 December 1861 in the waters off Cirebon, Java. They were entering the harbour on a *wangkang* (a small ship, a kind of *proa*) from Siam, which they had captured and the crew of which they had cruelly murdered with the exception of three men.[20] The case was first tried from 17 to 19 June 1862 at the *Raad van Justitie* (Court of Justice) in Batavia, and on 26 June fifteen culprits were sentenced to death. One was spared since he had treated the captured sailors in a more humane way; he was sentenced to twenty years at hard labour outside Java.[21] The defence lawyers lodged an appeal in cassation (*beroep in cassatie*) at the High Court on the formal ground that no Chinese advisor had been present at the trial, and therefore the composition of the Court had not been legal. According to article 7 of the *Regulations on the Judiciary System* (1847),[22] the atten-

dance of such an expert, usually a Chinese officer, was required to advise on the religion and other laws of the Chinese. In August this appeal was successful, the verdict was reversed and the case was referred back to the same *Raad van Justitie* where it had been tried in the first instance.[23]

The Batavian Court of Justice retried the case from 14 to 16 October, now with the assistance of two Chinese advisors, who were Chinese officers. There were now fourteen accused, since their leader had already died in prison. They were defended by the same lawyers as before,[24] one of whom was J. van Gennep; he would many years later become a member of Parliament and of the State Council.[25] This time Schlegel acted as interpreter, and maybe also Von Faber, who was of course not as proficient in Hokkien.

In an interview in 1902, Schlegel said about his ability to interpret:

> Of course the young interpreter left nothing undone for the optimal fulfilment of his task. Beforehand, he paid a visit to the pirates in prison and spoke with them in order to ascertain if the accused understood *him*, and vice-versa, if he understood *them*. That went fine. When the first session ended, the President of the Court of Justice told him the two Chinese officers had complained that they could not understand the interpreter.
>
> "The main point, president, is that the accused understand me," the interpreter answered, "and would you please ask them." Judging from the posture and facial expressions of the accused, one had no reason to doubt that they perfectly understood the interpreter.[26]

The Chinese officers may not have understood Schlegel's purely Chinese translations of the names of Dutch officials and terminology, for which they would use Malay and Dutch loanwords. But this complaint is also symptomatic of the fundamental antagonism and conflict of interests between the Chinese officers and the European interpreters.

Public opinion was unfavourable to the accused. According to a report in the *Java-bode*, all seem to have denied guilt and "were profiting from the judges' difference of opinion."[27] Schlegel later mentioned the cruelty of the pirates: one witness described how they had mercilessly dumped into the sea the sailors of the captured ship.[28]

In his inaugural lecture in Leiden in 1877, Schlegel would refer to this case to show how crucial the service of the European interpreters could be, even amounting to a matter of life and death:

> I had been less than a month in function as Chinese interpreter in Batavia, when I had the pleasure of not only helping extricate from the earlier death sentence two of those, who were accused of being accomplices of piracy and murder, but also to obtain their complete acquittal and release. It became clear that their conviction in the first instance was only to be blamed on the extremely sluggish manner in which the previous interpreter, a Chinese, had fulfilled his serious task; and whose fault it would have been if the death sentence pronounced by the judge would have been carried out.[29]

Schlegel explained elsewhere that two of the accused were actually no pirates, but innocent barbers who had been kidnapped by ruse and force onto the pirate ship.[30]

At the trial, the public prosecutor now requested lighter punishment for the latter two. Thereupon the *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* commented:

> The usefulness that can always be expected from European translators of Chinese has in this case, if nowhere else, been shown and felt superlatively.[31]

On 24 October the sentence was pronounced: two of the accused, Tio Tok and Tio Kouw, were acquitted, another was sentenced to 20 years at hard labour, a beating and public exposure, and the other eleven received the death penalty.[32]

The next day, in a comment on this sentence, the *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* first stated that it was strange that the same court now acquitted two of the accused who had been found guilty earlier. But since the defendant lawyers had now been better able to counter the arguments of the court, knowing them already, the judge chose to correct his error. The comment ended, in italics: "*Fortunate is the country that possesses such judges and such defenders*."[33]

Many years later, Schlegel recounted that the two acquitted men settled in Batavia as barbers and every year expressed their gratitude by presenting their lawyer J. van Gennep with a bouquet. The pirates who were convicted must have gone into appeal, for after preliminary detention for three years, their death sentences were commuted by the Governor-General.[34]

No other such major cases are known, and other accounts show that the interpreters' role as court interpreter was limited. In 1865, when the heads of regional government and the interpreters were asked to report on the need of a Chinese teacher or clerk, there were only two replies (out of six) giving details about the interpreting work. From Java the Resident of Batavia, J.C. de Kock van Leeuwen, wrote about the translation and interpretation work as follows:

> Those interpreters now have little to do. Their services are arranged in the following manner: The interpreter Von Faber makes the translations and Schlegel assists in interpreting at the *policie-rol*, the *Landraad*, and now and then, when his services are required, at the *Raad van Justitie* and both High Courts.
>
> His assistance at the *policie-rol* is completely superfluous, because there is always a Chinese officer present who can, when needed, act as interpreter.[35]

This division of labour seems natural, since Von Faber had only studied Hokkien for one year and would not be as proficient in the Amoy colloquial as Schlegel was. But Schlegel must also have done translation work, judging from several of his *notas*, his teaching programme in Leiden, and from his dictionary, which he specially compiled for the aid of translators.

From the Outer Possessions, the Residency's Secretary in Mentok, P.A. Gijsbers[36] gave a detailed description of Buddingh's interpreting work. He hardly mentioned written translations, which were in any case rarely made in the Outer Possessions. Buddingh himself had explained in a letter to the Resident that his knowledge of Chinese languages was still limited, and in this respect he may not have been typical. He had only studied for two years in China, learning two dialects, of which Hakka had as yet scarcely even been described by Europeans. In Gijsbers' description, Buddingh's interpreting work seemed more aimed at giving him an opportunity to do *something*, and to continue his language studies, than to be of practical importance. All he did was to translate into Dutch the Hokkien (or Hakka) translations by the Chinese officers, and to check their versions. Secretary Gijsbers must have been told that the difference between Chinese dialects was mainly a matter of different pronunciation of characters, since he wrote:

> For the interpreting of those different pronunciations by Chinese who appear before the *Landraad*, until now Chinese officers have been used; sometimes also the assistance of others is required when none of these officers understands the language spoken. The European interpreter is present to translate for the Court the versions of the Chinese officer, who is liable to express himself better and more understandably vis-à-vis the European interpreter.
>
> The questions that the Court wishes to ask the witnesses or accused, are communicated in Dutch to the European interpreter and in Malay to the Chinese officer, to the latter for translating them for the witnesses or the accused. The European interpreter is charged to warn the Court, when he observes—as far as he understands the words spoken by witnesses or accused or knows their purport—that the Chinese officer's translation is not fully correct. …
>
> Attending the *Landraad*'s sessions offers an opportunity for the European interpreter to get practice with the variant pronunciations of Chinese words.[37]

Schlegel, who must have felt sympathy for his cousin Buddingh's predicament, would later explain the language situation on Banka, which amounted to a Babel-like confusion. He wrote that it was more complicated than elsewhere as a result of the continuing immigration of Chinese workers. During a short visit to the island in 1862, Schlegel had himself observed that the Chinese officers spoke either the Amoy (Tsiangtsiu) or Hakka (Kia Ying Chow) dialect, and that the Chinese population spoke "five or six dialects from Canton province: Hoklo, Kia Ying Chow, Chonglok, Hainan, etc."[38] Schlegel would later even assert that for Banka, four or five European interpreters were needed.[39]

The most lively accounts of the sinologists' interpreting work were given in retrospect by Meeter in newspaper articles published in 1896–9, long after his retirement. He had been most unhappy in his role as interpreter, complaining about the lack of appreciation for the sinologists' opinions

evinced by most of the administrative and judicial authorities; he often even felt humiliated by them. But still, from his accounts, a glimpse can be seen of the actual work of interpreting, and of the important role that the sinologists could play for the authorities in elucidating Chinese affairs and dispelling current misconceptions.

In Riau, his first station, he only served as interpreter in the *politierol* (police-roll). In the *politierol*, judicial and administrative authority were combined in one person, namely the Resident, in Riau at that time E. Netscher. In these sessions, only minor offenses were tried, and there was no possibility of appeal.[40] Meeter wrote that he used to designate his role there jokingly as "to act as barking Chinese" (*dienstdoen als blaf-Chinees*).[41] He did not explain the meaning of this expression, but it undoubtedly referred to his translating the "barking" reprimands given by the Resident to Chinese offenders.

In Pontianak, his second place of stationing, on 2 February 1871, J.C.J. van der Schalk became the new Resident, succeeding C. Kater who went on leave.[42] Van der Schalk, who had been Assistant Resident of Police on Java,[43] 'invited' (charged) Meeter to attend every session of the *politierol* to serve as interpreter. These were held three times per week, during the hot afternoons when all other officials were enjoying their afternoon naps. Meeter protested against this assignment, arguing that most of the time there would be nothing for him to do, since most Chinese appearing as accused or witnesses could speak Malay tolerably well. To this Van der Schalk replied that even if his services sometimes proved unnecessary, it would be a good opportunity to enlarge his knowledge of Chinese and native affairs and to understand better the administration of justice in the police courts for the natives and the Chinese. Meeter, however, did not appreciate this opportunity given by the Resident:

> Now for an unprejudiced observer and therefore also an unprejudiced interpreter there is nothing more hilarious and at the same time pathetic than the administration of justice of the so-called *politierol*. All cases have been prepared by the native prosecutor (*djaksa*), assistant-prosecutor (*adjunct-djaksa*) or his clerks, and the accused and witnesses have been heard, so that the 'police-judge' (*politierechter*) usually gives his judgement after summary investigations, and that judgement often reminds one of the *ut aliquid fiat* (to do at least something) of the medical profession.[44]

Therefore, according to Meeter, it could easily happen that a well-to-do Chinese, accused of an offense such as maltreating a policeman, hired a coolie to bear the blame for him and arranged witness accounts without the Resident's noticing it.

Meeter recounted in detail two *politierol* cases in which he acted as interpreter and at the same time as advisor, giving his 'opinions and considerations' both at the request of the Resident and on his own initiative.

There is no evidence that the European interpreters felt that their role of interpreter could be in conflict with that of advisor.

The newly appointed Resident Van der Schalk had proclaimed a series of police measures that aroused dissatisfaction among the Chinese inhabitants of Pontianak, such as the obligation to carry a lantern at night. In passive protest, some Chinese closed their shops, while others used another method that they considered more effective: calling upon their gods for help. For this purpose, a young man, who had hardly reached adulthood, was intoxicated with alcohol or opium and made to act as a youthful medium[45] in the temple. He proclaimed that the new government policy aroused discontent among the people, and that the obligation to walk around with fire would anger the gods, causing them to strike the town with a terrible fire. Every day a large crowd gathered around the temple; Meeter heard about this from his Chinese clerk. After three days these gatherings were reported to the Resident, who in panic called together the local civil and military authorities, and also the Chinese interpreter. Emergency measures for suppressing riots had immediately been taken. At the meeting, Meeter was asked for his opinion. He suggested posting an official announcement in Chinese, warning against prophecies that only incited unrest, and making it known that there was no more danger of fire than before. He also suggested that he could go to the temple and investigate the matter in half an hour. He was allowed to do so, and took along his Chinese clerk. He observed that most of the Chinese did not take the prophet too seriously; thereupon he asked his clerk to tell the young prophet to go home, explaining to him that otherwise he might become ill, and to appear the next day at the Residency.

When Meeter reported this to the Resident and other authorities, all were relieved. The emergency measures were withdrawn, and the Resident announced that he would punish the culprit heavily. After the others had left, Meeter put in a good word for the boy, who was still young and had evidently been used by others, but by doing so he enraged the Resident. He was wise enough not to tell the Resident that the boy's elder sister was a woman of loose morals who sometimes paid a visit to the Resident's house and was therefore known as *njai residèn*, the Resident's concubine.

The next day at the *politierol* both the boy and his sister appeared; the latter wished to speak for her younger brother, since he could not express himself well in Malay. She was allowed to attend, but the interrogation was done with the assistance of Meeter. Actually, the boy's answers did not help to clarify the matter, since he said each time that he knew nothing. The Resident then sentenced him to the shortest possible time of forced labour. At the request of his sister this was to be spent indoors, cleaning up the prison building, instead of on a chain gang as used for building roads.[46]

In another case, a disputed request for divorce, Meeter played the same

double role of interpreter and advisor, basing himself both on his clerk's and his own investigations. It turned out that the wife's mother was trying to implement a divorce so that her exceptionally pretty daughter could thereafter earn a high income as a prostitute. Through Meeter's interpreting and information, this case was also brought to a good end—the application was rejected. He even enjoyed interpreting in this case:

> Since both parties did not speak enough Malay, by exception he had the pleasure—this time it was really a pleasure—to translate the statements by both parties into Dutch, and vice-versa the questions of the Resident into Chinese.[47]

After he again made an offensive personal remark to the Resident, he was to his pleasure relieved from his obligation to attend all *politierol* sessions. The Resident had discovered that most Chinese could speak Malay rather well, and in case an interpreter was needed, he could ask a Chinese officer or district chief (*wijkmeester*). In this way Meeter's interpreting at the *politierol* came to an end.[48]

In Surabaya, where Meeter was stationed in 1876–88, he was sometimes required to act as interpreter at the *Raad van Justitie*. He was also unhappy with this role at court, suggesting in his articles that he would prefer to assume the role of 'Chinese advisor,' giving advice and at most checking the ethnic Chinese interpreter, rather than interpreting himself.

> That would also bring to a definite end the folly of a European official, in front of judges and a not always distinguished public, being obliged to translate for hours the stupidities of the Chinese accused and the statements of lying witnesses from a language that is not understandable for all persons present, so that often the impression is given that the interpreter does not have a firm enough grasp of the spoken language, while it is actually the unwillingness and the evasive answers of accused and witnesses that make it impossible for any interpreter to bring forth from the mouth of the interrogated Chinese a definite answer to the questions asked by the judge.[49]

Of course, in a colonial situation, being an advisor would in general be a more fitting role for a European than being an interpreter.

Except for court sessions, the sinologists could also be summoned by officials of the Interior Administration for interpreting services. This rarely happened, but Meeter gave a hilarious example illustrating the dilemma of the interpreter's position.

In Surabaya, the Assistant Resident of Police once came to Meeter's office, requiring him to proceed immediately to the Resident's Office to act as interpreter for an important affair that was both a political and a police secret. When he arrived, the Resident first told him in private that two *sinkheh*, Chinese from China, had recently arrived and that according to the Chinese *majoor* they were swindlers. Allegedly they were trying to

fleece the well-to-do Chinese inhabitants of their money. Their pretext was that they had been sent by the Chinese government to establish a Chinese shipping company with regular services between Java, Singapore, and China. If that were true, the Resident said, he would have heard about it from the Governor-General. Moreover, their names as pronounced by them were different from the ones on their passes from Singapore. Since they spoke a dialect not understandable to the Chinese *majoor*, he had asked Meeter to act as interpreter.

From his clerk, Meeter had already heard about the visitors, and that they had communicated with the Chinese officers in writing. The guests wrote a letter in elegant and polite phrases, to which the officers, who could hardly write Chinese, had replied with a few rude and impolite sentences. The guests were startled by this impudence and left in anger, thereby offending the *majoor*. But since Meeter was only summoned to interpret and was not asked for his opinion, he did not tell the Resident.

When Meeter saw the two *sinkheh*, they appeared to be of high-class background. Meeter could communicate with them, but he did not specify which dialect they used. Since he had himself studied Hakka, a dialect not spoken by the Hokkien-speaking Chinese officers on Java, the guests may have been of Hakka origin. But probably Meeter somehow communicated with them in Mandarin, which is more similar to Hakka than to Hokkien, and the basics of which he had learned from Hoffmann. After they explained the purpose of their visit, and showed official documents, which Meeter recognised as authentic, the Resident asked the guests which names were mentioned on the document. Meeter replied: "Li A Sjong." This name seemed different from the "Le A Heung" on their passes from Singapore. When the guests could give no explanation of this difference, Meeter explained that the name from Singapore was in a transcription that he knew from Chinese–English dictionaries; these names were simply two different transcriptions of the same characters, which could be easily verified if one compared the character texts.[50] Now it seemed distasteful to the Resident that on account of "all that scholarship" (*al die geleerdheid*) of the interpreter, the basis for his suspicion would disappear. Therefore he asked the Chinese officers to confirm this, which Meeter experienced as a personal humiliation. Even then, the Resident remained suspicious, whereupon the guests suggested to have the Dutch Consul in Singapore check their names. A few days later, the Resident summoned Meeter again to the Residency. Now the names had been confirmed by the Consul, and therefore the Resident ordered the Chinese officers to fully cooperate with the visitors from China and give them all assistance they needed.[51]

In his account of interpreting at the *Raad van Justitie* in Surabaya, Meeter also raised the question of the quality of the European interpreters. He recognised that his own 'Chinese' was not as good as that of his colleague De

Grijs from Semarang. Meeter wrote that he had heard De Grijs converse with Chinese, admiring his fluent pronunciation and perfect tones (*zijne vloeiende uitspraak en onberispelijke intonatiën*). Meeter conceded that he was certainly much less proficient, which could be ascribed to his shorter stay in China. De Grijs had lived and travelled there four times longer than he had.[52] It remains unclear which 'Chinese' Meeter meant: perhaps he meant both Hakka, his own first dialect, and Hokkien, De Grijs' dialect.

One case is known in which the interpreter was unable to perform his task since he could not understand the Chinese accused's accent. This incident led to reports and a polemic in the *Sumatra-Courant* and *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, giving a rare insight into both the position and the proficiency of an interpreter. During a hearing of witnesses at the *Raad van Justitie* in Padang, Young, who was also one of the witnesses, was going to interpret for the accused Tan Gie, as he had been doing during the whole investigation. One person present suggested asking the local interpreter Van der Spek, who was then summoned to the court. For Van der Spek, translating into Chinese was no problem, but when the accused Tan Gie began to speak, he could not understand him, and honestly said so; thereupon he was replaced by Young. The *Sumatra-Courant* expressed doubts about the suitability of Van der Spek and also his colleagues as interpreters and their reliability in investigations against Chinese of high standing. Three weeks later, someone who must have been present at the hearing sent a letter to the editors of the *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* under the pseudonym "Justus," in which he related what had happened, requesting an investigation as to why Van der Spek could not understand Tan Gie while Young could, and if the result should be that Van der Spek did not understand this dialect which was widely spoken in the Indies, he should be replaced in Padang. Again two weeks later, Meeter came to Van der Spek's help with a letter to the editors under his own name. Van der Spek must have written to him, for Meeter was well acquainted with the incident. Meeter explained that Justus' judgement was unfair. Van der Spek could not understand Tan Gie since he was from Formosa and spoke Hokkien with a slightly different accent. Moreover, Van der Spek had not interpreted in the case before, while Young had, and therefore he could make no sense out of the rambling orations of the accused. Moreover, Van der Spek lacked self-confidence, being stared at by all present, since European interpreters were rarely seen in the courts—he probably had little experience with court interpreting, like most of his colleagues at that time. Van der Spek's acknowledgement of his incompetence was a sign of his honesty and accuracy. He was one of Schlegel's best students, and since he had finished his studies not so long ago, he had not yet forgotten his Chinese. Meeter himself had experienced several times that Van der Spek's Chinese was excellent, and he was also good at detecting fraud in account books.

Meeter entertained doubts as to whether Justus might have been involved in the case, and might have wished to discredit Van der Spek and have him removed, since Van der Spek was charged with investigating a major case of fraud at the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Padang. He was suspicious that the changing of interpreters, from Young to Van der Spek in the first place, might have been set up for Van der Spek.[53] This led to a hateful reaction by a certain 'Spaarpot' ("Piggy-bank"), who showed a complete lack of understanding of the interpreter's work, and pleaded for abolishing of the whole corps of interpreters. According to Spaarpot, the sinologists not only were bad interpreters, but had also proved to be incapable of checking fraudulous account books; abolishment of the corps could save a lot of money.[54]

Few other references could be found to the sinologists' competence in spoken Chinese. Schlegel, who probably spoke Hokkien very well, was optimistic about the competence of the Dutch interpreters. He must have been writing about the situation in the 1860s, when the sinologists did more interpretations than later:

> The student interpreters had sufficient time in China to learn to understand and speak the spoken language; and the continuing practice in their later function as interpreters enabled most of them to speak and understand the Chinese language as fluently as their own language.[55]

A decade later, Meeter was pessimistic about the possibility of improving one's Chinese by practicing. He remarked about Van der Spek that he had left China too recently to have forgotten his Chinese, and that he was nervous when he had to interpret in court—probably because he was inexperienced. And still later, Ezerman stated that after his studies in China, where he learned basic Chinese, his Chinese did not get much better in the Indies.[56]

Some other sinologists spoke Chinese very well. Many years later, De Bruin wrote that among the older Hakka residents in Borneo, Groeneveldt was still admired for his fluency in Hakka.[57]

According to Schlegel, the most proficient of all was Young. He wrote in Young's obituary:

> Young was the best interpreter of all his colleagues. According to the testimony of Prof. J.J.M. de Groot, he spoke the dialects of Amoy, Canton and of the Hakkas with a purety of accent and a fluency rarely attained by Europeans.[58]

Many interpreters seem never to have lost an accent when speaking Chinese. De Bruin commented about this, when writing about uneducated coolies:

> They like to play tricks on a European who speaks Chinese, by using *double entendres* as much as possible. On the other hand, a European who does not

> have enough command of the tones, in his innocence can make the funniest mistakes. It is a terrain bristling with pitfalls.[59]

Elsewhere he wrote about coolies:

> Exactly because of the typical monosyllabic character of all dialects, the Chinese language is particularly suitable for puns and making ambiguous jokes. Every Chinese has a strong feeling of humour and they enjoy nothing more than having a European on.
>
> But as soon as they realise that one is up to their tricks, they begin to chuckle and calmly go on working.[60]

In the beginning, quite a few interpreters were stationed in places where the dialect they had studied was hardly spoken. Albrecht and Von Faber had mainly studied Cantonese, a dialect that was then hardly of use in the Indies. Buddingh was stationed in Mentok, where many dialects were spoken. De Breuk had studied Hakka, but was stationed in Hokkien-speaking Cirebon on Java, since all Hakka-speaking positions were taken. Groeneveldt was sent from (Hakka-speaking) Pontianak to (mainly Hokkien-speaking) Padang, and had to brush up his Hokkien. And Meeter, who had only studied Hakka, was first stationed in (mainly Hokkien-speaking) Riau, and then in (Hakka-speaking) Pontianak.[61] In order to cope with this problem, from 1871 on some interpreters were temporarily accorded a second language teacher for learning another dialect.

Schlegel and De Grijs were both of the opinion that the interpreters should only learn one dialect. It was better to learn one dialect well than to have defective knowledge of two dialects. But they did not keep others from studying another dialect. Groeneveldt was more optimistic about learning more dialects: he had studied both Hokkien and Hakka in China, claimed that he had easily learnt some Hoklo, and later also learnt to speak some Mandarin.[62] He was probably exceptionally gifted, just as Young was. Other interpreters acknowledged that their second dialect was weak: Von Faber had not learnt enough Hakka in one and a half years in Montrado to act as court-interpreter or to teach, which is not surprising, and Stuart, who had learnt Hakka on Banka, quickly forgot his second dialect after transfer to a non-Hakka speaking region.

Acting as a Chinese interpreter in the Indies was even more difficult than in China on account of the variety of dialects. Later, when the sinologists rarely acted as interpreters, De Bruin would write that even communicating with the Chinese could be difficult.[63] Although he had studied three dialects in China, and was always stationed in the Outer Possessions (Banka, Medan, Borneo), with more opportunities to practice, he wrote:

> I firmly believe that the study of Chinese is in some respects the most discouraging study that exists—not when one is in a certain region as a missionary in China and only has to deal with Chinese from that region—but certainly

> here in the Indies, where the great variety of Chinese people has the consequence that after ten years of study one feels that one still is just a beginner.[64]

Elsewhere De Bruin wrote:

> Moreover the languages are divided into dialects that are sometimes very difficult to understand. This is the constant experience of sinologists who in the Netherlands Indies are in contact with Chinese.[65]

Perhaps De Bruin was thinking of one important interpreting job he had done in 1903, when he had assisted J.L.T. Rhemrev, the public prosecutor sent from Batavia to investigate possible abuses and crimes on the plantations in Deli. Rhemrev, perhaps partly because he was a Eurasian, met with a lot of opposition from the press and the planters; so did De Bruin, who was once accused of stirring up the coolies deliberately.[66] The author of the following note may have been one of those opponents, who was attempting to discredit Rhemrev's report. He may also have hated De Bruin for his "siding with the Chinese," a reproach that was addressed to him several times. In 1906 the following news item was published about De Bruin, who was then 32 years old:

> We have heard that Mr. A.G. de Bruin, now on leave in the Netherlands, has been operated there for gallstones. He will probably be declared unfit for the Indies service. Not much will be lost in that case. Since what Mr. De Bruin was being paid his salary for, namely speaking and understanding Chinese, was very poor, as became clear during Mr. Rhemrev's inspection in Deli when De Bruin's assistant interpreter—the coolies could not at all understand De Bruin himself, nor could he understand *them*—when that Chinese assistant-interpreter told the contract coolies the most ludicrous things while De Bruin, that weirdo, could make head nor tails of it and stood on the sidelines with a grotesquely ceremonious face and a magnificent golden cap on his head. Serious misunderstandings and loss of human lives were the unfortunate result of his defective knowledge.[67]

It should be noted that since their change of function in 1896, the sinologists were allowed to wear a uniform and a gold-rimmed cap. The hateful tone of this comment is similar to that of Van der Spek's critic twenty years earlier. In any case, even ten years after the establishment of the function of Official for Chinese Affairs in 1896, De Bruin was still being considered not more than an interpreter! Moreover, the author was wrong about De Bruin's later career: after two years of leave he would return to the Indies, and although he almost immediately left government service to become Advisor for Chinese Affairs of the Deli-Maatschappij, he thereafter still worked in various functions in the Indies for almost twenty years.

The language situation in the Indies was very complicated, but one may conclude that some interpreters must have been very good at speaking Chinese, such as Schlegel, De Grijs, Groeneveldt, Young and Hoetink,

while others, who after their training in China had little opportunity to practice and improve their spoken Chinese, such as Ezerman and Van der Spek, were less proficient, as they both candidly admitted. Probably most of them, except Young, continued to have an accent in speaking Chinese, as De Bruin asserted, but this would in general not make communication impossible.

Replacement by ethnic Chinese interpreters

In 1878, Groeneveldt and Albrecht both stated in official letters that pure interpretation work was by then mostly done by ethnic Chinese, who could just as well or even better serve in the courts. Groeneveldt wrote in his letter to Director of Justice Buijn:

> For this translation work, which mainly consists of oral translations at *politierol* and *Landraad*, one really does not need persons who have pursued such studies and are paid so relatively highly; this work can be done just as well by Chinese who speak Malay, and in most places this happens without any objection.[68]

Albrecht wrote in his *nota* about the work of the Dutch interpreters:

> As to oral interpreting, the courts for natives, even in places where a European interpreter is stationed, kept to their habit, in the few necessary cases, of having the Chinese advisors who appear in those courts, do the interpreting. Among the courts for Europeans, even the *Raad van Justitie* in Batavia has its own Chinese interpreter[69] and I believe that the High Court, and the *Raad van Justitie* in Surabaya[70] are the only courts that regularly require the service of the European interpreter.
>
> Now there is in general no objection against using a Chinese as interpreter, since only in very rare cases the interpreter has any interest in the case for which he interprets, while if it becomes clear that he has such interest, one could easily charge another Chinese with the interpreting. Moreover, he can often translate more successfully than a European interpreter, because he is acquainted with the local situation and translates what he has heard into Malay, the language of court proceedings [in the *Landraad*].
>
> If one considers interpreting by a European official a greater guarantee against improper proceedings, what does that advantage amount to, enjoyed by a few *Landraden* while a hundred other courts are bereft of their services?[71]

From the 1860s on, some names of ethnic Chinese interpreters are mentioned in the *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, next to the Dutch interpreters. They were called translator (*translateur*) or interpreter (*tolk*), without distinction in meaning. They were often appointed by the local government or court, instead of the Governor-General. They probably were either paid according to the decision of 1866, that is, one to three guilders for each case, the same as native interpreters,[72] or received fixed

monthly salaries of *f* 40 or *f* 50 such as were allowed in Medan in 1876 and in Riau in 1880. In 1898, their fees for private translations were specified as half that of European interpreters of Chinese.[73]

From 1864 on, Semarang always had an ethnic 'Chinese translator' (*translateur in de Chinesche taal*).[74] On Billiton, where no European interpreter was stationed, from 1869 on there was always an ethnic Chinese interpreter (*tolk voor de Chinesche taal*) in function.[75] From 2 September 1874 until 1878, in addition to one or two Dutch interpreters, a second 'Chinese interpreter,' Lie Alim, was active in Batavia. In Medan and Bengkalis (East Coast of Sumatra) Chinese interpreters were appointed at the *Residentieraad* (Resident's Court) from 1876 on at a fixed monthly salary of *f* 40; they acted at the same time as clerks.[76]

In the 1880s the number of ethnic Chinese interpreters mentioned in the Government almanac increased considerably.[77] Most of them were now directly connected with the courts; a system of ethnic Chinese court interpreters was established in Batavia, Medan, and Riau. As from 1 January 1880, a translator could be appointed at the *residentieraad* and *policierol* in Riau at a fixed salary of *f* 50 per month.[78] From 2 June 1884 on, the *Raad van Justitie* in Batavia had Tan At Tiam as 'sworn interpreter for the Chinese language' (*gezworen tolk voor de Chineesche taal*).[79] From 31 July 1884 on, the *Landraad* in Batavia also had one ethnic Chinese interpreter, Lauw Kong Boen, and from 15 August 1889 on a second one, Tjioe Goan Jok.[80] The *Landraad* in Medan had a Chinese interpreter, Tan Sioe Kioe, starting on 2 September 1887, and the *Landraad* in nearby Bindjeh had Lau Kie Djoe from 24 September 1887 on.[81] The *Landraad* in Riau had Siem Soen Hoat as from 28 March 1889.[82] Ethnic Chinese interpreters also continued being appointed in Semarang and on Billiton.

Europeans could also serve as Chinese interpreters or translators without a fixed salary: A. Bloys van Treslong Prins was on 9 April 1875 at his request appointed unsalaried Chinese interpreter (*tolk voor de Chinesche taal buiten bezwaar van den lande*) in Pasuruan, staying in function until 1880.[83] After his retirement in October 1896, Von Faber was appointed by the Director of Justice as 'translator of Chinese' (*translateur voor de Chineesche taal*) in Surabaya as from 28 December 1896, and he stayed on in that capacity until his death in 1917. In 1898–9 he advertised regularly in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, but not afterwards. In June 1898, a fee for the unsalaried European interpreters of Chinese was decided, which was the same as for the Officials for Chinese Affairs.[84] This fee seems to have been specially established for Von Faber, who was the only such translator in the Indies.

When in 1879 Hoetink was appointed as interpreter in Medan, he did not even begin working as court interpreter. On account of the variety of dialects, the ethnic Chinese interpreters continued to be used exclusively.

Moreover, Hoetink could only speak Hokkien and not the locally more prevalent Hakka and Hoklo. When he conversed with the Chinese *majoor* and *kapiteins*, who were themselves of Hakka origin, they all used Hokkien.[85] Hoetink later confirmed in a *nota* that for court interpreting ethnic Chinese could be used just as well, or even better, giving new arguments:

> Indeed, in the Netherlands Indies where the great majority of the populace speaking only Chinese belong to the lower class, oral interpreting from and into Chinese can in general be done better by Chinese than by Europeans. For this reason, in the Straits Settlements and in Hong Kong, only Chinese are used for oral interpreting in cases tried by European magistrates and courts.
>
> Europeans who learn Chinese only at a later age as a foreign language will only very rarely become so proficient that they can express themselves just as fluently as native Chinese. It is true that less can suffice, but the fact remains that in general Europeans will lag behind Chinese in ease of expression and ability to understand the Chinese and make themselves understood, and those whose words have to be translated also feel more at ease with them.[86]

Hoetink also considered the (moral) reliability of ethnic Chinese interpreters no issue. Most interpreters would be *peranakan* Chinese, born and raised in the Indies, who would translate for the *sinkheh*, Chinese coming from China who could not speak Malay. They belonged to two social classes who usually had little contact with each other. Still, Hoetink expected that in practice the *peranakan* Chinese would not translate unfaithfully in order to either favour or harm the *sinkheh*. In any case, there had never been complaints about the Chinese interpreters at the *Landraad* or *Raad van Justitie*.

The advantage of European interpreters was that they could understand the judge better. According to Hoetink they were used in the beginning, but later gradually only Chinese were used in the courts:

> Although a well-educated European will better than a Chinese understand the import of sometimes complicated questions asked by a European official, this advantage should in my opinion not be overestimated. In the beginning, when European interpreters for Chinese were a novelty, the *Landraad* and *Raad van Justitie* as a rule always required their services. Gradually the right to request their services was left unused, to my knowledge not because they proved unfit for those services, but because one could make do just as well with Chinese, although a question sometimes had to be repeated or explained. For various practical reasons, it was simpler and easier to use the services of Chinese than to summon highly qualified European officials to act as interpreters of Chinese.[87]

The role of interpreter was not found suitable for the sinologists, despite their title of 'interpreter.' In 1878 Groeneveldt had already suggested that they should better be considered 'Officials for Chinese Affairs' assigned to the Residents. And in 1895, in his *nota* pleading for a reorganisation of the

interpreter system, he again put their advisory functions in the lead role. In order to strengthen these, he wrote:

> I believe one could in another manner try to do more justice, even in wider circles, to the expert knowledge of these officials. The officials concerned should be completely relieved of the role of interpreters and should be made Officials for Chinese Affairs.[88]

As a result, in the new directive for the Officials for Chinese Affairs, interpreting and translation became secondary functions, only to be required if there were "important reasons" for doing so.[89]

Meeter had access to the "memorandum of explanation" (*memorie van toelichting*) of the new regulations, which stated that:

> … in general there is nothing against charging Chinese to do oral translations. Their knowledge of the spoken language is usually greater than that of the written language, and since they are closer, as regards education and background, than European officials to their fellow-Chinese who do not know enough Malay, their services are in most cases to be preferred, since Chinese feel more at ease with them.[90]

However, Meeter doubted the accuracy of oral translations by ethnic Chinese—just as Schlegel had done—on account of the lack of preciseness in their written translations (*see* below). Therefore he suggested having the Official for Chinese Affairs assist at court sessions to check the native Chinese interpreter, and at the same time to replace the Chinese advisor.[91] Although interpreting services could still be required in the new regulation for "important reasons," Meeter would not object to the Officials for Chinese Affairs' complete exclusion from such services.

Many years later, De Bruin also wrote about the advantages of using ethnic Chinese interpreters. Since they could feel and think as a Chinese, and made idiomatic translations, they were best able to bring across the meaning. These were exactly the same conditions for making correct translations put forward by Schlegel: one should be able to feel and think like a Chinese and to find Western 'equivalents' of the Chinese; that is, to use idiomatic, free translations. De Bruin also described the functions of the European interpreters in Hong Kong, which tallied with Meeter's suggestion: the Europeans did not translate in court, and they were only responsible for checking the Chinese interpreters:

> As interpreters at the *Landraden* etc. mostly Chinese are used, who were born in the Indies or the Straits and learnt different dialects as children. Still, it also happens now and then that the translation is done on hit-or-miss, hope-for-the-best principles.
>
> An advantage of Chinese interpreters above Europeans is also that they follow and understand much better the train of thought of a Chinese. They ask the question in a more idiomatic way and grasp the meaning of the answer faster.

> An interesting example of this is given by Mr. Dyer Ball[92] in one of his articles in the *China Review*.
>
> A Chinese was asked if he had been at such-and-such place the day before. The answer was: "My foot hurt." The train of thought of the man turned out to be: "I wanted to go there, but because I could not walk, I stayed at home, and therefore I have not been there." A Chinese interpreter feels such things immediately. Even though a Chinese interpreter may have difficulties with a dialect, in thinking and feeling he is much closer to the accused or witness than a European. What he does not understand, he can fill in. But it is crucial that the gentlemen are checked, and this is mainly the work of the European interpreter in Hong Kong. They have to know one dialect well and be able to check in a few other dialects whether the Chinese translate honestly and faithfully or not. For the rest, they concern themselves with the written language.[93]

After 1900, in *notas* about the reorganisation of the system of Officials for Chinese Affairs, no mention was made of such a system of checking the Chinese interpreters,[94] so it was probably never consistently implemented in the Indies.

One conclusion from the above must be that the name "interpreter" for the sinologists' profession (used until 1896) was more a formal designation than a factual one. Most of them soon stopped and some never even began working as interpreters. On the other hand, and ironically, this designation also led to exclusion from their more important and suitable function as advisors. This will be shown in Chapter Thirteen.

Working as translators

Before the arrival of the European interpreters in 1860, translations from and into Chinese had always been made by Chinese. These were mainly the translations of government ordinances and decrees proclaimed to inform the Chinese population. At least from the beginning of the nineteenth century, general government decisions often ended with phrases like:

> And in order that no one pretend ignorance, this will be made known and posted at the usual places, both in the Dutch, and the native and Chinese languages … .[95]

An example of such a translation is the 華人美色甘條例 (*Regulations of the Chinese Orphans Chamber*).[96] Other examples can be found in the minutes of the Chinese Council in the Kong Koan archives. These translations seem in general to be correct, but since they were not translated from Dutch, but from Malay, there were some undesirable consequences. A striking example can be found in the local ordinances sent by the Government Secretary in Batavia to the Consul in Canton for checking by

the students in China in 1859. These translations were heavily influenced by Malay syntax, and Dutch names of officials and institutions were not translated; rather, the sounds were simply transcribed, as was usual in Malay translations. On Java this would be no problem, but for those who did not know Malay or the Hokkien pronunciation of the characters, much in these translations would be nonsensical.[97]

In the *Government Regulation* of 1854, it was also stipulated that laws and ordinances, when needed, should be translated into the Chinese and native languages; according to Albrecht in 1884, these translations into Chinese were the main function of the European interpreters.[98]

From 1860 on, apart from oral interpreting, the European interpreters could also be charged to make written translations both from Dutch into Chinese and vice-versa. Translating such legal texts from Dutch into Chinese became the main translation work of the interpreters, and most of it was done by those stationed in Batavia. This continued to be one of their most important activities; in 1900 they were still translating such texts in Batavia,[99] and this situation remained unchanged at least until 1912.[100]

All interpreters agreed that the translation of Government regulations into Chinese was the only substantial *translation* activity of the interpreters in the Indies. But this work was mostly done by the interpreters in Batavia, while elsewhere there was little translation work. Albrecht wrote in his *nota* of 1878:

> As to written translations, the interpreters in Batavia were sufficiently occupied in translating ordinances issued by the Government, as well as the rules and police regulations both from the Resident of Batavia and other heads of regional government. The interpreters outside Batavia only have to translate the few ordinances issued in the region where they are stationed.[101]

Schlegel's heavily subsidised Dutch–Chinese dictionary was compiled for the purpose of helping the interpreters to translate these government proclamations. In his *nota* pleading for the publication of the dictionary in 1881, Schlegel also gave a clear exposition of the scope of their translation work:

> They mainly have to translate *from* Dutch *into* Chinese, that is Ordinances, Laws and *Staatsbladen* published by the Government, rules of tax-farming (*pachtvoorwaarden*), local by-laws and ordinances, etc., while it rarely happens that they have to translate from Chinese into Dutch.[102]

According to Schlegel, the Dutch interpreters in the Indies could not use the translation method of the European interpreters in China. The latter could depend on educated Chinese, who after hearing the sinologist's oral Chinese explanation of the text's meaning, composed excellent draft translations in Chinese, which only had to be checked by the sinologist. In Schlegel's opinion, no such highly qualified Chinese could be found in

the Indies, and the Indies interpreters were left to their own devices. As arguments for publishing a Dutch–Chinese dictionary, Schlegel described the difficulties with which the Dutch interpreters had to cope:

> The difficulties that the interpreters had to overcome during the first years after their appointment were almost unsurmountable, owing to the lack of such a dictionary, and caused an enormous loss of time. For instance, when the Government charged the interpreter to translate an ordinance about logging, expropriation for public use, the exploitation of oil wells etc.—documents edited by special engineers, which were full of legal and technical vocabulary—days were lost in searching for suitable equivalents in Chinese. Voluminous Chinese works about forestry and mining, numerous legal documents had to be scanned through and studied in order to, after several days of searching, at last find a Chinese equivalent for the Dutch technical and legal terms. Sometimes one did not even find any, and all efforts had been in vain. Then a term had to be concocted with the help of a Chinese clerk, which was not always successful and understandable. In short, precious time and effort were lost often leading to a negative result.[103]

While Schlegel only mentioned the difficulties of translating special terminology, De Grijs, when arguing for the need of Chinese teachers, also brought forward the general difficulty of composition in Chinese. According to him, for elegant Chinese composition, a Chinese teacher or clerk would always be indispensable:

> A Chinese essay of any nature usually consists of a number of standard expressions that they are somehow able to combine in various ways, but the complete knowledge and use of these expressions is for Europeans an almost hopeless task.[104]

Therefore, according to De Grijs, the European interpreter in China was always assisted by Chinese teachers, since the European interpreter had not mastered the richness of expression that Chinese scholars had. De Grijs knew from experience that the interpreters and Consuls of Western countries all needed help for a clear style. He considered Chinese clerks necessary for composing all official correspondence with Chinese Government officials and for the publication of proclamations and other official documents in the Indies. As to simple announcements, police regulations etc.—documents written in extremely simple language—these could be made without the help of a language teacher, although the less elegant style would betray the European translator.[105] In 1857–63, De Grijs had been acting Vice-Consul in Amoy, and in 1863–4 he had translated diplomatic correspondence and the Dutch–Chinese Treaty of Tientsin; therefore he may have been more aware of the difficulty of translation than his colleagues.

Many years later, in 1898, Hoetink had a much less optimistic view than Schlegel about the sinologists' ability to translate into Chinese in-

dependently. While he was in Tientsin translating Netherlands Indies law into Chinese, he wrote a *nota* about the requirements for future interpreters at the Dutch Legation in China, intended for the Dutch Minister-Resident Knobel, saying:

> With perhaps a few exceptions, no western *sinologist* has reached the point where he, without the assistance of a Chinese literator, can provide a faithful and idiomatic translation of just any European text, and the required mastery of the Chinese written language will only be obtained after years of experience and study. In practice, the interpreter explains the contents of the Western text that he has been charged to translate *orally* to his clerk, whose task it is to compose it in the required form.[106]

This was the same method that had been used during the whole nineteenth century when missionaries translated Western books into Chinese; these were always done by a pair of translators, a sinologist and a Chinese. In his *nota* Hoetink did not make any distinction between the translators' work in China and the Indies. It seems reasonable to assume that for him this difference did not exist, and that he used this method himself. The excellent quality of his translations into Chinese (*see* below) is one indication of this; another still stronger one is the journalist Deen's statement, in 1895, that Hoetink's translations into Chinese were made by his clerk (no doubt after Hoetink's oral explanation of the Dutch text). Besides, he had been able to select an excellent teacher/clerk to take to the Indies in 1878 (Jo Hoae Giok), and probably was able to do so later as well.

No matter which method was followed, all translations were officially done by the Dutch interpreter; and they were and are in the present study always presented as such. Some must have followed the method of Schlegel, who only (grudgingly) acknowledged accepting his clerk's suggestions for translations of some difficult terminology, while others made their translations in various degrees of cooperation with their clerk. These differences in method, the varying levels in the quality of both interpreter and clerk, and of course translators' choices, led to the variations that can be seen in the examples of translations in the section "The Technique of Translations" below.

When stationed in the Outer Possessions, Hoetink had his clerk keep a record of his translations in a copybook that is now in the KITLV-Collection in Leiden.[107] This can give an impression of the content and amount of his translation work. The copybook contains mostly translations into Chinese, but there are also some original Chinese texts that he may have translated into Dutch. Assuming that this is a complete record, and that these translations were made by himself, one can ascertain the volume of his work. From the year-and-a-half that he was stationed in Makassar (1878–80), there are thirteen translations (in total 11 pages). Four of these are local regulations about such things as vehicles, slaughter, and a tax on fishponds. The other

nine are short texts: five appointments or short notices for Chinese officers, and four rules of contracting (*aanbesteding*). If this is indeed all, he would have had to make one translation into Chinese about every forty days.

From his stationing in Medan (1880–9), there are 53 translations into Chinese, amounting on the average to one per two months, even less than in Makassar. In Medan, these are mostly short notices such as appointments and rules of contracting. There are only a few longer regulations, for example on opium tax-farming, business tax (*bedrijfsbelasting*), Chinese shops, plantation labour, street lighting, vehicles, hygiene, cholera, and prostitution. The number of translations is even smaller than in Makassar, but perhaps Hoetink only had one example copied of each standard translation. On the average, this amounts to about six translations per year, but the variance was great. The largest number of translations made in one year is fourteen (1882), amounting to one translation in 26 days, but in one month (October) he produced five short translations.[108]

While oral interpreting could in general just as well be done by ethnic Chinese, and for interpreting the Europeans had been gradually replaced by ethnic Chinese, this did not apply to written translations. Hoetink wrote in 1900 that the Chinese were not qualified for this:

> The Chinese who are used for oral translations, are almost always born in this country and—even though they originate from China—are hardly suitable to produce a decent translation of an official document into Chinese, or to deliver a correct translation of a document written in Chinese.[109]

The first reason for this was that only a small minority of Chinese could express themselves in writing and could read Chinese literature, and that the Chinese officers and interpreters born in the Indies only rarely reached a level in the Chinese written language enabling them to function as translators. The second reason was:

> Moreover there is the objection that the Chinese lack a quality which, according to Western opinion, is an indispensable requirement for translations. That is, they have no notion of accuracy, no respect for the letter, and they therefore do not see the necessity of trying to reach the highest degree of precision.[110]

Therefore European interpreters were in general to be preferred above Chinese for making written translations.

But when Hoetink stated that translations should not be made by the Chinese, he actually must have meant that a Chinese could not translate *independently*: he should do so in cooperation with a sinologist explaining the meaning of the Dutch text and checking the result.

Hoetink's opinion had also been expressed in the "memorandum of explanation" of the new regulations of 1895, which was no doubt based on reports from the interpreters, possibly himself:

> Chinese in general have no understanding of meticulousness and preciseness to the extent required for the translation of important documents. The Western respect for the letter is unknown to them; they content themselves with an à peu près.[111]

The interpreters were rarely asked to translate from Chinese into Dutch. According to De Grijs, who was the most experienced, translating from Chinese into Dutch was not so difficult, as long as the text was written with clearly readable characters. In this respect the Chinese clerk could provide important services. In 1898, Hoetink also stated that translating the Chinese official style into Dutch was relatively easy.[112]

Nevertheless, other Chinese texts could still be difficult to translate. When Schlegel was charged in 1863 to translate Chinese documents of a secret society in Padang, these were at first unintelligible to him, and he did not have enough time since the case was pressing. A few years later he published translations of these in his *Hung-League*.[113] The most difficult to understand were encoded texts. Schlegel described how he was fascinated by this kind of puzzle and finally cracked the code:

> Those documents so despotically took possession of the sinologist that they left him restless, made him forget time and everything, even disturbed his sleep. After a few weeks of pondering and searching, while those texts occupied all his thoughts, during one night of sleepless tossing about on his couch, he suddenly obtained a flash of insight, a fiery vision. Isn't it the second half of some Chinese characters of which this magic piece is composed, so that the real meaning of the whole only appears if one adds the other half? He jumps right away out of his bed and hastily writes down his conjecture on a slip of paper, fearing that otherwise the next morning his vision would be lost. Thereupon he lies down confidently, to enjoy the sleep of the righteous sinologist. Already in the early morning he wakes up, grabs one of the pamphlets and to his greatest joy, his conjecture is confirmed! Armed with the magic key he gradually deciphers the whole text.[114]

When acting as experts on Chinese law for the courts, the interpreters often had to translate parts of the *Qing Code* into Dutch. Since only three partial translations into Dutch had been published, they had to make a new translation each time.[115]

Very few other examples could be found of Chinese texts translated into Dutch. One example of a short translation from Chinese was a Chinese letter to the Governor-General complaining about the abuse of power by a Dutch official, which De Grijs was asked to translate in 1875. Unfortunately, the name of the Dutch official was not clear to him since it was only transcribed in Chinese characters, and it was not known in which dialect they should be pronounced.[116] In his Dutch letter book, Hoetink only mentioned two translations from Chinese, one ordered by the Resident of the East Coast of Sumatra (containing some unidentifiable place names in the Indies), and one by the Director of Justice.[117] An example of a transla-

tion used in a civil law case is Stuart's translation of a Chinese document about adoption in 1886.[118] It must have been a great disappointment for the interpreters that they could only rarely use their hard-earned skills in translating Chinese into Dutch.

Before 1900, no reference could be found to the translation of 'subversive' Chinese newspaper publications in the Indies; only after the Chinese Movement became active in the 1900s would the sinologists check the Chinese and Malay-Chinese press in the Indies and translate or summarise newspaper articles into Dutch.

In the nineteenth century there was, however, one kind of translation from Chinese that was done fairly regularly, namely that of Chinese account books in cases of suspected fraud.[119] This will be treated in the section "Translating and Excerpting Chinese Account Books" below.

The establishment of a Chinese printing facility in Batavia (1862)

In the past, the Chinese translations of new ordinances and regulations must have been copied by hand and then distributed throughout the Indies. These were posted at certain public places to inform the Chinese inhabitants. For some time, these proclamations were printed by lithography, but this was an expensive process.

Therefore it is no wonder that after 1860, when Chinese matrices had been produced in the Netherlands, Governor-General Pahud wished to establish a Chinese printing facility in Batavia. The Director of the Government Press, R.M. Daendels, was asked about the conditions for such a press. Daendels reported that he would be able to print Chinese, since one of the compositors had been trained for this for about nine years by W.H. Medhurst; but there was no special well-lighted room for this work, and pupils should be trained as well; letter cases were also needed and should best be made in the Netherlands.[120] After receiving this report, Pahud immediately gave permission for building such a room for composing Chinese texts.[121]

Pahud then asked the Minister of Colonies, J. Loudon, for type and accessories, and a budget for appointing one compositor and two pupils. When Loudon obtained Royal Approval for this budget, he charged Hoffmann to select a set of characters necessary for printing ordinances, tax-farming conditions etc.[122] In his reply, Hoffmann suggested sending a *complete* set of type to Batavia, for printing any text that the Dutch interpreters in the Indies wished to have printed, not just for a limited purpose.[123] The Minister agreed; thereupon Hoffmann had type made by Tetterode in Amsterdam and tin cases by a tinner (*blikslager*). On 20 May 1862, the complete set of 5,740 type, each in 50 copies,[124] was delivered and thereupon despatched with the cases to Batavia.[125] In later years, ad-

ditional sets of characters made from new matrices in Amsterdam were regularly sent to Batavia.[126]

The Chinese press probably became operative for printing later that year. For the next year (1863) the salaries of one Chinese compositor and two pupils at the Government Press were put on the Colonial budget.[127] When De Grijs sent his translation of *Geregtelijke geneeskunde* (*Forensic Medicine*) to Batavia on 25 June 1862,[128] he must have known about the preparations. For printing purposes he had added numbers for the few characters that he wished to have inserted; these numbers were taken from Hoffmann's type catalogue of 1860[129] and tallied with the type sent from Holland. The Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences announced the receipt of the manuscript at the meeting of 20 September 1862 and decided on the same day to publish it. Half a year later, at the meeting of 27 March 1863 the translation came off the press.[130] But in this book, which was printed by De Lange, no Chinese characters were inserted, and only these numbers were printed. Possibly De Lange was not able to borrow characters from the Government Press, or the sheets had already been printed in 1862 before the Chinese press was operative.

The earliest known printing with the new Chinese type in Batavia dates from the next year. In the Almanac for the Netherlands Indies for 1864, characters were inserted in one article. In the preceding years, a short article about the Chinese calendar had appeared in the Almanac. In this year, this article was corrected and enlarged by Schlegel and was printed with numerous Chinese characters.[131]

The Government Press in Batavia continued to use this type at least until the 1920s.[132] For rare characters for which no type was available, wooden type were specially cut. These were mainly used in scholarly works such as Francken and De Grijs' dictionary and Schlegel's *Sinico-Aryaca*.

The Chinese section of the Government Press was well occupied with printing Government ordinances. When in the 1870s Francken and De Grijs' dictionary was being printed, this could only be done outside normal working hours in free time.[133] The printing took much longer than expected.

The translations were printed on European paper, and mainly published in two formats. One format was used for ephemeral ordinances, such as tax-farming rules, and printed on large sheets of circa 34 × 42 cm, which were folded in the middle. The other was used for ordinances of longer use, such as regulations; it was printed on smaller pages, and bound as a booklet of 21 × 14 cm, about the same size as the *Staatsblad* itself. The latter appeared from the 1880s onwards attractively designed in Chinese style, with a double frame (雙欄框), central margin (版心) with one 'fish tail' (魚尾) and page number, and bound in Chinese fashion with double folded pages (*see* illustration 22).[134]

The printed Chinese translations were distributed to the various parts of the Indies, but at least one of them could also be acquired at the Government Press. Von Faber's translation of the *Regulations on Prison Discipline and Labour* (1871), bound as a large size booklet, could be ordered for *f* 0.17 from the 1870s to the 1910s.[135]

Some problems of legal translation

The problems of legal translation were brought out by Roelofs in a letter to the editors of the *Java-bode* on 19 October 1882. The previous day, in the same newspaper a certain Z. had complained about the "abracadabra" of a Government decision, since it consisted almost exclusively of references to other decisions and ordinances. For Roelofs this was grist to his mill:

> Imagine how pleasant it is for someone who, although not fully understanding such a text in his *mother tongue*, on account of his function is obliged to translate it into *another* language, for instance Chinese.
>
> One *does* it, of course, but … it takes enormous effort. Fortunately one can still take care of the matter by using other expressions or by circumscribing—after having first oneself taken the trouble to find out what the meaning is.[136]

Here Roelofs mentioned the two main problems for the interpreters, who were not trained in law, namely: getting to understand the legal text and coping with the lack of suitable legal terminology in Chinese.

The special problems of translating legal texts into Chinese were best summarised by Hoetink in two *notas* of 1897 and 1898, in which he requested to be sent on a mission to China in order to translate the Civil and Commercial Codes of the Netherlands Indies into Chinese. Hoetink's arguments give a clear insight into the problems of legal translation.[137] He wrote that in 1892—after having been stationed in Batavia—he had experienced great difficulties in translating the ordinance of 30 November 1892 entitled "Provisions Concerning Civil and Commercial Law and Some Subjects of Criminal Law for the Chinese on Java and Madura."[138] This was an amplification of the ordinance of 1855 (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1855, no. 79). In the ordinance of 1855, most of the Commercial Code and some parts of Civil Law had been made applicable to the Chinese. In his *nota*, Hoetink was highly dissatisfied with the results of his translation of 1892:

> I discharged this assignment as best as I could, although I was aware that it was impossible to make a decent translation with the tools available to me, and that even the best translation of the ordinance would be worthless for the Chinese.[139]

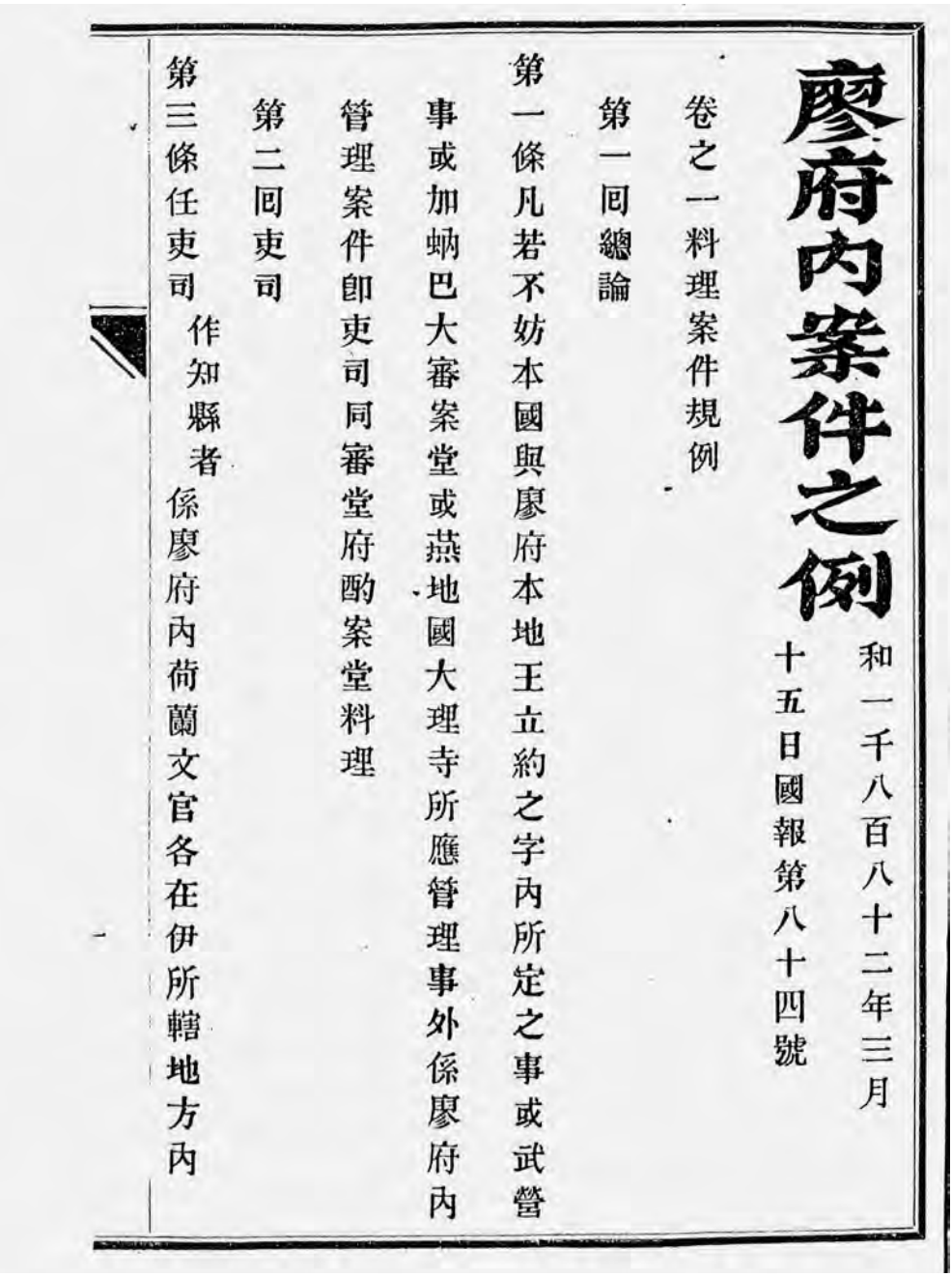
Hoetink explained that a translation of Chapter I of the ordinance would be of no use for the Chinese, since the full text of the relevant articles

第四條凡所轄地方內各吏司所辦理其一本地人等或與同類之人相告其相告之事情至壹百盾其二凡本地人或同類之人被人告犯規例所罰銀僅至壹百盾罰作公工至三個月罰拘禁至八日有物件入官與否任從判斷定奪不得翻訟上司

第五條凡吏司升堂審案被告人若有頭目必當在堂若在丹戎柄椰必兼有二沃沙俱在

第六條凡吏司他往府尹當派人權理其事若丹戎柄椰田杯巡察轄內等處則府尹亦當派人代理丹戎柄椰事或府尹要自兼理

第三回同審官堂



廖府內案件之例

和一千八百八十二年三月十五日國報第八十四號

卷之一料理案件規例

第一回總論

第一條凡若不妨本國與廖府本地王立約之字內所定之事或武營事或加蚋巴大審案堂或燕地國大理寺所應管理事外係廖府內管理案件卽吏司同審堂府酌案堂料理

第二回吏司

第三條任吏司作知縣者係廖府內荷蘭文官各在伊所轄地方內

22. First double page of Schaalje's printed translation of Reglement op het rechtswezen in de Residentie Riouw, 1884 (photocopy in BPL 2106 II 12D).

was lacking. The ordinance only mentioned the subjects that were applicable with reference to the Civil Code itself, of which no translation existed. For instance, it would be of no use for the Chinese to know that the articles on "matrimonial conditions" were applicable to them, if they did not have a translation of the articles themselves.[140] According to Hoetink, references to other laws in ordinances were only acceptable if the relevant laws were also translated. Therefore he proposed to make a full translation of all articles applicable to the Chinese in both the Civil and Commercial Codes of the Netherlands Indies. Although by giving his opinion on the usefulness of a translation Hoetink was not strictly staying within his role as translator, it was just because of this argument that the Director of Justice would agree with his proposal. He realised that Hoetink would produce a completely different kind of translation than he had made in 1892.

The other reason for his dissatisfaction was that no equivalents existed in Chinese for European legal terms. These still had to be invented for expressions such as "the enjoyment and loss of civil rights," "legal community (of property)," "matrimonial conditions" and many others.[141]

It is remarkable that Schlegel's dictionary, just completed in the previous year, could also not satisfy Hoetink's needs.[142] This confirms Meeter's view that much was lacking in Schlegel's dictionary.

The ordinance of 1892 incited so much discussion that it never came into effect. In 1894 the government charged the jurist J.H. Fromberg to draft a new version. Fromberg finished his revision in 1896,[143] again leading to comments by jurists and sinologists.[144] Hoetink proposed to translate this draft, including the full texts of the articles proclaimed applicable, since he expected it to come into effect soon.

He proposed to charge only one Official for Chinese Affairs with this translation, giving the following explanation:

> A Chinese translation or adaptation of a text such as referred to by me, shall necessarily be a paraphrase. It would make no sense to proceed here as with the translation of the Bible or other sacred texts; the primary condition is that the contents are understandable for any Chinese able to read the written language.[145]

This principle had been generally followed by the interpreters, as will be shown in the section "The Techniques of Translation" below. According to Hoetink, if more than one translator were to be charged with making this translation, they would have widely divergent ideas, and for the sake of consistency it would be best to have only one translator.

In the Indies it would be impossible to make a decent translation or an understandable summary of such an extremely difficult legal text. The translator should therefore be sent to China:

> In China there exists no civil or commercial code and no academic study of law; consequently a legal language has not yet been born. And for the translation or adaptation of a text such as that of Western codes of law, one could probably not use Chinese legal terms, in case they existed, because they would express completely different concepts from those appearing in Western codes of law.
>
> Whoever has to clarify such Western legislation to the Chinese, has in part to create a new language by coining new expressions or giving a more extensive meaning to existing expressions.
>
> This is only possible in the country itself, where he can secure the cooperation of Chinese of a higher literary education than the clerks with whom one works in this country, and where moreover other tools can be found that are missing in this country. For instance, in several parts of China one can find some Chinese who have studied law in Europe, and the supposition is justified that the translator or editor when in China will succeed in interesting such a person in his work and obtaining his cooperation. Outside China, without the assistance of literate Chinese and a large library, a satisfactory translation or understandable overview of such a peculiar and difficult text as a Western civil and commercial code cannot be produced by any Official for Chinese Affairs, or by any sinologist.[146]

As to the problem of legal translation, Hoetink's arguments were to the point: in 1898 the legal gap between the West and China was enormous. Although some Western legal works had been translated into Chinese, Chinese law itself had not yet been influenced by it, and the *Qing Code* was still in force. Only after 1900 did the Chinese government make and effect plans for modernising Chinese law following the example of Japan. In both countries, a new Penal Code was the most urgent: it was the only way to end the extraterritorial rights of foreigners, who in the coastal towns were tried according to their own laws and by their own judges; this was considered a violation of Chinese sovereignty, and a great shame for China. Japan had already adopted a Western-style Penal Code in 1882 and Civil and Commercial Codes in 1893; in an 1894 treaty with Britain, extraterritorial rights were abolished as of 1899. China proclaimed the first modern Penal Code in 1908, and Civil and Commercial Codes in 1912. If Hoetink could have waited another ten years or so, there would have been no need to create new terms for basic legal concepts in Chinese.[147]

In the end, Hoetink's proposal was accepted—except that he had to translate the laws that were in force at the time, not Fromberg's draft law. In September 1898, he left for China where he stayed for two years. He went to Northern China and lived in Tientsin and Peking for a long time.[148] The translations were never published; the manuscripts are now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden. An example of his technique of translation will be given in the next section.

Meeter had in 1897, long after his retirement, vented his opinion about legal translations into Chinese, cynically arguing that they were useless.[149]

According to him, both the translation of local ordinances in the Outer Possessions and of the *Staatsbladen* in Batavia served no reasonable purpose. When Meeter translated the former, he qualified them as no more than high-strung orations of conceited Residents. Translating all legal texts was a superfluous activity. In one of his "Indische Chinoiserieën" he addressed a beginning sinologist as follows:

> That activity itself, as you will probably know by now, is similar to translating into Chinese the so-called *Staatsbladen*: it is just a useless and needless waste of time and paper, for the simple reason that most Chinese cannot read these translations and the few who can read them, do not wish to do so. Those translations, printed with care at the Government Press, are therefore commonly used at the various Residency Offices as cover paper for official letters, and they are without doubt suitable for that, but actually too expensive. If you would ever have the opportunity, and wish to do some really good work, do propose as a measure of economising to end that useless waste of time and money![150]

It must be conceded that Meeter himself did not much like to make translations into Chinese, calling it "monastic drudgery" (*monnikenwerk*). And he once succeeded in convincing a Resident in Surabaya to cancel the translation of a police ordinance with the argument that it was of no significance for the Chinese.[151]

Hoetink, who was still working as an Official for Chinese Affairs and was hoping for a study mission to China, had a more sedate opinion based on a legal argument. In his proposal of 1898, he was aware that although these translations were of limited use, they were also indispensable:

> Both owing to the nature of the original text and to their poor knowledge of the Chinese written language, especially among the Chinese living on Java, relatively few people will be found for whom such a translation or summary would be of any use, but when a specific law is promulgated for a part of the population, the opportunity should not be lost to let them acquaint themselves with that law through a translation or adaptation in their own language. And when that law is pronounced applicable to the Chinese outside Java, it would no doubt be fair to provide a translation or adaptation, since among the Chinese in the so-called Outer Possessions knowledge of Malay is much less widespread than among their fellow Chinese on Java, and in the absence of a Chinese text it will be impossible for them to know the contents of the law applicable to them.[152]

No matter what the use and social utility of these translations was, the interpreters took great pains (even when assisted by their clerks) to provide understandable renditions of Netherlands Indies law into Chinese. This was in itself an activity deserving admiration. Some examples will be given in the next section.

The techniques of translation

In 1859, the students in Amoy were asked by the Indies government to evaluate some Chinese translations of ordinances from Batavia. These were relay translations by ethnic Chinese from Malay, not directly from Dutch. In response, Albrecht, representing the others, gave his comments, showing that the students were highly disappointed by the quality of the translations. Albrecht mentioned several criteria. These became the principles of translation that were in various degrees later observed by the Dutch interpreters.

> Concerning the form I do not wish to make any objections; the Malay translation is followed literally.[153] This is the easiest manner, since it would be too laborious to write the beginning and the end in Chinese fashion. A lot of Dutch words are left without translation. For instance one finds that *Commissie, Justitie, College, Residentie, Gouverneur-Generaal*, etc. etc. simply kept their original pronunciations and the translator was content to represent those sounds to the extent possible in Chinese characters. All this I can still understand, because it is really difficult for Chinese to know the significance of all names of officials and technical terms, and then find corresponding Chinese expressions for them. The style, however, is really atrocious; it is not Chinese but Malay through and through. The Chinese of Java are used to it, and will be able to understand the meaning, and they will certainly do so, since they wish to do so in good faith. I will quote a few examples to show how incomprehensible it would be for an uninitiated Chinese. Sentences beginning with relative pronouns, such as "he, who …" (*hij, die* …) and "those, who …" (*zij, die*…) or simply "whoever" (*wie*…), all begin in this translation with 誰 [*shéi*]. No, this word is and will always remain an *interrogatory* pronoun meaning "who?" (*wie?*). They certainly only followed Malay syntax. In Chinese documents it is usually translated as凡 [*fán*], "all," and similar numerals, concluding with the relative pronoun 者 [*zhě*]; this can be translated into our language with "all those who …" (*alle die*…). Moreover, they translated, for instance, the word "according to" (*volgens*) as 從 [*cóng*], which means "to follow" (*volgen*), but can never function as a preposition.[154] There are other characters for that. Finally, there are many peculiar switchings of characters that I cannot show in this summary.[155]

These principles of translation can be summarised as: free translation (versus literalness), adaptation to the Chinese style of documents (certain formal phrases at the beginning and end), translation of the titles of Dutch officials and names of institutions (versus transliteration), and literary style (versus colloquial or dialect style). The influence of Malay syntax could, of course, be easily avoided by the Dutch interpreters.

Some examples of translations by Chinese can be found in the archives of the Chinese Council (Kong Koan) of Batavia, such as the translation of a regulation for bread bakers in Batavia in 1823 starting as follows:

王上論于和本月初四日第二十一號案奪做羅致君厘書, "The High King (Governor-General) promulgates on the fourth day of this month in the Dutch calendar in decision no. 21 the 'Regulations (*kondisi*) for making bread (*roti*)'."[156] In these, Dutch terms are almost always transcribed rather than translated, and they are full of Malay words. They often literally follow the structure of the original text. Still, they are of good quality and would be understandable to the local Chinese of Java. The Chinese Council usually engaged as secretaries newly arrived Chinese who had been educated in China. The translations shown to the students in 1859 may have been of lesser quality. Perhaps they had been criticised by other Chinese and were therefore sent to the students in China for assessment.

The defective quality of these translations was a reason for the students to request permission to take along teachers from China instead of hiring local teachers. But they may also have had another effect, inspiring the students to compile a list of standard translations of names of Dutch officials and institutions in the Indies. A copy of such a list comprising about 100 terms, dating from about 1860, has survived among Schaalje's papers.[157] After arrival in the Indies, the interpreters must have enlarged this list. Schlegel mentioned in his dictionary several standard translations on which the interpreters must have later reached agreement.[158] In the dictionary, most translations are the same as on Schaalje's list, with a few minor adaptations. For instance, for the names of Chinese officers, Schaalje's list only provided purely Chinese names, such as 鄉正 (hiang-tsìng) for *kapitein*. Schlegel's dictionary also mentioned the old transliterated names that were commonly used, such as 甲必丹 kappit-tan; in their translations the interpreters would mostly use the latter names. Many translations of terms are in fine literary style, but some are clumsy, including "interpreter for the Chinese language," translated as 翻譯漢字官.[159] A list comparing the translations of terms by Chinese and Europeans is in Appendix K.

Not many translations into Chinese by the Dutch interpreters could be found in the Netherlands. In total there are nine printed translations by seven different interpreters, and nine short translations by Schlegel in his dictionary. There are also three manuscript translations by De Grijs and 68 by Hoetink. The original Dutch texts of many are known; a list is in Appendix L.

The most obvious differences with respect to the earlier translations by ethnic Chinese are (1) the use of standard translations for Dutch names of officials and institutions, and (2) the adaptation of the beginning and end of the texts to Chinese style, as used in Chinese decrees. This would make their translations better understandable to newly arrived Chinese.

The translations by the Dutch interpreters are in general written in a clear style, but with colloquial elements. Some are influenced by the Dutch original, and by the interpreters' imperfect mastery of the Chinese literary language; as De Grijs wrote, "their less elegant style betrays the European translator." This also shows that these translations must have been made without much assistance from the Chinese clerks, or with clerks who were not highly educated.

Some translations use a purely literary style and cannot be distinguished from texts produced in China: for instance, some of the translations by Schlegel and De Grijs, and all by Hoetink and De Jongh. On the basis of the available evidence, it seems that the second generation of translators, who had been specially trained by Schlegel for translating government regulations into Chinese, was better in literary Chinese than the first.

When analysed according to the principles of translation mentioned above, one finds that the beginning and end of all translations are always in a pure Chinese style. These are freely translated, perhaps modelled on the 1848 Shaoxing edict that most students must have known. In the following example by Von Faber in 1871, the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies is called 總督 *zongdu*, which was the term for a Governor-General (of two provinces) in China. The original Dutch text and Chinese translation are followed by English translations of both.

Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië. No. 78 […]

IN NAAM DES KONINGS!

DE GOUVERNEUR-GENERAAL

VAN NEDERLANDSCH-INDIË,

Den Raad van *Nederlandsch-Indië* gehoord;

Allen, die deze zullen zien of hooren lezen, Salut!

doet te weten:

Dat Hij, het wenschelijk achtende nieuwe voorschriften uit te vaardigen tot bevordering en handhaving van orde en tucht onder de gevangenen in *Nederlandsch-Indië* en tevens om in afwachting van eene meer volledige regeling bij de ordonnancie, bedoeld bij art. 11 van het wetboek van strafregt voor de Europeanen en van de in bewerking zijnde reorganisatie van het dwangarbeiderstelsel, eenige regelen te stellen, betreffende den arbeid der veroordeelden;

…

Heeft goedgevonden en verstaan:

…

REGLEMENT *van orde en tucht onder de gevangenen in Nederlandsch-Indië en tot voorloopige regeling van hunnen arbeid.*

和一千八百七十一年　國例第七十八號

大荷蘭統轄燕地總督部堂　爲立新例調理獄犯者有法及調停獄犯之工事曉爾各色軍民人等知悉

…

調理獄犯有法及調停獄犯之工例[160]

English translations of the above:

Netherlands Indies Law Gazette, No. 78 […] IN THE NAME OF THE KING! THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES, having heard the Council of the *Netherlands Indies*, *All those, who will see and hear this*, be greeted! *makes known*: That He, considering it desirable to promulgate new regulations for promoting and maintaining order and discipline among prisoners in the *Netherlands Indies* and also, pending a more complete regulation by the ordinance referred to in art. 11 of the Criminal Code for Europeans, and the reorganisation of the system of forced labour now being revised, to establish some rules concerning the labour of convicts; … Agreed with and understood: … REGULATION *of order and discipline among prisoners in the Netherlands Indies and provisional labour rules*.	Law Gazette No. 78 of the Dutch year 1871 His Excellency the Governor-General of the Indies ruled by the Netherlands, wishing to establish a new regulation to arrange that prisoners have a law and to settle the prisoners' labour system, promulgates to you, military and civilians of all kinds, that you will know: … The regulation for arranging that prisoners have a law and for settling the prisoners' work

At the end there is also a standard formula, which in the translation is partly incorporated in the beginning:

Gelast en beveelt voorts, dat alle hooge en lage kollegiën en ambtenaren, officieren en justicieren, ieder voor zooveel hem aangaat, aan de stipte naleving dezer de hand zullen houden, zonder oogluiking of aanzien des persoons.	各宜凜遵毋違特示[161]

English translations of the above:

Furthermore [He] charges and orders that all high and low boards and officials, military officers and justice personnel, each insofar as it concerns him, shall maintain strict compliance with these, without fear or favour.	It is specially made known that all should respect this in awe, without contravention.

In translating the main text of a regulation, the interpreters faithfully translated the meaning of the text, but unavoidably in a free manner. They often reorganised the text in a more logical way. For example, in the translation of the beginning and ending of an ordinance, they simplified or omitted legal and administrative niceties such as references to other ordinances and various special conditions and exceptions. This becomes clear in Schaalje's translation of the Regulations concerning the legal system in Riau. The following is the beginning of the main text up to the system of

the lowest court, the magistrate's court, commonly known as the *politierol*. Schaalje elegantly circumscribed legal concepts that did not yet exist in Chinese.

Reglement op het regtswezen in de residentie Riouw
Hoofdstuk I.
VAN DE REGTERLIJKE ORGANISATIE EN HET BELEID DER JUSTITIE.
Titel I.
Algemeene bepalingen.

Art. 1. Voor zooveel bij de met de inlandsche vorsten in de residentie *Riouw* gesloten kontrakten niet anders is bedongen, is de uitoefening der regterlijke magt in dat gewest, onverminderd de regtsmagt van den militairen regter en die, bij het reglement op de regterlijke organisatie en het beleid der justitie in *Nederlandsch-Indië* aan den raad van justitie te *Batavia* en het hoog-geregtshof van *Nederlandsch-Indië* toegekend, opgedragen aan:

de magistraten;
de *Landraad*;
het residentiegeregt.

…[162]

廖府内案件之例 […]
卷之一, 料理案件規例
第一回，總論
第一條，　凡若不妨本國與廖府本地王立約之字内所定之事，　或武營事或加蚋巴大審案堂或燕地國大理寺所應管理事外，係廖府内管理案件，即吏司、同審堂、府酌案堂料理。[163]

English translations of the above:

Regulations concerning the legal system in Riau Residency.
Chapter I.
Concerning legal organisation and judicial policy.
Title I.
General provisions.

Art. 1. As far as not stipulated otherwise in the treaties with the native rulers in Riau Residency, the exercise of judiciary powers in the region, without prejudicing the jurisdiction of the military judge and [the jurisdiction that is] according to the *Regulations on the Judiciary System and Judicial Policy in the Netherlands Indies* assigned to the *Raad van Justitie* (Council of Justice) in Batavia and the High Court of the Netherlands Indies, is charged to:

the magistrates
the *Landraad* (District Court);
the Residency Court.

…

Rules for lawsuits within Riau Residency …
Book 1. Regulations for managing lawsuits.
Chapter 1. General provisions.

Article 1. All cases that do not contravene matters decided in documents contracted by this country with the native kings in Riau Residency, and excepting matters about military garrisons or matters that should be taken care of by the Council of Justice in Kalapa (Batavia) or the High Court of the Country of the Indies, are lawsuits that are taken care of within Riau Residency, managed by the Magistrates, the District Court, and the Residency Court.

Titel II.
Van de magistraten.

Art 3. Met de uitoefening der magistratuur zijn belast de in het gewest bescheiden europeesche gezagvoerende ambtenaren, ieder binnen de grenzen van het gebied, waarover hem het dagelijksch bestuur of, waar geen regtstreeksch bestuur door of van wege het *Nederlandsch-Indisch* gouvernment wordt uitgeoefend, het dagelijksch toezigt is opgedragen.

Art. 4. De magistraten nemen, ieder voor zoover zijn ressort zich uitstrekt, kennis:
1°. van alle burgerlijke regtsvorderingen, ingesteld tegen inlanders en met dezen gelijkgestelde personen, wanneer het onderwerp van het geschil eene waarde heeft van niet meer dan *f* 100;
2°. van alle klagten tegen inlanders en met dezen gelijkgestelde personen, ter zake van overtredingen, waarop geene zwaardere straf is gesteld dan eene geldboete van *f* 100, of tenarbeidstelling aan de publieke werken voor den kost zonder loon van drie maanden of gevangenisstraf van acht dagen, met of zonder verbeurdverklaring.

De uitspraken in deze zaken zijn aan geenerhande voorziening onderhevig.

第二回，吏司
第三條，任吏司（作知縣者）係廖府内荷蘭文官，各在伊所轄地方内。
第四條，凡所轄地方内，各吏司所辦理：（其一）本地人等或與同類之人相告，其相告之事情至壹百盾；（其二）凡本地人或同類之人被人告犯規例，　所罰銀僅至壹百盾，罰作公工至三個月，罰拘禁至八日，有物件入官與否。任從判斷定奪，不得翻訟上司。

English translations of the above:

Title II.
Concerning the Magistrates.

Art. 3. Charged with the exercise of magistrature are the competent European officials appointed in the district, each within the boundaries of the region in which they are charged with the daily administration, or, in places where no direct administration by or on account of the Netherlands Indies government is exercised, the daily supervision.

Art. 4. The magistrates each have in their respective administrative region jurisdiction regarding:

1. All civil actions against natives and persons of the same status, when the subject of dispute has a value of not more than *f* 100;

2. All charges against natives and persons of the same status in cases of minor offences not punishable more heavily than with a fine of *f* 100, or hard labour at public works with board but without wage for three months, or detention for eight days, with or without confiscation of property.

Sentences in these cases are not subject to any appeal.

Chapter 2. The Magistrate's Court

Article 3. (The *controleurs*) Charged with the Magistrate's Court are the Dutch civil officials within Riau Residency, each within his region of jurisdiction.

Article 4. The cases which each Magistrate handles within the region of his jurisdiction are, firstly, cases in which natives or people of the same category sue each other in matters up to one hundred guilders; secondly, all cases in which natives or people of the same category are accused of offending regulations punishable with a fine of up to one hundred guilders only, doing public works up to three months or detention up to eight days, irrespective whether with confiscation of goods or not; any sentence once decided cannot be reversed by higher authorities.

Although the most prominent innovation introduced by the Dutch interpreters was the use of standard translations for Dutch terms instead of transcriptions of sounds, they did not always adhere to this principle. For some terms that were not on Schaalje's list and also did not have practical translations in Schlegel's dictionary, such as *commissie* (commission), transcriptions continued to be used. Moreover, since the new standard translations were probably not generally known, sometimes transcriptions were still used. Accordingly, some translations are full of such loanwords. The following is a translation by Albrecht of one article in an ordinance about business tax for Foreign Orientals in 1878 (Article 7), containing four transcriptions from Malay, which are underlined here: 軍黎絲 kun-lê-si, *commissie* (commission); 的西 tik-si, Dutch *taxeren*, Malay *taksir* (to tax, to assess tax); 鑒光 kàm-kong, Malay *kampong* (village, quarter, neighbourhood); 亞實連黎絲珍 a-sít-diên lê-si-tin, *assistent-resident* (Assistant Resident).

Art. 7. Gedurende eene maand na de vergadering der kommissie worden de belastingschuldigen in de gelegenheid gesteld, om kennis te nemen van het bedrag, waarvoor zij door de commissie zijn aangeslagen, en om daartegen bij het hoofd van gewestelijk of plaatselijk bestuur bezwaren in te brengen.

Het hoofd van plaatselijk bestuur geeft van de bij hem ingebragte bezwaren zoo spoedig mogelijk kennis aan het hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur.

第七條, 凡軍黎絲的西了後一個月內, 鑒光人要知的西若干, 可以請看明白。若不愿者, 可入字, 請知府尊, 或請亞實連黎絲珍, 求其轉報府尊亦可。

English translations of the above:

Art. 7. During one month after the meeting of the commission, the taxpayers are given the opportunity to apprise themselves of the amount for which they have been taxed by the commission, and to lodge objections against this with the head of regional or local government.

The head of local government notifies as soon as possible the head of regional government of the objections lodged with him.

Article 7. Within one month after each commission has made a tax-assessment, the people of the villages wishing to know how much the tax-assessment is, can request to see it and become clear about it. If they are unwilling (to pay), they can submit a document requesting the Resident; they can also request the Assistant Resident, asking him to forward and report it to the Resident.

Albrecht's translation not only contains many Malay words, it is also in a much more colloquial style than most others, probably in accommodation with the Chinese language as used on Java. While his style is not influenced by Malay syntax, it is not always elegant. When at the end of this

ordinance (art. 15) Albrecht wished to express that some previous ordinances were from now on cancelled (*vervallen*), he used a vulgar expression which would seem ridiculous to an educated Chinese: 打死不行, literally meaning "to kill and not to carry out," "[it is] to be killed and not to be carried out," or more freely translated "[it is] invalid and not to be carried out"[164] The full text is as follows:

Art. 15. De ordonnancie van 21 November 1872 (Staatsblad no. 205), betrekkelijk de hoofdelijke belasting in *Benkoelen*, voor zoo veel zij vreemde oosterlingen betreft, zoomede de heffing van het hoofdgeld der vreemde oosterlingen in de *Zuider- en Ooster-afdeeling van Borneo* en te *Amboina*, vervallen.

第十五條，此告示出後，將和一千八百七十二年國律二百零五號望龜哈照身條規與木梁海嶼東南邊及安文府所有照身條規打死不行。[165]

English translations of the above:

Art. 15. The ordinance of 21 November 1872 (*Staatsblad* no. 205), concerning the poll tax in Benkulen, insofar as those concerned are Foreign Orientals, and the levy of poll tax of Foreign Orientals in the Southern and Eastern Division of Borneo and on Ambon, are cancelled.

Article 15. After promulgation of this ordinance, the poll tax regulation of Benkulen in the National Law no. 205 of the Dutch year 1872, and all poll tax regulations of the Eastern and Southern part of the island of Borneo and of Ambon Residency shall be killed and not carried out.

In the Chinese translation both references to Foreign Orientals were left out, probably because this information would seem superfluous to Chinese readers in a translation intended for them.

Transcriptions of Dutch and Malay words were sometimes also preferred by other interpreters. For instance "police," translated as 差頭 on Schaalje's list and in Schlegel's dictionary, was transcribed as 玻黎絲 *po-lê-si* by Schaalje in 1882 (art. 19) and as 保黎司 *pó-lê-si* by De Jongh in 1891 (art. 31). Although these transcriptions are inconsistent, this would not lead to misunderstanding among the Chinese, who were used to it. The interpreters therefore also seemed not to strive for consistency in transcription. Another peculiar example of a transcription can be found in an oath formula, a document destined for one person to be read in the temple, where De Grijs translated *Raad van Justitie* with the colloquial *toā lát* 大叻, from Malay *tuan Raad* (Gentlemen of the Court).[166]

The transcription of geographical names was also not consistent, even for the names of main towns. The Chinese continued to designate Batavia by its ancient name Kalapa, which had earlier been transcribed as 咬囉吧 or 噶喇吧 *Ka-la-pa*, simplified as 吧城 *Pa*-town,[167] but the Dutch

interpreters transcribed it as 加蚋巴 *Ka-la-pa* (Schaalje, 1882, art. 1, *see* above),[168] 茄剌巴 (Young, 1885) and 咖留巴 (Schlegel, *Supplement*, 1891). The word "European" was sometimes translated as 荷蘭, "Holland, Dutch," from Malay *Belanda* (Schaalje, art. 5), or as 歐羅吧人, now the standard name (Von Faber, 1871, art. 2), but once even as 亞魯豹人 *A-ló-pà lâng*, in which the character *pà* "panther" has a negative connotation (Schaalje, art. 19). For Sumatra, at least five different transcriptions were in use: 双門答納 (De Grijs, 1875), 司馬的哈 (Albrecht, 1878), 斯馬德叻 (Hoetink, 1883, p. 80), 蘇媽擇蚋 (another list by Schaalje from Medan), 蘇門搭喇 (*Supplement* to Schlegel's dictionary); the modern name is 蘇門答臘（苏门答腊).

To facilitate the identification of geographical names, vertical lines were sometimes added next to the characters (De Grijs, 1875; Albrecht, 1878; Young, 1885). Traditional Chinese texts lacked punctuation, but in one translation, it was added for easier reading (Groeneveldt, 1875).

Colloquial Mandarin or dialect vocabulary was often used, for instance 三個月 "three months," and 了 (particle; Mandarin), 芬 "tobacco" (Hokkien; Young, 1885), and 伊 "he" (Hokkien dialect; also used in other dialects; Schaalje, art. 3).

Some translations show the hand of a European: the awkward choice of words, colloquialisms, and the word order betray the foreign translator of the texts. They are in general understandable, but even an educated (modern) Chinese sometimes has to read some sentences several times in order to understand their meaning.

Hoetink's translations were the best of all. They were written in elegant and idiomatic literary Chinese with only a few colloquial words, and they are easy to understand. He was one of the second generation of interpreters, trained by Schlegel. However, the Deli journalist J. Deen intimated in 1895 that Hoetink's Chinese clerk did the translations,[169] which must have meant that Hoetink explained the meaning orally and the clerk composed the Chinese written translation (*see* above). During the translation process, however, he left out some information that was probably considered obvious and therefore irrelevant in Chinese. He even did this in the following local police regulation (*politiekeur*) on the use of horses, carriages and wagons (carts) in Deli (1883), a simple text without legal terminology. In the translation, the numbers of the articles are replaced by long dashes (一). It should be noted that in the Netherlands Indies, just as in British colonies, traffic kept to the left.

VERORDENING op het gebruik van paarden, rij- en voertuigen in de afdeeling Deli, met uitzondering van de onderafdeeling Tamiang

Art. 1. Er mag op den openbaren weg niet harder gereden worden dan in matigen draf of handgalop.

Art. 2. Zooveel mogelijk moet midden op den weg gereden worden.

Bij ontmoeting van twee in tegenovergestelde richting rijdende rij- of voertuigen wordt door beiden links uitgehaald en voldoende ruimte tusschen beiden gehouden.

Hij, die een rij- of voertuig wil inhalen, geeft zulks te kennen door zweepgeklap, waarop het voorste rij- of voertuig links uithaalt en het achterop komende rechts voorbijrijdt.

Art. 3. Personen te paard halen bij ontmoeting en inhalen uit als rijtuigen.

日裡馬車牛車行止禁約條例

一，凡馬車出路須緩轡徐行，不宜捷走。

一，馬車牛車須行道中。如兩車相遇，當照例分畔相避。倘兩車追隨，前車行緩，須避左讓後車先行。

一，凡馱馬相遇應相避之款與上節同。

English translations of the above:

ORDINANCE on the use of horses, carriages and wagons in Deli Division, except in Tamiang Subdivision.

Art. 1. On public roads one is not allowed to drive faster than at a steady trot or at a moderate gallop.

Art. 2. One should as much as possible drive in the middle of the road.

When two carriages or wagons coming from opposing directions meet each other, both swing to the left and leave enough space between them.

He who wishes to overtake a carriage or wagon makes this known by clacking the whip, after which the carriage or wagon in front swings to the left and the carriage at the back overtakes on the right side.

Art. 3. Persons on horseback swing out when meeting and overtaking as do carriages.

Ordinance of prohibitions and rules of conduct for horse wagons (carriages) and ox wagons in Deli.

- All horse wagons going out on the road should drive slowly with a moderate whip, they should not drive fast.
- Horse and ox wagons should drive in the middle of the road. If two wagons meet each other, they should avoid each other according to the rules, to both sides. If two wagons follow each other and the wagon in front drives slowly, it should dodge to the left and let the wagon in back go first.
- The provisions for all horse riders meeting each other and having to avoid each other are the same as in the section above.

In the translation, however, it is not clear to which side the carriage should swing when meeting, and the clacking of the whip is left out. Surprisingly (for a modern reader), all Hoetink's translations show the lack of precision that he observed with the Chinese.

An example of an awkward, literal translation is one about opium tax-farming by De Grijs in 1875 (Supplement A). Five years later, Hoetink "revised" this translation, taking over some of De Grijs' expressions and rewriting it in a clearer and better literary style.

Dutch text and translations by De Grijs and Hoetink:

Art. 1. De pachter heeft het uitsluitend regt tot den verkoop: a. van bereide opium. b. van onbereide opium anders dan in geheele bollen.	第一條, 該躾所應賣者, 乃煙膏幷零碎烟土而凡成粒烟土不得擅賣也。	一, 凡躾鴉片之傌仔, 准以專自包賣烟膏以及不成粒之烟塗。[170]

English translations of the above:

Art. 1 The (opium) tax-farmer has the exclusive right of sale a. of prepared opium. b. of unprepared opium other than in whole balls.	Art. 1. What in this tax-farming should be sold, is prepared opium paste and fragmented raw opium, but all opium formed into balls cannot be sold on one's own.	• In all cases where the opium tax is farmed out, one is allowed to specially monopolise the sale of prepared opium paste as well as raw opium that is not formed into balls.

Finally here is an example of Hoetink's translation (1900) of the *Civil Code* (1847), showing how he dealt elegantly with legal terminology, and also used some modern terms.

Art. 108. De vrouw, al is zij zelfs buiten gemeenschap van goederen getrouwd, of van goederen gescheiden, kan, zonder bijstand van haren man in de acte, of zonder zijne schriftelijke toestemming, niets geven, vervreemden, verpanden, verkrijgen, hetzij voor niet, hetzij onder eenen bezwarenden titel. Indien de man zijne vrouw heeft gemagtigd om zekere acte of verbintenis aan te gaan, is de vrouw daardoor niet geregtigd om, zonder uitdrukkelijke toestemming van den man, eenige betaling te ontvangen, of daarvoor kwijting te geven.	第一百零八條, 凡妻雖自理其產業, 如欲授受、送交、贈與、抵押物件、資產等, 不可擅便而行, 然其夫必親出特許, 則始為可行。夫委妻代替立具合同、完應盡責等情, 該妻亦應俟其夫特許, 則始可收受款項、立出收單。
Art. 108. The wife, even if she has married without community of property, or is with partitioned property, cannot without the concurrence of her husband in the deed, or without his written consent, give, alienate, pawn, or obtain anything, whether for no consideration or under an encumbered title. If the husband has authorised his wife to enter into some deed or contract, the wife is not thereby authorised, without explicit consent of the husband, to receive any payment or to grant any discharge thereof.	Art. 108. If the wife, although herself managing her property, wishes to give or receive, to hand over, to donate, to mortgage goods and property etc., she cannot act on her own authority and convenience, but the husband should personally issue a special permit and only then she can act. If the husband commissions his wife to draw up a contract in his stead, or to execute an incumbent obligation, the wife should also wait for the special permit of her husband and can only then receive a sum of money and draw up a receipt.

Hoetink left out one legal nicety, namely "whether for no consideration or under an encumbered title," which is indeed hard to translate. Precision was only a relative matter.

Finally the question remains as to whether the Dutch interpreters' new vocabulary left any traces and contributed to the modernisation of the Chinese language as used in the Indies. The influence of the new vocabulary items created by the Dutch interpreters, although they were well chosen, was extremely limited outside their own translations into Chinese. For instance, the Chinese Council of Batavia (Kong Koan) did not adopt these words in its minutes, but continued to use the old manner of transcribing Malay and Dutch words.[171] This is not surprising in view of the general antagonism between Chinese officers and European interpreters. Not even the principle of translation instead of transcription was adopted.

The new terminology did leave some traces in the first Dutch–Chinese and Chinese–Malay–Dutch dictionaries compiled by Chinese in the 1930s. The principle of translation rather than transcription was used, as was now common in China, where in the first two decades of the twentieth century a large number of new terms had been introduced for Western concepts. Some of these were now used for translating Dutch terms. Other translations in these dictionaries are the same as or similar to those used by the interpreters. In Tseng Chao Yeh's *Nieuw Hollandsch–Chineesch Woordenboek* (1932), 'Governor-General of the East Indies' is translated as 東印度總督, 'Resident' as 府尹, while there are three names for 'Residency': 府, 州, 縣, and *controleur* is 縣知事. Tseng made use of Van de Stadt's *Nederlandsch–Japansch Woordenboek* (1922), and names of courts of law are now all taken from Japanese, for instance *Landraad* is 地方裁判廳 and *Raad van Justitie* 裁判所. In Li Joek Koey's *Practisch Chineesch–Maleisch Woordenboek* (1933, 4th edition 1941), only the names of the Governor-General 總督, Residency 府 and Resident 府尹 are the same as the interpreters used. The names for Assistant Resident and *controleur*, both 縣官, and the name of the High Court 大理院 are similar to Schlegel's.[172] The other courts of law all have completely different names: *Landraad* is literally translated as 地審廳 and *Raad van Justitie* as 高審廳 (pp. 22, 37, 38, 43). Pernitzsch and Tittel in their *Chinesische Buchhaltung* (1927) only provide the popular names for Resident 公爺, 大淡, Assistant Resident 杯爺, 副淡, and *controleur* 田杯 (p. 67), but for Residency they give 州 (p. 68).[173] With these few exceptions, all the 'classical' translations of the interpreters had disappeared.

Translating and excerpting Chinese account books

The most important and only substantial translation work from Chinese into Dutch was the translation and excerption of account books. Aside

from the translation of ordinances in Batavia, Groeneveldt called this one of the "only serious activities" of most interpreters.[174] Such translations and excerpts were needed in cases of suspicion of fraud, in particular of fraudulent bankruptcy. The interpreters could be charged with this task by the Orphans and Estate Chamber, which acted as curator in cases of bankruptcy. If the interpreter discovered fraud during the investigation, the Chamber reported this to the Public Prosecutor.[175] The latter could also directly charge the interpreter with these tasks, or require his services in court as expert witness. In 1873, Schlegel wrote about this:

> Only the Judicial authorities seized warmly upon the opportunity to use the services of the European interpreters for Chinese, in order to find out the eternal malversations of the Chinese.[176]

In the nineteenth century, cases of bankruptcy and fraud with bankruptcy were rampant among the Chinese on Java. The reasons for this cannot be discussed here in detail. But it was generally accepted that one reason was the overly high rate of credit given by European importers to the Chinese "second-hand" (retail) traders. Another reason was, according to Meeter, the application of European Commercial Law to the Chinese on Java and Madura pursuant to *Staatsblad* 1855, no. 79, which gave the Chinese there many opportunities for malversations that could hardly be detected and still less be proven in court.[177] In any case, for Meeter personally, Chinese bankruptcy was almost synonymous with fraud.[178]

Checking account books must have been an important activity from the start, since a special fee was mentioned in the fee list of April 1863.

The first known cases were Schlegel's checking the account books of opium tax-farmers in Bagelen and Kedu in Central Java in 1864. In these cases, for a few weeks he was put at the disposal of the Residents of these towns.[179]

From about 1865 on, the study of Chinese account books also became a regular part of the curriculum of the Chinese interpreters.[180] And from 1870 on, double-entry bookkeeping ("Italian bookkeeping") was one of the subjects examined in the comparative entrance examination. It would be easier for the interpreters to translate and excerpt Chinese account books, if they were also well versed in Western bookkeeping. And in their reports to the courts, they had to explain Chinese account books in Western bookkeeping terms.

Meeter became an expert in investigating account books and wrote many articles about the subject. In his opinion, the system of these books was not difficult to understand. He was one of the first to have already studied Chinese account books in China, and he found them easier to handle than Western ones. After his first investigation of a case in Surabaya in 1876, he published an article in which he explained the system and the

different kinds of books.[181] There were two major difficulties for the interpreter. One was that the cursive Chinese writing could be hard to read; in this respect the teacher/clerk could play an important role. The other was the use of special vocabulary. In East Indies account books, many names of products were used that would never occur in China; these were vulgar transcriptions of Malay and Dutch words, often using characters in a curious manner. Meeter soon became interested and made a special study of these names. In an article he gave some examples, such as 文茶牙 bûn tê gâ, literally "dignified, tea, tooth," a transcription of Malay *mentega*, "butter."[182] Meeter was urged by a zealous drive to fight Chinese fraud, and in his articles he minutely described and explained various types of fraud. In 1884 he wrote that he had so far checked about fifty sets of account books.[183] However, his expertise was not recognised by all, resulting in fierce debates with European traders and lawyers in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* and other newspapers.

When investigating account books, a direct translation was not enough: the books had in the first place to be excerpted and analysed. Otherwise it was almost impossible for creditors or judges to discover the fraud. When a large number of account books was concerned, this could be an enormous task. Meeter therefore first used his Chinese informants, providing them with a few hundred guilders, to find out clues as to where to search.[184]

As with other types of work, checking account books was mostly done by the interpreters on Java, but rarely in the Outer Possessions.

Since the results of the investigation or translation of account books could have serious consequences for the person concerned, both financial and legal, the interpreter could in such cases be confronted with heavy pressure and attempts at bribery, and when these yielded no result, vicious slander. As usual, Meeter recounted in his articles a number of hilarious examples. From these it is clear that Meeter was not afraid of hard work against heavy odds. He always considered his responsibility wider than just translating: he had a strong feeling of justice and was eager to fight fraud and corruption. Without being required by his office to do so, he conducted his own investigations, drew his own conclusions, and acted accordingly. The following case illustrates how he as an interpreter had to balance between a fraudulent Chinese, a possibly corrupt official, and his own conscience.

In one of the Outer Possessions, where Meeter as usual had a bad relationship with the local Resident, he was once visited late in the evening by a wealthy Chinese, who was a tax-farmer of alcoholic beverages and gambling (*arak- en dobbelpacht*). After some introductory conversation, the Chinese showed him a red parcel containing a ring with a large diamond, allegedly a present from a relative working in the diamond mines, and offered it to him. Meeter refused to accept, explaining that as an offi-

cial he might be required to give advice in lawsuits in which the giver was implicated, and his impartiality would then be in doubt. The Chinese assured him that this would never happen, pressing Meeter to accept. Finally Meeter found a way out by saying he could accept the ring on the day of his transfer, and give a similar present in return. His resolute refusal made the Chinese leave in embarrassment.

Meeter was surprised by the friendly offer of the Chinese, but when a few days later he was summoned by the Resident, the reason became clear. The Resident told him that the tax-farmer of alcoholic beverages and gambling had requested remission of part of the tax-farming fee (*pachtschat*) because a large fire had reduced most of the Chinese quarter to ashes and he had suffered heavy losses. The Resident impressed upon Meeter that he believed the man was honest, and said he had asked the tax-farmer for his account books. He would send these to Meeter for investigation.

Of course, Meeter remembered the offering of the ring a few days earlier, but he was wise enough not to reveal anything to the Resident, wondering if the latter had already accepted a diamond or something else.

When Meeter received the two account books, he immediately noticed that these were not the real ones, but only newly made excerpts containing the revenues and expenses of the last few months. He therefore invited the tax-farmer to his house, and asked him if these were the real account books; the tax-farmer answered that the Resident had asked for excerpts showing his losses, and therefore he had noted them in these two books. Believing this could well be the truth, Meeter returned the books to the Resident, stating these were only excerpts, not account books.

Meeter then visited one of his Chinese friends in the Chinese quarter, a well-educated *sinkheh*, asking him about the losses caused by the fire. The latter answered that some large export companies indeed had suffered considerable losses—but not the tax-farmer of alcoholic beverages and gambling, who would on the contrary make great profits from the many *sinkheh* who were now out of work.[185]

Now the Resident sent the books a second time, requesting a translation, not an explanation of the nature of the books. So Meeter quickly translated them both, but he could not refrain from adding a footnote at the end: "These books are not the proper account books of the tax-farmer of alcoholic beverages and gambling." He concluded the text with the usual formula: "For the translation / upon my oath sworn to the country / the interpreter of the Chinese language in … "[186] and his signature.

Although he realised that this note could be a reason to find him "obnoxious," he preferred this to fearing that he might have helped a Chinese tax-farmer, with a Resident as his accomplice, to cheat the government.

Subsequently he heard nothing more about the matter, but at his trans-

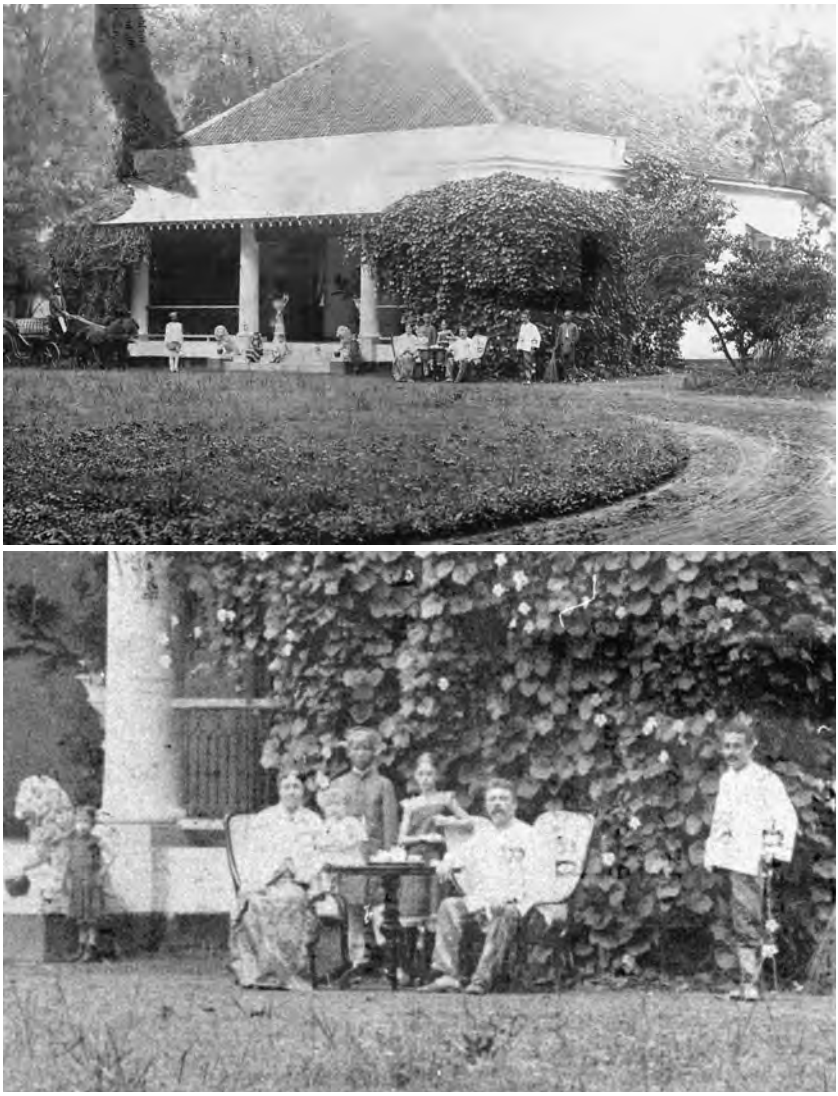
fer he was not offered the diamond ring again. The Resident probably had not dared to forward the tax-farmer's request.

Right after the incident, when Meeter told the whole story to a good friend, the local doctor, the latter advised him to omit any such footnote, since he had only been required to provide a translation of the text. And when Meeter argued that in his oath he had promised to act as "a good and honest official," the doctor said that next time he had better send a letter to the Director of Finance, if need be anonymously for self-protection.[187]

On Java, the pressures and attempts at bribery for the interpreter could be even more serious.[188] Meeter recounted several examples. Once a bankrupt Chinese was sent to his house by the Procurator General to ask for his "help" in checking his accounts, thereby putting in doubt this official's incorruptibility. Usually bribes were offered in an indirect manner. Once a bankrupt Chinese and his wife paid a visit to his home late at night, imploring him to save them from disaster. After Meeter had refused to accept any gifts, the bankrupt man's wife came back in the daytime and without anyone's noticing it, simply left a collection of shoes, sarongs, and jewels in the courtyard, as well as two *f* 500 bills which were found crumbled in the hands of Meeter's young daughter! Afterwards, Meeter duly brought all these bribes to the curator, the Orphans Chamber (*see* illustration 23).[189]

Because of the frequent cases of fraudulent bankruptcy, many Dutch traders and officials proposed requiring the Chinese to keep their books in Malay written in the Western alphabet,[190] or in Dutch. It might seem these books could then more easily be checked, and judges and traders could do that themselves. At least from 1881 on, opium tax-farmers and pawnshop owners were already obliged to keep their books in Malay or Dutch.[191] But Meeter brought forward convincing arguments against this.[192] On the one hand, it would be unfair to many Chinese traders, such as newcomers (*sinkheh*), who knew little Malay, or those who only traded with China, and it would also be unfair to force the Chinese to give up the age-old habit of bookkeeping in Chinese.[193] In this respect Meeter was in sympathy with the Chinese. But on the other hand, and most importantly, Malay bookkeeping would not facilitate the investigation of the books. On the contrary, Malay books were easier to falsify, because Chinese ink was impossible to erase, and he expected that the Chinese would continue their bookkeeping in Chinese, just as opium tax-farmers were doing, and would only make translations of certain books into Malay or Dutch. Moreover, not the books themselves but the excerpts provided by them might be fraudulent. The counter-argument that it was in Meeter's personal interest that the books were in Chinese so he would have an opportunity to earn emoluments, was easily refuted by him: he did not at all like to check account books, and he was sometimes even proud *not* to have earned private emoluments.[194]

Finally, Meeter also had a sinological argument. If no characters were



23. Meeter and his family in front of his house at Simpang, Surabaya, 1880s, and close-up; such photos were often sent to the family in Holland (courtesy Karin Meeter, Kaag; KIT Collection).

provided for Chinese personal names, identification would often become impossible. One advantage of using Chinese characters in account books was the variability of alphabetic transcriptions of Chinese names. Meeter gave the example of the names Kwee, Kwik and Kweh, all representing the same Chinese name 郭 (*Guo*).[195] Identification of debtors in cases of bankruptcy could be difficult when no Chinese characters were provided,

since Chinese were not eager to pay their debts in such cases and could evade their responsibility simply by the variant spelling of a name. Meeter recounted that he had once received two telegrams on the same day from Semarang, in which two lawyers (representing both plaintiff and accused) asked him whether the names Bo and Mo could be different spellings of the same name. A Chinese debtor named N. Bo N. had been detained, but he asserted that his name was N. Mo N. and not N. Bo N. Of course no definite answer could be given, since the telegraph could not convey the character or characters for Bo and Mo.[196] Meeter could only answer that it was possible that some Chinese pronounced the same name as *bo* and others as *mo*,[197] but it was also possible that these sounds represented different characters and therefore different people. Accordingly, the court immediately released the detained person, since his identity could not be confirmed. Therefore Meeter advised that if the government decided that account books were to be kept in Malay or Dutch, characters should still be provided for Chinese names.[198]

The debate about the language of account books continued until the end of the century, but did not lead to any change. Just as in the British colonies, the Chinese traders were allowed to keep their books in Chinese until the end of colonial rule. The checking of account books would remain an important function of the sinologists.

Private translation and interpreting

When the interpreters' salary was decided upon in 1860, considerable emoluments were expected. Therefore their maximum salary (*f* 800) was kept low compared with other civil officials (*f* 1,000).[199] The sources of these emoluments were not made explicit, but they were certainly expected from private translation and interpreting.[200] In April 1863, together with the directive on interpreters, the following fees were established for private services of the Chinese interpreters (Dutch text in Appendix Q).

B. Fees for European interpreters of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies

For written translations:	
From Chinese into Dutch:	
one page of 28 lines in Dutch translation	*f* 8
for each following page	4
From Dutch into Chinese:	
for the first 100 characters	10
for each following 100 characters	5

stamp duties not being included

For copies of translations one-fourth of the fee may be charged.	
For oral interpreting on the same day:	
for attendance:	
for the first hour or less	*f*8
for the second hour or less	4
for each following hour or part of it	2
For checking account books, memoranda and bills:	
for every 100 characters or less, an attendance fee of	*f*5
For copies or excerpts of account books, memoranda or bills:	
for every 100 characters or less	*f*2.50

The fee rate was almost twice as high as that for French, German and English translators in 1819. The main difference with these languages was the addition of a fee for checking account books. Translating and summarising these would become one of the important functions of the interpreters, although it would rarely be done for private customers. In practice, this rate was too high for private customers, and the actual fees were often lower.

In the beginning, Schlegel and Francken may have had some private earnings. At least, such was suggested in one of De Grijs' letters to Francken in May 1863, in which he wrote:

> To judge from what I hear and understand from your and Schlegel's letters, you have nothing to do over there for the government, and only have to take care to have as much private business as possible.[201]

Yet they were hardly successful. Four years later, Schlegel deplored the lack of jobs requested by traders. In 1867, in an article about Chinese bankruptcy, he pleaded for the use of European interpreters of Chinese for translating Chinese account books in such lawsuits. According to him, for a fee of *f*200 to 500 the interpreter could ascertain whether the bankrupt Chinese was in good faith or not. These costs, divided among many creditors, should not be any objection. But still, this did not happen, as Schlegel wrote:

> The trading community, which in the past complained bitterly that the government did not provide Chinese interpreters to check the fraudulent activities of the Chinese—that same trading community now, five years after the government appointed such interpreters, makes no use of them.[202]

In 1878 in his *nota* about the work of the interpreters, Albrecht summarised the main sources of private emoluments as follows:

> The assistance of the interpreters is only required for translating private documents, when they are needed for civil lawsuits, for checking and excerpting account books submitted in civil lawsuits, and for giving advice about Chinese customs and institutions, in particular about intestate inheritance law.[203]

With a few exceptions, there is no evidence that the interpreters' earnings from private translation and interpreting were more than marginal. Albrecht and Groeneveldt both asserted, respectively in 1878 and 1894, that the private emoluments were extremely limited. Albrecht wrote in 1878 that he had rarely been asked to make private translations and that he could not be personally blamed for that:

> That making little private earnings was not a personal problem is proven by the unanimous statement by all interpreters that their emoluments amount to little, and that, with the exception of a rare piece of luck, one cannot count on it.[204]

Albrecht gave one example of a private translation made by himself in a case of bankruptcy, designating himself as "he":

> Only once was he invited by a few trade companies to conduct a meticulous investigation of the books of a bankrupt man, in order that terms could be found to sue the merchant. He used all his free time during two months for this investigation, and he wrote an extensive report with its results, which actually led to criminal prosecution, but he can assure you that it cost him a lot of trouble to collect the promised fee of only *f* 500, to be paid by eight creditors.[205]

The only reason why an expert's opinion was sought as little as possible, Albrecht continued, was that this would cost more money, and creditors did not wish to pay more when they had already lost so much.

Creditors preferred to have these translations made on orders of the Public Prosecutor, so they would not have to pay for it themselves. Because of the sinologists' double function of official *and* private interpreter, private parties often attempted to have their translations done for free. In 1891, De Grijs wrote in a letter to the editor of a Dutch newspaper that in the past he had sometimes been asked by the trading community to translate Chinese account books, and he was once even gratefully offered a silver tea set for this work. But after the introduction of the hated business tax for Europeans in 1880,[206] he fell out of favour with the Semarang traders. Some time in the 1880s, when a certain Chinese merchant went bankrupt, the traders now asked the Public Prosecutor to charge De Grijs with making a translation, so that effectively he would not be paid what he considered was due to him. A complaint by De Grijs with the Public Prosecutor was to no avail. De Grijs then showed that an interpreter could also make good use of the restrictions of his position. Working by the rules, he translated three complete account books, and when the Public Prosecutor asked him if he had found any grounds for fraudulent bankruptcy (*bedrieglijke bankbreuk*), he answered that, as an interpreter, he had done his duty by providing a translation, and that the merchants should themselves search. As could be expected, they did not succeed in finding

any clue; subsequently De Grijs was summoned to appear as a witness before the *Raad van Justitie*. When the president of the court asked him the same question, De Grijs handed to him an excerpt from the translation showing that certain amounts of goods were missing. De Grijs ended with remarking, not without satisfaction, that the Chinese fraud was justly punished.[207]

Meeter recounted several similar cases from the Orphans and Estate Chambers, where the interpreters' double function, official and private, also provided opportunities for private persons to have them work for free.[208]

In 1894, Groeneveldt, who had been interpreter in 1864–72 and 1874–7, gave some precise data about the interpreters' emoluments in his *nota* to the Council of the Indies:

> In general, the emoluments are insignificant. I worked as an interpreter for ten years and received during that time about *f* 1,200 in emoluments, including *f* 1,000 for an elaborate and mostly useless investigation required by a hot-tempered solicitor in a sensational lawsuit.[209]

In the 1880s and 1890s, the interpreters' yearly emoluments were listed in the *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*. All government officials were required to report their total emoluments, which were used for assessing their contributions to the Widows' and Orphans' Fund (*Weduwen- en Weezenfonds*) for the next three years. The following table shows that emoluments were continuously reported only in two towns; at the time interpreters were stationed in six to nine places. [210]

Year	Batavia	Semarang	Surabaya	Riau	Pontianak
1885	-	620 (Stuart)	840 (Meeter)	-	-
1888	76 (Von Faber)	210 "	840 (Moll)	159 (Schaalje)	-
1891	-	210 (Young)	840 (Von Faber)	-	120 (Stuart)
1894	-	380 "	780 "	-	-

In his *nota* of 1894, Groeneveldt only mentioned the figures of 1891, commenting on the high total for Surabaya:

> I do not know for sure the reasons for the high figure in Surabaya. I know that in the past the interpreter was asked to assist at the transfer of real estate from and to Chinese, reputedly to check the names and signatures, a wholly superfluous formality leading to unnecessary charges. I assumed it had been abolished long ago, but from the figures just mentioned, I assume that it still exists; there is no other explanation. Therefore one cannot expect such high emoluments in the future.[211]

Meeter was stationed from 1876 to 1888 in Surabaya, where the highest emoluments were reported. In 1897, he wrote about his private services:

> While in the Outer Possessions his services for private persons are only very exceptionally required; on Java his help is often sought by European merchants, lawyers and notaries, and he is as it were a go-between between Europeans and Chinese. For this and other reasons, his work on Java can be much more extensive, and from a financial point of view more profitable, than at an outer post.[212]

Meeter also wrote about his private work:

> Lawyers and other private persons from time to time needed his services outside the main town and outside the Residency, in which cases he asked for one or two days of leave within the country.[213]

Meeter's emoluments in Surabaya were at times considerable. Soon after his arrival in 1876, he was asked by a lawyer representing a large group of European creditors to check the account books of a bankrupt Chinese. According to the official fee list, he should have earned about *f* 30,000, but this was clearly outrageous. The lawyer then offered him *f* 3,000, which Meeter accepted. These emoluments were a constant occasion for jealousy on the part of other officials, who could not earn them. When the Public Prosecutor H.N. Grobée heard about this fee, he still found it exorbitant and lodged a complaint against Meeter with the Procurator General in Batavia, accusing him of "extortion by a public servant" (*knevelarij*). After Meeter had explained at great length that he had not demanded it, but had been offered this amount, the case was dismissed and Grobée was transferred.[214]

Since the official fees proved to be unfeasible, Meeter in 1880 concluded a contract with a large group of European traders in Surabaya to check Chinese account books for two years for a fixed fee. The number of Chinese bankruptcies diminished considerably, but this was also due to a few cases of heavy punishment for fraud. As soon as Meeter went on sick leave in May 1881, the positive effect was lost again. But Meeter later stated that he did not in the least like this work and therefore after two years he did not continue the contract.[215]

Albrecht claimed that if the interpreter was prepared to play hard and fast (*beunhazerij*), he could earn many more private emoluments. This was confirmed by Meeter, who even wrote that if he had been shrewd and compliant, he could have earned a fortune, since the Chinese paid well. But both interpreters asserted that they were not willing to do so.[216]

In 1878, Albrecht had asserted that the only customers were Europeans; the Chinese never asked the Dutch interpreters to make translations; but Meeter for some time did have many Chinese clients, which in itself was a reason for suspicion among some Europeans.[217]

Another possible source of emoluments was giving legal advice about Chinese customs and law in civil lawsuits. Meeter was once asked by a young lawyer to give his "valuable answers" to ten questions about Chinese inheritance law, but when he accepted, and mentioned his fee of *f* 1,000, the lawyer not only abandoned his request, but also sent a complaint to the government about the exorbitant costs.[218] Meeter never mentioned any similar assignment, but Albrecht pointed out this possible source of emoluments.

Another source of private income was stipulated in article 1 of the Directive of 1863: if the accused was found guilty, the interpreters could claim an extra fee from the convicted person. Only one example of such a claim could be found. In 1895, Von Faber was charged to work in a criminal case for the *Raad van Justitie* in Surabaya, which led to the conviction of Kho Swie Siang for fraudulent bankruptcy.[219] When he submitted his invoice of *f* 472 pursuant to article 1, payment was apparently refused, whereupon he sent a request to the Governor-General asking whether it should be paid by the Government. The answer was that the amount should be claimed by himself directly from the convicted person.[220] This provision seems not to have been controversial among the interpreters, probably since there was hardly any interpreting work. In 1897, Meeter considered it just another possible source of extra income, remarking that it *appeared* to be 'beneficial' to the interpreters, but adding that they never actually received the fee they were entitled to; when they submitted their invoices to the authorities, these were either refused with the argument that they had already received a fee, or they were told that they could start a civil action to claim the money, or some other excuse was given for not paying.[221] In 1895, Von Faber's question to the Governor-General not only received a negative answer, but actually led to the abolishment of this provision. The text of article 1 was changed, and the obligations of the interpreters were made more specific, probably to avoid misunderstanding about their duties, as follows (new text in italics):

> As often as required by the judicial or administrative authorities, the European interpreters of the Chinese language render their services of written or oral translations from Dutch into Chinese and vice-versa, *of checking and investigating account books and documents in the Chinese language, and of making copies or excerpts of such account books and documents.*
>
> *For these services they cannot claim any fee*.[222]

In the Directive for the Officials for Chinese Affairs of 1896, this provision was also left out, thereby, according to Meeter, preventing future disappointments.[223]

Notwithstanding, some interpreters seem to have earned a considerable extra income. In 1880, Van der Spek heard from Albrecht that Meeter earned many emoluments.[224] Perhaps because of this, or after having heard

stories from Schlegel and Meeter (about the *f* 3,000 emoluments?), Borel cherished high-strung expectations regarding his income. In 1892 when he arrived in Amoy, Borel wrote in a letter to Van Eeden that he expected his salary in the Indies could be doubled by private emoluments.[225]

The private emoluments were not only a reason for jealousy among other government officials, but also among the interpreters themselves. When in 1892 new competitive examinations for Chinese interpreters were announced in the Dutch press, Meeter and Van der Spek tried to warn possible candidates in a subtle manner. At that time, Meeter was living in Leiden and Van der Spek had just set up as a dermatologist in Amsterdam. They sent an open letter to many newspapers urging the parents of youngsters who wished to take part to become adequately informed about the negative aspects of the position of interpreters in the Indies. They offered to answer any questions and provided their addresses. The only known newspaper that published their letter was the *Leidsch Dagblad* (Leiden Daily).[226] Of course, Schlegel was enraged, and a heated debate ensued. The next day, Schlegel tried to refute their opinion in another open letter. He also attacked them personally, writing about their supposed emoluments:

> Moreover, these interpreters are entitled to work for private persons and therefore to earn emoluments; and in view of this Mr. Meeter and Mr. Van der Spek have not the slightest reason to discredit that position.
>
> The former earned so many emoluments that he can now have, with his pension, in the company of his wife and six children, a carefree life, while Mr. Van der Spek saved so much money in the five years during which he was an interpreter, that after his discharge from government service he could study medicine for five years in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Berlin and Vienna. Therefore the warning of both gentlemen appears to me unfounded and misplaced.[227]

The next day Meeter reacted by saying that it would be difficult to prove Schlegel's allegations, and by accusing Schlegel of indiscretion (*onkieschheid*) in giving this personal information; he also retaliated by mentioning Schlegel's personal allowance of *f* 1,200 per year for teaching Chinese.[228]

In a final reaction Schlegel replied:

> Mr. Meeter knows too well that I have never been a "money-making man." He repeatedly reproached me with this jokingly when I complained that *I* did not reap profits from my position as interpreter.[229]

In any case, Meeter stated a few years later that he found the emoluments not worthwhile. After the new directive and fee list for Officials for Chinese Affairs had been made known in 1895, he commented:

> The so-called fee for private services could assuredly have been cancelled, thus freeing the position of Official for Chinese Affairs of its awkward and

> ambiguous character, both official and private. I am fully convinced that, if not all, surely the great majority of the officials concerned would be very content with such a regulation, since with few exceptions those emoluments from private services are so little and so often give rise to problems and unpleasant things, that they would be happy to renounce them for a relatively small compensation.[230]

Finally, with the establishment of the Bureau for Chinese Affairs in Batavia in 1916, the double function of both official and private translator and interpreter came to an end. Although the same fees for private translations by the Bureau were promulgated as in 1896, from now on those fees were no longer intended as emoluments of the translator himself, but were to be transferred monthly to the National Treasury.[231]

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE INTERPRETERS' ADVISORY FUNCTIONS

In addition to their interpreting and translation services, or in combination with these, the sinologists often had advisory functions. Their main advisory function was in the Orphans and Estate Chambers of which they were extraordinary members. But since the interpreters did not (and could not) hold any position within the administrative hierarchy, they were rarely asked for advice by the Residents. They also had no formal authority over the Chinese, who were to a certain extent ruled by their own officers. While in 1860 it had been expected that ten interpreters were needed, in 1878 the number of prescribed positions was reduced to four, since there was not enough work to do. Only the judicial authorities occasionally consulted the interpreters about Chinese law, but it was not easy to give advice on account of the lack of written sources on Chinese civil law and Indies Chinese law. Moreover, it could lead to friction with the Chinese officers and might also result in different opinions among the interpreters themselves. As an example, the debate about the form of the Chinese oath will be analysed at the end of this chapter.

Extraordinary members of the Orphans and Estate Chambers (1866)

The Orphans Chamber (*Weeskamer*) was an age-old institution in the Netherlands dating from the Middle Ages. It was not an Orphans Home but a legal and financial institution protecting the interests of orphans (minors) and managing unresolved inheritances. The Orphans Chamber in Batavia was established in 1625. It took care of the estates of European orphans, at the same time acting as guardian for them, and it was custodian of testaments. Later it also took on other functions, such as acting as curator of bankrupt estates of Europeans. In 1640, the Estate Chamber (*Boedelkamer*) was established in Batavia; it was a similar institution taking care of Chinese and other non-Christian minors and estates.[1] In 1808, the two institutions merged in most places into one Orphans and Estate Chamber (*Wees- en Boedelkamer*). In Batavia, however, they remained two distinct institutions until 1885, when both Chambers' memberships were combined. In the nineteenth century Orphans and Estate Chambers existed in all towns having a *Raad van Justitie* (Court of Justice for Europeans) and were in the highest instance supervised by them. On Java they were present in Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya, and in the Outer Possessions

in Makassar, Padang, and sometimes also in other places. Elsewhere there were 'agents' of nearby Chambers. In 1872 a new *Directive for the Orphans Chambers in the Netherlands Indies* was promulgated.[2] Their staff consisted of a President, two to four European members, one or two Chinese and one or two native members, one extraordinary member (the interpreter), a secretary, an accountant and assisting personnel.[3] The Chamber would convene in weekly meetings on a fixed day. In some respects the Orphans and Estate Chamber functioned like a bank: it invested the money entrusted to it, provided interest on it, lent out money on mortgage, and in the early nineteenth century sometimes even issued banknotes. In the Indies, Orphans Chambers continued to exist until the end of colonial rule, but in the Netherlands they were already abolished in 1852.

In 1865, when the Council of the Indies received reports on the need of a teacher/clerk for the European interpreters for Chinese, it also obtained information about the interpreters' work, showing that most of them had little to do. The Council, therefore, in its advice expressed doubt as to whether enough use was being made of the interpreters. Their training had cost large sums of money and the interpreters could be expected to be of use not only in the courts of law as translators, but also for the Chinese Council (!), the Estate Chambers, the Orphans Chambers, in Chinese cases of bankruptcy and for the investigation of tax-farming cases. If Chinese officers were always used for these functions, the Government would remain dependent upon them, and that was just what one had wished to avoid by appointing European interpreters in the first place. Therefore the Council advised appointing the interpreters as extraordinary members of the Estate Chamber in Batavia and the Orphans and Estate Chambers in Semarang and Surabaya, and outside Java as agents of these institutions.[4]

Almost a year later, on 23 September 1866, Governor-General Sloet decided that the European interpreters of Chinese in Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya *ex-officio* were extraordinary members (*buitengewoon lid*) of the local Orphans and Estate Chambers. In Batavia, Von Faber was appointed in the Estate Chamber and Schlegel in the Orphans Chamber.[5] De Grijs became extraordinary member in Semarang, Albrecht in Surabaya.

In the beginning their function was not defined. Von Faber soon asked the President of the Estate Chamber what kind of work he would have to do, but he did not receive a definite answer. On 9 October 1866 he therefore put the same question to the Government Secretary. After consulting the Council of the Indies, Governor-General Mijer decided on 6 December that the extraordinary members should "take part in all work of those Chambers, in particular the work concerning Chinese estates," and the next day the Government Secretary made known that they should swear the same oath as full members.[6]

At first there was no financial compensation for the work done by the

extraordinary members. On 12 December the Orphans Chamber in Batavia proposed to the Governor-General—no doubt after a request from Schlegel—to assign a monthly allowance of *f* 250 to the extraordinary member Schlegel, funded by the Orphans Chamber. After consulting the Council of the Indies, Governor-General Mijer refused. His consideration was

> that the interpreters act by virtue of their office as extraordinary members of the Orphans Chambers, whenever the Chambers need information from them based on their knowledge of the Chinese language, laws, customs and traditions; and that they therefore remain within the natural boundaries of their office's mission.[7]

Half a year later, on 5 July 1867, the Orphans Chamber in Batavia repeated its proposal with the following arguments. It happened that Schlegel had submitted an invoice for investigating Chinese account books, which had been paid from the benefits of the estate under investigation; the Orphans Chamber was not authorised to pay that invoice from its own funds; the extraordinary member Schlegel was however entitled to a reasonable reward for his important work. Therefore the Chamber again requested authorisation to pay him a monthly allowance of *f* 250. Now Mijer considered that for the sake of the bankrupt estates, from which the invoice of the Chinese interpreters would have to be paid, it would be desirable to grant them an allowance from the funds of the Orphans Chamber to which they belonged, on condition that they would not require a fee for services at the request of, or for the benefit of the Orphans and Estate Chamber. In his decision, however, Mijer considerably lowered the allowance: they were to receive a fixed monthly salary of *f* 100 for this function; at the same time, they could not claim any fees for services rendered to the Orphans and Estate Chamber of which they were extraordinary members.[8] This would remain their allowance for the Orphans and Estate Chamber until 1916; but in Padang, where there was little work to do, in 1870 it was lowered to *f* 75,[9] and in 1894 the allowances in Padang and Makassar were abolished for the same reason.[10]

In 1867 the function of extraordinary member was further defined, but also further restricted. In May 1867, after a request from the Resident of Surabaya (where Albrecht was stationed), Mijer decided that extraordinary members should "take care of Chinese estates *only*, but all of them without distinction."[11]

Three years later, after a letter from the Orphans Chamber of Semarang, their functions were restricted even more. On the one hand, Governor-General Mijer first decided on 9 August 1870 that they were not just "advising members" in Chinese affairs but also "voting members" having the same 5% commission rights as the full members of the Chamber.[12] This deci-

sion seemed to strengthen the extraordinary members' position, but three months later, on 22 November 1870, the Government Secretary specified in a letter that the extraordinary member was not a regular member of the Chamber and could not be entrusted with the care of estates; he could not act as commissioner of the month, taking care of all devoluted estates according to normal internal regulations. The only reason for the assignment of extraordinary members was so that, when the Chamber managed Chinese estates, it would have within its ranks an expert in Chinese language, institutions and customs, who could inform his colleagues and take part in the decision-making in such affairs. If the Government had wished to give him other tasks, it could have made him a full member.[13] This was the last official notice regarding the extraordinary members' functions. Two years later, in 1872, in the new *Directive for the Orphans Chambers*, the position of 'extraordinary member' was not even mentioned, let alone defined.[14]

Despite his weak formal position as extraordinary member, Albrecht managed by informal means to play an active and important role in the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Surabaya when he was working there in 1866–76. In his *nota* of 1878, he also noticed the contradictions between the various decisions, and described his functioning as follows:

> If one holds to the latter decision [of 22 November 1870], then the extraordinary member, except in the few cases wherein questions are raised about Chinese customs and institutions, is nothing more than a puppet (*stroopop*) attending meetings only to keep his mouth shut.
>
> During his stay in Surabaya, the undersigned did not adhere to that opinion. Since his other work afforded him plenty of time, from the start he took part in all operations of the Orphans and Estate Chamber, mainly in respect to Chinese estates. He was guided by his desire to obtain knowledge of both laws and affairs, for which there is certainly no better school than those Chambers, no matter how badly staffed they are in general, although knowledgeable officials would be highly welcome there.[15]
>
> In the twelve years during which he was stationed in Surabaya, he experienced the period in which so many, and such important, cases of bankruptcy occurred among the Chinese. As an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber there, on his own initiative he took part in the daily operations of that Chamber; he dealt with most of those bankrupt estates himself, and in so doing prevented delays in the procedure, which without extraordinary support would have been the unavoidable consequence of the enormous increase of work caused by those bankruptcy cases. While before his arrival in the Chamber there had frequently been complaints about the slow treatment of bankruptcy cases, he observed with pleasure that during his extraordinary membership not a single complaint was received by the Government.[16]
>
> Although on the one hand he [Albrecht] alleviated the work of his fellow members, which they appreciated, on the other hand he sometimes wondered if he was doing the right thing, since he did not bear any responsibility, and the consequences of his doings had to be borne by his accountable fellow members.

> Therefore one cannot blame an interpreter, if he adheres to the Government's statement, and as extraordinary member confines himself to giving rarely asked advice, the more so since he cannot like other administrative officials enjoy the satisfaction of his extraordinary services being rewarded with a promotion.[17]

Ironically, Albrecht would prove to be an exception to the latter rule. Little more than one year after he had written his *nota*, in August 1879 he was rewarded for his zeal after all, when he was appointed President of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia, leaving the interpreter corps. He was the second interpreter who would pursue another career in the Indies, after Groeneveldt.[18]

Meeter succeeded Albrecht in Surabaya in 1876, and he also stayed there for twelve years. He equally showed great initiative in his work for the Orphans and Estate Chamber, but he did not have the same compliant character or the ambition for a career as a government official. After his pension he wrote a series of articles on reminiscences of the Orphans and Estate Chamber that were published in the *Java-bode* in 1894–5.[19]

In these, Meeter gave a characterisation of the other members of the Chambers at the time he was serving in the Indies, "long ago," implying that the situation had changed. He did this in a lively way, thereby illustrating Albrecht's *nota*, showing how it must have been for the interpreters to work as extraordinary members.

According to Meeter, the interpreters had been appointed to the Chambers against their will; they had been quite surprised that they, after mainly receiving a linguistic and literary training, were appointed to an institution managing estates; moreover, their salary of *f* 100 was just a means to prevent them from submitting invoices according to the official fee schedule.

These Chambers were at the time considered an appropriate station for all kinds of protégés of high officials, who were then made President. The ordinary members were mainly recruited from the clerks of regional and local government and the *Landraad*, many of whom were Eurasians. Meeter in particular appreciated the competence of those who had been working in the Chambers from the start of their careers:

> I found among the ordinary members many good, hard-working and honest officials, and in daily contact with them I could soon put aside the suspicion and disdain with which almost any European on his arrival in the Indies seems to be cursed.[20]

Although the Chinese and native members of the Chambers only received a salary of *f* 40 per month, it still was a very sought-after position, also for wealthy Chinese. For Chinese members it was even more attractive, since they could get the title of *luitenant-* or *kapitein-boedelmeester*. But according to Meeter, they could earn much more out of this position than their

salary by simply *not* doing their duties. Besides attending the meetings and assisting in making inventories, they also had periodically to submit records of deaths among their people. There being no Civil Registration (*burgerlijke stand*), this information could not be provided by Europeans. But by leaving out the names of descendants who were minors (doubtless for a certain reward), the Chinese members could dodge the much-hated interference by the Estate Chamber in Chinese family affairs, although this may not have been in the interest of those minors.

Meeter gave one example of a Chinese member's dereliction of duty. Once, waiting for the meeting to begin, as a pastime and out of curiosity he was leafing through a stack of account books lying on the table. Knowing the deceased from another case, he asked for the inventory, and discovered that the value of the outstanding debts (*debetsaldi*) was estimated at *f* 3,000. During the following meeting he made known that in his casual investigation he had already found outstanding debts worth more than *f* 60,000 in total, twenty times as much as the amount mentioned in the inventory. When asked, the Chinese member sheepishly answered that he had not checked the account books himself, blaming his assistant, but all present drew their own conclusion.

A few days later, when large sums of cash arrived at the Orphans and Estate Chamber, the President remarked that the minor should be grateful for Meeter's interference. He asked Meeter if he were willing to check the outstanding debts of all Chinese inheritances. In Meeter's opinion, this was not a regular duty of the extraordinary member, but it was part of the interpreter's private work which should be remunerated. His colleagues would not appreciate it if he would do this work for free. Besides, Meeter found that the President did not have the authority to give any orders to the extraordinary member, who was not a full member and whose duties were not defined in the *Directive* of 1872.[21]

Indeed, the lack of clear instructions for the extraordinary members—there were no rules except the little-known rules of 1866–70 mentioned above and vaguely referred to in article 2 of the *Directive*—led to confusion about what their duties were, both for the extraordinary members themselves (including Meeter), and for some Presidents. According to Meeter, this caused a great divergence in the actual functions of the extraordinary members in different Orphans and Estate Chambers. In one Chamber the extraordinary member simply posed as a full member and acted as 'member-commissioner', not only in Chinese estates, but also in those of Arabs and even Europeans. This must refer to Albrecht and also to Meeter, who stated in 1879 that he had acted as full member and commissioner for estates for two years.[22] In another Chamber, the extraordinary member only attended the meetings, claiming that he was doing this out of kindness (*welwillendheid*), since he was not obliged to do so on account of any

regulation. Some Chambers appreciated their services, others did not, and nobody knew what he could or could not do. One President asserted that the extraordinary member could only give advice, while another said he could vote just like a full member, but only in Chinese cases. According to Meeter, asking the Director of Justice in Batavia for further instructions would be considered 'bothering' him, so nobody did this and the situation remained the same.[23]

The Orphans and Estate Chambers also had a legal advisor (*praktizijn*), usually a solicitor, whose opinion counted heavily, often too heavily for the inexperienced Presidents. The applicability of European law to the Chinese afforded ample sources of income to the legal advisors. Debtors of estates managed by the Chambers would be reminded only once by the Chamber, and if they did not comply and pay their debts within a certain period, the legal advisors were charged to collect the debts at a collection fee of 5%. In some cases, all debts were immediately handled by the legal advisor. Once, when Meeter protested against this during the meeting and wished to have his protest registered in the minutes, this was refused because he was not a full member. In another similar case, an inheritance of *f* 400,000 in outstanding debts had already been received, while the legal advisor still collected the 5% fee, but Meeter's protest was again denied. When Meeter by chance met the President of the Court of Audit (*Rekenkamer*), the financial supervisor of the Orphans Chamber, he told him about this, whereupon the Chamber was ordered to remit the collection fee of *f* 20,000 to the minor heirs.[24]

But the Chambers were not so generous to the extraordinary members, Meeter said. He recounted in fine detail the experience of a colleague, Van der Spek, as an example of the ambiguity of the regulations. In Makassar, Van der Spek was once asked by European creditors to investigate the account books of a bankrupt Chinese. For this he proposed a fee of *f* 1,000, which would not be much for a European expert such as a lawyer, doctor or notary. The creditors found this much too high, and requested the Orphans and Estate Chamber to check the books on grounds of suspicion of fraud. Now Van der Spek was required to do the same work for free, and he of course refused, asking to be shown the relevant regulation giving them the authority to give him orders. The Chamber then lodged a complaint of wilful disobedience with the Director of Justice, who gave Van der Spek a reprimand, and finally transferred him to the other end of the Indies, Banka.[25]

In another case, a lawyer asked the Chamber to have the extraordinary member translate a document from one of the estates managed by the Chamber. The (anonymous) interpreter refused, but after being forced to do so by a written resolution from the Chamber, he provided a translation and submitted an invoice of *f* 12. This fee was then received by the

Chamber and booked as administrative charges (*leges*), although it was not in accordance with the normally prescribed fee. When the interpreter complained to the Director of Justice, he was rebuked, and after an appeal to the Governor-General, the latter upheld the decision, at the same time ordering the Orphans Chamber in future not to assign such private jobs to the interpreter.[26]

In order to further protect the interpreters' rightful emoluments, Meeter suggested it should be forbidden for the judiciary and the civil administration to allow any private person, in particular the legal advisors (*praktizijns*) of Orphans and Estate Chambers, to copy or consult the translations of account books made on the government's orders.[27]

He also mentioned the example of one interpreter who, after several stationings in the Outer Possessions, was for the first time appointed in an Orphans and Estate Chamber. Passing through Batavia on the way to his new station, he asked both interpreters in Batavia, who were respectively assigned to the Orphans and to the Estate Chamber, about the work in those institutions. Both told him he only had to attend the weekly meetings, though even this was not always necessary, and that they were rarely asked for advice. They only stayed at the meetings until the minutes concerning Chinese estates had been read aloud, since they had nothing to do with estates of Europeans, Arabs, and other non-Christians.

When after arrival in his new station, this interpreter asked the President of the Orphans Chamber on which day the meetings were held, he was told he did not have to attend any; when needed, he would be called, but this would not happen often. His argument that he had to plan his weekly schedule, having to work for the court, the administration and the Orphans Chamber, and that he did not know what to do in case all three called him on the same day, was to no avail. The President answered that the meetings were none of his business, since the extraordinary member had no right to vote. The interpreter then wrote to the Director of Justice, who replied that the President's opinion was "not entirely correct" and that the extraordinary member "*could* attend the meetings." Even then the President refused to allow him to take part, since the Director had not written that his opinion was "wrong" and that the extraordinary member "*should* attend the meetings."[28]

Meeter also did other work for the Orphans and Estate Chambers, to which he did not refer in his reminiscences. Some traces of this can be found in the archives of the Amoy Consulate, which contain a few letters from Meeter in Padang and Surabaya to Consul Pasedag, asking for documents for Chinese in the Indies.[29]

Meeter also did not mention the written advices given by the interpreters to the Orphans and Estate Chambers on Chinese customs and law.[30]

Despite the vaguely defined and formally weak position of the inter-

preters in the Orphans and Estate Chambers, Groeneveldt still considered their work in those Chambers as one of the few serious activities.[31]

The weak position of the interpreters as advisors

In his plea for a Chinese course and professorship for himself in Leiden in 1873, Schlegel stressed the indispensability of the interpreters. To illustrate this, he gave a general description of the economic and social importance of the Chinese in the Indies. He suggested that in districts with a large Chinese population, only government officials who knew Chinese should be appointed, complaining about the lack of understanding of Chinese affairs by the government:

> And of this element which is so important for the Indies, the East Indies officials know *nothing*. The wildest ideas are in circulation about them. They understand nothing of their religion, their peculiar customs and traditions, their economy, or most of all their language. And therefore glaring mistakes have been made vis-à-vis them, and the administration of the Chinese causes problems in many places, while the Chinese are actually a people most easy to rule.[32]

Despite the government's lack of understanding of the Chinese, the interpreters were not consulted. Schlegel therefore complained about the interpreters' weak advisory position. He had heard that in 1870, when the Governor-General asked the Residents of regions with a large Chinese population about the need of European interpreters for Chinese, most of them had answered that they did not need them.[33] Schlegel commented on this:

> This is not the place to hold forth on all the reasons leading to the refusal by these local authorities of such a necessary intermediary as a Chinese interpreter, but in my and many other colleagues' experience, it became clear that most administrative authorities preferred *not to have* us, keeping us as much as possible out of Chinese affairs, and considering us, to use a Japanese term, as troublesome *snoopers* (*dwarskijkers*), who through their knowledge of the Chinese language, and the confidence given them *accordingly* by the Chinese population, became acquainted with many circumstances that they preferred to leave unknown.[34]

When an interpreter was appointed for the first time, he would be about 23 years old and have as yet little knowledge about the Indies, so it is not surprising that the government would not consider him ready to act as an advisor. Schlegel soon realised that he was not appreciated. A few months after his appointment in Batavia, he strongly advised De Grijs in a letter against going to Java, since "our function is merely that of a Chinese boy with the Batavian mandarins."[35] For many interpreters, the situation seems not to have improved much even after years of experience.

Similar opinions were vented by others. Around 1880, De Groot, being an ambitious man, complained in Cirebon about the low status of the interpreter, which was aggravated by his association with the Chinese.

> … I notice that the position of interpreter already counts for very little with the Dutch public. All those in my environment are "officials" and can as such climb up to the highest ranks, but the interpreter is doomed to stay all his life what he is; he is someone without any significance, and can never have any significance. He is even more in discredit, because due to the confidence he soon enjoys from the Chinese population, he has a better understanding of the malversations and bad practices towards them than anyone else, and one cannot expect from him that he will always cover up what he hears.[36]

Even in 1913, Borel complained that the Officials for Chinese Affairs were not consulted by the regional government, for the same reasons that Schlegel had already mentioned in 1873.[37]

In his "Indische Chinoiserieën," Meeter gave several lively examples illustrating how this worked in practice. In one case from the Outer Possessions, a wealthy but unpopular Chinese, who was also known to be an opium smuggler, was nominated by the Resident and appointed as Chinese officer. A few months later, Meeter was visited by two very reliable Chinese, who told him in secret that the new officer had again managed to smuggle about 5 *pikol* of opium and conceal it in his house.[38] The informants gave him all details, including the exact place of concealment, convincing Meeter of their trustworthiness. At first, Meeter was reluctant to inform the Resident about his protégé, but in the end he considered it his duty to do so. When Meeter reported the matter to the Resident, without disclosing the names of the informants, the Resident's first question was: "Are you now employed by the opium tax-farmer?"[39] Meeter answered that he hardly knew the opium tax-farmer and considered it his duty to inform the Resident. Meeter refused to give him the names of the informants, even when the Resident offered to pay them a reward. The Resident then angrily promised to have the matter investigated, but warned Meeter that he should not come again with such stories if the results should be negative, as he expected.

Meeter was at the time too naïve to realise that the Resident's investigation would certainly produce no results. When he went to the club and told his friend, the doctor, about this, the latter laughed at him and told him he had been wrong to involve himself in that matter: a good listener would understand that the Resident did not *wish* to find opium in the house of the Chinese headman.

About half an hour after Meeter had left the Resident's offices, a clerk (*commies*) bearing an official briefcase, followed by a police officer (*schout*) and two policemen (*oppassers*), slowly walked to the house of the Chinese officer, attracting a lot of attention. Upon arrival, they were invited in by

the Chinese, but the clerk realised that he had forgotten his pocket inkwell (*inktkoker*) and sent one of the policemen back to fetch it. When they finally entered the house, no opium was found.

The next morning, Meeter was summoned by the Resident and told about the fruitless search. Meeter explained how his informants had come again the night before, reporting that the Chinese had had ample time to remove the opium via the canal at the back of his house. Even more than before, Meeter refused to give their names, whereupon the Resident accused Meeter of spreading unfounded rumours, which could be entered in his personal dossier. When Meeter said that in that case he would report to his chief, the Director of Justice, how important information was being used by the government, the Resident considered this a personal attack and warned him. This incident worsened the already poor relations between Meeter and the Resident, who would thenceforth neglect no opportunity to deal him a blow (*een deuk*).[40]

In another case, Meeter showed how a Dutch official in the Outer Possessions extorted enormous bribes from a Chinese contractor, believing (as many Europeans would) that a Chinese would keep things secret. A *sinkheh* mason, who was a well respected neighbourhood chief (*wijkmeester*), came to Meeter's house and told him that he had contracted for the construction of a government building. He had already been working on it for some time, under the supervision of the Bureau of Public Works, the chief of which he called "Mr. Waterstaat" (Mr. Public Works).[41] He told Meeter that after he had finished laying the foundations, the result was not approved by Mr. Waterstaat and he was ordered to tear them down. That evening, the *sinkheh* sent Mr. Waterstaat two boxes of wine and two boxes of cigars, after which the latter became friendly and was willing to leave the building as it was. This happened several times, not only with the foundation but also the walls, the roof, the beams, the floor, etc. Each time, Mr. Waterstaat had only orally explained the specifications of the building, of which the Chinese took notes. According to Mr. Waterstaat it was not necessary to ask the Chinese interpreter to translate the specifications. After each disapproval, the *sinkheh* won the favours of Mr. Waterstaat by presenting gifts or money. Now the building was almost finished, but Mr. Waterstaat disapproved of the stairs, which should have had eleven steps instead of nine; this was too much for the Chinese to take. Meeter computed from the Chinese man's notebook that he had already spent 3,000 guilders on presents, and suggested that he could lodge a complaint with the Resident, submitting the notebook as evidence. The clever *sinkheh* replied that he would not dare to do so, since Mr. Waterstaat could then order him to tear down the whole building and his losses would be even greater. And if the complaint were forwarded to Batavia, Mr. Waterstaat would certainly be dismissed. Since he had a large family, the *sinkheh*

did not wish to harm him that much, even though he had been treated unjustly. He suggested that Meeter ask Mr. Waterstaat in private to approve of the stairs, telling him that if he would do so, the matter would be closed.

Meeter thereupon invited the chief of the Bureau of Public Works to pay him a casual visit, and then told him all he had heard from the Chinese contractor, also mentioning the notebook with the expenses for presents. Not only did Mr. Waterstaat promise immediately to accept the stairs, but he fell to his knees in front of Meeter, imploring him not to pursue the matter officially.

In hindsight, Meeter regretted not having done so, since Mr. Waterstaat, although friendly to his face, behind his back spoke ill of him to his friend the Resident, even accusing Meeter of dishonesty, collaborating with the Resident to make Meeter's life as unpleasant as possible.[42]

Many aspects of the weak position of the interpreter as advisor are illustrated in Meeter's long story about his membership in the Business Tax Commission in Surabaya, published in eight episodes of the "Indische Chinoiserieën." This story is about unfair taxation and the difficulties in fighting this injustice (most important was the financial damage for the government), which the interpreter could only overcome with support from the Governor-General in Batavia.

The Business Tax (*bedrijfsbelasting*) was created in 1878 and was imposed on native and Chinese businessmen.[43] The next year a similar tax was created for European businessmen, called the Patent Tax (*patentbelasting*). New taxes are of course never popular, but this was not the issue. Meeter first expounded on the problems resulting from the direct application of this law from Europe to the Chinese without considering their very different ways of doing business, giving examples of some informal but highly profitable kinds of business that would not be taxed. Some time after this business tax had been introduced, a friend with whom he often played at cards at the club, and who happened to be a Tax Inspector, visited Meeter to ask his advice. He had been charged to investigate and report on the effectiveness of the tax levied the previous year, and had no idea how to assess the true volume of business of Chinese companies. Meeter immediately explained that since the Commission was presided over by the Chinese *majoor*, a *peranakan*, he expected that the *sinkheh* shopkeepers would in general be overtaxed, while the large *peranakan* companies would be undertaxed. He suggested visiting some Chinese shops and companies together, where he would introduce the Tax Inspector as his student wishing to practice his Chinese in conversation with the shopkeeper. The first shopkeeper they visited was a *sinkheh*, without family ties to the Chinese officers, and with a rare surname (Soe 史), so he would not be supported by any of the Chinese surname associations. After gaining information about his business, which this shopkeeper was willing to give, Meeter and

the Tax Inspector assessed the tax he owed at *f* 20, while according to the tax register he had paid *f* 96. The divergence was much larger than Meeter had expected. But when they visited a large *peranakan* company, the result was the opposite: that company had paid *f* 130, but actually owed more than three times that amount. While the Tax Inspector assumed this was the result of the previous commission's ignorance, Meeter thought it was intentional. The Inspector was shocked in particular by the financial damage to the government. He now asked Meeter to check all the registers of the previous year and write the report. He also suggested that Meeter should become a member of the Business Tax Commission to avoid future damages. Meeter was willing to do so, but made it clear that a request for this should not be submitted to the Resident, but only to the Department of Finance.

Some days later, suddenly the Resident F. Beyerinck and his wife paid a rare courtesy visit to Meeter's home, which normally speaking should be considered a great honour. The Resident told Meeter that the Director of Finance had requested to appoint Meeter as a member of the Business Tax Commission; he asked him to write a letter of protest against this, since this work "had nothing to do with translation." Meeter maintained a neutral standpoint and refused to send such a letter on what he considered false grounds. Some time later, Meeter was notified of his appointment, but not in the usual manner by a formal government decision, but in a letter in broken Dutch written by the *controleur* 2nd class (the lowest official rank in the interior administration) who had been appointed as President of this Commission. Meeter's protest with the Director of Justice against this arrangement, in which he would be placed under a low-ranking official, was to no avail.

In order to change the unworkable composition of the Commission, the Tax Inspector suggested that Meeter should write a letter to an acquaintance in Batavia who was close to the Governor-General. Meeter then secretly wrote a long letter to Groeneveldt explaining the matter extensively and protesting against this arrangement and, on the Tax Inspector's advice, adding that the results of the business tax should be much better. Immediately afterwards, Meeter received the decision of two months earlier, and Groeneveldt asked him by telegraph for permission to forward his secret letter to the Governor-General; this he gave immediately. When the meeting of the Commission was finally about to take place, suddenly the Assistant Resident arrived and announced that the meeting would be postponed. According to the new arrangement, he would be President of the Commission, and the *majoor* was no longer a member, but only an advisor. The next meeting, however, still took place in the *majoor*'s house, giving him an opportunity to entertain the members. Meeter refused to accept any cigars or drinks from the *majoor*, bringing along his own cigars,

thereby keeping his neutrality (in Chinese fashion) and not "sponging on the Chinese" as many Europeans were doing in his opinion. Despite continuing sabotage by the *controleur* (in Meeter's opinion at the instigation of the Resident) and similar attempts by the *majoor*, the tax results were now fair and in accord with the actual amounts of business. The Chinese member even remarked: "Finally justice is done." For the government, the results were also "fantastic." But Meeter was not rewarded for his work. And when the Governor-General visited Surabaya soon afterwards, Meeter was not invited by the Resident. This to him was no cause for regret; in any case he disliked this kind of activity, and he was glad not to be invited.[44]

One of Meeter's (many) grudges against his function was that he was sometimes charged to perform a purely formal role (*figurantenrol*). True to his epithet of 'opponent,' he usually refused to perform these. For instance, he refused to lead by the hand the newly appointed, unpopular Chinese officer up the stairs of the Resident's office; in this case he could disobey his superior's orders without consequences, since his friend, the doctor, wrote a false certificate of illness for him.[45] He also refused to read aloud in Chinese the tax-farming regulations at auctions, since he considered this a superfluous formality: all Chinese present had a better knowledge of Malay than Chinese, and had beforehand carefully studied the farming regulations. The Resident's argument that Meeter's predecessors had always performed this duty, could not convince him. Even when the Resident finally said "Yes… but… you know…, please do it for my sake…, because … I so much enjoy hearing a Dutchman speak Chinese," the stubborn Meeter still refused[46]—perhaps he was ashamed of his admittedly imperfect pronunciation of Hokkien.

Despite these minor irritations, the examples above show that because of their knowledge of the Chinese language (in the case of *sinkheh*) and Chinese customs and traditions, the interpreters could play an important role as troubleshooters, but because of their weak position they could only do so in an informal way, or with help from outside.

But the interpreter could also do 'harm.' One case is known in which an interpreter indeed acted as a "troublesome snooper" and even as a whistle-blower. Not all details about this extremely complicated case have been found, so the conclusions are tentative, but the general picture is clear enough.

Almost a year and a half after A.E. Moll's appointment at his first post in Cirebon on 26 April 1880, a new Resident, J. Faes, came into office on 19 September 1881. Faes had had an impressive career as a chief of police, although he had been transferred in 1870 after beating a suspect with a whip.[47] The new Resident was very friendly to the 24-year old Moll, inviting him often to his home for lunch or dinner. But his authoritarian attitude did not endear him to the general public. Within two weeks some

incidents happened that would lead to an enormous row, in the end cutting short both Moll's and Faes', and many others' careers in Cirebon.

On 29 September 1881, the native Regent, *Raden Adipati Aria* Soeria di Redja, in office since 1 March 1861, was charged by Faes to check the opium tax-farmer and *luitenant* The Tjao Tjay's (Tjauw Tjaij) stocks and account books for smuggled opium.[48] He was accompanied by Moll and *kapitein* Khoe The Djin (a personal enemy of the tax-farmer), who made up the investigating committee. On three successive days, this search was so rigorously performed that the tax-farmer lodged protests with the Resident and his representative, Secretary J.C.W. Coert. In the newspapers, reports appeared about the excessively rude behaviour of the police during the search,[49] and this incident marked the beginning of the conflict between the Resident and the Regent. But on 12 December there appeared in *Het Indisch Vaderland* an anonymous, very detailed, new version of what had happened, exonerating the Regent and accusing the Resident and Secretary of conniving with the tax-farmer and obstructing legal procedures. Many details on the background and procedures were given, including the Chinese interpreter's role in weighing the opium and studying the account books, which also mentioned the exact bribes paid to various officials.[50] Later some other anonymous articles appeared in the same newspaper.[51] After a few months, Faes managed by unconventional methods, including bribery, to obtain proof that Moll—suspected least of all—was the author of the articles. Upon questioning, Moll confirmed this and said he had written them at the request of the Regent. The inexperienced Moll may have been used by the Regent. The matter was reported to Governor-General F. s'Jacob; the case was investigated, and as a result the accusations of the Resident were declared libellous. But the local situation remained extremely tense.[52]

On 1 November 1882, s'Jacob expressed "the government's serious dissatisfaction with him [Moll] because of his behaviour, highly inappropriate for a government official, in writing newspaper articles detrimental to the regional government of Cirebon," and at the same time ordered Moll's transfer to Western Borneo for stationing in Montrado or Singkawang.[53] These were some of the least popular places in the Outer Possessions. This measure did not relieve the tension in Cirebon.

One of Faes' good friends in the local Club, 'Sociëteit Phoenix,' a certain B., was accused of indecent behaviour towards a 13-year old Chinese girl, and prosecution was initiated. When the suspect was being shunned by other members of the Club, Faes tried as Resident to bolster his standing, but the suspect continued to be treated as a non-person. For Faes, this was infuriating, since Moll had always been treated with respect in the Club. Thereupon, Faes left the Club with about twelve other members and established a new Club; a few days later the old Club's mortgage was suddenly cancelled, etc.

Meanwhile Faes' conflicts with the Regent and many others intensified, leading to debates in the newspapers.[54] In 1883 Faes managed to have the old Regent and his three sons—the native government was a family affair, as in many places—dishonorably removed from office. But the local situation became unbearable, and a request was sent to Governor-General s'Jacob, asking for Faes' dismissal.[55] Subsequently, in May 1883, s'Jacob gave Faes three weeks' time to take honorable leave (or pension). The reasons were that he had offered not to report on the Regent on condition that the latter would stop obstructing him; he had involved himself too much in the local row and attached value to matters not worthy of his attention. Under protest, Faes retired as from 1 August 1883. Later he published a long report in defense of himself for the eyes of the new Governor-General, O. van Rees, but referring only to happenings of 1883, and not to Moll's articles.[56]

In the whole affair, Moll had been the whistle-blower, and he caused the breakup of the Club. When Faes left Cirebon, the sale of his furniture brought a remarkably good price of *f* 31,000.[57] According to Meeter, this could in general be a reason for suspicion of corruption. These incidents may illustrate Schlegel's and Meeter's opinion that some Residents connived with the rich *peranakan* Chinese officers who were also opium tax-farmers. Resident Faes should indeed have been more cautious with the European interpreter of Chinese. Afterwards, in Cirebon no such interpreter was ever appointed.

Apart from oral advice, as described by Meeter, the interpreters were sometimes asked to write, or wrote on their own initiative, *notas* (policy documents) for the regional government (Resident) or the central government (Director of Justice). These were about subjects concerning the Chinese or about their own position. For instance, in 1877 Schaalje wrote a *nota* on the working of the secret societies in Riau, and in 1887 about a possible new by-law repressing secret societies, both for the Resident of Riau (*see* Chapter Fourteen, section on secret societies). In 1880, both Von Faber and Hoetink wrote at the Resident's request *notas* about a new costume for the Chinese officers (*see* next section). Albrecht wrote a *nota* about the work of the interpreters in 1878 for the Director of Justice, and one about the legal position of the Chinese up to 1883 (published in 1890). In 1882–3, six interpreters wrote *notas* on the revision of laws for the Chinese (see the section on advice to the courts). After 1900, several Officials for Chinese Affairs wrote *notas* about a reorganisation of their work. And of course Schlegel, De Groot, and Hoetink wrote *notas* in support of their requests for a professorship and missions to China. Writing a *nota* was the only substantial way of reporting or giving advice to the government. But it seems that sinologists were only rarely (and in some cases never) asked to write a *nota*.

The sinologists' double function of interpreter and advisor is well illustrated in their work for Foreign Affairs. Two Indies interpreters, De Grijs and Groeneveldt, also served for some time with double functions in diplomatic affairs, but when assessing their functioning, their superiors seem to have had opposite opinions about them.

In 1863, even before being appointed in the Indies, De Grijs was made 'Chinese secretary and interpreter' to the Dutch plenipotentiary Van der Hoeven for the negotiations leading to the Sino–Dutch Treaty of Tientsin. An account of his important role in this process can be found in Chapter Five. As was common at the time, De Grijs was much more than just an interpreter. For instance, he also took care of practical matters such as renting lodgings in Tientsin, and he did most of the negotiations with minor Chinese Mandarins himself. Afterwards Van der Hoeven expressed his great appreciation for De Grijs' service, stating that a large part of the success was due to De Grijs' knowledge of Chinese customs and tact.

When the first Dutch diplomat J.H. Ferguson was sent to China in 1872, the Dutch government realised that a Chinese interpreter would be an indispensable assistant. When asked, Schlegel advised engaging De Grijs, who knew some Mandarin, or Groeneveldt. But De Grijs, now with a family of five, had so many extra financial requirements, while Groeneveldt, still a bachelor, had none, that the choice fell on the latter. He was made 'Secretary-Interpreter' for one year, which was later extended for another year, and he stayed in Shanghai and Peking in 1872–4.

Ferguson only indirectly vented his opinion about Groeneveldt in a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs about the best manner to train interpreters for the Indies. This was just before Schlegel was appointed as titular professor, and an extract was sent to Minister of Colonies Van Goltstein, since he might be interested in Ferguson's views. Van Goltstein ignored the letter; he obviously was not interested. It should be noted that after Groeneveldt left China, Ferguson was assisted by the student-interpreter Jan Rhein, a 19-year old primary school teacher.[58] In his letter, Ferguson first gave his views on the qualifications for appointment as an interpreter. He disagreed with the opinion that only extremely intelligent persons, perhaps geniuses, could study Chinese. For an interpreter there was no need for special scholarly training in Ethnology, Philology and Chemistry etc. at Leiden University. He only needed to have an accurate pronunciation in Mandarin and know the official style of correspondence of the Chinese government. Another requisite for an interpreter was modesty:

> Moreover, the interpreter's characteristic feature—for example in his relation with his chief—should be modesty. Many learned young men feel that natural urge to outshine the modest, almost instrumental function of the interpreter, and they therefore fail to appreciate the practical, commonplace aspects of

> their profession; nowhere is conceitedness a greater hindrance to service than in an interpreter from whom one expects practical skill, not scholarship.[59]

Ferguson's requirements for a good interpreter are obviously correct, but he forgot that the Indies interpreters, in particular someone like Groeneveldt who had rarely acted as interpreter before and had fulfilled other more responsible functions in Pontianak,[60] were not just interpreters, but always considered themselves rather as advisors. Groeneveldt was a modest but extremely intelligent man with higher aspirations, and he may inadvertently have eclipsed Ferguson, who in 1872, according to Schlegel, did not know anything about China.[61] One may assume that a similar thing happened in the Indies, when Residents considered the sinologists as mere interpreters and translators, and refused to see them as advisors.

Reduction of the number of interpreters (1879)

When Schlegel's first group of students finished their studies in China in 1878, Groeneveldt, who had left the interpreter corps the previous year, and was now Honorary Advisor for Chinese Affairs, was asked to suggest places of appointment for them. He replied that he was not in favour of the enlargement of the interpreter corps, since they had in most places little to do.[62] In his opinion:

> It is our experience that the Residents are … so jealous about their authority, that they cannot bring themselves to recognise that the Chinese interpreter knows some circumstances better than themselves.[63]

As a remedy he suggested:

> It could be different if it were decided to regard the interpreters more as Officials for Chinese Affairs assigned to the heads of regional government—but this is not prescribed in the present *Directive*—and, as I said earlier, the heads of regional government seem little inclined to take such action on their own initiative.[64]

At the time, Groeneveldt did not delve into the matter more deeply.[65]

Two weeks later, Albrecht submitted his *nota* on the work of the interpreters. Born and raised in the Indies, where his father had worked in the military administration in Batavia, and with five brothers who became military officers, he was well informed about both legal and administrative affairs. Working as an interpreter for almost eighteen years in both the Outer Possessions and on Java, he had always been interested in fulfilling other functions. In his free time, he had even compiled a comprehensive index to the Government ordinances in the *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*.[66] For these reasons, he seems to have been more ready than Schlegel and some others to accept the facts of government.

Albrecht began his *nota* with his astonishing conclusion:

> The position of interpreter for Chinese in the Netherlands Indies as defined in *Staatsblad* 1863 no. 39 is in most places a sinecure.[67]

If their functions as interpreter and translator, which have been described in the previous chapter, were limited, their advisory functions were even more restricted. According to article 2 in the *Directive* of 1863, their functions as advisor were:

> They provide information to the head of regional government—if need be after a previous investigation by them on orders of this head—as well as commentary and advice about affairs concerning the Chinese.

But the actual situation was quite the opposite. Albrecht wrote:

> Advice is almost never asked for by the heads of regional government, and very rarely by the [Central] Government.[68]

He gave the following explanation, which was based on a clear understanding of the workings of government:

> Many will contend that an official knowing Chinese and Chinese affairs should deliver useful services to the government. He would be able to do so with success, if he were not placed entirely outside the administrative machinery, therefore remaining unacquainted with the handling of administrative matters. In the present situation, the interpreter is in an isolated position; it depends upon the fancy of the head of regional government whether to consult him or not. …
>
> To be honest, one should keep in mind that the relationship between the interpreter and the other officials is not defined, so that if they are charged with tasks that are not related to interpreting, this may easily give rise to conflicts with the administrative officials and the Chinese headmen. …
>
> Most heads of regional government seem to realise this and keep the interpreters outside of any involvement with the administration over the Chinese. …[69]

Albrecht acknowledged the need of some officials knowing Chinese, but if their position were not to be strengthened, he proposed a radical reduction of their number as a remedy:

> It is a wise policy for the Government to have at its disposal officials knowing the language and writing of such an important element of the population as the Chinese. They are indispensable for the translation of ordinances, and they can fruitfully investigate important matters and give advice on Chinese customs and institutions. But for this work only two interpreters would be needed, both stationed in Batavia, one of whom could be available for missions elsewhere in the Netherlands Indies. All the work outside Batavia that is preferably done by a European interpreter, that is to say, only concerning important matters, could also be done by them. At most, one other interpreter could be stationed in Semarang and one in Surabaya, but that should be all.[70]

For the Outer Possessions, Albrecht proposed another remedy to ameliorate the interpreters' position. He suggested charging them there with the function of *controleur* or *adspirant-controleur*, and if necessary later incorporate them in the Interior Administration. This could be done in the Western part of Borneo, Riau, Banka, and the East Coast of Sumatra. He wrote in his *nota*:

> Having daily contact with Chinese, they will be better able than in their present isolated position to keep up and apply what they have learned, and knowing the language of the people, they will acquire a knowledge and experience in the administration of that nation of which the other officials of the Interior Administration will be envious.[71]

This was followed by several rounds of correspondence about Groeneveldt's letter and Albrecht's *nota*, between Director of Justice Buijn, Director of Interior Administration G.Th.H. Henny, the Council of the Indies, and Governor-General J.W. van Lansberge. Their conclusion was that incorporation in the Interior Administration was impossible because of administrative obstacles: the interpreters had not passed the Higher Officials Examination, a necessary qualification, and they could not be forced to follow a second training after their difficult (and expensive) Chinese studies.

Ironically, a few years later Albrecht's advice was realised in one case in the Outer Possessions, but the other way around. The *controleur* Schaank received a Chinese training course in Leiden and not only became a rare example of an official knowing Chinese, but also a remarkable scholar in Chinese linguistics.[72]

In 1878, all officials who were consulted agreed on the need of a reduction of the number of interpreters. Both Buijn and Henny proposed keeping the prescribed number of seven interpreters—six new interpreters had just been trained in Leiden—while the Council of the Indies was in favour of a reduction to four (two in Batavia and two in the Outer Possessions, namely on Riau and on the East Coast of Sumatra). In their opinion, there would be less objection against giving the present interpreters and the three students other jobs, since they had shown themselves to be well educated men who could also be useful in other functions.

The Council of the Indies also remarked in its first advice that it regretted Groeneveldt's depreciation of the heads of regional government. His remark about their jealousy could not be true; such narrow-mindedness seemed unbelievable in the case of head officials (*hoofdambtenaren*) who had been selected with care. Pertinent objection should be raised against this.

In an advice a few months later, the Council of the Indies concluded:

> that the European interpreters for Chinese, with the exception of a small number, could be missed without the least objection, even if more use is being made of them than in the past.[73]

Governor-General Van Lansberge then proposed to the Minister of Colonies to reduce the number of interpreters to five (two in Batavia and one each on Riau, the East Coast of Sumatra and Borneo). The present interpreters would remain in function until they passed away or changed to different employment. Minister O. van Rees agreed with the Council of the Indies' advice, and decided that four interpreters would suffice; no interpreter was needed on Borneo.

As a result, Schlegel's teaching would go into its first moratorium, which lasted almost ten years. While in 1860 the Governor-General and Minister had still needed ten interpreters, and two years later they had needed eight; the prescribed number was now lowered to four. Since Schlegel had just trained six students, in practice it would take another ten years before this reduction was realised.[74]

Now Governor-General Van Lansberge issued a summons urging the heads of regional and local government to make more use of the interpreters as advisors,[75] but Buijn did not expect much to come of it.

The reduction was a wise decision, since if Schlegel had not been stopped, the number of interpreters would have risen even more. But the summons did not strengthen the interpreters' position. Groeneveldt asserted in 1894 that the situation had not changed: "That summons did not change the matter; the old opinion that these were just interpreters continued to prevail."[76]

Relations with the Chinese

When the interpreters arrived in the Indies, they were confronted with a highly diverse Chinese population. The Chinese were not only divided into different dialect groups, sometimes leading to violent conflicts in the Outer Possessions, but also into different social strata. At the top stood the *peranakan* (or *baba*) who had often been living in the Indies for generations, had in many ways adapted to the local environment, were often of mixed blood, and could speak Malay; they were often very wealthy families. At the bottom stood the *sinkheh* who had newly arrived from China, spoke little or no Malay, and who would start out from scratch. In general these two strata did not mix, and the rich *peranakan* despised the poor and "uncivilised" *sinkheh* ("newcomers"). On the other hand, some clever and hard-working *sinkheh* earned a fortune and thereby could rise quickly in society, although they might still be despised by the *peranakan*.[77]

The *peranakan* had been engaging in business and in governing with the Dutch for two and a half centuries, and though their legal position was lower and less advantageous than that of the Europeans, they were a local elite of high standing, which in other respects was superior to the Dutch.

There were some extremely rich and powerful families, interconnected by marriage ties, who were there to stay, while most Dutch officials were temporarily stationed in the Indies. These *peranakan* were not a subjected nation, as the interpreters may have expected, but a proud, rich and powerful segment of the population.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch practiced a system of indirect rule over the Chinese and other ethnicities, as was common in the harbours of East Asia. The Chinese were governed by their own headmen who were appointed by the Dutch. In 1619, a few months after the establishment of Batavia, the first *kapitein* or headman was appointed; from 1633 on he was assisted by a *luitenant*, and two centuries later, from 1837 on, a *majoor* could be placed above him in some places. From the eighteenth century onwards, the Chinese officers in the main towns of Java were organised as the Chinese Council (*Chineesche Raad*, Kong Koan 公館). Although the officers' functions were unsalaried on Java and Madura, they were highly sought after because of their prestige and financial advantages. Except for various business activities, such as contracting public works and supplies to the government and the military, the Chinese officers from the start also acted as tax-farmers. In the seventeenth century, a system of tax-farms that were auctioned to the highest bidder was common in the Netherlands. It was transplanted to the Indies, and would become a vital source of income for both the Chinese officers and the government. After about three hundred years, in the beginning of the twentieth century, the system of Chinese officers was undermined. This was caused by the gradual abolition of the tax-farming system, by the mass influx of *sinkheh*, and by the Chinese emancipation movement which regarded the officers as collaborators of the colonial government. Another factor was the ongoing Dutch encroachment and involvement in the Indies. After many debates, in the 1930s the system was allowed to fade away. Only in Batavia did it continue until 1942; the Batavian Chinese Council remained active in managing temples and cemeteries until the 1970s.[78] Besides their administrative and judicial functions, the Chinese officers also acted by law as advisors to the courts, and as translators and interpreters.

On account of the close cooperation and interdependence of the Chinese officers and the Dutch, resulting in a symbiotic relation between these two elites, it is not surprising that in the 1840s and 1850s the authorities in Batavia were at first reluctant and cautious about appointing Europeans as interpreters. During the first discussions of the need for European interpreters, several government officials stated that the Chinese officers' translations and advice were reliable, and that European interpreters were needed only as an extra safeguard in case of serious problems. It was only after several crises (the kongsi war on Borneo, the ban on harmful secret

societies, the Banka case) that the need of training European youngsters was recognised. This need should also be seen in the context of the deepening administrative and judicial involvement in East Indies society by the Dutch.

In addition to their formal powers, the Chinese officers, being wealthy men, also had great informal power. Several interpreters, such as Schlegel, Meeter, and Borel, described their influence over administrative and judicial officials. For instance, Chinese officers often invited colonial officials to great parties where they entertained them; many of the latter accepted, but did not reciprocate. The Dutch felt in general superior to the Chinese and seemed to find it normal to sponge on them (in Meeter's words). The interpreters could see this because it was an offense against the basic Chinese principle of reciprocity. Dutch officials inadvertedly became "indebted" to the Chinese, and this could prejudice their neutrality when dealing with Chinese questions and lawsuits.[79] Moreover, through information gained from their informants and their understanding of Chinese society in general, some interpreters were disgusted by the behaviour of Europeans at these Chinese parties, where they danced and behaved in a way offensive to Chinese eyes, thereby making themselves ridiculous. In 1878, De Groot wrote an anonymous article about this phenomenon that was taken over by all the newspapers; Meeter and Borel also wrote about it.[80] Besides, there also existed corruption in various subtle ways, as was analysed by Meeter. He sarcastically designated corrupt Dutch officials as "buddies of the Chinese" (*Chineezenvrienden*).[81] In the late 1880s, Meeter and others asserted that the Chinese officers were a "state within the state," and the only way to curb this anomaly was to abolish the whole system of unsalaried officials, replacing them with salaried ones.[82]

For a young Dutchman in his early twenties, who upon his arrival knew almost nothing about the Indies, it would be impossible to compete with the leaders of the Chinese community. Aside from their belonging to the ruling race, their only advantage was that they were better educated. They had obtained systematic knowledge about China from Western and Chinese books, and had obtained personal experience in China, while most of the Chinese officers were not at all, or hardly, proficient in written Chinese, knew little about the Chinese classics and laws, and had never been in China. Accordingly, the interpreters considered themselves better qualified as advisors than the Chinese officers.[83] Meeter considered the officers' advisory capacity also questionable because of their lack of neutrality, for instance in the Business Tax Commission mentioned above.[84] Even Groeneveldt, who generally had moderate opinions, wrote that when he had to give an expert opinion together with Chinese officers, they did not contribute anything, and the result was always his own opinion.[85]

The interpreters had already taken over from the Chinese officers the functions of translation and interpreting, although in practice the latter was later rarely performed by them. But their greatest ambition was to have a say in Chinese affairs and become advisors to the government. Soon after Francken was appointed in Surabaya, he tried to find ways to strengthen his position vis-à-vis the *peranakan* Chinese, and wrote to De Grijs in Amoy about his work. The latter warned him to be cautious, realising the inherent weakness of the interpreter's position.

> It gives me a bit of satisfaction to hear that you take a firm line with those Chinese, but I fear they will try to take revenge on you. Although the nature of the Chinese is not [in English:] *down-right-murder*, the influence of the Javanese environment might tempt them to it, but it is just this possibility which can be an argument for having to function as an independent official. To frighten the Chinese is pre-eminently not the most honourable task, but to make them understand that in you honesty has found an interpreter who does not have to fear rich babas, certainly is an honourable task. And when the Chinese see that the government does not entrust you with an independent position, they will also have no confidence in you. It seems to me the government only expects the interpreters to act in case of emergency, without using them all the time, that is, that they act rather as advisors. But how can one be advisor about things of which one has no experience, and how can one obtain experience if one cannot judge and act independently?[86]

In his *nota* of 1873 to the Ministry of Colonies, Schlegel gave some suggestions for strengthening the interpreters' position vis-à-vis the Chinese officers. He first put forward that the interpreters should be consulted by the heads of regional government (Residents) about nominations for appointment of Chinese officers (which had never been done), since with their knowledge of the language and of the local population, those interpreters would be better qualified than anyone else to point out suitable candidates. Moreover, Schlegel asserted that it was urgently necessary to appoint an "official knowing Chinese" —this could only be a European interpreter—as President of the Chinese Council (in Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya). Advice sought by the Government from the Chinese Council was in his experience mostly just a sham (*wassen neus*), since the Chinese President imposed his will upon all the other members, who out of fear of his power did not dare to express their opinions.[87]

One kind of advice asked a few times from several interpreters concerning the Chinese officers, was about their new costume. In 1880, Von Faber in Batavia wrote four pages of advice on this, taking as his motto an extremely derogatory verse: "Although a monkey wears a golden ring, he still remains an ugly thing."[88] In the same year Hoetink also wrote a two-page report in which he discussed the problem of how to design a costume that would impress both the Chinese and the Dutch; he advised adopting a purely Chinese costume to impress the *sinkheh*, with a European staff.[89]

This kind of advice only concerned outward appearances, and was therefore of no more than cosmetic importance.

The officers were always appointed by the Governor-General for life. When a position became vacant, the Resident would choose the most suitable candidate and recommend him to the Governor-General for appointment. Meeter recounted a story about what could happen when the interpreter had not been consulted about the appointment of a Chinese officer. In one of the Outer Possessions, where the majority of the local Chinese were *sinkheh*, the Resident nominated an uneducated man who had arrived a few years earlier as a coolie, soon discovered that opium-smuggling was a profitable business, earned a fortune and thereby gained the respect of the Europeans and natives. He understood he could obtain more influence as a *kapitein* or *luitenant*, so he applied for the position. There was a second candidate, also a *sinkheh*, who had been adopted recently by his childless uncle. With his wide knowledge and good manners, he had gained the respect of the Chinese population and was considered the best candidate by the great majority of the Chinese. For both candidates elaborate recommendations were received, with lists of signatures, praising in flowery language their knowledge and capacities. But the Resident did not ask the advice of the Chinese interpreter, who could report that the second candidate could read and write Chinese well, spoke enough Malay, and knew a lot about Chinese customary law (*adat*), so he could be a good advisor to the court, while the former, though speaking better Malay, was only wealthier than the latter. But his advice was not requested. When the opium-smuggler was seen to pay many evening visits to the Resident, Meeter predicted that he would be nominated, and that is indeed what happened.

When a new officer was to be selected, there were always rumours among the Chinese that certain candidates had paid fabulous bribes to be nominated. European officials would of course always keep such matters secret, but a Chinese would proudly note down the expenses in his account books as *beli ikan, makan teh* (to buy fish, to eat tea), and would even take care that it became known, since this was also profitable to him. Chinese and natives would feel awe toward him, and consider him the more powerful and superior, while at the same time the European official, who had let himself be bribed, became the inferior of the Chinese. In this way the Chinese could find associates for their opium-smuggling, and witnesses would think twice before they dared to bear witness in court cases against such a rich and powerful man.[90]

Some Dutch officials, even Residents, accepted bribes, but not all did. Meeter recounted a story he had heard from a reliable source: when a new Resident had just been appointed in a certain town, at a gathering of Chinese officers who were also opium tax-farmers, one of those present said the new incumbent was 'aloof and arrogant' (*tinggi*, "high"). The oldest

officer then said: "Aloof? That's no problem, it'll just be a little more expensive, but I think he will also enjoy having tea."[91] Meeter explained that "having tea" meant the same as French *pots de vin*, "bribes." But in this case, Meeter was glad to report that his particular Resident steered clear of the Chinese, even leaving town at Chinese New year to avoid Chinese courtesy visits and presents. When he was transferred, and auctioned his furniture (*vendutie*), it was sold for a low price. There were no Chinese bidders driving up the prices, which was ample proof that he had been honest and clean.[92]

In 1878, Schlegel's wish that a sinologist should have a say in the appointment of a Chinese officer was realised in Batavia. The nomination of a relative of the present *majoor* was twice rejected on the advice of Groeneveldt, the Honorary Advisor for Chinese Affairs.[93]

The sinologists were of little significance for the *peranakan* as interpreters and translators, since the *peranakan* usually spoke better Malay than Chinese and could hardly read written Chinese. Some interpreters therefore considered the *peranakan* not as "real" Chinese, sometimes even despised them as degenerate bastard Chinese.[94]

It is no wonder that the interpreters in Batavia were very rarely mentioned in the minutes of the Chinese Council. Only two references could be found: the announcement that Schlegel was appointed to the committee for the compilation of law for the Chinese in 1865,[95] and the appointment of Tan Kaij Thee as the Council's secretary in 1883, at which time his previous function as clerk of the Dutch interpreter was mentioned.[96]

However, there are also examples of Chinese officers being highly appreciated and respected by the sinologists. The following two cases are both from the Outer Possessions and both have some connection with Hoetink. The first involves Jo Hoae Giok, a learned man, who was brought as a teacher to Makassar by Hoetink in 1878 and later became a highly respected *luitenant* in the same place (*see* Chapter Six). The second case is that of the two brothers Tjong Jong Hian and Tjong A Fie, who as *majoor* and *kapitein* greatly contributed to the development of Deli (*see* below). Hoetink indirectly referred to this in his study about So Bing Kong 蘇鳴崗, the first Chinese *kapitein* in Batavia (1619–1636):

> Anyone who has witnessed in our colonies the growth and development of a young Chinese settlement, thereby becoming closely acquainted with the heads of the Chinese nation and observing them while taking care of their multifarious official and private affairs, will understand of how great value, both for his compatriots and for the government, a robust and loyal 'headman of the Chinese' in the first half of the seventeenth century would have been in Batavia.[97]

Many interpreters sympathised more with the *sinkheh*, who were similar to the Chinese in China. They could speak Chinese with them and un-

derstood them better, and could play an important role for them. Since the *sinkheh* had arrived from China but recently, they had a lower social position than the *peranakan*; they were the underdogs in Chinese society. Meeter, however, considered them morally higher than the 'debased' Javanese *peranakan*.[98] Meeter gave several examples of how he favoured the *sinkheh* underdog and did not like the rich *peranakan* (e.g., above, the story of Mr. Waterstaat and the Business Tax Commission). Borel had the same predilection. He wrote a touching story about a *sinkheh* in Riau who had been falsely accused by the Chinese *kapitein* of not paying his debt, but when he tried to sue the *kapitein*, he lost his case in the *Landraad*. He immediately appealed to the High Court in Batavia. The gambir plantation he owned had already been confiscated, and after a court clerk's error (?) it was auctioned, whereupon the *kapitein* could cheaply acquire it. With the help of an expensive lawyer, the *sinkheh* won his appeal in Batavia, but legally speaking, his plantation was still lost. At that critical moment, his lawyer left Riau, and Borel arrived in Riau. Borel then played the role of lawyer—in itself a controversial act—helping to sue the *kapitein* and demand compensation. But before the case came to court, the *sinkheh* was murdered on an outer island. The culprit was soon found. He was an old employee having a grudge against him; the Chinese population, however, firmly believed that the *kapitein* had instigated the murder. Borel gave the story the title "A mere Chinese…" showing how a despised *sinkheh* was unfairly treated by the legal system and murdered by a powerful *peranakan*.[99]

Quite a few sinologists, however, at times expressed depreciation for coolies, designating them as 'scum.' In this respect they shared the lack of respect for the uncivilised, rude coolies which was felt by both the *peranakan* Chinese and the Dutch. This attitude was not fully unfounded, considering the low level of education of most of the coolies and their gang-fights, secret societies, etc. Only after 1900 did Hoetink and others plead for more respect for the coolies as fellow humans.

In their advisory functions, having good informants was vital to the interpreters. Their first and foremost informant was of course their Chinese teacher/clerk, who was usually an outsider brought along from China. Meeter often recounted how he had obtained information from his teacher. But he also warned against trusting the teacher too much: he should be kept ignorant of Chinese affairs as much as possible,[100] since the flow of information could also go the other way. Besides, he advised his younger colleagues to become acquainted with a few reliable, educated Chinese as informants.[101] He said it would take some time to find them, adding that some of his colleagues had no flair for this, or were opposed by the regional Government.[102] According to Meeter, it was more difficult to find reliable Chinese informants on Java than in the Outer Possessions.[103] In Surabaya

Meeter's most prominent informant seems to have been Kwee Kee Tsoan, former *kapitein* in Grissee and navy contractor (*leverancier*), just like his father Kwee Kin Tjie. Kwee Kee Tsoan was an honest and educated man who had a large Chinese library of several thousand volumes, and had a special interest in Chinese philosophy and medicine. He also knew Malay and had a reading knowledge of Dutch. Always standing up for righteousness and for the poor, he was the opposite of the corrupt *majoor* The Boen Ke. When Meeter arrived in Surabaya and became acquainted with Kwee, the latter proposed to study together, which they did for ten years. Kwee Kee Tsoan was well liked and respected in Surabaya. His death in 1886 was greatly regretted, and an obituary appeared in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*.[104]

Meeter wrote several times that, thanks to his informants, the interpreter was able to "see behind the screens."[105] He was well acquainted with what he called "the Chinese grapevine" (*de Chineesche Kerk*). He was therefore at times suspected of conniving with the Chinese, taking part in Chinese malversations, but this was nothing but vicious slander. Meeter, who had a strong sense of righteousness and high moral standards, was deeply offended when A.C. Wertheim, a member of the Upper House of Parliament (*Eerste Kamer*), openly showed suspicion as to the reliability of the "Chinese interpreter" in Semarang.[106]

Although this was not mentioned during the 1853 discussions on the need of interpreters, nor in the *Directive* of 1863, one very important function of the interpreters was to get to know the needs and problems (*behoeften en nooden*) of the Chinese. Groeneveldt mentioned this in his *nota* of 1894.[107] In this way, the interpreters became something like middlemen, not only through their translations communicating to the Chinese the government's ordinances and proclamations, but also by reporting on the feelings of the Chinese, sometimes even speaking up for them. This happened in particular in cases of emergency. One example is given by Schlegel.

> In Batavia recently the whole Chinese population of *Pasar Senen* came *snorting with rage* to this author, and made known to him their intention to *murder* the owner of *Pasar Senen*, *Kegel*, who had introduced a new tax, as well as Assistant Resident *Taets van Amerongen* and Police Chief *Oosterweeghel*, who had supported Mr Kegel in levying this tax. The author managed to calm down these hot-heads and by the power of reason induce them to await the decision of the High Government, to which he immediately sent a request.[108]

The possibility that the interpreters could play such a role may also have strengthened the unwillingness of the Dutch administrative officials to ask their advice. In any case, the interpreters were sometimes reproached with conniving with the Chinese; they became 'contaminated' with them, and the low status of the Chinese was also 'applied' to them.[109] De Bruin also

wrote that while in the Indies, he was several times reproached with siding with the Chinese.[110]

Despite their weak position, many Dutch interpreters were appreciated by the Chinese. In general, knowing to read and write Chinese was in itself a great advantage for them, since learning is always respected in China. Albrecht concluded his *nota* of 1878:

> great is the prestige among the Chinese of a European understanding their language and in particular their difficult writing system.[111]

In 1885 a Chinese officer in Batavia asked Young to teach his son Chinese—another clear proof of appreciation.[112]

In 1900, the Malay translator W. Halkema Sr. stated that the Chinese in Surabaya had a high opinion of several sinologists, such as Professor Schlegel, Professor de Groot, Groeneveldt, A.E. Moll, and Von Faber, some of whom they even praised as *sìng dzîn* [聖人], "holy men, sages."[113]

Three other examples of Chinese appreciation of the interpreters are the following. When the 25-year old Francken, after only a year and a half of service in Surabaya, died of a sudden disease, his demise was not only deeply regretted by the Dutch, but also by many Chinese. A journalist, clearly unaware of Francken's position as interpreter, reported in the *Nieuwsbode van Soerabaija* of Monday 22 February 1864:

> Yesterday morning, between 8 and 9 o'clock, I witnessed at the Peneleh cemetery an event unique in its kind. I saw about twenty to thirty well-dressed Chinese, praying and placing offerings around a grave; heard that the grave contained the mortal remains of Mr. Francken who recently passed away, where they had come to pay their last respects to the deceased, since the Chinese New Year had prevented them from attending the burial and they now felt an urge to do so. I declare to you that I was surprised to see such friendly attachment from a Nation, in custom and traditions so different from the deceased's. Should this not be proof that the grave unites all?[114]

On this occasion, Francken's good friend Tshoa-dsien-sing recited a long elegy to him, containing a short biography, an appraisal of his character and behaviour, and a description of his last days of suffering. It was a testimony to the Chinese appreciation of Francken's behaviour as a friend, and of his actions in his official capacity. Tshoa stated that Francken's Chinese friends had brought together a sum for his mother and were planning to pay his young brother a yearly allowance for a few years. Two years later, a translation was published in several Dutch newspapers.[115] The editor (K. Sutherland) added a footnote with the following conclusion:

> It may contribute to a more favourable judgement on the character of the Chinese than is sometimes the case, testifying that egoism is not the only pivot around which their actions revolve, and they are actually open to unselfish

> friendship. The sum referred to has really been payed to Francken's mother, and his brother receives a yearly allowance of 600 to 700 guilders, which is brought together by the defunct's Chinese friends.[116]

In 1905, Chinese appreciation for Hoetink is evident from a booklet introducing the Chinese Postal Service that was compiled on his initiative in Medan. This service was mainly intended for Chinese coolies working in outlying plantations for whom it was impossible to send letters and money to China. The introduction to the *Regulations of the Chinese Postal Service by the Tong Sian Kiok* praised Hoetink not only for his support for the Chinese Postal Service, but also for his work in Medan as "Official for Chinese Affairs in Medan, Deli, for more than twenty years" (actually he was interpreter for ten years in 1879–89), his founding of a direct shipping line to China, and his function as Labour Inspector (1904–6). The Regulations themselves were compiled by the Chinese *majoor* Tsiong Jong Hian 張榕軒 and his brother the *kapitein* Tsiong Tsioh Fie 張耀軒 (Tjong A Fie),[117] both popular Hakka officers. The text concerning Hoetink is as follows:

> Now it happens that the Great Inspector Mr. Hoetink was formerly appointed by the Dutch Ruler as Official for Chinese Affairs in Medan, Deli, which he administered for more than twenty years, promoting what is beneficial and abolishing what is harmful, and with glorious results. In addition he founded in Swatow, belonging to Chaochow in China, a company establishing a shipping line, which is commended by the Chinese going and coming and praised everywhere in the streets. This was also a great comfort to the Dutch Ruler. Now he is again appointed as Inspector in Deli. When he learned about the above-mentioned reasons [for the need of a postal service], he deeply sympathised with the people and wished to found and facilitate a Chinese Postal Service. … We Chinese should be aware of the ever increasing spirit of consideration for popular feelings shown by their Excellencies the Inspector, the *majoor* and the *kapitein* ….[118]

As will be explained in the section on other coolie matters in Chapter Fourteen, the founding of this Postal Service (and bank) was also in the interest of the planters, since the arrival of remittances in China was expected to promote emigration.

A third well-known example of a sinologist appreciated by the Chinese was Borel. For instance, he was invited in 1906 to become patron (*beschermheer*) of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan 中華會館, the modern-style Chinese Association in Semarang.[119] At his request he obtained permission from the Director of Justice to accept this honour (*see* illustration 24).[120]

Acting as experts on Chinese law and customs for the courts

When the interpreters were required as experts by the courts, they were taking over one of the functions of the Chinese officers. The latter not only



24. Borel and members of Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan in Semarang, 1906. Note Borel is wearing his official cap (B745/IV/19, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).

had an administrative and advisory function for the civil government, but were also the advisors (*adviseurs*) to the courts. In cases involving Chinese, the courts were obliged to have one or two Chinese advisors, who would sit next to the judge. Article 7 of the *Regulations on the Judiciary System* (1847) stipulated their function as advisors as follows:

> When Orientals professing the Islamic religion, or Chinese, in civil or criminal cases of any nature, are in the first instance involved as defendants or accused, and with respect to the matter of the case are not by law or of their own free will subject to the legal provisions for Europeans, where Moslems are concerned a priest of their religion, and where Chinese are concerned one or two headmen, or, if these be unavailable, one or two suitable persons of that ethnicity, to be assigned by the court or in three-judge courts by the president, shall attend those court sessions; and the opinion of such advisors shall be consulted, in particular with respect to the relevant religious and other laws and customs, in order that account be taken of these in the sentence.
>
> The contents of such advice should be entered in the record of the court proceedings.
>
> In the sentences, it should be indicated that the advisors have been consulted.[121]

From the 1860s on, after the first European interpreters had been appointed in the Indies, the courts would sometimes consult them instead of or together with the Chinese officers or other European experts. In such cases

a committee of experts (*deskundigen*) was assigned by the court including one or two interpreters.[122] The interpreters would not sit next to the judge, like the Chinese advisors, but they would give their expert opinion mostly in written form, answering written questions. The judicial authorities were more inclined to consult the interpreters than the civil administration was, just as Schlegel had remarked in 1873, yet the number of requests was limited.

In early indexes to published cases in legal journals,[123] the main subjects concerning the Chinese were the following: 1. General; 2. Oaths; 3. Marriage and divorce; 4. Married women; 5. Inheritance law; 6. Guardianship.[124] These were all controversial subjects, about which the courts might wish to consult advisors and experts. The indexes not only refer to cases involving expert opinions, but also to articles on legal subjects and legal polemics taken over from newspapers. In the beginning, Schlegel and Francken, and later Meeter, Young, Stuart, and Van Wettum, were given the opportunity to publish a few articles on Chinese customs and law in the legal journals. Of course, apart from printed advice, manuscript advice can also be found scattered in the Colonial Archives.[125] Here only a few examples can be given of the questions concerned and the relevant advice.

In 1866, a committee of experts was formed consisting of the interpreters Schlegel and Von Faber and a member of the Batavian Orphans Chamber, Thung Djisiauw. A Chinese wife had died without testament and without parents or children. The question was whether all her belongings should be inherited by her husband or whether some of them should go to her family. The committee's answer was that her husband should inherit all, except assets with proof that they were given her in usufruct.[126]

In 1870 a committee was formed consisting of the interpreter Von Faber, *majoor* Tan Tjoen Tiat and *kapitein* Ko Sétjoan; the latter two were both members of the Chinese Council. The question was about guardianship by a widow, since the Estate Chamber wished to act as guardian for the children who were minors. Von Faber argued that in such cases the estate was always administered by the Estate Chamber, while the two officers asserted that in China a highly respected male family member would take care of the estate. Therefore the answer was in any case in the negative; a woman could not act as guardian for her own children, since she had no legal position.[127]

In 1877 a committee was formed consisting of the interpreter Groeneveldt, the *luitenant-titulair* Lie Hoetseng, and the interpreter at the *Raad van Justitie*, Lie A-lim. The question was to what extent a daughter should have rights to part of the inheritance of her father. Later Von Faber's advice was also asked; his opinions were in many ways the opposite of Groeneveldt's. The court's conclusion was that daughters did not inherit, but that they were entitled to support until their marriage.[128]

In general, the European interpreters did not have a high opinion of the Chinese members' knowledge of Chinese laws and customs. Groeneveldt stated in 1886 that in cases advised upon by himself together with Chinese advisors, the resulting report was actually only his own opinion. And when only Chinese were consulted, their report was sometimes so vague that the committee was asked to make itself clear in a second version.[129] Meeter and Borel also had negative opinions about all advice given by Chinese, who knew little about Chinese law and tended to be partial.[130] However, the example of Schlegel and the oath in the section below shows that the advice of a committee of Chinese advisors could still count heavily, and rightly so.

In their reports, the interpreters also had to indicate the sources of their knowledge. These were in the first place the *Qing Code*. The name is spelled in different ways, for instance *Ta Ts'ing Lut Li* or *Taij Tjhing Loet Li*, etc. (*Da Qing Lüli* 大清律例).[131] For customary law, Schlegel quoted novels and stories such as *Hoa Tsien Ki* 花箋記, *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀, and *Sanguo zhi* 三國志; he justified this choice by basing himself on Stanislas Julien's assertion that these stories gave a realistic picture of Chinese social life that was not found in the official histories.[132] Other sources were the interpreter's own experiences both in China and the Indies, to which Groeneveldt could add his experience when attending sessions of the Chinese court in Shanghai. Other important sources were the opinions of their teachers/clerks and other Chinese informants, and general moral principles derived from books such as the *Shujing* 書經, *Zhouli* 周禮, *Nüxiaojing* 女孝經 (Schlegel, 1866), *Liji* 禮記 (Meeter, 1879), etc. or from the manual for mandarins *Zizhi xinshu* 資治新書 (Von Faber, 1877). Besides translations of Chinese classics, Western sources included S. Wells Williams' *The Middle Kingdom*, and eighteenth-century missionaries' works like De Mailla's *Histoire générale de la Chine* and Amiot's *Mémoires concernant les Chinois* (Von Faber, 1867).

In 1855, part of European civil and commercial law was made applicable to the Chinese, as a consequence of which the *Raad van Justitie* acquired jurisdiction over many cases involving the Chinese.[133] For instance, from then on Chinese children were entitled to a statutory portion (*legitieme portie*) of their parents' inheritance, and there was no full freedom of testation. This implied that a Chinese man could not make a favourite concubine's sons his sole inheritors, thereby jeopardising the rights of his legal wife's children, but he also could not fully desinherit a wanton son, even if the latter agreed. Since only a part of European law was applicable, and for the rest Chinese laws and customs had to be taken into account even though they often did not agree, this ordinance caused great uncertainty for both judges and Chinese. At the same time, it created a 'solicitor's paradise,' in which many Chinese heartily participated, assisted

by Dutch lawyers. According to Groeneveldt, the Chinese had a natural talent for casuistry, and Meeter and Borel would later confirm this albeit in a more cynical way; they mainly noticed that Chinese were making misuse of European law.[134] When leafing through the legal journals mentioned above, the number of cases involving Chinese, mostly suing each other, is surprisingly large. The tragedy caused by the endless legal procedures about inheritances is described in a lively manner by Young in his story "Lim Goan Soe: een benadeelde erfgenaam" (a disadvantaged heir) in *Uit de Indo-Chineesche samenleving* (1895).

From the 1860s up into the twentieth century, the government made several attempts to codify Chinese law by adapting it to European law, or by adapting European law to Chinese customs, in order to alleviate the uncertainty of judges.[135] In 1865 a commission was installed for the codification of law for the Chinese, consisting of three members, the legal specialists T.H. der Kinderen, F. Alting Mees, and H.A. des Amorie van der Hoeven, to whom the interpreter Schlegel was assigned as China expert, but he was not a full member. In 1867 their draft law was finished, but it was not promulgated. In 1877, Groeneveldt was asked to comment on the draft, to which Schlegel again responded. In 1882, six out of the twelve active interpreters commented again on these drafts, and Groeneveldt summarised their reports, commenting on them, giving interesting remarks on the sources of laws and the reasoning of his colleagues, who were of course no legal experts. Actually, half of his colleagues (Schaalje, Hoetink, Van der Spek) proposed to use European law instead of codifying Chinese law. This discussion finally resulted in a new draft that was promulgated in 1892,[136] but it never went into effect. In 1894, the lawyer P.H. Fromberg[137] was charged to compile still another draft, which he finished in 1896. In the supplements to his draft, he often made use of *notas* and articles about Chinese law by Dutch and foreign sinologists.[138] This draft was again commented upon in publications by several sinologists (De Groot, Groeneveldt, Young, Borel). But in the end, all these efforts, interesting as they may be for their lines of reasoning and combining Western and Chinese law, led to no result. In 1919 European civil law became applicable to the Chinese, with one special provision for Chinese adoption.[139] This was similar to what happened in China itself, where new laws compiled after the example of European law had been (provisionally) proclaimed in 1910–2.[140]

Some of the difficulties in giving expert opinions about Chinese law, which resulted in contradictory advice being given (in itself unavoidable), were analysed by Groeneveldt in 1886. In a letter to Der Kinderen he gave his comments on seven *notas* by Dutch sinologists. According to Groeneveldt, the study of Chinese law was hampered by a lack of unambiguous sources, but also by the Chinese political system giving unrestricted

power to the Emperor as the Son of Heaven. He ruled over his people just as a father and a mother did, and so did the mandarins, representing him, who were at the same time civil and judicial authorities. There was a Penal Code, the *Qing Code* (*Da Qing Lüli*), which defined what was forbidden and gave the mandarins a standard for punishment. Civil law had not been codified, since the judge, due to his paternal power over the people, had only to adjudicate by a standard of fairness, paying attention to all circumstances of the matter and not bound by definite rules.

Fairness was determined by customary law, the main points of which could be found in the *Qing Code*, but not in a systematic manner; they had to be culled out by meticulous study. In commercial law, regional differences were great and the judge was to take account of local customs, but the law regarding persons was in general the same and was highly respected; no judge would dare to oppose it, however corrupt he might be.

As a consequence there existed no legal literature, although the Chinese surely had a talent for casuistry; this was shown by their treatment of philosophical questions.

In addition, a careful study of Chinese religious concepts, which were closely related to the law of persons, was necessary. Personal observation and experience were also important.

The study of Chinese law was even more hampered by the existence of the so-called Chinese Classics, all dating from more than two thousand years ago (namely the *Five Classics* and the *Four Books*). These were of an ethical-philosophical nature and often concerned the relations between members of society and within the family. These were based on ideals; for instance in the field of law of persons, they preached the unrestrained powers of the husband and the father, and unrestrained dependence of the wife and child. These ideas always had a great influence on Chinese society and reflected the prevalent standards of justice in society. But these ideal situations had never existed, and even if they had, in more than two thousand years conditions in Chinese society had undergone many changes. These concepts should be considered similar to the Canonical law that existed in Europe, which was highly respected but not necessarily followed. For a student of Chinese law it was extremely difficult to rid himself of these ideal concepts, since he was confronted with them every day. The most important proponents of these ideal concepts were the Chinese literati, who usually knew little else than the Classics and their commentaries. They were very dogmatic in their ideas, but in practice deviated from them without feeling any shame, even without noticing the inconsistency.

European students of Chinese obtained their teachers from this class, who were indispensable informants yet in other respects unreliable oracles.

Now Groeneveldt first directed his criticism to one of the main publicists on Chinese law, Meeter, who had used one of the classics, the *Liji* 禮記

or *Book of Ceremony*, as a source on law, having complete confidence in it, and quoting extensively from it in his 1879 article about the position of Chinese women.[141] In this article, Meeter quoted Williams' *Middle Kingdom* and the French translation of the *Liji* by Callery,[142] but one may assume that Meeter had also been influenced by his friend Kwee Kee Tsoan. Groeneveldt remarked that Meeter had in general rather pessimist opinions about the Chinese, which may have in part been derived from the same person.

Next Groeneveldt refuted Schlegel's use of old Chinese novels as sources of law, mentioning the *Hoa Tsien Ki*, which Schlegel had made accessible by his translation into Dutch.[143] For Groeneveldt, it was obvious that this type of work could not be used as a reliable source of Chinese law.

Considering the difficulties of the study of Chinese civil law, to which should be added the difficulties of the Chinese language, it became clear that the European student would have to devote all his time in China and long thereafter to language studies without even thinking of seriously studying Chinese law. It was no wonder that, after coming to the Indies, when the interpreters of Chinese had to give advice on legal matters, they could make mistakes (*mistasten*), and Groeneveldt acknowledged he had made mistakes as well. If appointed together with Chinese advisors in a committee of experts, the sinologists could also obtain little support from them, since their knowledge of Chinese law was in general very meagre. This was not surprising in the light of their background and education; the wonder was rather that their opinions could be taken so seriously by the courts. A European shopkeeper of the second class had access to better sources on law, and knew more about it, than the Chinese advisors; yet no judge who was obliged to follow the latter would think of attaching any value to the former's opinion. Groeneveldt had given advice together with Chinese advisors several times, but he never found them to have sufficient knowledge of the matters concerned, as a result of which their collective advice was actually only his own.

Another reason for contradictory advice by the interpreters resulted from the manner of asking questions by the courts. For instance, the question "Is the Chinese widow by law guardian of her minor children?" cannot be answered unequivocally by anyone not trained in law. She was not a guardian in the sense of European law, so one expert would answer in the negative. But another expert, taking account of the circumstance that this woman still had important powers over her children, might answer in the positive, without pointing out the difference in type of authority. In the actual case concerned, the judge was to blame. He should have asked what a Chinese widow's relation to and power over her minor children was.

According to Groeneveldt, insufficient knowledge of Chinese law and a faulty way of questioning were the main reasons for differences of opinion

among the European experts. He did not wish to discredit the European interpreters' advice altogether, but warned that their advice should be asked for and used with prudence.

Groeneveldt's criticism of his colleagues was mostly directed at Meeter and De Grijs, and at his former colleague Schlegel, while he in many ways agreed with Schaalje, Hoetink, and Van der Spek; the main exception was that the last-named three believed it would be better to adopt European law with some adaptations instead of trying to codify Chinese law.[144] No *notas* by the six other interpreters were found (Young, Von Faber, De Groot, Stuart, A.E. Moll, Roelofs), the former four of whom published articles on Chinese law and whose opinions would certainly have been worth considering.

Groeneveldt's objections to De Grijs' *nota* reflect many of the general problems of Chinese law studies. De Grijs had made a compilation of provisions in the *Qing Code* about inheritance law, no doubt taken from his own full translation of the 1860s.[145] But to Groeneveldt's regret, he discovered quite a few translation errors in the compilation.[146] When reporting on the possible introduction of the Dutch system of Civil Registration (*burgerlijke stand*), De Grijs compared it with the Chinese system of registration of able men for military service, adding a translation of a story by Lan Dingyuan about a case of registration fraud.[147] Groeneveldt argued that this system was basically different from the Dutch system and could not be compared with it. De Grijs' train of thought, however, is typical of Schlegel's and others' search for equivalents (similar or comparable systems) in China when translating Dutch terms, and therefore not as unreasonable as Groeneveldt asserted. Finally, and most seriously, De Grijs rejected all customs of the Chinese on Java that deviated from those in China as aberrations not worth codifying. In this respect, he may have been misled by his Chinese teachers or other traditional informants, in addition to his studies of the Classics in China—which he pursued very intensely, as is known from his letters and many translations from the 1860s. Actually, many sinologists and lawyers shared this opinion.

The contents of the advice given on the codification of Chinese law deserve a more thoroughgoing study, but they are too diverse and complicated to discuss in this context. In the section on the Chinese oath at the end of this chapter, only one debate will be discussed; it concerns one of the main controversies that were not related to the intricacies of the law of persons.

The sinologists could also act as experts on Chinese law in cases before the Chinese Council. Schlegel recounted how in 1869 a Chinese woman, named Ki-bin Nio, once asked for his assistance after the Chinese Council of Surabaya had rejected her request for a divorce. Ki-bin Nio had been married for twenty years since 1848, but her husband Pao Pak-tchoui had

left her after six months of marriage, and she had never heard from him afterwards. The Chinese Council had rejected her request as she did not fulfil the legal requirements for divorce after the disappearance of a husband. According to the *Da Qing Lüli* this could be allowed in case the husband left after committing a crime, in case of "war or anarchy, violence or famine" (Schlegel's translation), on condition that after three years there was still no news from the husband. Since the husband had not left for one of these reasons, her request had been rejected. Schlegel wrote: "This verdict was a terrible blow for the poor woman, and as no one in Surabaya was able to help her, she turned to me."

Studying the Chinese text of the law, Schlegel soon discovered that the Chinese Council had left out two important characters. The list of circumstances justifying a divorce ended with *dengshi* 等事, meaning "etcetera" or "and similar circumstances."[148] One month after the verdict, two witnesses stated before a notary that the husband Pao Pak-tchoui had left after six months of marriage; this had happened shortly after Pao had been summoned by Thé Gi to repay a debt; nothing had been heard from him since. In his memorial to the Chinese Council, Schlegel concluded that the husband had probably left because of financial problems, which should be considered a "similar circumstance." As a result of Schlegel's plea, the (newly staffed) Chinese Council in Surabaya gave permission for the divorce.[149]

The choice of sources of law was naturally also a matter of concern for Dutch lawyers. Originally most of them supported the opinion of the sinologists, who could quote "reliable" written sources from China. For instance, in 1877, the lawyer J. Sibenius Trip was of the opinion that the laws in force in China should be applied, rather than the customary law of the Chinese in the Indies.[150] Sibenius Trip considered the latter a "fragmentary degeneration of real Chinese law, not deserving our respect."[151] From the 1890s onwards, also following the opinions of the sinologists, Fromberg was a strong proponent of using law from China.[152] In his articles and proposals, he often quoted both Dutch and foreign sinologists' studies and their translations of the *Qing Code* and *Liji*. To his mind, customary laws were "spineless practices, without legal character," "a source without water."[153]

In the 1890s these opinions were opposed by I. A. Nederburgh in several articles.[154] But the greatest proponent of customary law (*adat*) for both natives and Chinese in the Indies was C. van Vollenhoven, professor in Leiden from 1901 until his untimely death in 1933. He published general studies as well as his famous collections of *adat* law. Fromberg, however, who mainly occupied himself with legal questions of the Chinese, even in 1916 continued to express disdain for the "*adat* cult" (*adatgedweep*).[155]

Yet there was among jurists a trend towards accepting customary law.

In 1900 Sibenius Trip changed his opinion concerning which Chinese law should be applied in the Indies. His argument was that when one compared the advice given by the legal advisors of the court (Chinese officers) with that of experts (sinologists), one could see that the former knew awfully little about the laws in force in China. Clearly these laws were unknown to them and therefore the Chinese—to the extent they were not subject to European law—should not be judged according to them.[156]

Finally, in 1901, the courts also made an about-face, at least according to Van Vollenhoven:

> after long hesitation the courts, in the High Court judgements of 8 August and 19 December 1901, turned away for good from the doctrine of pure Southern China law in the Indies, and turned towards a different Indies Chinese law.[157]

In the decision of 8 August 1901, the High Court charged a committee of experts, consisting of Hoetink and two Chinese officers, to answer the question "which Indies Chinese law in force in Batavia" should be applied in a case of posthumous adoption. The committee answered that in this respect authentic Chinese customs were still being honoured in the Indies (thereby diminishing the impact of the court's request for Indies Chinese law); this was followed by an explanation of these customs, but without quoting any Chinese law.[158] In his *Adatrecht*, Van Vollenhoven mentioned a few other published examples of the application of Indies Chinese customary law after 1900.[159]

This did not mean that from then on the laws of China no longer played any role. As late as 1918, in published advice by sinologists, both the *Qing Code* and the *Liji* were still quoted. But now judgements from the Chinese High Court giving deviant opinions on the question were also adduced.[160]

In his advice of 1918 Ezerman summarised the problems of applying the *Qing Code*—consisting mostly of prohibitions from which rudiments of civil law in a positive sense had to be deduced—and Chinese customary law as follows:

> All experts agree that aside from legal prohibitions, there also exists an unwritten customary law. Different opinions may exist about its dimensions and its meaning, but none of those competent to judge deny its existence. This inevitably entails that all advice about Chinese law has something vague about it, which irritates and frustrates those brought up on Western ideas and educated in Western law, but there is no way to change this.[161]

The application of European law to the Chinese as from 1919 did not entirely solve the question of the sources of law: for the Chinese, European law was of course not based on their own traditions and opinions, and although strengthening their position, it remained law imposed by the foreign rulers.[162]

A mystification

An elucidating clash of competence between a Chinese officer (Tjoa Sien Hie) and a Dutch sinologist (Stuart) occurred in 1900, when a debate was provoked by Tjoa's translation of some passages of the *Qing Code*. Tjoa Sien Hie 蔡新禧, who in Chinese used the name Cai Huiyang 蔡輝陽 (1836–1904), was an extremely wealthy Chinese businessman in Surabaya, trading in tea and Western medicine and operating a sugar factory. He was also a Chinese officer, having been *luitenant* from 1869 until 1884, and afterwards *luitenant titulair*.[163] Moreover, in 1892 he obtained the Chinese honorary title of *Fengzheng daifu* 奉政大夫, "Grand Master for Governance," and was therefore a Mandarin of the fifth rank. Such titles could be conferred by the Chinese government for services rendered or for merit, but they were usually granted as a reward for a donation to the Government. Tjoa Sien Hie had acquired this title after a donation of 2,000 silver dollars in 1892, the first year in which accepting such titles was allowed in the Indies.[164]

In 1900 Tjoa Sien Hie published a Malay and a Dutch translation of the articles on inheritance and adoption from the *Qing Code*, followed by comments on extravagant funerals ascribed to Confucius. The Dutch translation, a fourteen-page booklet, was entitled *Regeling der erfopvolging bij versterf onder Chineezen en der adoptie vertaald in het Maleisch en Nederlandsch uit het Chineesche wetboek Taij Tjhing Loet Lie* (Rules for intestate inheritance among the Chinese and of adoption, translated into Malay and Dutch from the Chinese Code of law *Da Qing Lüli*).[165] He explained that he had made this new translation because the translations that had earlier appeared in print were defective and vague, hoping that it would put an end to conflicts over inheritances that caused havoc in many families.

In September 1900, the Dutch booklet was enthusiastically received by the Dutch-language press. The *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* published a review with a long quotation from the last part, but the best informed review, clearly written by a lawyer, appeared in the *Soerabaia Courant* and was taken over by *De Locomotief* under the title "Much Light" (*Veel licht*). The latter reviewer first remarked that intestate inheritance (*erfopvolging door versterf*) was a burning question that had to be solved in almost any Chinese inheritance. The main difference of opinion between Tjoa Sien Hie and the sinologists was that the former assumed that if there was a testament, then the principle of statutory share (*legitieme portie*) was overruled, while the sinologists assumed that there were mandatory rules of law (*dwingend recht*) for inheritances from which could not be deviated if there was a testament. If Tjoa Sien Hie's opinion were accepted, it would put an end to the many disputes caused by this supposed statutory share. [166]

Another positive review was published by Schlegel in *T'oung Pao*.[167] Schlegel praised the clarity of language and quality of Tjoa's translation, comparing it favourably with P. Hoang's translation of Chinese law.[168] He gave the example of Tjoa's correct translation of *fumu* 父母 as "father *or* mother" and not "parents." It seems that Schlegel, who had already lost the sight of one eye, did not carefully scrutinise this translation as he was used to doing; otherwise he might have reached a different conclusion. Later, Schlegel's review was added as an appendix to the Dutch translation, in the form of an "extract" by W. Halkema Sr. in which the Chinese characters were replaced by a Hokkien transcription. Halkema had been active as a journalist, a translator of Javanese and Malay and legal advisor in cases for the *Landraad*.[169] He probably was a Eurasian.

At about the same time, Stuart, who was the senior Official for Chinese Affairs, stationed in Batavia, published a long and thorough review of the translation in the legal journal *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*.[170] In parallel columns, Stuart gave the translation by Tjoa Sien Hie, the Chinese text, and his own version for easy comparison.[171] He first remarked that Tjoa Sien Hie had not indicated whose "printed" translations were defective; in fact, only Young's partial Dutch translation had appeared in print.[172] For lawsuits, the Dutch sinologists had always prepared manuscript translations of relevant paragraphs. Now there also existed the printed English translations by Staunton (1810) and G. Jamieson (1879), and the French translation by P.L. Philastre,[173] so Stuart assumed these must have been the object of Tjoa Sien Hie's criticism. It seems more plausible, however, that Tjoa meant Young's Dutch translation and its two Malay versions—in total three publications—the more so as his translation's title is almost the same as Young's.[174] Analysing Tjoa Sien Hie's new translation, Stuart noted that its meaning was certainly clear enough, though it was often more a paraphrase than a translation, but that it was misleading on account of its mistakes and free interpretations that were adapted to the situation in the Indies. The main problem was Tjoa's addition of a footnote to the text, which was presented by him as a translation of a *tiaoli* [條例] (*li* 例) or sub-law. In the main text the Chinese expression *yiming* 遺命 (Hokkien: *wiebing*) had been translated as "decisions … taken … and … extant" of the deceased; in the footnote it was incorrectly translated as "testament."[175] These "decisions" which should be better translated as "last instructions," referred to a specific circumstance, namely that the estate could not be divided during the long Chinese mourning period unless there were last instructions by the deceased. In Tjoa's footnote this was presented as a general rule, namely that in all cases the "testament" should be followed. The following are English versions of Tjoa Sien Hie's and Stuart's Dutch translations, and the Chinese text.

Tjoa Sien Hie	Chinese	Stuart
If the *father* or *mother* has passed away and the children are still in mourning, they are not allowed to live elsewhere or to divide the inheritance or put it to a new use. In case of violation or infringement of this provision, the guilty person will be corporally punished with 80 blows, if elder family members—uncles or brothers—lodge or have lodged a complaint. But if decisions regarding this matter have been *taken* by the deceased and are *extant*, then *this article does not apply*. [*] (*) TIAULIE or *explanation*. The Chinese original text *Huo feng yiming bu zai ci lü* means 'if there is a testament, then the law cannot interfere with the case,' which is to say that one need only follow and observe the testament.[176]	若居父母喪而兄弟別立戶籍分異財產者杖八十。須期親之上尊長親告乃坐。或奉遺命不在此律。	If during the mourning period for father or mother the brothers (elder or younger) establish a separate family registration and divide the family goods, they will be punished with 80 blows of the heavy bamboo. (Only those among the revered and older family members for whom one is in mourning for one year or longer, can personally lodge a complaint in order that the law be applied, unless last instructions for this have been received, in which case this law does not apply.)

Stuart now stated that this note (the 'tiaulie or explanation') had been misleadingly added by the translator, and that it was "a desperate attempt by him to get a desired concept adopted through distorted representation of the matter." By his translation of *yiming* 遺命 (Hokkien: *wiebing*) in the main text as "decision *taken* and *extant*," Tjoa Sien Hie had given the impression that something tangible had survived to substantiate the decision, some kind of written will, in other words a testament. This meaning could not be derived from the original text.

Other defects were that Chinese customs and legal concepts were freely translated and adapted to the situation in the Indies: that was the reason why the text was so clear and easy to understand. For instance, in China there were four categories of women with whom a man could have sexual relations and who could bear him sons. The first three were the main wife, concubines, and slave girls, all living in his household, whose sons would receive an equal share of the inheritance. The fourth category was that of women outside the household, such as prostitutes, whose sons would receive half a share. In the Indies Chinese society, a man would only have one (main) wife actually living in his household, whereas concubines would live outside. In Tjoa Sien Hie's translation these concubines were now relegated to the fourth category as *bini di luar* (outside wife), whose sons would only have a right to half a share.

After pointing out the defects of Tjoa's translation, Stuart concluded

with the hope that it would not be consulted by anyone dealing with relevant lawsuits, and that it would be forgotten as soon as possible.

Stuart's article provoked two diametrically opposed reactions. In December 1900 a short article, clearly written by a lawyer, appeared in *De Locomotief* under the title "A mystification." It began: "A shrewd character, that's what Tjoa Sien Hie is, … and a magnanimous gentleman as well." (*Een leep heer is Tjoa Sien Hie, … en een menschlievend heer tevens.*) The reviewer continued his article in the same jocular tone. He argued that since many conflicts within families were allegedly the result of wrong translations of the Chinese Code, Tjoa Sien Hie had made a new one that read: "If there is a testament, the estate is divided according to the testament." Thereby all questions were resolved and a new era had begun. The *Landraad* in Surabaya had already twice decided that since there was a testament, the case was closed (*habis perkara*). But now Stuart had appeared, and what had seemed so impressive, was shown to be *humbug*, and Tjoa Sien Hie's cleverness was now shown to be fraud (*boerenbedrog*). It was rumoured that Tjoa's booklet was written for a certain case, but this had not been confirmed. But after the advice from Stuart, whose competence was generally recognised, no judge would attach any value to it, and it would be of no help for the case for which it allegedly had been composed.[177]

In 1901 a second reaction appeared in the form of a nine-page booklet distributed free of charge by W. Halkema Sr., the person who had earlier added Schlegel's review to Tjoa Sien Hie's translation.[178] Halkema began by stating that according to competent critics Stuart's objections to Tjoa Sien Hie's translation were "outright nonsense" (*klinkklare nonsens*). Halkema said he had reached this conclusion after orally translating about one-fourth of Stuart's article for his Chinese informants, comparing it with Tjoa Sien Hie's translation. He agreed with Stuart that the crux was that *yiming* was translated as "testament" in the sentence "If there is a testament, one has to follow that." This new translation had caused a turnabout in lawsuits that were being tried or had already been concluded in the first instance.

Halkema said that after comparing both Dutch versions in his oral Malay translation, all his Chinese informants had found them in complete accord, equivalent in meaning. Therefore one should not engage in hair-splitting (*lettervitterij*) and not grumble about details (*kniesoorig*).

But Halkema acknowledged that Stuart's remark about the footnote was correct: it should be part of the main text. According to him, the translator from Malay into Dutch had misunderstood the text—now it became clear that the translation into Dutch had not been made by Tjoa Sien Hie himself; actually the translator had just moved an addition in the Malay main text to a footnote, without much changing its contents.

Halkema went to great lengths to try to prove *yiming* meant "testa-

ment," quoting dictionaries and Jamieson's English translation of the *Qing Code*. To him it also seemed obvious that the primacy of the "testament" was not confined to the mourning period, but was a general rule.

In the same booklet, Halkema lost no opportunity to relate his own and his Chinese informants' derogatory remarks about Stuart—for instance, that Stuart's prolonged studies had been of no significance and without success, that he was only talking empty words, and that he had been misled by his teacher. Halkema even added his informants' Chinese invectives for Stuart, whom they reviled as *gōng* [戇], "stupid," or *besay* [不會使][179], "an impossible person." Other sinologists, Halkema continued, were highly respected by the Chinese, for instance Professor Schlegel, Professor de Groot, Groeneveldt, A.E. Moll, and M. von Faber, some of whom were even praised as *sìng dzîn* [聖人], "holy men, sages", but not Stuart. In the future, Halkema said, he would carefully take note of any reaction by Stuart and wait for a decisive verdict by Groeneveldt, Schlegel or De Groot.

Perhaps Halkema himself was involved in the controversy, since he may have been responsible for the translation from Malay into Dutch, and perhaps the translation was even made on his initiative. The Chinese invectives show his informants' anger, which may have been understandable on account of the problems caused by the statutory share, but was also a result of ignorance and incomprehension of the need of accuracy in translation. Many legal niceties must also have been lost in Halkema's oral Malay translation. Whereas Halkema railed at Stuart, the latter had very cautiously composed his review, without using any impolite word.

No other comments by sinologists have been found, but Fromberg discussed the matter two years later in his "Rapport over de Chineezenwetgeving" (Report on legislation for the Chinese). In this report—without mentioning Tjoa Sien Hie's name—he refuted "a Mandarin's" translation in which a specific rule governing the division of an estate during the mourning period was interpreted as a general rule, in an attempt to plead for complete freedom of testament (*onbeperkte testeervrijheid*).[180] Afterwards, Tjoa Sien Hie's translation seems indeed to have been forgotten.

The Chinese oath

Debates on legal questions could drag on for many years; for example, the debate about the correct ceremony for the Chinese oath continued from the 1860s until the early 1900s. In China, oaths could be sworn between individuals in private and might be used to resolve conflicts between people, but they were never used in courts of law. In the Netherlands Indies, however, the earliest oaths are attested in the Chinese Council in Batavia, which also functioned as a court of law, in the 1780s. By the 1850s, the

European courts also began using the Chinese oath in relevant cases. This led to discussions about the correct ceremony and the reliability of different oath ceremonies. Many Dutch sinologists gave their opinions on these questions.

In his pioneering study of religion and law in China entitled *Divine Justice*, Paul R. Katz distinguishes three types of traditional Chinese oaths: (1) the oath of allegiance or loyalty, (2) the oath of commitment, and (3) the oath of innocence. In the legal context of the Netherlands Indies, the first type was applicable to Chinese officers and experts who were sworn in by the courts from the 1850s on,[181] but the third type became the most important and controversial. In China, this oath usually took place on the initiative of a person suspected of some crime or misdemeanor, in order to prove his innocence. It often took the form of a chicken-beheading ritual, in which the jurant would express a malediction that would apply to himself in case of perjury: he would be willing to undergo what was about to happen to the chicken. This ritual could also take place in a temple in front of a god having a judicial function in the Chinese Hell, such as the City God; the text of the oath would then be written on yellow paper and after reading aloud be burnt to communicate its contents to the god. All these ceremonies were expected to warrant supernatural retribution in case of perjury. Katz describes some nineteenth-century examples performed in the City God temple of Amoy. The Dutch student-interpreters must have observed or heard about similar ceremonies during their studies.

In China, oath-swearing never became a part of court procedure. This remained true of the new twentieth-century Chinese judicial system although it was heavily indebted to Western law.[182] Twentieth-century Chinese law has no oath for witnesses and no 'decisive oath' (*see* below). In Republic of China law a witness only has to sign a written statement (*jujie* 具結) that he is speaking the truth and is apprised of the consequences of perjury.[183] In Mainland China criminal law a witness is simply told that he should speak the truth and warned of the consequences of perjury.[184] But private oaths and other judicial rituals are still very much alive, Paul Katz describes many examples from Taiwan.[185]

In the Netherlands Indies, already in 1620 a kind of mixed court was established in Batavia, having in addition to the Dutch judges/administrators (*College van Schepenen*) two Chinese advisors.[186] And in 1642 the Batavian Statutes promulgated that "Chinese usances and customs" would be respected by the Dutch government. There is evidence that at the end of the eighteenth century the chicken oath was used for Chinese witnesses in these courts. Wang Dahai wrote in his *Haidao Yizhi* (preface dated 1791):

> When it comes to large crimes … these are all reported to the Dutch. When they wish to determine a murder case, they do not question the people in the neighbourhood, but give more weight to eyewitnesses. The eyewitnesses must

> be interrogated, behead a chicken and swear an oath, only then they [the judges] dare to sign their name and decide the case.[187]

However, no evidence could be found about a Chinese oath in Dutch sources.[188] It should be noted that until 1824 Chinese were tried in these (mixed) courts. This situation was partially restored after 1855.

The Chinese judicial oath is attested first in the oldest extant minutes of the Chinese Council (Kong Koan) in Batavia, which date from the 1780s.[189] The Kong Koan was an organ of self-government created by the Dutch earlier that century, consisting of Chinese officers and assisting personnel. Characteristic is the mixture of Chinese and European customs and institutions: its members were Chinese officers with Dutch titles such as *kapitein* and *luitenant*, assisted by a *secretaris* (secretary). The Council convened at regular times, and minutes were kept of each meeting that were signed by all present in Dutch manner. During the meetings the Council also adjudicated minor civil and criminal cases among the Chinese. It also had other administrative functions such as marriage registration. In all its activities it was subservient to the Dutch Resident of Batavia. During the court hearings, often Chinese traditional oaths were administered. For instance, in the minutes of 1787 to 1791, in total 588 cases were tried, in 44 of which an oath was required. Almost all of them concerned civil cases involving lending or business conflicts.[190] In the period 1843–57 the same pattern appears in about 120 'economic cases.'[191]

In the Indies civil and criminal procedure laws for Europeans of 1819, there was no prescription that Chinese or natives would have to swear their own kind of oath,[192] but in 1847, the *General provisions of law* of 1847 stipulated that in court the oath should in relevant cases be performed in the native or Chinese manner.[193] And after European Commercial Law and parts of Civil Law were made applicable to the Chinese pursuant to the ordinance of 1855 no. 79, it became necessary that the Chinese could also swear an oath in court. Chinese and Dutch were from now on for certain cases tried by the same court (*Raad van Justitie*), on an equal footing, hence the need to have the Chinese comply with the requirement of an oath.

Besides the normal oaths for witnesses in civil and criminal cases, to be performed before their statements in order to ensure their reliability and the possibility of prosecution in case of perjury, there existed another kind of oath, defined in a special section about the court oath (*Van den geregtelijken eed*) in the chapter on Evidence (*Bewijs*) of the Civil Code. This was the so-called 'decisive oath' (*decisoire of beslissende eed*), an age-old kind of oath going back to Roman law. If in civil cases one party did not have sufficient proof to support its deposition, which was decisive by nature, the other party or the judge could require that party to swear this oath to af-

firm it; if that party was willing to swear the oath, its deposition would be accepted as proof by the court, and that party would thereby win the case. But if he refused to swear the oath, he lost his case. In other words, the case was decided by the willingness to perform the oath.[194] In the European courts the Christian oath was performed, which had an extremely simple ceremony: the jurant only had to stick up two fingers of his right hand and say "So help me God" (*zo waarlijk helpe mij God almachtig*). If necessary, at least in Dutch law, for those who had religious objections—for instance, Baptists, for whom swearing an oath was blasphemy—an affirmation (*belofte*) would suffice.

It is remarkable that the Chinese oath was used in the Chinese Council for the same kinds of cases and in the same manner as was the decisive oath in the European courts. This raises the question whether the Chinese judicial oath in the Indies should be considered an adaptation of the original Chinese oath to European court practices. Although the Chinese Council was a purely Chinese institution, it had also adopted other European customs and traditions, perhaps including the use of a judicial oath. If the Chinese judicial oath is such an adaptation, it would be in effect an 'invented tradition,' not an authentic tradition.[195]

The British were confronted in their colonies with the Chinese oath, but they seem never to have developed such serious discussions as were held in the Netherlands Indies. In Hong Kong, Chinese oaths were soon considered unreliable and they were banned from the courtrooms in 1860. In the Straits Settlements they continued to be used until the 1880s, but there are also later vestiges of these oaths.[196]

In the nineteenth century, there existed for the Chinese in the Indies courts two different oath ceremonies, a 'small' oath and a 'large' one. In the small oath, which was used both on Java and in the Outer Possessions, the jurant would simply leave the courtroom for a short while, swear his oath, and slaughter a chicken, saying that the same should be done to him if he did not speak the truth. However, according to all Dutch sinologists (and many others), the chicken oath was not at all effective, since it often merely provoked laughter among the Chinese present.

The 'large' oath was common in the large towns of Java (and Sumatra) only. It took place in the Chinese temple, on orders of the court, on another day than the court session.[197] The text of the oath, including the name of the jurant, the date, the contents of the oath, and a malediction directed at oneself in case of perjury (Dutch *verwensching*), was written on yellow paper, read aloud by the priest, and repeated in front of the City God or another important deity such as Guanyin; then the oath form was burnt in order to communicate its contents to the gods. This oath ceremony was more serious and solemn, and also more expensive than the chicken oath.

Within a year after arrival in Batavia, Schlegel wrote an article about

the Chinese oath that was published two years later in *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*. This was no doubt at the request of the judiciary, probably T.H. der Kinderen, who had published an item about the oath a few years earlier.[198] Schlegel analysed several Chinese words for 'oath,' ways of swearing oaths in popular Chinese literature, and the two oaths in use in the Indies, both of which he considered unreliable. In his conclusion he proposed to introduce a simpler form, in which the jurant had to kneel down at a table, burn incense and swear the oath to the most respected deities of Heaven and Earth, while the Chinese advisor would explicitly and elaborately warn the jurant of the Heavenly consequences of perjury.[199]

It became one of the functions of the European interpreters to attend oath ceremonies. Schlegel attended them in Batavia,[200] while De Groot and Borel both assisted at hundreds of oath ceremonies to check the proceedings.[201] Although the large oath was considered more effective than the chicken oath, legal experts and sinologists alike often doubted its reliability. Some of the latter (Meeter, Borel) had doubts in particular with respect to the Chinese. But there is evidence that the large oath could be effective if properly executed, as is shown in the following case.

At the Court for Civil and Penal Administration of Justice in Palembang (Sumatra), the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij (NHM) sued Lim Tjing Piaauw, who was surety (*borg*) for the payment of *f* 345 by another Chinese for certain merchandise. Since he could not disprove the allegation of default, the claim was to be allowed and Lim would have to pay this amount (and legal costs), unless he would swear an oath in the temple according to the provisions, swearing that he had not contracted to be surety for this amount vis-à-vis the NHM. When he was to swear his oath at the Chinese temple, with the assistance of an ethnic Chinese interpreter, the secretary of the Court ordered the latter several times to include the contents and the malediction in the oath. Although the interpreter neglected to do this, the delegated judge (*Rechter-Commissaris*) still considered the oath sworn. Since there was decisive proof, the NHM could no longer claim any compensation from Lim Tjing Piaauw. Moreover, Lim asserted that in his opinion he had sworn the oath according to Hokkien customs. Therefore the NHM sued the interpreter for his negligence, leading to their financial loss. Subsequently, the Court asked Schlegel in Batavia for his expert opinion about the correct ceremony of the Chinese oath. When Schlegel reported that the formal requirements of the large oath should include the contents and the malediction, and the interpreter admitted his negligence, he was sentenced to paying the full amount of financial loss to the NHM (and legal costs).[202]

Another case led to an interesting scholarly polemic in the newspapers between the two interpreters in Batavia, Schlegel (who always signed "X") and Von Faber.[203] In a civil lawsuit between two Chinese, assisted by their

Dutch lawyers F. Alting Mees and G.Th.H. Henny, the *kapitein-titulair* Tan Kamlong sued the *luitenant-titulair* Tan Hongie for a certain claim and charged him to swear an oath in the temple.[204] Schlegel was attending the ceremony and afterwards wrote an anonymous letter to the editors of the *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, giving a lively description of the proceedings. Being a story of general interest, this item was taken over by several newspapers.

On the day of the oath, a large crowd of about three hundred Chinese had arrived at Batavia's Klenteng Tjina, the Chinese temple, to watch the ceremony. In an annex to the temple, where paper, ink stone and writing brush had been prepared, the delegated judge (*Rechter-Commissaris*) gave the verdict to Schlegel; it contained the text of the oath. Schlegel communicated its contents in Chinese and the defendant was asked if he were willing to swear this oath. After his affirmative answer, the oath was translated into Chinese, written on yellow paper, and signed by Tan Hongie, Schlegel and the secretary of the Chinese Council. Then they went to the main hall of the temple:

> Large red candles had been lit; in front of the large statue of Guanyin some twenty fragrant joss sticks were burning, while on the floor, before the statue, a round mat had been placed on which the jurant would have to kneel down to swear the oath.
>
> The priest now put the oath form in the arms of Guanyin, and prepared himself for his task in the administration of the oath.

Upon his arrival at the temple, Schlegel had already told Tan Hongie that he would have to loosen his queue, take off his footwear and wear white clothes when swearing. Tan replied that this might be true for the common people, but not for him, an officer. At the ceremony the priest reaffirmed Schlegel's requirement of loosening the queue, but Tan refused to do so. The judge considered this a refusal to swear the oath. According to Schlegel, the crowd fully agreed with the judge's opinion. As a result, Tan Hongie was obliged to pay the claim. In his letter, Schlegel quoted a Chinese saying about the attire in which persons should enter the temple, but he did not mention that this was a quotation from his *Hung-League*.[205]

A few days later, Von Faber responded to Schlegel in a short letter to the editors of the *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, one of the newspapers that had reprinted Schlegel's letter. Von Faber disagreed with Schlegel, since in China and Borneo he had never seen a jurant with loosened queue and in white (mourning) clothes while swearing an oath. In his opinion, loosening the queue could never be required, it could only be done of one's free will; usually people would appear before the gods in their finest outfit, not in mourning clothes.

Schlegel reacted extensively a few days later, quoting examples of oath ceremonies from *Sanguo zhi yanyi*[206] (*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*) and

other books as proof that the oath had to be sworn in that manner. According to him, Von Faber's personal experience did not count for much, since he only had *not* seen such an oath.

In reply to this, Von Faber wrote a long letter *contra* Schlegel's opinion, pointing out that the source of the first quotation was Schlegel's *Hung-League*. He asserted that an oath of a secret society could not be used as proof for an oath in normal life. Aside from personal experience, one should of course also study books, but only when they were good and reliable sources. Schlegel's quotation was from the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi yanyi*), a novel dating from the fourteenth century about events of the third century, which was in itself a doubtful source. Moreover, the story was not about an oath, but about an incantation to create a heavenly wind, a kind of sorcery often appearing in Chinese novels, and therefore not appropriate as proof. Despite these arguments, in their conclusion the editors of the *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* favoured Schlegel's opinion, since the priest, the true expert, had agreed that the queue should be loosened.[207]

In his final reply, Schlegel asserted that the rituals of a secret society were "authentically" Chinese, as was stated in the introduction to *The Hung-League*. In support of his use of a novel as evidence, he quoted extensively from Stanislas Julien's works, "one of the most knowledgeable sinologists" (although he had never been in China), who had asserted that many details about Chinese life could be found in novels that were lacking in history books. At this point, the editors of the *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* closed the discussion on the Chinese oath.[208]

During this polemic, Schlegel showed himself to be an impractical armchair scholar. It is an example of how a sinologist could be mistaken by basing himself on the wrong sources, even misinterpreting them, one of the growing pains of Dutch sinology in the Indies. Schlegel may have been too enmeshed in his sinological studies to realise this. On the other hand, since he obtained so much support from the public, there may have been another motive for requiring a heavy oath from *kapitein* Tan Hongie. Possibly the wealthy Tan Hongie was for some reason unpopular among the Chinese in Batavia.

Afterwards, Tan Hongie protested to the *Raad van Justitie*, arguing that the priest denied having said that the queue should be loosened and claimed that he had been misunderstood by the judge. Since other experts, including Von Faber and the Chinese Council, saw no need to loosen the queue, he asked the *Raad van Justitie* to charge the delegated judge with re-administering the oath to him. Now the *Raad van Justitie* considered itself not competent to order the delegated judge to act contrary to his prior decision, since he had represented the *Raad van Justitie*.[209] After an appeal to the High Court, the case was referred back to the *Raad van*

Justitie, which decided the ceremony of the oath should be determined by the Chinese Council, not by the delegated judge. A committee of experts was set up, consisting of Thung Djiesaauw, Gouw Lamyang, and Gouw Tianin.[210] Their first report on the ceremony of the oath, written in Malay, was considered insufficient, but their second report was clear enough, and contradicted Schlegel's requirements. The court pronounced accordingly, and Tan Hongie finally swore his oath in the temple without loosening his queue, in the presence of the *majoor* and the secretary of the Chinese Council.[211]

In contrast to this decision, Schlegel's opinion was affirmed in 1881 in a short article signed by "K" (T.H. der Kinderen?).[212] Perhaps as a result of this, debates about the oath would come up later several times. The crux of the matter for the Dutch authorities was to use an oath ceremony that would be respected and thus prevent perjury.[213]

In 1881–3, Young in Padang (Sumatra) and his teacher Von Faber in Batavia engaged in a polemic in the newspapers about the oath. Young first asserted in a letter to the editor that swearing an oath in court was not a real Chinese custom; it was a "Westerner in Chinese dress" (*een Westerling … in een Chineesch pak kleeren*). When a newcomer (*sinkheh*) was required to swear an oath in court, he would be surprised and ask what this meant, whereupon a friend who had been living in the Indies somewhat longer would explain: "Oh, this is just a formality in their court procedure." Since both oath ceremonies in court were insufficiently respected by the Chinese, it would be better to give the Chinese the opportunity of affirmation (*belofte*) that was already allowed by law.[214]

Von Faber, who had been Young's teacher in 1872-5, wrote an open letter in response, containing a long exposé about various words for "oath" in Chinese. He asserted that both forms of oath had been known in China for centuries and were therefore authentically Chinese. The great majority of Chinese would respect them; they were not a "Westerner in Chinese dress."[215] In later open letters, both Young and Von Faber expanded upon the religious meaning of the oath for the Chinese.[216] Their difference of opinion was perhaps also caused by the different categories of informants they consulted: *sinkheh*, for whom it was unfamiliar, by Young, and *peranakan*, who were used to it, by Von Faber. But some time later, after Young had read De Groot's article in English about the oaths on Borneo in *The China Review* (1881),[217] he changed his opinion and proposed using De Groot's suggested form of oath, as was done on Borneo: burning a few sticks of incense on a table and swearing the oath in front of it, in the open air and directed towards Heaven and Earth, ending with a bow in Chinese style.[218]

Subsequently, in 1883 De Groot privately published a brochure about the oath in Dutch as an expanded version of his English article. He first

refuted his colleagues' positions: the use of examples of the oath from popular literature (Schlegel), the explanation of different words for oaths from dictionaries (Von Faber), and the introduction of the European oath (affirmation) for the Chinese (Young). De Groot had great confidence in the simple oath used on Borneo, which he had attended hundreds of times in Pontianak, and proposed to use this oath instead of the chicken oath. The latter was not only not respected, but also feared because it involved killing a living being (forbidden in Buddhism) or the shedding of blood (ominous in itself), and was misused by court ushers who sometimes bought chicks the size of a fist to cut the costs (keeping the difference). De Groot did not mention the 'large' oath on Java, which he probably had never seen.[219] The ceremony suggested by him (which was similar to Schlegel's proposal in 1863) was according to Borel generally adopted in the Indies by the late 1890s, while the chicken oath went into disuse.[220]

The temple oath was still common in Semarang in the 1880s and early 1890s. Among the papers left behind by De Grijs, there are several examples of this oath's texts and also an original oath form to be burnt in the temple, all dating from the 1880s.[221] And in 1894, another example of such an oath from Semarang was translated by Young and published in facsimile. In this case, a young Chinese cashier of the Rotterdam Credit Company had to swear an oath stating that he had been cheated by the Chinese cashier of another European company, Mirandol le Voûte.[222]

The uncertainty about the ceremony of the oath would continue for a long time, even into the twentieth century. In 1894, when Fromberg was charged to compile a new draft of Chinese law, his assignment included a draft for the Chinese oath. In his letter to Governor-General Van der Wijck in 1896, accompanying his finished draft on Chinese civil law, he wrote that he was still working on the oath. Since this topic was not related to other questions of civil law, it could be treated later.[223] Unfortunately, nothing seems to have been published by Fromberg on the oath.[224]

Borel also wrote two articles about the oath in court, in reaction to De Groot's article of 1883, arguing that he did not have the least confidence in the simple oath from Borneo. He proposed a heavy ceremony to impress the sacredness of the oath on the Chinese. No chickens were to be slaughtered, but as in the large oath, a form was to be read aloud and burned, though not necessarily in the temple; the queue had to be loosened and a white apron had to be worn by the jurant etc.[225]

The question of loosening the queue seems to have remained a point for discussion among lawyers. It was brought up again in 1904, leading the following year to a decision of the High Court in Batavia: that the judge was to decide on the ceremony of the oath on the basis of expert opinions, in this case by the secretary of the Chinese Council and De Groot's article from 1883; as a result, an oath could no longer be declared void for

simple reasons such as that the queue had not been loosened.[226] The same question also came up in the *Landraad* of Pontianak in 1905. This time, De Bruin's expert opinion was asked and the judge decided accordingly, ignoring the two lying witnesses brought in by the accused.[227]

Unfortunately, in this context no full account can be given of the often very subtle reasoning of both experts and courts. In any case, the conclusion should be that due to their neutral and often well-founded expert opinions, the sinologists could contribute to some extent to the realisation of fair judgements in Netherlands Indies courts.

In the 1910s, the oath ceremony in the Indies had in practice become the burning of a few joss-sticks on a specially arranged small altar table while reading aloud the oath formula and invoking one's deceased ancestors.[228] All serious discussion about the oath had by then abated.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

STUDIES AND MISSIONS

One of the main contributions of the interpreters to Indies society and government was their writings about Chinese customs and traditions. They often published in newspapers or periodicals on their own initiative, but some larger academic publications were supported by the Ministry of Colonies. The Chinese secret societies that were active in the archipelago drew special interest. Some interpreters were also sent on study missions to China. These assignments were combined in one way or another with the promotion of direct emigration of Chinese coolies to the Indies. After 1900, Officials for Chinese Affairs were also charged with the inspection of working conditions at plantations and mines in the Indies and the supervision of the remigration of coolies.

Studies and publications

When the first interpreters were appointed in 1860, it was expected that they would continue their studies in the Indies. This was one of the reasons for allowing them to bring along Chinese teachers from China. Five years later, in 1865, the interpreters were asked about the need of a teacher, and all agreed that he was indispensable for the continuation of their studies. Schlegel and Von Faber explained that Chinese was the most difficult language in the world; it would take a lifetime to learn it, and one also had to keep up one's knowledge. Where even a native Chinese needed fifty years of study to obtain a degree at the national examinations in Peking, Europeans would need even more time. Groeneveldt wrote that no one could gain complete mastery of the language in four or five years, and that the interpreters had in particular to continue their studies of the written language in order to obtain scholarly knowledge of China. Although scholarly studies were not of direct service to the government, Groeneveldt thought the government should support them.[1] Here a distinction was made between practical and purely scholarly studies; it was later mentioned several times by government officials.

Little is known about how they continued their studies. Judging from his publications, Schlegel was certainly very active and productive during his ten year stay in the Indies (1862–72), and so was De Groot during his five-year stay (1878–83). Among Schaalje's and De Grijs' papers there is

some evidence of continuing studies in the Indies,[2] but it is little compared with that from China. It is known that Meeter studied together with his learned friend Kwee Kee Tsoan. As to the spoken language, many studied local Chinese dialects in the Indies, sometimes with an extra stipend for a special teacher.

The main source on the sinologists' studies is their publications. Most of these have some connection with their work in the Indies. These publications appeared in various forms for different categories of readers. Almost all of them are in Dutch; there are only a few scholarly works in English, French, and German. Publications appearing in newspapers, mostly in the Indies but also in the Netherlands, were intended for the general public, and took the form of articles, polemics, book reviews, or letters to the editor. Others appeared in various journals: general informative journals, law journals or scholarly journals in the Indies. Some of these were intended for specific categories of readers such as lawyers and scholars. Others were published in general or scholarly journals in the Netherlands, and a few in international scholarly journals. Finally, some appeared as monographs in various forms. The publications discussed here were written both during the sinologists' government service in the Indies and afterwards.

Newspaper publications were mostly not works of scholarship, but they were still the result of some kind of study. They often seem of ephemeral value and have therefore been mostly forgotten. But for a number of sinologists, this was an opportunity to say their piece. Some sinologists were prolific writers and even became famous as journalists. The first of these was Meeter, who published more than 120 newspaper articles including 40 during his active service. Next there were Van der Spek (57 articles), Young (14 articles), Borel (innumerable, no complete list available), and De Bruin (32 articles, after his service). Other important contributors to newspapers were Schlegel, Von Faber, De Groot, and (later) Groeneveldt. Some of their contributions were polemics between sinologists, such as between Schlegel and Von Faber (1867), Young and Von Faber (1882), Meeter and Schlegel (1892), Borel and Schlegel (1895), Borel and De Groot (1898, 1912), Borel and De Bruin (1912), or between sinologists and others (Meeter 1882–92). Three sinologists got into personal trouble as a result of their too-candid publications (Moll, 1881; Meeter, 1883; Borel, 1895, 1904, etc.). These articles were published in local or general newspapers, but many of them were distributed much more widely by means of reprints or summaries in other Indies newspapers.

Publications in journals appeared in general Indies journals such as *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* and *De Indische Gids* (1879–1941), and in the Netherlands journal *De Gids*; in scholarly journals like *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Batavian Society for Arts and

Sciences), *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (KITLV); in law journals such as *Het regt in Nederlandsch Indië* (1849–1914), *Indisch weekblad van het recht* (1863–1914), and *Indisch tijdschrift van het recht* (1915–47). Monographs appeared in the series *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*. Some contributions appeared in international sinological journals such as *Notes and Queries on China and Japan* (1867–70), *The China Review* (1872–1901), and *T'oung Pao* (1890–). Here we can discuss only publications by interpreters and Officials for Chinese Affairs, not the many later scholarly works by Schlegel and De Groot (except when connected with their work in the Indies), or literary and other works by Borel.

The Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, established in 1778, was the oldest scholarly society in the European colonies, and its publications were the most prestigious. It published *Verhandelingen* (treatises) and from 1853 on also a journal, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, but it also published other monographs. Dutch sinologists published in total nine items in the *Verhandelingen*, most of them during the first twenty years (De Grijs, 1863; Schlegel 1866 (3), 1872; Groeneveldt, 1880, 1887 (Museum catalogue); De Groot 1881–3; Stuart, 1904). Appearing in its journal were notes or articles by De Grijs (1856), Francken (1864); Von Faber (1864), Schlegel (1873), Schaalje (1873 (2)), Albrecht (1879), Schaank (1889 (Dayak), 1893), and Groeneveldt (1908, Hindu); but most were by Young (1882, 1886 (2), 1888, 1889, 1894, 1895). Francken's and De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch dictionary was separately published as a book (1882).

Most sinologists were members of the Batavian Society for some time, in particular while stationed in Batavia, but most cancelled their membership after some years.

Many contributed to the Museum of the Batavian Society by donating Chinese coins from China or that had been found in the regions where they were stationed. Some contributed descriptions of coins (De Grijs, Von Faber, Moll), and Stuart published a large catalogue of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Annamese coins in the Museum in 1904.

From 1870 until 1914, almost continuously at least one of the sinologists stationed in Batavia was a member of the Board of Directors of the Batavian Society. He usually also had a special function such as Secretary, Editor, Curator, Librarian or Treasurer, but mostly two functions concurrently. The most prominent Board member was Groeneveldt, who had various functions from 1875 on and was President from 1889 until 1895. Van Wettum's sudden death in 1914 marked the end of the sinologists' membership of the Board (*see* list in Appendix G).

When staying in the Netherlands, some sinologists published in the KITLV's *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië*:

(Hoffmann, 1853, 1854;) Schlegel, 1884, 1885; De Groot, 1885, 1892; Groeneveldt, 1898; Hoetink, 1917, 1918, 1922, 1923 (2).

Contributions to legal journals, mostly in *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, were made by Schlegel (1862 (2), 1865), Francken (1862), Meeter (1876 (*Weekblad*), 1879, 1882), Young (1884), Stuart (1900), Ezerman (1910), and Van Wettum (1914). This list does not include published advice to the courts or the relevant summaries, such as those by Hoetink (1901). Another important legal publication is Albrecht's *nota* on law concerning the Chinese (1890).

Sinologists also published in general Indies journals such as *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Young, 1890 (2), 1892, 1894; De Groot, 1891; Schlegel, 1897; Groeneveldt, 1900); *De Indische Gids* (Van der Spek, 1883, 1892; Von Faber, 1884; Schaank, 1885, Young, 1885, 1887; De Groot, 1886, 1898; Schlegel, 1892; Groeneveldt, 1898; Ezerman, 1917); and *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (Schaank, 1888–9, 1913 (native police); Young, 1890).

The English sinological journal *Notes and Queries* (1867–70), based in Hong Kong, includes several contributions by Schlegel (1867–70),[3] and Buddingh (1869, short notes). *The China Review* (1872–1901), also based in Hong Kong, published contributions by De Groot (1878–81),[4] Groeneveldt (1875–9) and Young (1881). From 1890 on, Schlegel and to a lesser extent De Groot published regularly in *T'oung Pao*. Other contributors to this journal were Van Wettum (1891, 1894, 1901), Ezerman (1891), Borel (1893), Schaank (1897 (2), 1898, 1902), and Young (1898).

Besides articles in newspapers, journals and series, a few sinologists also published books or brochures (Schlegel, 1869 (thesis), 1875 (*Uranographie*); De Groot, 1883 (oath), 1885 (kongsi system), etc.). Some published popular books such as those by Young (1895) and Borel, whose articles were collected in book form (1895, 1897, 1900, 1901, 1916, 1925, etc.), De Bruin (1918), and Ezerman (1920).

The subjects treated in these publications often had some connection with their work in the Indies. The following list of subjects is not exhaustive:

Language: dictionaries by Francken and De Grijs (1882), Schlegel (1882–91), Van de Stadt (1914); linguistic studies by Schaank (1897, Hakka; 1897–1902, historical phonology). Schlegel later published several linguistic studies, such as on Malay loan-words (1890) and parallelism (1896). Here Von Faber's unpublished Hakka studies could also be mentioned, as well as the manuscript dictionaries by Schaalje (1864, 1889) and Von Faber (1898), two popular articles (Young, 1884, Borel, 1895), and the Chinese textbooks by De Bruin (1914–7). The number of language studies is relatively small.

Chinese law and customary law: after arrival in the Indies, Schlegel and

Francken immediately obtained opportunities to publish in the legal journals, but afterwards such publications were relatively rare. Meeter's newspaper articles about bookkeeping and bankruptcy are closely connected with legal matters, but he also wrote about Chinese inheritance law, marriage and adoption. Sinologists also engaged in debates in newspapers on Chinese legal questions and legislation for the Chinese—in particular Meeter, but also Young, De Groot, Borel, and after his retirement Groeneveldt (1898). Much was also published about the Chinese oath (*see* special section in Chapter Thirteen).

Chinese customs and traditions: De Groot published three major works on Chinese customs and traditions in 1881–3 (yearly festivals), 1885 (kongsi system) and 1892–1910 (religious system). Schlegel published about secret societies in 1866 (*Hung-League*), while others wrote minor studies of this subject (*see* special section in this chapter). Other minor studies about customs were published by Schaalje (1873, bound feet), Young (1883, queue), Schaank (1888, queue), Albrecht (1879, education) and Meeter (1883, education), Van der Spek (many subjects), Borel (many subjects), etc. Several sinologists published about Chinese gambling (Von Faber, 1881; Meeter, 1883, several articles; Young, 1886, 1890; Borel, 1900).[5] De Bruin published a book on the Chinese on the East Coast of Sumatra (1918), and Ezerman one about the Guanyin temple in Cirebon (Tiao-Kak-Sie, 1920), although without any scholarly pretensions.

Some other sinological subjects not directly related to their work were:

- History: Groeneveldt (1880; 1896, early Chinese sources about the Indies; 1898, early Sino–Dutch contacts); Hoetink (1917–23, history of the Chinese officer system);
- Translations of literature: Schlegel (1866 *Hoa Tsien Ki*; 1877, *Vendeur-d'huile*), Borel (1897, *Guanyin jidu benyuan zhenjing*; 1896, Confucian *Analects*, *Mencius*; 1898, *Daodejing*), and shorter texts in newspaper articles (Van der Spek, Borel, De Bruin).
- Travelogues from China: Van der Spek (1879–80; 1882), Borel (1897, 1910, 1916, 1922, etc.), De Bruin (1916), Ezerman (1917);
- Works of fiction concerning the Chinese: Young (1890, 1894, 1895); Borel (1895 *Wu Wei*); Ezerman (1950).

Quite a few of these Dutch works were translated into Malay (Albrecht, 1890; Young, 1886, 1887, 1894; Van Wettum, 1914; Hoetink, 1917, 1923; Ezerman, 1920), and some into French (Albrecht, 1879; De Groot, 1881–3).

Some published on other subjects: Von Faber (1885, Herwijnen school), Albrecht (1879–1937, law indexes), Borel (literature and music).

Some died too young to publish anything substantial (De Breuk, Buddingh, Roelofs), while others only started publishing at the end of or after their career in the Indies (partly Meeter, De Bruin, Hoetink). Only

six sinologists published hardly at all (De Breuk, Buddingh, Roelofs, A.E. Moll, De Jongh, Thijssen).

As to the cause of the limited scholarly results of the sinologists in the Indies, two diametrically opposite opinions were put forward: by Albrecht (1879), and thirty years later by De Groot (1911). In his 1879 *nota* about the work of the interpreters, Albrecht stated that the lack of opportunity to practice their linguistic and advisory skills had dampened most interpreters' enthusiasm for study. Moreover, the Government in general showed little interest in sinological studies, in contrast to studies of the native Indies population. Albrecht wrote in his *nota*:

> If the interpreters have little official and private work, they can all the more—one could argue—spend time on their own studies, in order better to fulfil their tasks on the few occasions when their services are required. However, not every person has a knack for continuous study, at least not in a regular way. One also wishes to be of practical use and to be rewarded for one's efforts. Other linguists receive various assignments from the Government and report regularly on the results of their studies, which are followed with interest and appreciated by the Government. The interpreters for Chinese arrive in the Indies with great illusions, are appointed at some outer post and are left completely to their own devices. Nobody cares whether they study or not. The difference is that the former apply themselves to the languages of the native peoples, which are considered pre-eminently worthy of the Government's attention, while the latter study the language of a people that is only tolerated in the Indies as an indispensable element, but which receives to a much lesser degree the care of the Government. When expert information and help is so rarely asked, it is no wonder that their diligence slackens and it takes a lot of energy not to become depressed.[6]

On the other hand, Groeneveldt later asserted that most sinologists, who like other specialists would not have much to do, knew how to use their time profitably,[7] which probably included time for studies.

In a *nota* of 1911, De Groot took an extremely pessimistic view of the scholarly competence of all his colleagues, "with one exception." He put the blame for this entirely on the recruitment by competitive examinations, since the purpose of his *nota* was to have this system changed. He did not ascribe the problem to their weak position in the government, but seemed to reason the other way round: their lack of scholarly competence had weakened their position as advisors.[8]

When he was asked to train a second group of Officials for Chinese Affairs, he wrote a *nota* to Minister of Colonies J.H. de Waal Malefijt, dated 2 March 1911. In it he asserted that the function of Official for Chinese Affairs had become more important in the Dutch colonies and would continue to be become more important. The government needed in the first place completely reliable advisors. The sinologists should not only have considerable knowledge of Chinese institutions, customs and con-

ditions, but also the desire and competence to improve and enlarge that knowledge. Actually a lifetime of study was required of them, the more so because of the difficulty of the Chinese language and (just as difficult) Chinese literature, without which one could not gain a solid knowledge of institutions, customs and conditions.

Superficiality, dilettantism and amateuristic bungling (*oppervlakkigheid, dilettantisme en beunhazerij*) should be avoided. De Groot had expressed a similar argument in 1888 (*see* below), but here De Groot may in the first place have been thinking of Borel, whose works he characterised as "dilettantism."[9]

According to De Groot, the government had given the sinologists ample time for study in the Netherlands and in China, but the weak point was the recruitment procedure by means of a competitive examination. According to him, the high salary always lured a large number of candidates to take part in these examinations. Such an examination might be fine for other officials of the Internal Administration, to whom various careers were open, but not for Officials for Chinese Affairs, since it did not test or ensure the main requirement: a good mind for study and research during the whole time of service.

History had given indisputable proof of this. With one exception (no name was mentioned, but he must have meant himself), none of the interpreters or Officials for Chinese Affairs had done anything worth mentioning for enlargement or improvement of the knowledge of Chinese culture. Most of them found their professional position unsatisfying and impossible, and tried to find refuge in other directions or in other employment. De Groot mentioned seven of his colleagues: De Jongh (who was transferred to the Opium Monopoly), Hoetink (who in Deli did notarial and other administrative work, and later found another function), Stuart (who like the previous two passed the Higher Officials Examination, but did not obtain a function with the Internal Administration), Van der Spek (who went to study medicine), Borel (who "exclusively applied himself to literary work, flavoured with romantic dilettantism in the field of sinology"), Van de Stadt (who went over to the Billiton Company), Van Wettum (who was doing other governmental work). The remaining two or three

> only vegetated on their salaries, not disturbed in their holy rest by the administrative or judicial powers, or ignored. Until finally pension or death delivered or will deliver them from a failed career. / These are hard truths, and undeniable facts.[10]

De Groot's conclusion was:

> *The Officials for Chinese Affairs were never men who originally brought to their functions a desire for the study of China and the Chinese.* Therefore they continued to live on some elementary linguistic knowledge obtained during their

> training period. As a consequence, it was impossible for them to meet the requirements of the responsible task for which the Government had appointed them; and most importantly, they found their position difficult and unpleasant, actually impossible, and one after another quit as best as they could.[11]

A new method of recruitment was the only way to correct this basic fault, and to guarantee the main requirement of their function: "love for study and research during their full period of service." Such a new method was allowed in the revised regulation of 1906, since instead of an examination, a "comparative investigation" was now also possible.[12] In De Groot's opinion, from now on all candidates should be students of the Faculty of Arts who after recommendation by their professors should be tested by himself. This was the same method the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had practiced two years earlier, when he had tested two such candidates.[13] Actually, this was an informal test reminiscent of that by Hoffmann in the 1850s and 1860s. De Groot had tested J.J.L. Duyvendak by giving him a certain book to study, requiring him to return some time later to discuss the book and answer questions.[14]

This *nota* by a scholar of De Groot's stature is of course an important document, but it needs some comment. De Groot's harsh criticism of his colleagues is not fully justified. He forgot to mention that he himself was one of those who left the interpreters' corps as soon as possible, not because he lacked a mind for study, but because he had nothing to do and his knowledge and scholarship were not appreciated. Moreover, the remaining unnamed sinologists were not two or three, but six men in total (Roelofs, Young, A.E. Moll, Ezerman, De Bruin, Thijssen). Among these, Young had an impressive list of scholarly and other publications, and when De Bruin visited him in Berlin in 1914, De Groot seemed to approve of his application for the professorship in Leiden.[15] Ezerman and Thijssen were highly appreciated officials. He also did not mention any of the earlier interpreters, such as Schlegel, Francken, Von Faber, Albrecht, and Meeter, who were not recruited by a competitive examination, and most of whom certainly had a mind for study. Finally, the number of candidates for the examination was often not as great as De Groot asserted. And it should not be forgotten that De Groot would leave Leiden for Berlin later that year, being unhappy about his situation as professor in Leiden as well. Ezerman once complained that professional sinologists (*beroeps-sinologen*) tended to be so 'fierce' (*féroce*, in French),[16] which well typifies De Groot's attitude here.

The main point in this *nota* was De Groot's perception of the need for a new recruitment system. The Minister of Colonies accepted De Groot's proposal, which was then applied to J.Th. Moll, a student of Dutch language and literature in Groningen, and A.D.A. de Kat Angelino, a student of Indology in Leiden, who both passed.[17] Their careers, however, were

not much different from many of the earlier sinologists: both of them also left as soon as they had an opportunity. The highly talented De Kat Angelino left the Bureau for Chinese Affairs in 1920, after only three years, to pursue other employment, and J.Th. Moll left the Indies in 1923 after six years of work at the Bureau. By contrast, De Groot's previous group of students, recruited by competitive examination, remained in function as Officials for Chinese Affairs for about twenty years.[18]

Before and afterwards, the Indies Government always stated that it needed practical men in the field of sinology, not scholars. The purpose of training both in Leiden and in China was to train such men.[19]

Although the regional authorities in the Indies may not have stimulated Chinese studies among the sinologists, the Ministry of Colonies was generous in granting subsidies for large publications such as Schlegel's dictionary (in total *f* 36,000) and De Groot's *Religious System of China* (for each volume *f* 1,000, probably in total *f* 6,000).[26] For those who wished to study further, there were opportunities for publication and for study missions to China. But for many, their weak position as advisors was depressing and demotivating, and ambitious scholars left the Indies as soon as possible. From the 1880s on, De Groot was clearly—as he stated himself—the most productive and authoritative Dutch scholar on China. Yet his colleagues' lesser contributions should not be forgotten, both in legal and scholarly journals and in popular publications. The latter are also a rich source of information on the Chinese in the Indies.

Study missions

In another respect, the Indies government had stimulated scholarship by sending several sinologists—there were too many of them anyhow—at their request on study missions to China. When De Groot and later Hoetink requested to be sent to China for further study, the government always agreed with a fully paid study trip lasting one or two years, although it at the same time charged them with other practical tasks.

When De Groot was on leave in the Netherlands, wishing to pursue a scholarly career and not to return to the Indies as an interpreter, he requested the Minister of Colonies to send him on a two- or three-year scholarly mission to China.[20] His justification for this was that the interpreters could not adequately fulfil their advisory function, since they studied in China for only one year and were then mostly occupied with language studies. The government needed more information about Chinese social institutions and customs in order to regulate the civil law for the Chinese. In an added *nota* under the motto "Knowledge is power," he further explained the need, stressing the importance of customary law among the Chinese

and the need to know more about the dangerous Chinese secret societies. On the advice of the Minister of Colonies, who had just received questions in Parliament about the need for interpreters knowing dialects such as Hakka and Hoklo, De Groot in a second letter also proposed to study Hakka and Hoklo for two years in order to train other interpreters in these dialects.

His request was sent to the Governor-General to decide, who first asked advice from Honorary Advisor for Chinese Affairs Groeneveldt, Director of Justice Buijn and the Council of the Indies.

Groeneveldt wrote that De Groot would be the right person to do research in China, as he had already shown in his *Yearly Festivals and Customs of the Amoy Chinese*. He would certainly come up with results and be more useful than as an interpreter in the Indies. But it would not be necessary to gather more information for the regulation of law for the Chinese, since Groeneveldt himself and Albrecht were already compiling a draft text. On the other hand, the study of Chinese law in itself, and of other subjects such as secret societies, would certainly be useful.

There was also no need to study the Hakka dialect, which was known to a number of interpreters, and Hoklo was so similar to Hokkien as not to need special training. Moreover, there was no need to train others, there being a surplus at the time (*see* graph in Appendix H).

Director of Justice Buijn did not agree with any of De Groot's reasons for a study mission: in his opinion there was enough information available about Chinese customs for drafting new laws, and he was worried that De Groot might discover some customs that were contrary to the principles of Dutch law. He also disagreed with De Groot's attributing to the interpreters a function as advisors on Chinese law. On the other hand, learning the dialects of the most unruly Chinese would be a useful task. At the same time, De Groot should not be charged with studying the social, economic and religious life of the Chinese; it would be entirely up to him whether to study such subjects or not.

The Council of the Indies also disapproved of De Groot's two arguments for the mission, but agreed with a two-year purely scholarly mission to study the languages, geography and ethnography of China.

Governor-General then decided to send De Groot on a purely scholarly mission to study the languages, geography and ethnography of Southern China. He would receive this charge upon his return to the Indies.

De Groot was highly pleased with this decision. On the last page of his *Kongsiwezen*, published half a year later, he stressed the need for such a mission:

> May this book serve to show that one cannot decently know the Chinese in the colonies unless one studies them in their own fatherland, and therefore it is important for a government that seeks it power rather in politics and

> knowledge of a country and its people than in bayonets, to have large-scale ethnographic studies and researches carried out in the Middle Country.[21]

After his arrival in Batavia, De Groot was charged with the mission, and he received an additional task: he also had to arrange for the emigration of Chinese workers for the plantations in Deli and the tin mines in Banka. Besides his normal salary and travel expenses to and from China, he received an extra monthly allowance of *f* 200 for extraordinary expenses. He could engage two language teachers at *f* 100 each per month.[22]

De Groot went to Amoy, where he stayed most of the time, settling in a little house on a steep hill on Gulangyu with a fine view of the mountains on the Chinese mainland.[23] But he also travelled widely in Southern China, both for research and to arrange the emigration of workers. His teachers were used as informants for his research; one of these was his former teacher Tio Siao Hun. With their help, and by studying Chinese texts, he collected an enormous mass of information.

After a year and a half, on 6 January 1888, when his mission was nearing its end, he requested to be allowed to study for another two years. In his opinion, hasty, superficial and dilettantish studies were to be avoided; in particular, religion, the basis of all social institutions, had not yet been sufficiently studied. If he would have to leave China now, all his efforts would become worthless. Moreover, he still had to continue his difficult task of arranging the emigration of Chinese workers. His request was again approved (*see also* the section on the emigration of coolies).

Two years later, towards the end of his stay, De Groot travelled to Northern China and visited Nanking, Peking and other places, subsequently going on to Japan where he visited Nagasaki, Kobe, Kyoto, and Tokyo. Finally, he went to the United States, visiting several places and universities, and returned on unpaid leave to the Netherlands. In January he had already been offered a job as teacher of Chinese and Malay at the Public Commercial School in Amsterdam. His mission was extremely fruitful, resulting in De Groot's magnum opus, *The Religious System of China* (1892–1910). But it was also his last visit to China and the Indies.

In 1889, while De Groot was still in China, Hoetink also went on a one-year mission for studying the languages, geography and ethnography in China. However, the primary purpose of this trip, which was at the request of the Deli Planters Committee, was to arrange for the emigration of workers. While De Groot had stayed most of the time in Amoy, Hoetink was sent to Swatow, where he arrived in July 1889. He successfully arranged for the emigration from Hoihow (Haikou) and Pakhoi (Beihai) in Western Guangdong. No scholarly results of Hoetink's mission are known. After one year in China he went to the Netherlands for two years' leave (1890–2).

In 1898 Hoetink submitted a second request for a study mission, perhaps inspired by Van de Stadt's request to study in Peking. This time he asked for a two-year mission to study the languages, geography, and ethnography of China,[24] proposing to make an adequate Chinese translation of the civil and commercial law applicable to the Chinese in the Indies. This could only be done with assistance from Chinese scholars and libraries in China. He also proposed to make lists of standard transcriptions of Chinese names in four dialects (Hokkien, Hoklo, Hakka, and Cantonese). These were to be used in the Civil Registration (*burgerlijke stand*) for the Chinese, which was expected to be introduced soon.

After the request had been granted, Hoetink was, as usual, also charged with arranging the emigration of Chinese workers to the Indies. During these two years, he stayed about half of the time in Tientsin and Peking, and the other half in Southern China. This mission resulted in manuscript Chinese translations of the civil and commercial code, but the translations were never printed; the manuscripts are now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden. Hoetink also at least produced a list of transcribed names in the Hakka dialect, which has not yet been located.[25] This mission also did not result in any publication.

While Van de Stadt's request for a stay in Peking in 1896 had been refused, mainly as a result of Hoetink's negative advice, later study missions for learning Mandarin were granted. These were Borel's four-month mission to study Mandarin in Peking in 1909, from whence he took along his teacher Wang Fung Ting to the Indies, and H. Mouw's one-year mission to Peking in 1914–5. Ezerman went on a four-month mission to China in 1915–6 to study various matters of interest to the Bureau of Chinese Affairs, visiting Singapore, Hong Kong, Canton, Shanghai, Peking and Hankow. A few months later, De Bruin went to Peking to study Mandarin for half a year, but by this time he was no longer in Government service and his studies were at his own expense. Three of these missions resulted in published travelogues.

All study missions were important sources of information about China.

Secret societies

In China, secret societies have existed for a long time and in different forms. According to the early Dutch sinologists, the archetype of such institutions was the oath of brotherhood among the three heroes Guan Yu, Zhang Fei and Liu Bei from the Period of the Three Kingdoms (third century A.D.). This story is related in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi yanyi*) and in other forms of literature. Wishing to restore justice and order in the world, they swore an oath of loyalty, proclaiming

that although they had not been born at the same time, they were ready to die together.

Secret societies often functioned as a refuge for discontented men who would support each other and be loyal to each other, even until death. In China they had often instigated rebellions, or at least the government assumed they might. One of the best known secret societies was the Hung-League or Heaven and Earth Society, dating from the eighteenth century, allegedly striving to overthrow the (foreign) Manchu dynasty and restore the previous, ethnic-Chinese Ming dynasty (1368–1644). However, many secret societies had a strong tendency to become criminal organisations, such as the well-known Chinese Triads which can be compared to the Italian mafia. Secret societies were also active in Southeast Asia and other areas of Chinese emigration. In the nineteenth century, secret societies in the Straits Settlements and the Malay States were several times the cause of mass fighting and riots, and in Singapore they controlled traditional criminal activities such as gambling, prostitution and human trafficking. But it should be stressed that in 1851 the Netherlands Indies government assumed there were also harmless secret societies, and these were not banned. Young later refuted this, and Schaank explained that philantropic societies for mutual assistance in case of burials or illness, or for supporting the needy, keeping up temples, or cleaning small rivers etc. were not secret.[27]

In 1851, after a major criminal case involving a secret society and opium smuggling came to light on Java in Surabaya, Rembang and Pasuruan,[28] the Netherlands Indies government prohibited harmful secret societies, active members of which could be punished with banishment.[29] Naturally, secret societies became a subject of study by sinologists. In the beginning, the Indies government sent Chinese documents concerning these societies to Hoffmann in Leiden, who was then the only European available knowing Chinese. Hoffmann published two articles with translations and analysis of some of these documents. Based on other studies as well, his conclusion was that they were dangerous for the Dutch authorities in the Indies. He also asserted that they were related to the secret societies in China, but he rejected the missionary Röttger's theory that they were similar to a communist proletarian organisation.[30] From now on, the activities of these societies were always one of the main arguments for the need of European interpreters of Chinese.

After the first European interpreters of Chinese were appointed in the Indies in 1860, some of them wrote studies on secret societies. The first and best known of these is Schlegel's classical study *Thian ti hwui: the Hung-league, or Heaven-earth-league: A Secret Society with the Chinese in China and India* (1866).

Schlegel's interest began in a very practical manner. In the spring of 1863, a large number of secret society documents were found in the house

of a man suspected of theft in Padang (Sumatra). Schlegel was asked by the judicial authorities to make translations of these manuscripts, which were later shown to contain "the laws, statues, oath, mysteries of initiation, catechism, descriptions of flags, symbols and secret signs etc." of a society with two hundred members. Most of these texts were at the time unintelligible to him, and he asked to have them returned after the case was decided. In addition, he requested to have all such documents in the Netherlands Indies at his disposal, hoping to find out the secrets of these societies. In this way he obtained another book containing statutes from Japara (near Semarang, Java), and some other documents, but most important were two large manuscripts presented to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences by J.E. Teysmann, hortulanus of the Botanical Garden in Bogor.[31] Schlegel also borrowed diplomas (membership certificates) from his colleague Von Faber (from Montrado, Borneo) and from E. Netscher, Resident of Riau.

Apart from these documents, however, he did not find any informant on these societies. No one dared to confess being a member, and even if someone should confess, he could not be of much help in translating the documents, since most members were recruited from the lower classes not well versed in Chinese language, history and the secrets of the league.[32] Chinese literati, such as his teacher, were also unwilling to offer help. If they were members, they would be afraid to help him, since these societies were banned both in China and in the colonies. And if they were not members, they would be prejudiced against them and could not be induced to even look at the documents, "the looking at it being deemed already contaminating." In Schlegel's opinion, he could therefore only give tentative translations, in particular of the poems, of which he added the Chinese characters.[33] In this case he was too modest, since his translations have proven to be excellent.[34]

His studies resulted in an impressive monograph, a classic study on the rituals of Chinese secret societies, which was highly acclaimed nationally and internationally.[35] It was very fortunate that Schlegel chose to use English instead of Dutch (or even French or German). Almost twenty years later, in 1885, De Groot was full of praise: he stated that Schlegel had studied the documents carefully and with the greatest acuity (*met de grootste schranderheid*), and in 1895 even the ever-critical Meeter called it "a good book."[36] A full century later the book was reprinted in Singapore, the United States, and Britain. In 1940 there appeared a Chinese translation that was later reprinted in Taiwan and Mainland China.[37]

In his Preface, Schlegel compared the Hung-League to European Freemasonry, as Milne (1825) and Hoffmann (1854) had done before.[38] Just as in his translations he strove for 'equivalence' (idiomatic translations) when explaining Chinese institutions, Schlegel tried in this case to point out similar ones in Europe, thereby making the Chinese system more ac-

ceptable for Europeans. In his Introduction he delved into Chinese and Western history to explain the League's symbolism. He concluded that the government should show "forbearance" to the secret societies, just as it had towards Freemasonry.[39] Schlegel always was ready to stand up for the Chinese against widespread European prejudices. And this time he was successful; at least, in his inaugural address in 1877 he asserted that his *Hung-League* had diminished sinophobia among the populace in the Indies, leading to a relaxation of immigration rules on Java.[40]

Later, two other interpreters published short studies of similar materials, also purely based on documentary evidence. Schaalje translated two diplomas from Penang (1870), and Young translated a catechism and a receipt of membership fees from Pontianak (1883).[41] Schaalje collected a great number of documents, which can now be found in Dutch libraries.[42] Many years later, in 1896, while stationed in Riau, Borel obtained a catechism, but when he presented it to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences and offered to make a translation, the Society's secretary Hoetink refused to accept it, since it had already been translated by Schlegel and others.[43]

However useful Schlegel's and his colleagues' studies may have been in helping to understand the documents, regulations and rituals of a secret society, they did not give much insight into the actual function of these organisations. As to their workings, Schlegel only summarised that these societies were considered dangerous, since "they lead very often to a tacit resistance against the laws of the land, or even to revolt."[44] Schaalje, who was stationed in Riau, had more opportunity to witness the activities of secret societies, which were prevalent there as they also were in nearby Singapore. In his phrase, they had almost obtained 'civil rights' in Riau. Being confronted with their real activities, he had an opposite opinion to Schlegel's on their nature. From 1877 on, he wrote several articles about the workings of the secret societies, none of which was published.

Schaalje's earliest article was entitled The secret societies (*De geheime genootschappen*), dated 1877–8, and consisted of two parts.[45] Part I is a translation of a short catechism found in a Chinese home during a police search, and a translation and analysis of a few diplomas. In the Introduction he mentioned his two main sources on secret societies, Schlegel's *Hung-League* and the Report on the Penang Riots of 1867 that had made much clear. But still, in Schlegel's opinion much was lacking in his own work. All information was most welcome; Schaalje therefore had undertaken this translation. Like Schlegel, he found that it was difficult to press uninitiated Chinese to say anything about the secret societies, because of a general fear of them. The fear was inspired not only by the government ban but also, and even more so, by their regulations which contained threats of dire reprisals by other members and by the first notice in the

catechism which struck terror into the hearts of the superstitious: "Those to whom these writings should be of no concern, will by seeing them be struck by every kind of misfortune."

Part II has the separate title "The function of the secret societies among the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies" (*De werking der Geheime Genootschappen onder de Chinezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*). This was originally a *nota* for the Resident of Riau in 1877. Schaalje's main conclusion was that secret societies such as the Hung-League, Tien-ti-hui 天地會 and Gie Hin kongsi 義興公司 were dangerous to public order and peace. He explained that while writing his *Hung-League*, Schlegel had only been in the Netherlands Indies for a short time (four years), and in Batavia secret societies rarely or never made any trouble. Schaalje considered them dangerous enough even if only because of the threatening language in their regulations, adding that this conclusion could also be drawn from *The Hung-League* (pp. 135, 152-66). He gave an elaborate account of the troubles and crimes perpetrated by members of secret societies in Riau in the 1870s, which were typical of the Triads, such as gang fighting and harassment of witnesses.

A few years later, in November 1884, in his *nota* on his planned study mission to China, De Groot also commented on Schlegel's *Hung-League*, saying that Schlegel had cleared up much but not all about them. He expressed the wish to study the dangerous secret societies, in order that the government could better suppress them. In February 1885, Groeneveldt added to this that Schlegel had only studied the external features and not the essence or purpose of the secret societies. He stated that, if anyone, De Groot would be the most suitable person to unveil their mystery.[46]

Later that year, De Groot published his book about the Chinese kongsi or 'republics' on Borneo, the Preface of which is dated July 1885. De Groot's main thesis was that these were no secret societies. According to him, the Borneo kongsi were derived from the cherished system of Chinese village autonomy. Only after these kongsi had been suppressed by the Dutch in 1855, had they developed into secret societies. Therefore, the best way to combat them was to give the Chinese more autonomy (*zelfbestuur*), more freedom to decide their own affairs.[47] Here, De Groot showed that he was thinking decades ahead of his time. In this book he had a different opinion on secret societies than in his letter to the Minister of Colonies half a year earlier. What he had written then was probably more an argument to convince the government of the need of his scholarly mission to China, than his own opinion. He wrote extensively about secret societies in the last chapter, entitled "The origin and nature of the secret societies in the colonies" (*De oorsprong en aard der geheime genootschappen in de koloniën*, 172-93). De Groot opposed Schlegel's theory that the secret societies in the Indies were branches of similar organisations

in China, since there was no hard evidence for this. Moreover, just as Hong Xiuquan's Taiping rebellion (1850–64) could not be considered a Christian sect although Hong himself had at first been inspired by Christianity, the secret societies in the Indies were not affiliated with those in other places. On Borneo, there had never been 'missionaries' (*zendelingen*) from outside making propaganda for these societies; all that happened was that some Chinese from Borneo had gone to Singapore to get ideas on how to organise such a society. Moreover, he asserted that these were not rebellious organisations, wishing to overthrow the colonial government, but only strove for mutual support among members. One negative effect was that they entailed much gang fighting between Chinese from different regions, but these societies were rather troublesome than dangerous organisations (*eer lastige dan gevaarlijke lichamen*).[48] Like Schlegel, De Groot showed sympathy and understanding for the secret societies:

> One should also consider that this system [of mutual support] was in particular always indispensable for the Chinese in our colonies, who were constantly surrounded by foreign and hostile peoples, and dominated by a nation of which the interests, ideas and customs were in so many respects the opposite of theirs.[49]

As an example to prove his point, De Groot gave an account of a personal confrontation with a secret society:

> In 1881 it came out in Montrado that a confederacy had been formed. It had already held several nightly meetings, recruited about one hundred members, chosen a leadership committee and devised regulations; and what finally became clear at the *Landraad*, when the case was tried? That the target of the whole business was only a club of Chinese newcomers, whom they intended to give a grand-scale beating, and who had decently joined together in a counter-association. Not a trace or a shadow was discovered of plans against the Government, or of cooperation with foreign associations. Only the old theme, the formation of a clan "for washing their dirty laundry within the family" was dominant.[50]

Although the danger was not as great as was often thought, De Groot still recognised the threat of secret societies:

> It will be unknown to few, that it is just this spirit of mutual support, basically a fine characteristic of the people, that in the colonies is a nightmare for all European rulers. This is not without reason. Because when elevated by the confederacies to a written, strictly enforced law, this each time lames their arm, makes their laws and regulations arrogantly into dead letters, keeps all offenders out of their reach, and makes all decent administration of justice actually impossible. If anything, a secret society is a state within the state.[51]

Examples of these regulations could be found in Schlegel's *Hung-League*, but their working was not the subject of De Groot's study:

> We, however, have only taken upon ourselves to elucidate the basis and nature of the secret societies, and not to discuss their working, and therefore we do not further delve into this subject.[52]

On the last page De Groot ended with a general plea for the Chinese:

> May this work also somewhat diminish the fortunately lessening fear for the Chinese (*Chineezenvrees*) and that in many respects so groundless antipathy which is mainly based on lack of knowledge, against a people to whose dogged diligence Borneo, Deli, Banka, Billiton and Riau are indebted for their prosperity and importance, their entire significance as a colony![53]

In his later writings De Groot seems never to have studied secret societies again. No references could be found in his major work, *The Religious System of China*, nor in his plan for the unpublished volumes, and but few in his *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China* (1903–4). Even if he may have wished to study them more deeply, he probably never found suitable informants about this topic.

In addition to the 1851 ban on harmful secret societies, the Resident of the East Coast of Sumatra R.C. Kroesen in 1884 promulgated a short bylaw (*keur*) for the suppression of secret societies.[54] In this bylaw consisting of only one article, a number of crimes such as the possession of a secret society's documents, using their signs or signals, leading or facilitating meetings, urging others to join, and giving financial or other support, all became punishable with three months of forced labour (*krakal*). In this way, any member could be punished.

In 1887, there were three incidents involving secret societies that caused a change in public opinion. Schaalje was the first sinologist to analyse this change in an unpublished article entitled: "The other side of the picture" (*Het blaadje wordt omgekeerd*).[55] According to him, the Indies government had until then followed a course of non-intervention towards the Chinese secret societies, letting the Chinese take care of their own affairs. To Schaalje's knowledge, the 1851 ordinance had never been applied.[56] Secret societies were hardly active on Java, and as a result of Schlegel's and De Groot's writings, were considered harmless and even beneficial institutions. But already in his *nota* to the previous Resident of Riau in 1877, Schaalje had warned against this attitude, now stating:

> That nice and kind and soft attitude—if one can call it that—towards the Chinese in their secret societies always puzzled me.[57]

He warned against the danger of De Groot's proposal to afford more autonomy to the Chinese, since in his experience they were unfit for this. He asserted that the Chinese in Riau were "highly stupid, uneducated, without any notion of civilisation" (*in hooge mate dom, onontwikkeld, vrij*

van alle begrippen van beschaving), and most of them were victims and instruments of their richer compatriots.

The three incidents that caused a turnabout in public opinion in 1887 were the murder of a Chinese officer in Karimon (West of Riau) at the instigation of the Ghie Hok kongsi from Singapore (April 1887, Schaalje, p. 13); the murderous attack on the well-respected Protector of Chinese in Singapore, William Pickering, by the same kongsi (July 1887);[58] and the incident having the most direct impact, the discovery that two Chinese officers in Pontianak were members of a secret society with possible affiliations with Singapore, which became publicly known in September.

The last-named incident is the only known case of direct involvement of a sinologist with a secret society. Early in 1887 it was discovered that a 'missionary' of the Sam-Tiam-Hoey 三點會, a secret Society from Singapore, had been active in Pontianak and two Chinese officers had become members. The police had found letters putting pressure on some local Chinese, threatening them with reprisals if they would not join. Their purpose was mutual support in case any of them would come into contact with the police. It was, however, not yet clear whether this was a dangerous secret society, and the two Chinese officers were only suspended. The interpreter Young, who had been stationed there earlier, was then transferred from Batavia to Pontianak, switching places with A.E. Moll. One of the reasons for this was that he knew Hakka.[59] Two weeks after his arrival, Young was sent on a secret mission to Singapore to investigate the matter. On the way back he had to travel via Batavia for consultation with Groeneveldt.[60] On 16 May 1887, as a result of this mission, A.H. Gijsberts, Resident of the Western Division of Borneo, wrote a letter to Governor-General O. van Rees, classified as top secret, informing him that both officers were members of a secret society that was dangerous to public order. On 14 November of the same year, Van Rees decided that both officers were to be dismissed. In the summary of Gijsberts' letter, however, nothing was said about a possible link with Singapore.[61] In the same decision, the Resident of the Western Division of Borneo was invited (that is, charged) to promulgate a bylaw for the suppression of secret societies similar to the one on Sumatra. And the Residents of Riau, Banka and the Assistant Resident of Billiton were to report immediately if such a bylaw were necessary in the regions governed by them.[62]

When as a consequence of Van Rees' decision, E.A. Halewijn, Resident of Riau, considered whether to make the Sumatra bylaw locally applicable as well, he first asked Schaalje's opinion. This was a rare case of a Resident asking an interpreter's opinion. Schaalje wrote a *nota* advising not to make the bylaw applicable. His argument was that because of the frequent comings and goings of Chinese from and to Singapore, these societies were so common in Riau that it would be utterly impossible to implement the by-

law. Since secret societies had obtained 'civil rights' in Riau, in his opinion it would be dangerous to prosecute their members as strictly as was being done on Sumatra, and the means were also lacking. Besides, there was no need to create a new bylaw. To suppress the influence of the secret societies, Schaalje proposed that the population should be reminded of the Ordinance of 1851 no. 65, and that this should be strictly applied, in the sense that if a criminal offence was committed under the influence of a secret society, this should count as an aggravating circumstance when meting out punishment. [63]

During the next year, 1888, this bylaw was made applicable in Riau, Banka, Western Borneo and Billiton. Resident Halewijn did not follow Schaalje's advice.[64] Twenty years later, virtually the same regulation was promulgated by Governor-General Van Heutsz for all of the Netherlands Indies.[65]

Since none of Schaalje's articles had been published, Groeneveldt, who seems to have had ideas similar to Schaalje's, probably did not know about them. In 1889 he sent Schaalje a letter and some diplomas, saying:

> I see that you in Riau have a lot to do with secret societies. Can you help us a little further in the understanding of them than Schlegel did, who explained the form, but because of a prejudiced theory has a completely wrong opinion of the true nature of these societies?[66]

In still another unpublished article from 1889, Schaalje analysed these diplomas, and repeated his opinion of 1877 that the secret societies should be suppressed as much as possible. But as others had written earlier, he felt there was no danger of rebellion against the Dutch. In his opinion, the aim of "overthrowing the Qing and restoring the Ming" was only a means for some people to obtain influence among their compatriots as leaders of a kongsi, to gain power and "play the boss" (*de baas spelen*) in certain regions, excluding all those who were not members of the "Club," and defying the legal authorities of the country in which they were legally residing.[67] In other words, they were not really aimed at *overthrowing* the colonial government.

The third and last major publication on secret societies was J.W. Young's article about the past and present legal position of Chinese secret societies in the Straits Settlements and the Netherlands Indies (1890). Without doubt, this was another, indirect result of his mission to Singapore in 1887. It was probably written during his two-year sick leave in the Netherlands (1889–91). Young admitted that the secret societies had originally had the lofty philosophical purpose of mutual support, but that their practices were mostly different from the ideal. Being himself a freemason, while Schlegel was not, he may have been more aware of this difference.[68] In this article, Young explained the legal situation in the Straits Settlements,

where the secret societies were from 1869 on regulated by means of an elaborate system of registration. This system did not curb their influence. And when in 1887 the Protector of Chinese, Pickering, was assaulted in his office by one such member, new and stricter requirements for registration were created.[69] In 1890 this led to an actual ban on harmful secret societies.[70] Young agreed with Schaalje's opinion as to the danger these societies could cause to public order and peace. And concerning the Indies, Young assumed that the government's purpose with the bylaw of 1884 was to find a more moderate manner to discourage membership, since strict application of the 1851 ordinance would lead to depopulation of regions where almost all Chinese were members. He did not expect that this new bylaw would be successful in courts of law, putting forward an argument typical of a defence lawyer, namely that it would be impossible to obtain convincing evidence. In Young's opinion (like Schaalje's), secret societies could only be suppressed through strict application of the 1851 ordinance, that is, by banishing leaders and active members.

Apart from this article, in 1890 Young also anonymously published a short story about the pernicious influence of a secret society from Singapore on a simple and honest immigrant in the Indies. In the story he described how an immigrant from Guangdong, probably a Hakka or Hoklo, due to the machinations of a shrewd 'missionary' from Singapore, became entangled in a secret society. As soon as he became a member, he was harassed by members of another secret society, and after he had once defended himself against an attack and struck back, he was suddenly murdered during a public festival.[71] In this case there was direct interference by a Singapore secret society, but it resulted only in trouble among the Chinese themselves, and there was no trace of rebellion against the colonial government.

S.H. Schaank gave in *De Kongsi's van Montrado* (1893) a balanced picture of the Borneo secret societies in general, but he also stated that most of them were harmful, though not all had political motives.[72]

In Deli, the bylaw of 1884 led to at least some convictions. Schaalje was probably involved as an expert in one case at the *politierol* in Deli in 1893, when a certain Lo A Siu 呂亞壽 from Lufeng (Guangdong) was sentenced to three months of forced labour for membership of a secret society. Among the papers left behind by Schaalje there are some documents relating to Lo A Siu, such as a pass for a three-month stay in the Netherlands Indies (on which Schaalje had noted the conviction) and a few Chinese documents. But there are also one or two secret society documents that may have belonged to Lo A Siu, and on the basis of which he may have been convicted.[73]

After Young's article appeared, no Dutch sinologist published a comprehensive study of the workings of the secret societies. It is regrettable that

none of Schaalje's articles were published, since they might at least have led to a discussion among sinologists and others—there appeared many articles by others about the secret societies in the Straits Settlements in the Indies newspapers—giving a deeper insight into the criminal workings of secret societies than earlier studies had provided.

Although Schlegel and De Groot were aware of the negative side of Chinese secret societies, their most important studies gave a generally positive image of them. Thereby they strengthened the understanding, respect and sympathy for the Chinese among the Dutch, in contrast to the often expressed negative opinions about them. Both studies came out when the authors were still interpreters, showing how an interpreter, although not consulted by the government, through his publications could influence public opinion and thereby also the government.

Arranging the emigration of coolies

Making arrangements for the direct emigration of Chinese workers or 'coolie-trade' from China to the Indies was one of the most important special assignments for the sinologists. In the 1860s and 1870s, this was done to provide for temporary needs; in the 1880s and 1890s it was aimed at regular emigration to the Indies.[74] After 1900, to this were added the inspection of Chinese labour conditions in the Indies and the repatriation of coolies.

From the 1830s on, and even more after 1842, large numbers of Chinese emigrants had left China, driven by hunger and poverty in search of a better life. After gold was discovered in America (1849) and Australia (1851), these places attracted even more Chinese. In Chinese these places were simply called "Gold Mountain (Gold Mine)," later distinguishing "Old Gold Mountain" 舊金山 (Jiujinshan, San Francisco) from "New Gold Mountain" 新金山 (Xinjinshan, Australia). The advantage of Chinese labourers was soon discovered by Europeans. China could provide the most hardened workers for the cheapest price. Later, Chinese were for instance employed for building railroads in the United States and exploitation of the guano islands in South America. However, the demand being high, and both push and pull factors being strong, emigration of coolies was accompanied by many evils. These ranged from press-ganging (*ronselen*) and kidnappings in China by the coolie brokers, to virtual slavery and cruel treatment overseas. Atrocities in Cuba, vividly described in a Chinese booklet *Sheng diyu tushuo* 生地獄圖說 (Illustrated stories from living hell),[75] led to the first Chinese Inspection Mission to the Americas in 1874. Afterwards the emigration of contract workers was prohibited in China, since the system of indentured labour was not much different

from slavery. But this ban was sometimes lifted and the emigration of free workers was at times still allowed, resulting in an insecure labour supply.

There was also emigration to Southeast Asia, as there had been for centuries. Emigration to the Straits Settlements was organised by Chinese emigration brokers there together with Mandarins in China. The work force needed for the Netherlands Indies, such as the tin mines on Banka from 1825 on, and the tobacco plantations in Deli starting in 1864, was usually obtained from the brokers at the coolie markets in Penang and Singapore. This trade entailed not only all kinds of abuse of coolies (although not as serious as in Cuba), and squeeze and fraud by the brokers, but also higher prices and lesser quality than if the workers could be directly shipped from China. For these economic reasons, which also involved a certain humane element, interpreters were several times sent to China to arrange for direct emigration of Chinese workers to the Indies.

The first interpreter sent to China on such an assignment was De Grijs. In March 1866 he went to Hong Kong for the Netherlands Indies Railway Company, having obtained three months of leave.[76] Workers were needed for the railroad to be built from Semarang to Yogyakarta. This was, together with the line Batavia-Buitenzorg (Bogor), one of the two earliest railways built in the Indies; both lines were completed in 1873.[77] In Hong Kong, De Grijs requested the Governor, Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, who always took Chinese opinions into account, not to obstruct him, with which the latter agreed. De Grijs first chartered a ship for 400 coolies, but then there appeared 800 candidates. Together with a Dutch doctor he selected 400 men, who signed a contract in the presence of the British Harbour Master and were brought to Java. In the meantime, he received orders from the Indies Government to recruit workers for Banka's tin mines. But when he had about one thousand men, the order was suddenly cancelled. At that time, he later stated, he could have had thousands or ten thousands of men. Twenty years later, he acknowledged that this entailed press-ganging (*ronselen*), and buying and selling of people, but he also remarked that the whole world was full of buying and selling.[78] After his mission in 1866, in order to save costs, he advised the Government to charge the Consuls with the task of recruiting workers. Later shippings were indeed organised by the Dutch mercantile consul in Hong Kong, Bosman.[79] In 1867, the railway section from Semarang to Tanggung (25 km) was the very first in the Indies to be opened to the public.[80]

In August 1875, within a year after his return from China to the Indies, Groeneveldt was also sent to Hong Kong to arrange for the emigration of coolies, now for Atjeh. The first Atjeh War in 1873–5 had not been successful for the Dutch and had taken a heavy toll both of the military and of the labour force needed for public works such as harbours and roads. About 38% of the coolies had died or fled, and replenishment was ur-

gently necessary.[81] At that time, just after the discovery of the atrocities in Cuba, emigration *under contract* had been forbidden in Hong Kong. Just as had been done ten years earlier, the Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Arthur Kennedy, promised Groeneveldt not to obstruct the *free* emigration of workers. Diplomatic initiatives in London resulted in permission to ship 1,500 coolies "on faith of assurance of good treatment."[82] But as soon as Groeneveldt had chartered a ship, many protests arose among the Chinese population in Hong Kong, putting the affair in a bad light, and Governor Kennedy gave no permission for boarding. According to the Dutch Colonial Report over 1876, the protests came from wealthy Chinese merchants who supported the coolie brokers in the Straits Settlements. In the end Groeneveldt only succeeded in obtaining 190 coolies from Hong Kong for Atjeh, and his mission was considered a failure. Afterwards, coolies for Atjeh were acquired in Penang and Banka with the assistance of local Chinese brokers.[83]

Ten years later, in 1886, De Groot was charged to arrange for the regular emigration of Chinese workers to Banka and Deli, in the latter case at the request of the Deli-Maatschappij and other tobacco companies.[84] The subject of his contribution to emigration has been treated in more detail by Bool, Van Dongen, and Werblowsky, and will only be summarised here, also using some other sources.[85]

On 14 March 1886, when De Groot was sent to China by Governor-General O. van Rees for two years to study its languages, geography and ethnography, he was at the same time charged to travel via Mentok and consult with the Resident of Banka about measures for promoting emigration of Chinese coolies for Banka—the tin mines on Banka were a government enterprise—and he was allowed to visit Deli, Penang, and Singapore to study immigration, as far as was needed for the promotion of emigration from China to Deli.[86] On Banka, he stayed with Resident Sol at his home and visited several mining districts, gathering information about the situation of the Chinese miners and their emigration. Via Singapore, he went to Deli, where he stayed with F. Gransberg, secretary of the Deli-Maatschappij, and visited several tobacco plantations.[87] In 1886, De Groot received a mandate (*volmacht*) from the Deli-Maatschappij and a few other companies to promote emigration.[88] Travelling via Singapore and Hong Kong, he arrived in Amoy on 11 June 1886.[89]

A year and a half later, on 6 January 1888, in his request to Van Rees for the prolongation of his mission to China by another two years, De Groot explained what difficulties he had encountered in his attempts to arrange the emigration of coolies. The Mandarins were strongly opposed to emigration in general, and there were no Dutch Consuls to persuade them to concessions. None of the Netherlands Consuls were Dutchmen; they were all foreign merchants, who were not eager to exert themselves, and being

merchants were not respected by the Mandarins, while De Groot himself was not entitled to correspond directly with the Mandarins. All he could do was to ask German trade firms for assistance, since these had no connection with the interests of the Straits coolie brokers, who would oppose by all possible means any infringement upon their monopoly. Moreover, they were protected by German career consuls against the Mandarins' tricks and devices. He first tried Pasedag & Co., now led by A. Piehl, in Amoy—a company with which he had become well acquainted during his studies in Amoy. De Groot wrote in his request:

> After a long struggle I succeeded in getting Pasedag & Co. here to venture a trial shipment in March of last year [1887]. There had already been recruited six to seven hundred workers for Banka, who were ready to board ship when, mostly due to interference by the firm's hostile competitors, among them all kinds of fabrications were spread about slavery, human trafficking, beri-beri, Atjeh, etc., scattering all recruited men to the four winds but for a small number.[90]

De Groot announced that a second attempt with Petersen & Co. in Amoy was about to succeed. Recruiters had already been busy for three months in the interior. And if it failed again, one should persevere by all possible means. In any case, he had tried every means and could not be blamed for the failure.[91] No more information about this shipment to Banka could be found, but the emigration from Amoy to Deli was in general no success because of the lower quality of the workers, and in 1890 De Groot was charged to stop the shipments from Amoy.[92]

In the same request for prolongation, De Groot stated that he was confronted with an even larger obstacle for recruiting workers to Deli: there was an official order from the Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi, the famous reformer Zhang Zhidong 張之洞,[93] to his subordinates to prevent all emigration to Sumatra, even indirect emigration via the Straits Settlements. His appeal for help to Ferguson was also rejected.[94] De Groot followed the same course he had tried for Banka, and on the basis of his mandate (*volmacht*) from the Deli-Maatschappij and other companies, he promised the agency of recruiting and shipment of workers to Lauts & Haesloop, a German company in Swatow. This was the region where the best quality workers were found, the so-called first class workers, who were called Teochius or Hoklos, while Hakkas and others were second class.[95] The prospect of great profits for this German firm induced the German Consuls in Canton, H. Budler, and in Swatow, E. *Freiherr* von Seckendorff, to request Zhang Zhidong to lift the ban on emigration. Official reports about the situation and the treatment of workers on Sumatra's East Coast were of great help in persuading Zhang Zhidong to change his opinion, and subsequently the local Mandarins were worked on so energetically by Von Seckendorff that they submitted positive advice to

their superior. And indeed, the ban was lifted and emigration was allowed in April 1888.[96] The first shipment of workers for Deli departed from Swatow and arrived in Deli in May 1888.[97]

In the meantime, De Groot travelled to Shanghai to consult with Ferguson. In De Groot's opinion, Ferguson was not at all at ease with De Groot's success, since he had not been able or willing to tackle this matter for a dozen years. Now he tried to prevent De Groot from continuing his efforts by confronting him with lies: that both the Dutch and the Indies Government did not truly want this emigration, and that the Governor-General of the Indies was cheating him. At least, this is what De Groot wrote in his diary. De Groot then showed Ferguson a copy of his memorial about the deplorable situation of Dutch Consuls in Southern China, with which Ferguson did not at all agree.[98]

Ferguson always warned that the Chinese government would only allow emigration if Chinese Consuls were allowed in the Indies. Actually, this would later prove to be no insurmountable impediment to free emigration. As Van Dongen wrote, nowadays Ferguson would be considered ahead of his time: he considered that in the long run it would be unavoidable to accept Chinese consuls in the Indies, and he was opposed to the unequal position of the Chinese in the Indies, proposing to apply European law to them.[99]

At the time, Ferguson was writing a book entitled *The Philosopy of Civilization*, which was published in 1889, in which he compared the "Asiatic Coolie-traffic" with "African Slave-trade." He was later criticised by Minister of Foreign Affairs Hartsen for this.[100] But his basic opinion about the emigration of workers from China was not much different from that of the planters. Like them, he was opposed in particular to the coolie-markets in the Straits Settlements, where batches of coolies were sold to the highest bidder, but his opposition was on grounds of inhumanity, not because of the higher cost and poor quality of the coolies. Ferguson was in favour of direct emigration of workers under contract (although forbidden by the Chinese government), if the conditions were clear and were checked by the relevant authorities; he also proposed direct repatriation in order to avoid the brokers in the Straits trying to lure the returning coolies into dependency by means of opium, gambling and prostitution.[101]

There was also a scholarly aspect to the controversy between De Groot and Ferguson. On the one hand, De Groot, who had in his youth broken with the Roman Catholic Church, was now ardently gathering information about Chinese religion, which would later result in his *Religious System of China*. On the other hand, Ferguson, a deeply religious man, was just writing his *Philosophy of Civilization*, in which he proclaimed the superiority of Christianity, with respect to the abuses of the coolie trade concluding that "all these are temporary evils which will vanish before the advancing Christian Civilization."[102]

When a later representative of the Deli Planters Committee, H.C. van den Honert, was sent to China, he agreed with De Groot that from Ferguson not much help for the emigration of workers was to be expected. But he also felt that De Groot was "in a chronic state of anger" towards Ferguson and was "exaggerating."[103]

Since permission for emigration could be withdrawn at any moment, a more stable basis needed to be established. From now on, the planters acted collectively, united in the Deli Planters Association (established in 1879) under the leadership of the Deli Planters Committee, in order to cope better with the Straits coolie brokers. In May 1888, De Groot travelled to Singapore to consult with representatives of the Deli Planters Committee (F. Gransberg, J.M. Rappard and others), and also with the member of Parliament J.Th. Cremer, one of the leaders of the Deli-Maatschappij. It was then decided to send Rappard to China as agent of the Planters Committee. Various arguments for this were brought forward. De Groot wrote in his diary that it was in order to increase mutual trust,[104] but another reason not mentioned by him was that Rappard had to make up for De Groot's "lack of financial competence,"[105] probably since the prices were too high. A third reason was that De Groot received a summons from the Indies Government dated June 1888 to cease active promotion of direct emigration, and could no longer act alone.[106] Cremer travelled to Shanghai to try to persuade Ferguson, and Rappard went to Amoy, where De Groot would assist him.

In 1888, several shipments of coolies were sent to Deli, comprising in total 1,165 workers, mostly Hoklo, of whom 729 travelled directly from Swatow and 428 by way of Amoy.[107] In this way, De Groot laid the basis for regular emigration of workers from Swatow to Deli. This emigration would continue until 1931, although new problems would often arise.

After his initial success, De Groot and the Planters Committee still expressed the need for regular Dutch consular representation in Southern China in order to safeguard a continuous supply of coolies for Deli. This led in the end to the transfer of Ferguson—much against his own wish—from Peking to Swatow, where he arrived on 23 October 1888.[108]

In December 1888, the Deli Planters Committee sent a request to Governor-General C.H.A. van der Wijck, in which it reported discouraging news from China. Rappard was needed in Deli and De Groot had stated that he would lay down his mandate as soon as Rappard left China. Although their interests had long been represented by De Groot, it had become evident that these could better be taken care of by someone knowing all the ins and outs of the situation in Deli. The Committee firmly believed that the only suitable person who could take on this important task was Hoetink, who had been stationed in Medan for nine years. As a well-appreciated member of the *Landraad*, Hoetink was fully

aware of judicial practice; he knew Chinese, and he was tactful and modest in his contacts with higher authorities. Moreover, he was an outsider to the planters' world and was willing to proceed to China for one year in the interests of direct emigration and to represent the Deli Planters Committee. This request was supported by the Resident of the East Coast of Sumatra, G.A. Scherer.[109] Director of Justice Buijn also agreed, suggesting that Hoetink could be charged to study the languages, geography and ethnography of China and be helpful in arranging the emigration of workers to Deli. Ferguson should be notified, and Hoetink should be introduced by him to the Chinese authorities, who needed to become better informed about the situation of Chinese immigrants in Deli. Groeneveldt agreed with the mission for arranging emigration, but he considered the need of a study mission to China less evident, albeit useful in itself. Emigration was reason enough to send Hoetink. He suggested sending Hoetink for one year on condition that Ferguson agreed. If he did not, this mission was not advisable.[110] A week later, Governor-General Van der Wijck informed Ferguson and asked him to reply as soon as possible.[111]

On 22 February 1889, Ferguson replied sourly that Hoetink would have to settle in Amoy (which was impractical), and would have to know Mandarin (which he certainly did not). Hoetink fulfilled only the other two conditions: knowledge of Chinese customs and having tact.[112]

This reply from Ferguson could have been foreseen, since he had always shown himself to be a firm opponent of Indies sinologists. A few months later it seemed the mission would be cancelled,[113] but on 15 May Ferguson suddenly sent a telegram stating that Hoetink was welcome in Swatow. The reason that he now agreed was doubtless that he wished to take leave to the Netherlands and needed someone to a replace him in Swatow. A week later, Van der Wijck decided to send Hoetink for one year to Swatow, to study the languages, geography and ethnography of China and to offer assistance to Ferguson in Swatow for the promotion of emigration of suitable workers to Deli.[114] On 2 June, Hoetink was mandated by the Deli Planters Association as their representative to promote emigration.[115] Hoetink arrived in Swatow on 8 July; Ferguson also left Swatow during that month, and left China in September.[116]

From the end of 1888 on, De Groot seems to have occupied himself less with the emigration question, except for a few new conflicts with Ferguson.[117] He concentrated most of his energy on his studies and research. This becomes apparent both from his diary and from Bool's, Van Dongen's and Werblowsky's studies.

Hoetink was successful in Swatow. His main achievement was that he arranged for the emigration from Hoihow (Haikou on Hainan) and Pakhoi (Beihai, West of Hainan).[118] By now, a regular German shipping line between Amoy, Swatow, Hoihow, and Deli had been established for the

emigration and remigration of coolies. According to the data presented by Hoetink in 1899, the total number of emigrants to the Netherlands Indies in 1888, 1889 and 1890 were respectively 1658, 5501 and 7151.[119] From these figures it appears that Hoetink's contribution put the crown on De Groot's pioneering success. When Cremer reported in Parliament on 14 March 1890 about the emigration of workers, he praised both De Groot and Hoetink for their contributions. After this mission, Hoetink went on two years of leave to the Netherlands, as De Groot had done.

The emigration problem was the main reason for appointing a Dutch Consul in Amoy in 1890, but just two years later the first and only incumbent, P.S. Hamel, had to leave because of illness. From 1895 on, the Dutch were represented by a Consul General in Hong Kong, F.J. Haver Droeze. As a final solution for the emigration problem, during the 'scramble for concessions' in 1896 and 1898 the Minister Resident in Peking, F.M. Knobel, and the Consul General in Hong Kong, perhaps inspired *sub rosa* by the Deli Planters Committee, suggested to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to annex the Swatow region for the Netherlands. These proposals were immediately rejected and remained secret for a long time.[120]

In 1898, Hoetink was at his own request sent for the second time to China on a mission, now in order to translate Indies civil and commercial law into Chinese, to which as usual was added the promotion of emigration. This mission lasted for two years, from 1898 to 1900. He first investigated the causes of declining emigration. From Swatow he reported on 6 June 1888 that Deli did not have a bad name in China. The reasons for the decline in emigration were a succession of extraordinarily good rice harvests which took away the need to leave, and the occurrence of a plague epidemic, inciting men to return home instead of emigrating, in order to guarantee a decent burial in case of death. Hoetink also pleaded for better payment of the coolies, this being the best method to attract new workers.[121] He spent about half of his time in Southern China,[122] but from Tientsin also corresponded about emigration questions with Knobel.[123]

In promoting emigration, some sinologists played a primary role as troubleshooters. These were very practical matters, requiring inventiveness and tact, in combination with knowledge about the Chinese. After early missions by De Grijs and Groeneveldt, in 1888 De Groot laid the basis for regular emigration from Swatow to Deli, and Hoetink did the same for the emigration from Hoihow and Pakhoi.

Other coolie matters

After 1900, some Officials for Chinese Affairs became involved in other coolie matters, when they were charged with the inspection of labour

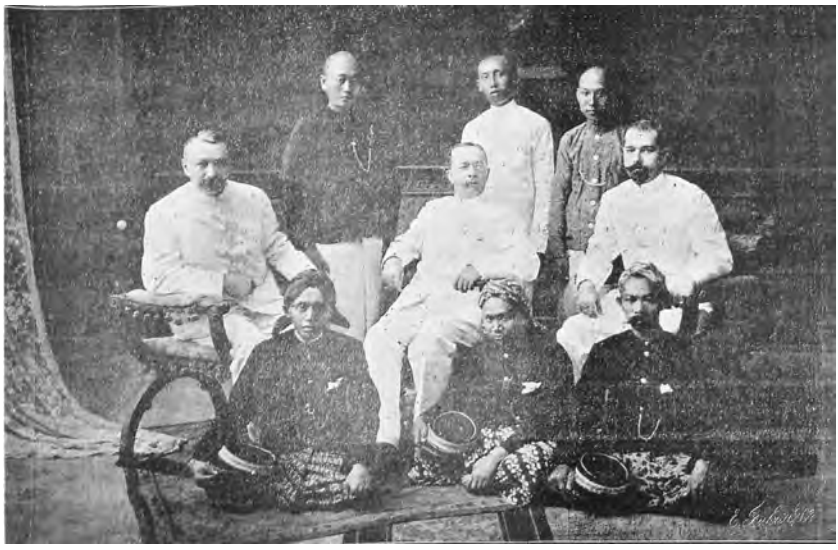
conditions in the Indies and the accompaniment of direct repatriation of coolies.

When Hoetink returned to Batavia in 1900, he was temporarily placed at the disposal of the Director of Justice to fulfill special tasks.[124] During the following years, he was charged to investigate the working of the *Coolie Ordinance* in a number of mines and plantations in the Outer Possessions, where most workers were Chinese. In the regulations for the Officials for Chinese Affairs of 1896, the inspection of Chinese labour conditions for the regional government (Resident) had already been defined as one of their tasks (article V). The first *Coolie Ordinance* for Deli dated from 1880 and was revised in 1889, regulating the rights and obligations of workers and employers, but actually rather consolidating the exploitation of coolies than warranting their rights, in particular because of the system of *poenale sanctie* (indentured labour): the prohibition to leave the premises and the corporal punishment for doing so. In 1900–3 Hoetink visited mines and plantations on Sumatra, Borneo, Banka, Billiton, and Singkep, and wrote reports about them.[125]

Labour conditions were a hot item in those years. In 1902, the lawyer J. van den Brand published a pamphlet criticising the enormous profits earned by the planters in Deli, entitled *The Millions from Deli* (*De millioenen uit Deli*). Basing himself on Christian ethics, he exposed the exploitation and abuse of Chinese and Javanese coolies in Deli. This pamphlet caused a shock in both the Netherlands and the Indies, and the next year the public prosecutor J.L.T. Rhemrev, a Eurasian, was sent from Batavia to Medan to investigate possible crimes. Although in his report he pointed out many flaws in Van den Brand's writings, showing that the latter was exaggerating, his conclusions were similar. He proposed several means to improve the situation, such as to appoint special officials to supervise the observance of the *Coolie Ordinance*, and the establishment of a *Raad van Justitie* in Medan—until then, all cases involving Europeans had been tried (or *not* tried) in faraway Batavia.[126] The Director of Justice had already proposed the establishment of a labour inspector in 1902, and he evidently had a candidate in mind: Hoetink. But Hoetink had made known in March 1903 that he was not interested.[127]

In March 1903, after two and a half years of working for the Department of Justice, Hoetink was given a year of leave to the Netherlands because of long service, as from 7 April 1903.[128]

A year later, when he returned to Batavia, on 30 April 1904 Hoetink was charged with revising the *Coolie Ordinance*. He already knew about this charge before he left the Netherlands.[129] Hoetink finished his first draft on 8 July 1904, and the second on 12 January 1905, the day after he had received new comments from the Deli Planters Committee.[130] Both versions were printed.



*25. Hoetink as Labour Inspector and his staff, the two Adjunct-Inspectors F.E. Spirlet (left) and D. Bijleveld (right). Each inspector had a Chinese interpreter from the Straits Settlements (standing) and a Javanese interpreter (sitting on the floor), Medan, 1904 (*Weekblad voor Indië*, 1904, p. 714).*

Possibly in preparation for more inspections by Officials for Chinese Affairs, article V of the regulation of their functions was expanded in January 1904 so that it also included the inspection of the labour conditions of the *native* population.[131]

In the meantime, Hoetink was again offered the position of labour inspector on the East Coast of Sumatra. Now he was ready to accept on two conditions: the position should not be made subservient to the Resident of Deli, and he needed at least two assistant inspectors. Realising that the local planters would consider him a snooper (*dwarskijker*)—just as Schlegel had written thirty years before—he was well aware of the difficulty of the position.[132]

On 24 July 1904, Hoetink was appointed temporary Inspector of Labour on the East Coast of Sumatra, becoming a High Official (*hoofdambtenaar*) at *f* 1,200 monthly,[133] a rise in salary of 50%. This appointment was all the more justifiable as he had passed the Higher Officials Examination in 1893. At this moment Hoetink's career as Official for Chinese Affairs ended (*see* illustration 25).

The tasks of the inspector were defined as direct supervision of the regulation on mutual rights and obligations of employers and employees, regular visits to enterprises, checking the local conditions and receiving complaints, and reporting and making proposals.[134]

Van den Brand's pamphlets and Rhemrev's inspection results had not only shocked the Dutch general public, leading to debates in Parliament, but also the Deli planters. They were accustomed to being left to their own devices, lived during the acme of liberal entrepreneurship, and were not used to any government interference. It was a wise choice of the government to charge Hoetink with the task of becoming the first Labour Inspector, since he knew the local situation and had tact and understanding.

In Hoetink's draft *Coolie Ordinance*, the obligations of employers were increased and the *poenale sanctie* was abolished, but as long as the new ordinance had not been proclaimed, Hoetink could do no more than to urge the employers to comply. Still, many realised they had no alternative and respected some of the new rules, such as the new labour contracts. But when after one year the introduction of the new ordinance was postponed for a long time, this was a blow for the Labour Inspection. Now even more, Hoetink could only use his moral powers to ameliorate the labour conditions. "All I can do is talk," he often said. But in a creative way he was more than able to do so, upright in his words and knowing the practical demands of the enterprises. He only wanted "some humanity towards the smallest of small people, a little heart" (*wat menschelijkheid … jegens de kleinste der kleine luyden; wat hart*).[135] In his farewell speech he said that he constantly asked the planters to see the workers in another light, not to consider them as "contract animals" (*contract dieren*) but as human beings deserving a worthy human existence.[136]

According to newspaper reports, he achieved many successes. Not only were the new-style labour contracts accepted; living and medical conditions improved as well, and schools were established for (native) coolie children, which had been completely unimaginable until recently. However, still much more needed to be done and in the end the schooling project became a failure. Typical of Hoetink's creative talent was his combining the interests of the planters with that of the coolies, for example in his initiative to found a Chinese Remittance Bank, the Tong Sian Kiok 同善局 in June 1905. This was a non-profit foundation helping to send the coolies' savings and letters to their families in China. The bank was established in cooperation with the *majoor* Tsiong Yong Hian and the *kapitein* Tsiong A Fie, both popular Hakka officers. An attractive booklet containing its regulations was published in Chinese.[137] In a newspaper article Hoetink explained that this bank could prevent the coolies' losing their savings to their foremen, to gambling and to opium, and at the same time promote emigration, since it would strengthen the opinion in Southern China that Deli was not a bad place to work.[138] When Hoetink left a year later, this bank was mentioned as one of his achievements, so it must have had some success. In 1907, the *majoor* and *kapitein* and other Chinese founded the Deli Bank, which could deliver similar services, but was in operation only for a few months.[139]

A similar measure was that at the end of the field season (*veldtijd*) in 1905, the impressive number of 1,091 Chinese contract labourers were directly repatriated at the planters' expense, taking along a total amount of $95,000 (on the average $87 per person). Such measures had also been taken earlier, for instance in 1888.[140] Direct repatriation as a means to promote emigration was related to the so-called *lau-kheh* recruitment. After a few years of work, in the Outer Possessions a *sinkheh* "new guest" (*orang baru*) would be called a *lau-kheh* 老客, "old guest" (*orang lama*). Sometimes groups of *lau-kheh* were charged to urge their compatriots in their home villages to come to work in the Indies. This method was in particular successful on Billiton.[141]

In 1905 no "rows" took place among the Chinese, owing to the tactful functioning of the Labour Inspector Hoetink, who was praised for not acting as an inquisitor (like Rhemrev), but as an arbiter.

When after two years Hoetink was at his own request discharged and obtained a pension after 28 years of government service, he stated in his farewell speech that he looked back with satisfaction on his achievements as Labour Inspector. Resident J. Ballot, Assistant Resident E.L.M. Kühr (Borel's brother-in-law), and others also expressed their great appreciation.[142]

After Hoetink left, his two assistants also soon left the service. Two years later, in June 1908, a Labour and Immigration Inspection covering all of the Netherlands Indies was established.[143]

A new version of the *Coolie Ordinance* for the East Coast of Sumatra would finally be proclaimed ten years later, on 22 June 1915, replacing the 1889 version.[144] But there was still a long way to go, since for the planters the *poenale sanctie* remained indispensable.[145] This measure was finally abolished in Deli in 1931, after the threat of a boycot of Deli tobacco by the United States. Moreover, as a result of the financial crisis it had become easy to obtain labour, which made the *poenale sanctie* superfluous. In 1941 it was abolished in all of the Netherlands Indies.[146]

Some other sinologists also occupied themselves with coolie matters. For instance, Borel performed an inspection of the tin mines in Singkep in 1904 and wrote a critical report.[147] According to him, this led to his transfer to Makassar, which he could only avoid by requesting leave to the Netherlands. More than twenty years later he explained in a newspaper article what had happened. When he performed inspections accompanied by the head administrator and the fearful *mandurs* (foremen), all seemed in perfect order, but when he returned at night, speaking Chinese with the coolies, he discovered the most gruesome abuses and even crimes. But at the time such matters could only be covered up, and that happened with his report also.[148]

In April 1905, Van de Stadt was sent to Singapore, Pakhoi (Beihai), and

other places in China to investigate the situation of recruitment of coolies for Banka and to arrange for a regular supply of workers for the Banka tin mines, having a mandate to recruit 6,000 coolies.[149] He stayed in China until the end of the year, but did not achieve any success. The mission was observed with concern by J. Stecher of the Deli-Maatschappij, who feared that competition between Deli and Banka would drive up the costs,[150] as had happened in the past before the Deli planters decided to cooperate in 1888.

After Van de Stadt's failure, from 1906 on several shipments of coolies were sent directly at the government's expense from Banka to Southern China. As with the gratis repatriation of coolies from Deli in 1905, the main purpose was to promote emigration. In this manner the pitfalls of gambling, opium and prostitution in Singapore could be avoided, since that town was the unavoidable stopover for remigrating coolies from Banka. On three shipments the coolies were accompanied by Official for Chinese Affairs Thijssen, who afterwards wrote detailed reports. The reason why Thijssen, then stationed in Surabaya, was sent to China was probably that on Banka no Official for Chinese Affairs was available at the time.

The first mission was announced in *De Sumatra Post* under the title: "Good Things from Banka." Thijssen was to leave within one month after Chinese New Year (25 January 1906), the date of expiration of the contracts, and would be accompanied by two European doctors. This time, according to the newspaper, for a change the government was not tight-fisted, and also paid attention to details. For instance, dangerous overland travel with their savings on Banka, where robbers were rampant during the season when the Chinese coolies returned home, was avoided since the coolies could embark in several harbours on the island.[151]

While the official reason for the first shipment was to promote the recruitment of miners for Banka in China, since Van de Stadt's mission had been unsuccessful, it was also meant to protect the coolies, who often lost their savings in Singapore, from becoming prey to the coolie crimps.

Thijssen's detailed first report was published in several newspapers and summarised in others. With two ships of the Ned.-Indische Paketvaart Maatschappij, in total 683 miners were repatriated, being paid on arrival a total sum of *f* 47,281.50, on the average *f* 169 per person. When these savings were paid at the ports of arrival Hoihow (Haikou) and Pakhoi (Beihai), but even in Hong Kong, many local Chinese were surprised that coolies could earn such large amounts of money with simple labour. Thijssen described how he took good care of the coolies, solving various personal problems, even advancing their savings from his own pocket for about ten coolies who had requested the wrong harbour of disembarkation. He justified this in his report by noting that the repatriation was intended to benefit the coolies. In conclusion, he also made a lot of other suggestions for improvement.

Two years later, on 2 January 1908, he was in a similar manner temporarily put at the disposal of the Resident of Banka in order to arrange the repatriation to South China of miners whose contract ended in February. He was to leave Batavia on 18 January after consultation with the Director of the soon-to-be-established Department of Government Enterprises (*Gouvernementsbedrijven*).[152] No report of this mission could be found.

The next year, in January and February 1909, he escorted another repatriation of 1,139 workers from Banka to Southern China.[153] This time Thijssen's report was not published in the newspapers, but it has survived in Borel's archive.[154] The coolies were now transported on a ship of the Java–China–Japan Lijn, the *Tjibodos*, to Hoihow, Pakhoi and Swatow, where they received in total *f* 67,644.80, on the average *f* 59 per person. Now the situation had changed and the government had become tight-fisted again. The food was provided by a (Chinese) comprador, probably at the cheapest rate. Before the ship left Banka, the Resident came on board and, after trying the food, "expressed in strong terms his dissatisfaction with this 'filth'." During the journey, Thijssen protested several times, fully supported by the captain, but he could only achieve slight improvements. Afterwards, Borel wrote on the first page: "N.B. The last time that an Official for Chinese Affairs accompanied them. From now on they do without," and later in the margin: "Nowadays no Official for Chinese Affairs accompanies them. Too 'troublesome,' probably! H.B." No further repatriations escorted by Officials for Chinese Affairs are known.

Following the reports on abuses in Deli by Van den Brand and Rhemrev, Hoetink became the first (temporary) Labour Inspector on the East Coast of Sumatra; he combined an understanding of the interests of the enterprises with sympathy for the coolies. Thijssen's assignments were probably also intended to mitigate criticism of the coolie system. From now on, ideas about labour relations were changing fast in society.[155] De Groot seems later not to have felt so proud of his accomplishments in this respect,[156] and in the 1980s Hoetink was (unjustly) accused by a modern scholar of "being on the side of" the planters only.[157] Actually, by the standards of the time the efforts of both achieved fine results under extremely difficult circumstances.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE REFORM OF 1896

On W.P. Groeneveldt's initiative, a reorganisation took place in 1896 in an attempt to strengthen the sinologists' position as advisors; from now on they were called Officials for Chinese Affairs. Yet this reform came late in the day, and its effects were limited. Many interpreters had already taken up administrative and judicial tasks outside their formal appointments, which would ultimately clear the way to other careers. No less than one-third left the corps voluntarily.

Officials for Chinese Affairs

In 1894, fifteen years after the retrenchment of 1879, and after Schlegel had started training new groups of students, Groeneveldt again raised the same problems, namely the too large number of interpreters and their weak advisory position. If anyone, he, now Vice-President of the Council of the Indies, should be able to ameliorate the interpreters' position. His *nota* of 1894 and the subsequent discussions and measures are described in Chapter Nine in the section "The Reorganisation of the Interpreters' Corps and Another Moratorium."

Groeneveldt's proposal resulted in the reorganisation and retrenchment of 1896, providing for a total of five positions for Officials for Chinese Affairs. In the *Provisions for assigning posts and regulating the work of the Officials for Chinese Affairs* of 1896,[1] the advisory functions became the most prominent. Article I defined the hierarchical position of the Officials for Chinese Affairs: they fall under the Department of Justice and are subordinate to the Director of Justice, as before. Article II defined the posts and jurisdiction (*ressort*), including two posts on Java: one in Batavia (with jurisdiction in Padang, Western Borneo) and one in Surabaya (rest of Java, South Eastern Borneo), and three in the Outer Possessions: Tanjung Pinang (Riau, Banka, Palembang), Medan (East Coast of Sumatra, Atjeh), and Makassar (Sulawesi, Ambon, etc.). If the number of Officials were larger than five, the jurisdiction was to be rearranged. The advisory functions were now considerably extended: they were now entitled to offer advice on their own initiative and were to be consulted in all Chinese affairs.

Article III. The Officials for Chinese Affairs directly advise the judicial and administrative authorities and boards within their jurisdiction in matters concerning the Chinese as often as required.
They can independently submit proposals or expositions to these authorities and boards concerning such matters.
If these have a general purport, they will be submitted to the Director of Justice, either directly or through the intervention of the head of the region where they are stationed.

Article IV. The head of the region where an Official for Chinese Affairs is stationed consults him when deciding or proposing measures and handling matters involving in particular Chinese, or that are in particular important for the Chinese population in that region. …[2]

Since the 1880s, there had been much criticism of the ill treatment of Chinese coolies in the Indies. A new function was now created for the Official for Chinese Affairs: a kind of Labour Inspector in places such as Medan and Banka.

Article V. Where the opportunity exists, the head of regional government makes use of the services of the Official for Chinese Affairs to assure the proper functioning of regulations and provisions concerning Chinese labourers for and of agricultural or mining enterprises.[3]

There were also provisions on their secondary function of translating and interpreting, their function in the Orphans and Estate Chambers, the possibility of private emoluments, the right to have a Chinese clerk, and the text of their oath (affirmation).

Article XII entitled them to wear a special costume. In 1865, Buddingh had requested to be allowed to wear a distinctive costume, and he was supported in this by the Residency's Secretary Gijsbers. He considered such a costume necessary in order to be able to mix and practice his Chinese with full-blood Chinese (*sinkheh*), the majority of whom were of the lowest class.[4] Buddingh, and certainly Gijsbers, knew about Governor-General Sloet's decision of 1863 that the interpreters of Javanese in Surakarta and Yogyakarta were allowed to wear a fancy costume and cocked hat, and even a sword.[5] At that time, however, the Council of the Indies had advised against the need of a costume, arguing that it could lead to wrong impressions about their real position,[6] since the interpreters were without any independent authority. Thirty years later, in 1896, the Officials for Chinese Affairs were finally allowed to wear a costume, though it was simpler than the one worn by the Javanese interpreters:

Article XII. When performing their daily services or undertaking official travels, the Officials for Chinese Affairs can wear the following distinctions:
a. a coat of dark blue cloth with a row of golden buttons with the crowned letter W.
b. a cap of the same cloth with a 4 cm wide gold braid.[7]

But in Groeneveldt's opinion, it would be impossible really to change the system. At the end of his *nota* of 1894, he summarised the sinologists' predicament in the Indies as follows:

> The position of interpreter for Chinese or Official for Chinese Affairs will always have the unpleasant aspect that one does not have fixed responsibilities, but always has to wait until being involved by others in any matter; in this way one often sees that matters for which one feels interest, and believes that it would have been better if one could have dealt with, are decided without one's involvement; this brings about a feeling of dissatisfaction that many cannot overcome, and that will continue to induce them to search for another job.[8]

A comparison between the functions of the Dutch sinologists in the Indies and the British sinologists in the Straits Settlements is enlightening. In official correspondence until the 1900s, no references to the British system could be found, and Groeneveldt also did not mention it. Of course, the political situation in the British colonies was very different from that in the Indies, since the Chinese were ruled directly by the British and there was hardly any such system as Chinese Officers and Councils. From 1872 on, somewhat later than in the Indies, the first European translator for Chinese, Pickering, a self-made man, was appointed in the Straits Settlements. His main tasks were to translate in the courts, to check the Chinese interpreters, and to translate British law into Chinese. It is ironical that Pickering in the beginning proposed to use the Dutch system of rule over the Chinese and European interpreters.[9] In 1877 Pickering was appointed as the first Protector of Chinese; he then acquired more administrative functions.[10]

Borel was perhaps the first to point out the differences with respect to the British system. Being stationed in Riau, from where he often visited Singapore, he was well acquainted with the situation there through his friend the Protector, G.T. Hare. He wrote in 1895:

> The position of "Chinese Protector" and most other positions that the English sinologists have in the Straits Civil System, give them infinitely more opportunities to sympathise with the Chinese and to enlarge their knowledge of the language, customs and traditions every day, than the position of interpreters for Chinese in our colonies who receive such stepmotherly treatment.[11]

The Protectors of Chinese also had to pass an examination in Straits Civil Law, making them eligible to act as magistrates, and although their salaries could never attain the maximum of *f* 800 possible for the Dutch interpreters, Borel believed the Dutch sinologists would take this lightly if they were given a more substantial occupation.

> The English are busy all day long (but never as *jurubahasa* [interpreter]; for which Chinese are used), and work hard from 9 to 4, either as magistrate, or at the protectorate, or elsewhere, while the Dutch interpreters of Chinese, if they are not working for themselves—and that without the slightest official incentive—have virtually nothing to do, and will certainly sometimes wonder why, after the indeed splendid, generous training course given them, they always have to remain as good as unemployed, with now and then a small translation of an ordinance or a paragraph from the *Staatsblad*. There are some who don't speak Chinese for months, simply because they are not given the opportunity.[12]

Unfortunately, the reforms of 1896 in the Netherlands Indies did not help much. Indeed, just as Groeneveldt had predicted, they would prove to be merely cosmetic; the basic problem was not solved. Moreover, because of the large number of new incumbents, the reduction to five was only realised a decade later (*see* graph in Appendix H).

After a few years, it became clear that the reorganisation had not led to any fundamental change. In the 1900s, at the Director of Justice's request, several Officials for Chinese Affairs submitted proposals, often referring to the British system, to give them administrative responsibilities such as labour or immigration inspector, registrar at the Civil Registration (*burgerlijke stand*), etc.[13] Although more sinologists were now charged with special tasks and assignments, there was no basic change until the establishment of the Bureau of Chinese Affairs in Batavia in 1916, when all sinologists were concentrated in one central advisory body.

Other administrative functions

Many interpreters who had not enough work to do fulfilled other functions in the regional government, in particular in the Outer Possessions. Albrecht wrote in his *nota* of 1878:

> If the interpreter is not lacking in editorial skills and willing to cooperate, the Residents, who rarely have good editors at their disposal, in this respect sometimes make use of them, although the Government had not appointed them with the purpose of bolstering up the personnel of the regional offices.[14]

Some examples of other administrative functions in Banka, Pontianak, Cirebon, and Medan may be given here. In these places it was originally

expected that the interpreters could be useful. In the large towns on Java, it would probably not be as convenient to charge the interpreters temporarily with other functions, as it would in the more thinly staffed Outer Possessions. Special unsalaried functions often fulfilled by sinologists, such as member of the fire brigade, militia or school commission, are not mentioned here.

The places of stationing of interpreters, in chronological order of establishment, were: 1. Banka, 2. Pontianak (both 1860), 3. Batavia, 4. Surabaya (both 1862), 5. Riau (1864), 6. Semarang (1865), 7. Cirebon (1866), 8. Padang (1869), 9. Makassar (1878), 10. Medan (1879), 11. Rembang (1880).[15]

When Albrecht was stationed on Banka in 1860, he had even more reasons to take on other functions than the others. He had spent three and a half years studying the wrong dialect, Cantonese, and had studied Hokkien for one year only, so he could only *speak a little* with a small minority of the Chinese on Banka. Moreover, his Chinese teacher/clerk had refused to accompany him to Banka, and there is no evidence that a new clerk was assigned to him. In Mentok, he could only make himself useful, and allegedly even maintain his position, by accepting other administrative jobs:

> The undersigned was stationed on Banka in 1860-1864; he was left there because he performed tasks in the Office of the Resident which strictly speaking should not have been required of him, but which he did with pleasure, since otherwise he would have felt very bored and he gladly wished to get informed about the situation on Banka and the administration in general. He had the satisfaction of being appointed twice as acting Residency Secretary under Resident Bossche, both times for a considerable period.[16]

When serving in these other functions, Albrecht was sometimes paid an extra salary. For instance, on 29 March 1863 he was accorded a remuneration of *f* 300 for temporary duty as Secretary and Magistrate as well as General Tax Receiver (*algemeene ontvanger van 's lands Kas*) and Auctioneer (*vendue meester*) in Mentok during more than two months.[17] Other interpreters were also paid extra salaries for extraordinary jobs.

Albrecht probably had so little work experience as an interpreter and translator that when he was asked to contribute to the compilation of the interpreters' *Directive*, he seems to have been unable to do so.

Only one example is known where he put to practice his sinological knowledge, but this was of purely academic value: he made a description of twelve old Chinese coins.[18]

His successor Buddingh, who was appointed in 1864, tried hard to make himself useful as an interpreter, but he was not inclined to take on other jobs.[19] Albrecht bluntly wrote about this situation:

> His successor did not share his opinion; therefore it was more convenient to do without him and as a consequence the position in Mentok was abolished.[20]

This was the first time that a statutory (*organiek*) position for an interpreter was officially abolished. It happened in 1869, and Buddingh was transferred to Padang,[21] where probably more work was to be expected since there were a *Raad van Justitie* and Orphans Chamber. The next year, however, Buddingh passed away in Batavia, where his cousin Schlegel was living.[22]

Eight years later, in 1878, when Groeneveldt was asked to find places of stationing for the new interpreters, he wrote that he did not know why this position in Mentok had been abolished, thinking that an interpreter on Banka would be most useful. On his advice, one of the three students, Stuart, was appointed in Mentok. Since Stuart had only studied Hokkien, he was allowed a special language teacher for learning a second dialect, probably Hakka. Nothing is known about his work on Banka, but after five years, in 1883, he exchanged positions with Van der Spek who was in Makassar. Only a few months later, Van der Spek was transferred to Padang. The next interpreter in Mentok was De Jongh, who was stationed there from 1887 to 1890. Groeneveldt, knowing him well, wrote about him:

> The only interpreter who has done a lot of work on Banka is A.A. de Jongh, … who concerned himself much with the tin mining, did a lot of administrative work, and acted as the Residency's Secretary several times. Again it depended upon the persons concerned: Resident Hooghwinkel knew how to profit from Mr. de Jongh and the latter was willing to make himself useful over and above his official position, two circumstances on which one cannot always count.[23]

De Jongh would later follow H.F. Hooghwinkel to the Opium Monopoly and pursue another career.

The next incumbent, A.E. Moll, was stationed in Mentok from 1892 until 1894. He complained to Groeneveldt that he had absolutely nothing to do on Banka.[24] In 1894 he was transferred to Padang.

Ezerman was appointed in 1894 to his first post, succeeding Moll, and like Stuart he was allowed a second language teacher for learning Hakka. In 1895 he was charged with the administration of the tin mines for some time.[25] After two years in Mentok, in 1896, he was transferred to Riau.

The last two Officials for Chinese Affairs on Banka were Van de Stadt (1903–7) and De Bruin (1907–8). Van de Stadt was temporarily assigned to the Opium Monopoly (under De Jongh) in 1904, and in 1905 he was sent to China to try to recruit workers for Banka. He and De Bruin both left the corps for good after their stay on Banka, joining private companies.

It was expected that an interpreter would be extremely useful on Bor-

neo. In 1853, one of the arguments for needing European interpreters was the kongsi war on Borneo, where contracts and treaties between the Dutch and Chinese would have to be carefully translated. But in fact the interpreters had almost as little to do on Borneo as on Banka.

When Von Faber was stationed in Montrado, he also soon discovered that Cantonese was not understood on Borneo (nor was Hokkien). He therefore applied himself to learning the Hakka dialect and even compiled a Hakka textbook.[26] He also put his sinological knowledge to good use in compiling an article about Montrado, which may first have been a *nota* he had been charged to write for the local government.[27] He was at least able to help in compiling the interpreters' *Directive* of 1863.

In February 1862, after a year and a half of service, Von Faber went on two months' sick leave within the country. Although nothing is known about the reasons, one may guess that his whole situation must have been sickening to him. He proceeded to Pelantoengan in the hills near Semarang, Java, and his leave was later lengthened twice until July. One month later he was transferred to Batavia; afterwards he never returned to Borneo.

Two years after Von Faber had left Borneo, Groeneveldt was appointed there at his first post, were he stayed for six years. In retrospect, he gave the following account of his work in Pontianak:

> I was stationed there for several years as interpreter of Chinese and did a lot of work, but mostly outside my original duties. I took care of the correspondence with Sarawak, since I knew better English than the other officials available to the Resident, and therefore in various ways took part in the handling of the Dayak question together with that country; I often assisted the Resident in editing larger documents and in his correspondence with the Government, but as an interpreter I did little. Still, I was in favourable circumstances, because out of a feeling of dissatisfaction I tried to exert as much influence as possible on all matters concerning the Chinese, and the Residents under whom I consecutively served, were very accommodating to me, probably because of the services that I rendered voluntarily; in that way I was more involved with Chinese matters than any of my predecessors or successors, but still I could not look back with satisfaction on what I did there as an interpreter.[28]

Together with the Assistant Resident, C. Kater, he was lauded with the "special satisfaction of the Government" after he helped pacify a conflict among Dayak tribes in Sambas and Sarawak in 1865.[29]

His successor Meeter served in Pontianak in 1870–4 after his return from sick leave in the Netherlands. He usually had troubled relations with his superiors and was only willing to perform services that were explicitly prescribed by law, and even then sometimes reluctantly. Some examples of his work as interpreter and advisor on Borneo, and how he managed to avoid other work, have already been given. In his later reminiscences he more than once acknowledged that he was not suitable for the work

of a government official. It is no wonder that he designated himself in his "Indische Chinoiserieën" as Prosantes, meaning 'steep, troublesome, recalcitrant,' probably a translation of *opponent*, an epithet used for him by some people.[30]

Nothing is known about Roelofs' (1875–6) work in Pontianak, his first post. His successor Young (1877–9) obtained the favour of Resident Kater by helping him with other work outside of his tasks as interpreter, just as Groeneveldt had done.[31]

De Groot served in Pontianak in 1879–83, his second post. In his first post, Cirebon, he had already decided to leave the corps as soon as possible. Pontianak was a much more attractive position, where he traveled a lot accompanying the Resident, and had a lot of work to do, as had Groeneveldt and Young. He also had a special relation with the Resident C. Kater.[32] In his Diary he wrote about his extraordinary work in Pontianak:

> The English correspondence with the Raja of Sarawak, assigned to me by Resident Kater, is carried on by me with interest, since from the secret archives to which I have access, I get to read a lot of interesting things about the true relation of Sarawak to the British Crown and of the Crown to the Netherlands with respect to that region. It seems no *controleur* or Assistant Resident whosoever in this region is proficient enough in English to take care of that correspondence, which does not speak well for the results of language teaching at the HBS, of which all *controleurs* passed the final examination. Kater himself is also unable to write one line in English without mistakes, and he therefore is highly dependent upon me for decently managing these often extremely difficult political matters; strictly speaking I am entitled to refuse to do that work, since it does not belong to my official duties. As a consequence, he, although infamous with everyone for the rude, tactless, bad and in general unfair treatment his officials have to endure from him, conspicuously spares me. Perhaps this is also because he would be glad to see me propose marriage to his second daughter; but I will not marry a Eurasian, I have come to know that race too well for that. … Pontianak would almost be able to reconcile me with my position; but the intention to get out is too unshakably fixed in my mind to give up. [33]

Despite the incomparably better circumstances, De Groot suffered in 1883 from neurasthenia, palpitations and headaches (according to the doctor a result of his studies at night), and obtained two years of sick leave to the Netherlands.[34]

He was succeeded in Pontianak by A.E. Moll. The latter had the previous year been transferred from Java to Singkawang as a punishment for writing newspaper articles "against the regional government in Cirebon." During his stationing, the troubles took place when the last *kongsi*, the Lanfang kongsi, was abolished.[35] In 1887, after four years in Pontianak, Moll was succeeded by Young who had been in Pontianak before. Young was transferred to Borneo for a special reason. On Borneo an alleged 'missionary' of a Chinese secret society from Singapore had been apprehended.

The government was always wary of the Chinese secret societies, which were thought to be subversive, and in particular of their international contacts, although De Groot had denied this danger in his *Kongsiwezen*. Since Moll at the time happened to be in Batavia and had also been allowed two months of sick leave, Young, who had been stationed there before and knew Hakka, therefore switched places with Moll. Two weeks after his arrival in Pontianak, Young was sent on a secret mission to Singapore to investigate the matter: once again, an interpreter made himself useful as a troubleshooter. As a result of his investigation, both Chinese officers were dismissed and a new bylaw was promulgated in Western Borneo and other places for the suppression of secret societies. At the request of Resident A.H. Gijsberts, Young remained in Pontianak for another two years, after which he had to go on sick leave to Europe.

Young was succeeded by Stuart, who served in Pontianak in 1889–92. For the next two years there was no interpreter on Borneo. In 1894, when Resident S.W. Tromp received the news that Van Wettum, coming from China, had been appointed, he wrote to Governor-General Van der Wijck that there was little need for an interpreter. This had become clear during the preceding two years, when there was no interpreter of Chinese, and his absence had not been felt.[36] Nevertheless, Van Wettum served in Pontianak from 1894 until 1898. In December 1896, he married Tromp's seventeen-year-old daughter Anne Maria. His only known special function was that in 1898 he served as extraordinary substitute clerk (*buitengewoon substituut griffier*) at the *Landraad* in Pontianak. In 1898 Van Wettum was succeeded by Thijssen, who came from China and was Official for Chinese Affairs in Pontianak until 1904. Later incumbents were De Bruin (1904–5), Borel (1908–9), again Thijssen (1910–1), and still later De Groot's students H. Mouw (1912–4) and J. Snellen van Vollenhoven (1914–6). In the end, Pontianak was one of the few places where almost always an interpreter or Official for Chinese Affairs was stationed.

In Cirebon on Java only three interpreters were ever stationed, but none of them could make himself useful in his field of study. In 1866 De Breuk was appointed there, although it was a Hokkien town and he had only studied Hakka. Groeneveldt wrote in 1878 about this post and De Breuk's work:

> Cirebon has according to the *Government Almanac* a Chinese population of 15,803, and is therefore in this respect the second Residency on Java. I think the population is rather "native," so translations are rarely required, but although Malay is generally known, the Chinese population remains a special element, and for handling their affairs a Chinese interpreter can be a useful assistant. In the past that need was not felt and the functions of the interpreter stationed there were mainly restricted to the agency of the Batavian Orphans and Estate Chambers, checking the warehouses and other inferior work, for which provision could be made in a cheaper way.[37]

Four years after his appointment, De Breuk passed away in Cirebon, only 26 years old.

When Groeneveldt was asked to select places of stationing for Schlegel's three students in 1878, he suggested Cirebon, saying "one could now try and see if the present Resident has another opinion."[38] Thereupon De Groot was stationed there for two years. He was extremely disappointed and unhappy there—even more so than he had been in Delft and Leiden—and had nothing to do officially.

> The reality concerning the position of interpreter is a great disillusionment. All the brilliant prospects Schlegel held out to us have proved to be *humbug*, and unfounded; actually I have been hoodwinked. Officially I have almost nothing to do.[39]

But he did have good relations with the Resident P.F. Wegener, to whom he would feel grateful all his life, and to some others. He devoted his time to his studies, but also decided to leave the interpreter corps as soon as possible.

In 1880, De Groot was succeeded by A.E. Moll, who became extraordinary substitute clerk (*buitengewoon substituut griffier*) at the *Landraad* in Cirebon on 17 January 1881.[40] After anonymously writing critical articles about the new Resident J. Faes and Secretary Coert, in November 1882 he was demoted to a faraway post on Borneo.[41] He was the last incumbent in Cirebon.

In 1879, after many discussions among government officials, it was decided to appoint an interpreter in Medan, and Hoetink was transferred from Makassar to Medan. This town had since 1869 been developed by private companies, and the East Coast of Sumatra had only in 1873 become an administrative entity; previously it had been part of Riau Residency. But even here, where the need of an interpreter seemed great, Hoetink used most of his time to do notarial and other administrative work.[42] Of course, he had the disadvantage of not being able to speak the most common dialects there, Hakka and Hoklo. He applied for a second teacher to learn another dialect in 1881. Still, he could make himself useful and stayed there for ten years. From 8 March 1885 to 1887 he was a member of the Residential Court (*Residentieraad*), and from 1 July 1887 to 1889 of the *Landraad* in Medan. He was also secretary of the *Immigranten-Asyl*, [43] where sick or disabled Chinese were cared for. Deli's Resident Scherer highly appreciated his services, praising his competence, character, local knowledge and tact.[44] But in 1895, when Hoetink suddenly resigned as interpreter in Batavia, one of the editors of the *Deli-Courant*, J. Deen, wrote from the Netherlands that Hoetink

> whose competence was recognised by friend and foe alike, was never given an opportunity to show his real talents. He has to waste his time on translation

> work that was done by a Chinese clerk, or in the most favourable case as a Resident's "handy man," while serious efforts on his part to obtain a more active government official's life were not lacking.[45]

Deen understood well why Hoetink had resigned: "Now he can better his position financially and he is moreover liberated from the most stultifying job I know." The immediate reason for Hoetink's resignation is not known,[46] but two months later he was surprisingly reappointed as interpreter in Batavia.

After Hoetink, Schaalje was stationed in Medan in 1890–6. He also was secretary of the *Immigranten-Asyl*. Just before the reorganisation of the interpreter corps in 1896, when Resident of Deli P.J. Kooreman was asked if he wished to keep Schaalje in function though the latter was already entitled to a pension, he answered that he did not in the least wish to retain him.[47] The last incumbent in Medan was De Bruin, from 1898 to 1904. He acted as interpreter for J.L.T. Rhemrev in 1903. In 1912 the position in Medan was abolished.[48]

Considering all the foregoing, it is no wonder that Groeneveldt advised one beginning interpreter to try to find another job, just as he had done himself. Already in 1880 he urged the newly arrived Van der Spek in a personal conversation to look out for other opportunities, and the Government Secretary Pannekoek made the same suggestion to De Jongh.[49] Both would take this advice to heart.

In his *nota* of 1894 Groeneveldt quoted Minister of Colonies Sprenger van Eijk's statement that the interpreters were men of excellent intellectual capacities, diligent and perseverant, who could be very useful in other functions. He suggested that they should not be required to pass the Higher Officials Examination, and were entitled to high aspirations:

> The interpreters of Chinese are too excellent for the job of clerk at a Residency Office and are, once they have proven their suitability, certainly entitled to an opportunity to spread their wings wider than the work of Regional Secretary.[50]

On Java from the 1890s on, some interpreters were assigned to other government agencies, but these assignments were all connected with their special knowledge and experience. In Batavia, one of the two interpreters (Officials for Chinese Affairs) was almost continuously given another function. From 1893 onwards, De Jongh worked with the Opium Monopoly or its predecessor, and in 1898 he left Chinese Affairs. Hoetink was from 1900 until 1903 assigned to the Department of Justice, and was sent on inspection tours to the Chinese mining districts. In 1904 he left Chinese Affairs and became the first Inspector of Labour. Van Wettum was assigned to the Department of Justice from 1908 until his death in 1914. In Surabaya, from 1905 until 1909 Thijssen was assigned, each time for a few

months, to the Opium Monopoly (under De Jongh) and to the Department of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry; he was also charged three times to accompany remigrating coolies from Banka to China.

Not much is known about other administrative functions fulfilled by the sinologists elsewhere, and these places are therefore not discussed here. In any case, a number of interpreters would, thanks to their other functions, get a useful schooling for pursuing other careers. These other careers, and attempts at other careers, will be analysed in the next section.

Leaving the interpreter corps

From the start is was clear that the interpreters had not enough work to do, and that their job was at times almost a sinecure. As Groeneveldt stated in 1894, the main problem was that the sinologists did not have fixed responsibilities (*geen vasten kring van bemoeienis*).[51] However, many interpreters were willing to take on other administrative tasks, and some devoted their free time to studies. In this way, whether or not deliberately, they prepared themselves for a subsequent change of career.

The position of interpreter also offered—apart from transfer from the Outer Possessions to Java and finally to Batavia—no career perspectives. They would always remain interpreters, and their highest salary would not exceed *f* 800, while other officials in the Interior Administration could climb to *f* 1,000 or more. In the small and narrow-minded Indies society, these were important matters. The interpreters were not highly respected by the general public, which was one of the causes of the lack of candidates for the interpreter training course in Batavia in the 1860s and 1870s.

More than one-third (nine) of the 24 interpreters/Officials for Chinese Affairs trained before 1900 took up a different career after some years of service—at least five years in order to avoid having to refund all study and other allowances. For them, studying Chinese and acting as an interpreter became a stepping stone to another, more brilliant career. Being intelligent and ambitious men, many of them were quite successful in their later life. Here the career shifts of these sinologists, and the failed attempts of some, will be summarily recounted to give an overall picture. More details about each sinologist can be found in the biographies and other sections of the main text (as indicated).[52]

The first to leave was Schlegel, when on 8 June 1872 he was granted two years of sick leave to the Netherlands after ten years of service in Batavia. When he officially began studying Chinese, it had already been noted that he could become Hoffmann's successor. In addition to his illness (diabetes), he may also have been unhappy in his position—although he would always describe it to his students as a glorious career. The deaths of his fel-

low student Francken (1864), his cousin Buddingh (1870), and De Breuk (1870) may also have contributed to his wish to get out.

Within a year after his return to Leiden, after Stanislas Julien's death the opportunity seemed right to propose a training course for interpreters in Leiden, for which he recommended himself as professor of Chinese at the University. One of the arguments was his record of publications during his ten years of service in Batavia. At first, in 1873, he was only charged with training interpreters, but in 1875, after a second request, he was made titular professor, and after a third in 1877 he was appointed Professor of Chinese, holding a chair specially created for him. At that moment he stopped being "interpreter of Chinese on leave" and his career in the Indies ended. This process has been described in detail in Chapter Eight. He kept that position until his death in 1903.

It is typical of the unenviable position of the interpreters that two students from Schlegel's first group, De Groot and Hoetink, after they had found out the true nature of their position in the Indies, sarcastically claimed Schlegel had only created this professorship for himself in order to avoid having to return to the Indies and work as an 'interpreter' again.

The second to leave was Groeneveldt on 7 August 1877, after 13 years of service. He had always been eager to fulfil other government functions in his previous places of stationing. In 1872–4 he had been secretary-interpreter of the first Dutch diplomatic representative in China, J. H. Ferguson, and upon his return to the Indies he was stationed in Batavia. He was an extremely intelligent and at the same time modest man, with a deep insight into human nature. Without having passed the Higher Officials Examination, he was appointed to the central government as Referendary at the Department of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry. He was at the same time made an Honorary Advisor for Chinese Affairs, whose opinion would be often asked. In that capacity, and backed by his high position, he did a lot to help his former colleagues (albeit according to Meeter not enough). His career advancement in the administration was swift and impressive: in 1881 he became Secretary of the same Department, in 1887 Director, in 1889 member of the Council of the Indies and in 1893 Vice-President, until his retirement in 1895. Later many expected that he would become the next Governor-General, as successor to Van der Wijck, but in 1899 W. Rooseboom was appointed instead,[53] probably because of Groeneveldt's problematic health.

The third to leave the corps was Albrecht on 27 August 1879, after 19 years of service. He had also always been interested in doing other jobs in the government in Mentok. He had specialised in the operations of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Surabaya, and he had compiled indexes to the *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* and *Bijblad*. In these ways he had prepared himself well for the function of President of the Orphans Chamber in Ba-

tavia, which he fulfilled for six years. But in 1885, he suddenly went on sick leave to the Netherlands, two years later he retired, and in 1890 he passed away. He had been a well-respected and loved person who contributed in many ways to society.

By the time Albrecht left the corps, there was a surplus of interpreters, and it had become almost 'normal' for interpreters to switch careers. When the new interpreters Van der Spek and De Jongh arrived from China in 1880, both were advised to look out for an opportunity for another career.

The fourth to leave was De Groot on 7 March 1883, when he was granted sick leave to the Netherlands five years after finishing his studies. It is remarkable that from then on, several interpreters requested sick leave five years after graduation—when they were no longer obliged to repay the government in case of discharge. In his first post in Cirebon, De Groot had already made up his mind to leave as soon as possible and devote his life to scholarship. In his second post, Pontianak, he maintained this resolve despite slightly better conditions. During his service in the Indies, he already published several important scholarly works. Two years after his return to the Netherlands, at his own request he was granted a two-year study mission to China, which was later extended to four years. Subsequently he was granted two years of unpaid leave to the Netherlands, but already in January 1890 he was appointed as teacher of Malay and Chinese in Amsterdam, and a year later, in 1891, as Professor of Ethnology in Leiden. On 11 February 1892, he officially left the interpreters' corps, but continued giving advice to the government. In January 1904 he succeeded Schlegel as professor of Chinese in Leiden, and in 1912–21 he was professor at the Friedrich Wilhelms Universität in Berlin.

The fifth to leave was Van der Spek, who exactly five years after finishing his studies left the Indies, and was granted two years of sick leave to the Netherlands on 13 March 1885. He had already been preparing for another career by studying medicine in his free time. The direct cause of this leave was doubtless the failed interpreting session at the *Raad van Justitie* in Padang, after which he was heavily criticised in the newspapers. Soon after his arrival in the Netherlands, he registered as a student of medicine in Amsterdam in September 1885, and left government service on 3 August 1887. After finishing his studies in Amsterdam, he studied at several German universities and obtained his doctorate in Berlin in 1891. Finally, he set up as a dermatologist in Amsterdam, and published several medical articles. He passed away in 1902. He was the only interpreter who went on to pursue a completely different career.

In the 1890s there were two new developments that created other career perspectives. Three interpreters passed the Higher Officials Examination. De Jongh passed in Batavia in May 1892, Hoetink in May 1893, and Stuart in The Hague in July 1894. Stuart explained beforehand that his motivation

was not to start another career, but that he just wished to obtain a diploma. His two colleagues, however, would leave the corps some years later. During the discussions about the function of the sinologists, Groeneveldt suggested in 1894 to exempt the interpreters from the Higher Officials Examination if they applied for another government position—as had happened in his own case—but this suggestion was rejected by half of the members of the Council of the Indies and by Minister of Colonies Bergsma.

Another development was that positions in the Consular Service were several times tentatively offered to sinologists, or requested by them. In 1892, after the sudden sick leave of Consul-General P.S. Hamel, the Deli Planters Committee suggested appointing Hoetink as Consul in Amoy, and the Indies government seems to have agreed,[54] but no successor to Hamel was appointed. When two years later the position of Consul in Jeddah became vacant, which in view of the numerous Muslim pilgrims from the Indies was preferably to be fulfilled by an Indies official, it was suggested that Hoetink would be the right person, but a retired military officer, F.J. Haver Droeze, was appointed in his stead. The same year, Hoetink showed interest in the newly created position of Consul-General in Hong Kong, but again Haver Droeze was appointed instead of him.[55] In the summer of that year, Hoetink left the interpreters' service, probably to take up another job, but two months later he returned again.

When on 26 August 1896 Governor-General Van der Wijck decided on the new function of Official for Chinese Affairs, and reduced the desired number of those officials to five, on the same day he informed Minister of Foreign Affairs Röell that Hoetink and Stuart, who had both passed the Higher Officials Examination, might be suitable and available for an appointment as Consul in China or Singapore. After this proposal was seconded by Minister of Colonies Bergsma, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs replied that it did not need anyone at that time. But the following year the same Ministry requested information about Stuart and Hoetink in view of the new consulate to be established in Shanghai. Van der Wijck replied via Bergsma that Hoetink would be suitable and available, but Stuart was not suitable since he was married to a Eurasian lady; he was also not willing. Since in the meantime E.D. van Walree had already been appointed in Shanghai, this opportunity again did not materialise.

Borel applied on his own initiative from Makassar for a position as Consular Agent or interpreter in China on 15 April 1897. At first he received the same reply as the Governor-General had given in the case of Hoetink and Stuart, and later the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also asked information about him. Minister of Colonies Cremer replied that Borel was a fine sinologist, but also mentioned the government's dissatisfaction with him in 1895. In any case, his application was not granted, since the position in Shanghai was already taken.

More than a decade later there would be two cases of (candidate) Officials for Chinese Affairs switching to the newly created position of interpreter for the Foreign Service:[56] in 1910 C.G. Riem, after being trained in Leiden for the Indies, was sent to Peking instead to become a student-interpreter at the Dutch Legation, and in 1910–6 Th.H.J. de Josselin de Jong was first trained in Leiden for the Foreign Service, then sent to South China to learn the Hokkien, Swatow and Hakka dialects, subsequently appointed in Batavia, but one year later sent to Peking to become student-interpreter of Mandarin there.[57]

On 27 June 1899, almost five years after finishing his studies, Borel was granted sick leave to the Netherlands, but he was actually planning to leave the corps. For more than four years he tried to make a living from his writings, mainly his novels, but he was not successful and returned to the Indies in November 1903.

The sixth to leave the interpreter corps was De Jongh, who on 21 July 1892 was temporarily assigned to Groeneveldt for preparing the experiment of an Opium Monopoly (*opium regie*). He had made himself useful by doing other work in Mentok under Resident H.F. Hooghwinkel, and in 1890 he had accompanied Groeneveldt as his secretary on a mission to French Indo-China to study the operation of the French Opium Monopoly system. The Indies system of opium tax-farming by Chinese Officers was a source of fraud, smuggling and corruption, and this mission was undertaken with a view to replacing it with another system, and gradually to reducing opium consumption. After the mission, De Jongh was transferred as Official for Chinese Affairs from Mentok to Batavia in 1890.

When Groeneveldt was made Vice-President of the Council of the Indies in 1893, De Jongh was on 11 August of that year assigned to the first Inspector of the Opium Monopoly, H.F. Hooghwinkel, who happened to be his former superior in Mentok. In 1894–1904, the Government Opium Monopoly was gradually introduced on Java. On 18 February 1898, De Jongh became Inspector, receiving *f* 1,000 per month, thereby ceasing to be an Official for Chinese Affairs, and two months later he became acting chief, replacing Hooghwinkel who went on leave. Three years later, on 25 September 1901, he succeeded Hooghwinkel as Chief, a position he kept for ten years until his retirement on 7 August 1911. In this function he represented the Netherlands at the Opium Conference in Shanghai (1909), and as former chief at the first Conference in The Hague (1912). These conferences led to world-wide gradual regulation and prohibition of opium. After his retirement De Jongh still had the energy to serve as mayor of Hoorn (1913–21).

The seventh to leave was Hoetink, when on 24 July 1904 he became temporary Inspector of Labour after 26 years of service. He had not only passed the Higher Officials Examination but was also experienced in this

field, having twice arranged the emigration of coolies from China, and had been sent on inspection tours of mines and plantations in 1900–3. He fulfilled this function for only two years, but laid the foundation for the future Labour Inspection that was to exist from 1908 on.

In 1905 another opportunity appeared for a second career in combination with that of Official for Chinese Affairs. After the devastating defeat of Russia in the Russo–Japanese War of 1904–5, two sinologists who happened to be on leave in the Netherlands, Van Wettum and Ezerman, were charged to study Japanese in Berlin (theory) and later in Japan (practice) in order to become advisors for Japanese affairs. Both went to Berlin for one year, and Van Wettum also studied and worked in Japan for two years, while Ezerman stayed in the Netherlands, probably because of bad health. Afterwards, in 1908, Van Wettum was made concurrently Advisor for Japanese Affairs and Official for Chinese Affairs in Batavia.

The eighth to leave was Van de Stadt, who left on 5 May 1907 after nine years of service and became general agent of the Billiton Maatschappij.[58] He already had experience in promoting coolie emigration and was now charged with all matters concerning the Chinese, in particular the promotion of emigration.[59] His first task in 1907 was the recruitment of coolies directly from China instead of via Singapore, which he accomplished with great success in 1908.[60] In 1916 he was promoted to the position of Representative (*Vertegenwoordiger*) (of the home company in the Netherlands) in Batavia. In 1918, when the Head Administrator (*hoofdadministrateur*) P.J. Stigter, with whom he had worked together in 1906, was discharged because of budget reporting problems, Van de Stadt also took leave, disagreeing with the company's treatment of Stigter. He had already been studying Japanese for some time and now applied for the newly created scholarship for Indies officials to study Japanese in Japan, which was granted. After two years of study in Japan and another year in the Netherlands, in 1921 he was appointed Advisor for Japanese Affairs, functioning in 1922–32 as head of the Bureau for Japanese Affairs. During his second and third careers, he published three dictionaries.

The ninth to leave was De Bruin, after ten years of service, on 2 February 1908, to become Advisor for Chinese Affairs with the Deli-Maatschappij.[61] He had been stationed in Deli from 1898 to 1904. He worked for the Deli-Maatschappij from 1908 until the end of 1915, for a salary of *f* 1,250 per month. Then he resigned in order to apply for the professorship in Leiden. Later he was archivist of the East Coast of Sumatra Institute in Amsterdam for one year (1917–8), and finally he returned to the Indies to work for the Indies Tax Office from 1920 until 1931.

After De Groot had left Leiden for Berlin in 1912, two Indies sinologists applied for the position of professor in Leiden. De Bruin had been advised to apply by the diplomat W.J. Oudendijk when he acted as his

interpreter in Deli in 1913. Probably with this in mind, he published a series of textbooks entitled *Introduction to Modern Chinese* (1914–7) and also studied Mandarin for half a year in Peking (1916). To his great disappointment, in 1917 the unknown J.J.L. Duyvendak was appointed instead of him (as from 1919).

Borel also made several attempts to obtain this position during his sick leave in the Netherlands in 1913–5 and afterwards, based on his translations of Chinese classics and popular sinological studies. He was also extremely disappointed when he was not chosen.

Six of these nine sinologists who managed to begin another career reached high positions: Schlegel and De Groot reached the summits of scholarship; Groeneveldt, Albrecht, De Jongh, and Hoetink went to the heights in administration. But Van de Stadt and De Bruin also had remarkable careers with private companies and in related fields, and Van der Spek was successful in medicine. No wonder that in 1911, when De Groot complained about his colleagues' leaving the interpreter corps, Secretary General of Colonies J.B. van der Houven van Dordt wrote in the margin: "In the meantime most of them ended up doing fine."[62]

EPILOGUE

Around 1905, ten years after Schlegel had finished teaching his fourth and last group of students, the number of active Officials for Chinese Affairs in the Indies had again diminished to four. Therefore, after selection by a competitive examination in 1906, De Groot began training a new group of four students in 1907. These were J.A.M. Bruineman (1885–1945), H. Mouw (1886–1970), J. Snellen van Vollenhoven (1885–1975), and C.G. Riem (1889–ca. 1968). He taught them Chinese for six hours per week, just as Schlegel had done, but he also taught a one-hour-a-week course in Chinese history, Chinese customs and law in the Indies to the 'indologists,' future Indies officials, which the sinologists must also have attended. De Groot enjoyed teaching Chinese, and in 1909 he proposed a plan to train sixteen candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs during the next years. This ambitious plan was rejected by the Indies government, since not so many sinologists were needed; he was only allowed to train one or two others. In 1911, just before leaving for Berlin, he had personally selected two candidates, A.D.A. de Kat Angelino (1891–1969) and J.Th. Moll (1891–1985), both university students, who would follow him to Berlin and finish their studies there after three years, on a stipend of *f* 70 per month. He taught them written Chinese and spoken Hokkien, not Mandarin; he was opposed to his students learning Mandarin in China, since according to him that language was of no use for their service in the Indies. But one of his students, De Kat Angelino, would during his second year in China become the first candidate-Official to study Mandarin.

After De Groot left Leiden, it took more than five years before a decision was made about a successor. Two Indies sinologists, De Bruin and Borel, both applied for the position but were rejected. Instead, an interpreter at the Dutch Legation in Peking, J.J.L. Duyvendak, was asked to become Lecturer in Chinese in Leiden in 1917. He returned to Holland in early 1919 and gave his inaugural lecture on 19 March of that year.[1]

Around the same time, the first detailed study programme was stipulated for the training course in Leiden. This new programme and Duyvendak's appointment marked the change from Hokkien to Mandarin as the main language taught in Leiden. As before, candidate-Officials were to study in Europe and in China, but now only for two years in Holland and three years in China. No competitive examination was required (but it would later nevertheless be held); passing the final examination of HBS or *gymnasium* was sufficient for acceptance. If they left government service within five years after finishing their studies, they still had to refund all allowances,

but now with 10% interest: the guilder was not as hard as before. The study programme comprised:

a. Mandarin and Amoy Chinese;
b. Geography, Ethnography, Customs and Traditions, and History of China;
c. The Main Principles of Netherlands-Indies polity (*Indische staatsinrichting*);
d. The Former and Present Legal Position of the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies;
e. The Malay Language.

The stipend was now *f* 1,000 per year (or *f* 83.33 per month), and other allowances were largely unchanged, such as an advance pay of *f* 400 for books.[2] Just as for Malay and Javanese the previous year, in 1919 for the first time a native language teacher was engaged, teaching Hokkien for one or two hours per week, since Duyvendak could not speak that dialect.[3]

Apart from training the candidate-Officials in the skills necessary for their work in the Indies, Duyvendak also strove to teach them scholarly skills,[4] and with success. Some well-known candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs were A.F.P. Hulsewé[5] and M.H. van der Valk (both in 1928–31), and R.H. van Gulik (1930–2). The latter was obliged to quit as candidate-Official after two years because of cuts in the Indies budget; later he became an interpreter at the Dutch Legation in Japan and pursued a career in diplomacy.

On 15 May 1930, Duyvendak was appointed Professor of Chinese in Leiden after declining an offer from Columbia University. He had accepted on condition of obtaining better financial and other facilities. For this purpose, on 14 January 1930 the Foundation for the Promotion of Chinese Studies in Leiden (*Stichting ter bevordering van de studie in het Chineesch aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden*) was established. Similar foundations existed for other languages, such as Arabic. On 20 December 1930 its material representation, the Sinological Institute (*Sinologisch Instituut*), was opened at Rapenburg 71, where the Foundation had its seat as well.[6] The Institute comprised a lecture hall and a reading room, where both Chinese and Western books on China from the University Library were conveniently placed.[7] From 1933 on the Foundation received financial support derived from the Dutch Boxer Indemnity.[8] In 1935 the Sinological Institute moved to the previous University Hospital building on the Eerste Binnenvestgracht 33, sharing the building with the Ethnographic Museum.[9]

From 1920 on, the Ministry of Colonies wished to have special sinologists trained for the newly established Tax Service in the Indies. Since no

Dutch sinologists were available except De Bruin, mostly Germans knowing only Mandarin were appointed. They had lost their jobs in Tsingtao after that leased territory was taken over by Japan in 1914. In 1931, finally a training course was created in Leiden for 'tax-sinologists' (*belastingsinologen*), officially known as "candidate-sinologists at the Tax Accountants Office in the Netherlands Indies." They received the same stipends as the candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs, and they were to spend four years studying Chinese (the written language and some Mandarin), Malay, Indies civil and commercial law, management and economics in Leiden and elsewhere. They would not study in China. Afterwards they would have to work for the Tax Accountants Office (*Belastingaccountantsdienst*), checking the Chinese clerks/interpreters' work and taxing Chinese enterprises. Several groups of students were trained in this fashion.[10]

In the Indies also, some radical changes took place. In 1913 the Officials for Chinese Affairs came under the Director of Internal Administration (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*), rather than Justice.[11] Having often been neglected by the civil administration and appreciated only by the judiciary, this measure was opposed by all sinologists, but to no avail. In 1916 the four active Officials for Chinese Affairs were concentrated in a Chinese Affairs Agency (*Dienst der Chineesche Zaken*), and stationed in the Bureau for Chinese Affairs (*Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken*) in Batavia. This Bureau was headed by one Advisor for Chinese Affairs (with a salary of *f* 1,000 to *f* 1,100) and staffed by usually three to five Officials for Chinese Affairs (*f* 300 to *f* 900) and other assisting personnel.[12] Their work included all matters concerning the Chinese in the Indies in the widest sense. The Advisor was to give advice to the Director of Internal Administration and other Directors, and to the judicial and administrative authorities. It was now also explicitly stipulated that he should report all facts and information which could be of interest to the Director of Internal Administration—thereby diminishing the possibility of gaining the confidence of the Chinese and obtaining confidential information. The Bureau was to gather all information necessary for its work, and follow the press. If needed, the Officials were to make translations for the judicial and administrative authorities, and they could do the same for private parties, but the fees received were from now on destined for the government. In this way, the Bureau for Chinese Affairs became a bureaucratic intelligence agency for Chinese affairs. The relative freedom the earlier interpreters and Officials for Chinese Affairs had enjoyed was now gone, and it seems no more 'colourful' sinologists, such as Meeter or Borel, appeared on the scene.

Later, in 1925, the regulations were slightly changed, and combined with those of the Bureau for Japanese Affairs, established under Van de Stadt in 1922.[13] On 1 January 1933, the Bureau for Japanese Affairs was abolished for financial reasons; it was merged with the Bureau for Chinese

Affairs into the Agency for Chinese Affairs and East Asian Matters (*Dienst der Chineesche Zaken en Oost-Aziatische Aangelegenheden*).[14] Two years later, after protests from the Japanese government that in the name of this agency only China was mentioned and not Japan, the name was simplified to Agency for East Asian Affairs (*Dienst der Oost-Aziatische Zaken*), with a Chinese and a Japanese section.[15] At the same time, its focus shifted to East Asia in general rather than the Indies.

The first new-style Advisor for Chinese Affairs was Ezerman (1917–9), the second was H. Mouw (1919–35, also acting in 1916–7), and the third and last was A.H.J. Lovink (1935–42). The latter had not been trained in Leiden and Amoy, but had studied some Mandarin in Mukden (Shenyang).

During the late thirties much attention was given to intelligence, and the Bureau became a kind of counter-espionage agency against Japanese encroachment.[16] When the Japanese invaded the Indies in the beginning of 1942, the archives were purposely destroyed. After the surrender on 8 March 1942, at which Hulsewé acted as interpreter, the Officials for Chinese Affairs were, like other Europeans, detained in concentration camps by the Japanese. Thus effectively ended the position of Official for Chinese Affairs.

However, in 1947 some of the former Officials for Chinese Affairs reappeared as teachers at the newly created Sinological Institute in Batavia.

Although on 17 August 1945, two days after the Japanese surrender, Soekarno and others had proclaimed Indonesian independence, this was not recognised by the Dutch. After more than four years of 'police actions' and negotiations, the Dutch government accepted Indonesian independence and handed over sovereignty on 27 December 1949.

In the meantime, the Dutch in 1947 created the University of Indonesia, which included a Sinological Institute (*Sinologisch Instituut, Batavia*) as Leiden's little brother. It was staffed with former Officials for Chinese Affairs Van der Valk (director) and M.J. Meijer. The latter also taught Modern Chinese (Mandarin); he was first *conservator* at the Sinological Institute of Batavia (1947–53), and later lecturer at the University of Indonesia (1953–4).[17] In 1950, the last Dutch sinologist was sent to what had now become Indonesia: R.P. Kramers, right after defending his doctoral dissertation in Leiden. He was charged by the Netherlands Bible Society to contact Chinese Christians, but he also taught classical Chinese at the Sinological Institute. However, Van der Valk, whose health had suffered under Japanese detention, left in 1951 and became extraordinary professor of Chinese law in Leiden.[18] In 1953, in view of the tense situation in Jakarta, Kramers also left and was transferred to Hong Kong.[19] Finally Meijer left in 1954, joining the Foreign Service in 1955.[20] His departure marked the end of a full century of Dutch sinological involvement in the Indies archipelago.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation has been to provide an in-depth history of early Dutch sinology in chronological and geographical sequence. Grouped thematically, the following conclusions may be drawn.

The emergence of sinology as an academic study in the Netherlands is dealt with in Chapters One, Two, and Eight. Sinology came into being in the Netherlands for the practical purpose of training interpreters of Chinese for the Netherlands Indies government. Although P.J. Veth already saw a need for a university chair of Chinese in 1849, the first steps in this direction were only taken after the Indies government submitted a request for training such interpreters to the Minister of Colonies. In 1853, the issue became urgent in the Indies because of the implementation of new laws and the occurrence of some specific problems concerning the local Chinese. Minister of Colonies Ch.T. Pahud consequently consulted the only China specialist in the Netherlands, J.J. Hoffmann, government translator of Japanese since 1846, who was living in Leiden. Subsequently, Hoffmann wrote a master plan for teaching Chinese and reported on his own teaching experiences. The next year (1854) Minister Pahud charged him with teaching two students. This marks the beginning of sinology in Leiden, although these two students were not yet destined to become interpreters. At that time, Pahud wished to send students from Batavia to China and, after the completion of their studies, have these sinologists train new candidates in the Indies. When it soon became clear that not enough suitable candidates could be found in the colony, the Minister charged Hoffmann to train Chinese interpreters personally. In 1855, Hoffmann was appointed titular professor of Chinese and Japanese at Leiden University. In that position he trained a total of eight interpreters, who afterwards continued their practical studies in China. Ten years later, when they were stationed in the Indies, they attempted to train the second generation of interpreters in Batavia, but this was not successful for the same reason as before: there were not enough suitable candidates. In 1872, G. Schlegel went on sick leave to the Netherlands, and the next year he was at his request charged by the Minister to train new students in Leiden. Two years later Schlegel became titular professor of Chinese at Leiden University, and finally in 1877, when the Dutch university system was reformed, a chair for Chinese was established for Schlegel at Leiden University.

The organisation of the recruitment and training of students in the Netherlands is discussed in Chapters One, Two, and Seven to Nine, while the study in China is treated in Chapters Three, Seven, and Ten. In the

1850s, Hoffmann recruited students in Leiden by informal means: he sought talented youngsters aged 14-18, mostly at secondary schools in Leiden, and after testing their linguistic and other skills accepted them. These students then received from the Ministry of Colonies a monthly allowance for their studies and livelihood, and free passage to and from China. They were not registered as university students. In 1873 Schlegel introduced the competitive entrance examination, originally created in Batavia, with more success in Leiden, each time selecting the three best candidates, according to the needs in the Indies. These students had all finished their secondary education at the HBS and were usually about 18 years old. They were mostly of middle class background but without means; a fully paid training course and the security of a government position, combined with the chance to see the wide world was probably attractive for them. After about three years, most students were ready for practical training in China and they entered the Colonial service. In China their studies were monitored by the Dutch Consul.

The training curriculum in various periods is discussed in Chapters One to Three and Seven to Ten. In his teaching, Hoffmann began teaching Chinese characters on the first day, used collections of Chinese sayings as texts, with the emphasis on grammar, and compiled a manuscript dictionary and grammar to be copied by his students. They read moral primers, parts of novels and the *Four Books*, and texts on natural history. He taught them a Mandarin transcription system but did not teach them to speak Chinese, since he could not speak any dialect. Consequently, his students had to study in China for a relatively long period afterwards.

In the 1870s, Schlegel used a new teaching method. He started teaching the spoken language of Hokkien (Tsiangtsiu), and only began teaching Chinese characters after a few months. Subsequently he taught both the spoken and the written (colloquial and classical) language. In contrast to Hoffmann, he did not teach grammar to beginning students. Schlegel also compiled a Tsiangtsiu vocabulary to be copied by this students. After about three years of study in Leiden, the students could read basic texts such as popular novels, the *Sacred Edict* and the *Four Books* (Confucius, Mencius, etc.). Schlegel also taught them practical skills such as translating Indies ordinances into Chinese and Chinese account books into Dutch. Since he taught the right dialect from the start, it was thought that one year of studies in China would suffice. Later it became clear that this was too short, in particular for learning about Chinese customs and traditions, and their studies in China were lengthened to two years in 1893.

In China the students each hired a private Chinese teacher with whom they studied both the spoken dialect and the written language, usually for four or more hours a day. In addition, they learned a lot through their travels and their contacts with both Chinese and Europeans. These personal

experiences were essential for their work in the Indies. During these years, they learned the basics of the Chinese language, but they still needed to continue their studies in the Indies.

Since interpreters were trained for the Netherlands Indies, the students did not learn Mandarin, but Southern Chinese dialects spoken in the Indies. The question of which dialect or dialects were to be studied led to several debates between sinologists and the government, sometimes even within Parliament. This subject is discussed in Chapters Three, Seven, Nine, and Ten. About half of the students learned the basics of two dialects in China, namely Hokkien (Minnanhua) from Fujian and Cantonese or Hakka from Guangdong province, which were (thought to be) spoken respectively on Java and in the Outer Possessions. The first two students began learning Cantonese in 1856, and three others started with Hokkien in 1857 and 1858. Actually, studying Cantonese proved to be a mistake, since that dialect was at the time rarely spoken in the Indies. When in 1862 Schlegel arrived in Batavia, he must have reported this to Governor-General Sloet, whereupon the latter decided to take Hakka as the second dialect. In the 1880s and 1890s, the question as to which dialect should be studied was even raised several times in Parliament, but after consulting the sinologists, Minister of Colonies Sprenger van Eijk decided they should study Hokkien first. From 1897 on, some students also studied Hoklo (Chaochow dialect) in China; it is closely related to Hokkien. It would not be easy to learn two dialects at a time, of even consecutively, and some sinologists asserted that it would be better to learn only one dialect well than two defectively; others were confident that is was possible to learn two dialects.

By 1858, Mandarin had been excluded from the curriculum, being considered of no use in the Indies, and only two interpreters charged with special diplomatic tasks in China studied this dialect. After 1900 Mandarin became more important in the Indies, and in 1909 for the first time an Indies sinologist (Borel) was allowed to study Mandarin. Ten years later, in 1919, a turnabout took place in Leiden. From then on, all students trained for the Indies were required to study both Mandarin and Hokkien.

The key question was of course: what was the prospective function of the sinologists, for what task or tasks were they trained? Answers to this question can be found in Chapters Five and Twelve to Fifteen. Originally the Indies Government envisaged having Europeans trained as interpreters and translators of Chinese—no distinction being made between these functions—who would also provide information about the Chinese, but their function was not well defined. In the first Interpreters' Directive of 1863, they were called 'interpreter of the Chinese language' (*tolk voor de Chinesche taal*). Their interpreting and translating functions were primary, while their advice *could* be asked by the administrative and judicial author-

ities. However, it soon became clear that there was not enough work for them. On Java, most Chinese could speak some Malay or were even better in Malay than in Chinese. Moreover, the position of interpreter was too low for highly educated Europeans, and Chinese could do interpretation as well as or even better, just as before. Therefore, after some years, the sinologists, despite their title, were rarely asked to work as interpreters. Only the translation work in Batavia, mainly the translation of Dutch ordinances into Chinese, was rather voluminous, as was translating and analysing Chinese account books. And from 1866 on, they could also be useful as extraordinary members of the Orphans Chambers.

When the first group of Schlegel's Leiden-trained students arrived in the Indies in 1878, and places of stationing had to be found, Albrecht reported that their function was in most places a sinecure. The basic reason for this was that the Chinese were ruled by their own headmen; the interpreters did not have a position in the hierarchy and did not have fixed responsibilities, always having to wait for the assignment of work. Although they were allowed to do private interpretation and translation, this rarely happened and they hardly profited from it. In the beginning, the government seems not to have realised that the interpreter's function could work in both directions—not only proclaiming government regulations to the Chinese, but also voicing Chinese grievances, at least publicizing malversations by Chinese and Europeans alike. Therefore, the regional administrative authorities often considered them 'snoopers' (*dwarskijkers*). Only the judicial authorities sometimes asked their advice on Chinese legal matters and during criminal investigations. An effort by the central government to strengthen their position in 1879 was not successful, nor was the reorganisation of 1896, when their advisory functions were put to the fore and their title changed to 'Official for Chinese Affairs' (*ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken*). Yet, all agreed that it was essential for the government to have at least some sinologists, and some of them were used sporadically as trouble shooters. Later several were charged with special tasks such as recruiting Chinese coolies in China, escorting remigrating coolies to China, and inspecting labour conditions in the Indies.

In race- and status-conscious colonial society, the important role of non-European assistants was often glossed over. This was also the case with the Dutch sinologists and their dependence on Chinese assistants. This subject is treated in Chapters Six and Twelve. The sinologists engaged personal teachers/clerks in China and took them along to the Indies; these teachers would help them in their further studies and assist them in their work. Some of the teachers' names are known, but mostly only in transcription and not in Chinese characters; little is known about their lives. Schlegel complained about the low quality of these teachers/clerks, stating that they could hardly be of help when making translations. But as

is shown in the present study, the other sinologists were quite dependent on their teachers/clerks, in particular when reading Chinese manuscripts in cursive script and at least for some also when translating into Chinese. These teachers were also indispensable for keeping up the sinologists' language skills in the spoken language when there was little other opportunity for practicing. And they were an important source of information on Chinese customs and traditions, and about the Chinese in the Indies.

The sinologists were trained for practical work, not for scholarship. Yet their training entailed a scholarly education, and some of them also produced fine scholarly works of practical value. How could these sinologists combine practical needs with their scholarly ambitions? This subject is treated in Chapters Nine, Eleven, and Fourteen. Their comparatively light workload allowed the sinologists to devote their time to other pursuits, such as scholarship. However, for some the lack of work and of official incentives for study diminished their motivation. Only those with a natural predilection for study took the opportunity and devoted their time to sinology, in particular Schlegel and De Groot. Many years later, they both became professors of Chinese in Leiden. Schlegel, however, soon proved to have more academic and idiosyncratic than practical interests. And it is typical that before his study mission to China in 1886–90, De Groot was explicitly not charged to study subjects of direct practical interest. The reason for this was that Director of Justice Buijn was worried that otherwise De Groot's study results might constrain the government unduly in its law-making policy. De Groot was given complete liberty of research in China, which suited him well. Some others, such as Groeneveldt and Hoetink (the latter after his retirement) studied historical subjects far removed from practical life in the Indies. Others, such as Meeter and Borel, actively published their opinions and concerns about current issues in newspapers, and as a result also often ran into trouble. It should be stressed that the Minister of Colonies usually supported scholarship; after his return to Leiden, Schlegel obtained full cooperation from the Minister to publish his Dutch–Chinese dictionary. De Groot also obtained government support for the publication of his major opus *The Religious System of China*. The relationship between the sinologists and the government is well illustrated in their correspondence, for instance about plans for the organisation of the training course, showing how the sinologists tried to attain their purpose in an elegant manner. These discussions also describe how a system was being built that lasted for many years.

The Dutch sinologists produced a number of major works of practical scholarship that had a certain impact. This subject is treated in Chapters Eleven and Fourteen. Scholarly works directly connected with their work in the Indies were in the first place the dictionaries. These were of course only influential within the small circle of sinologists. The earliest

were Francken and De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch and Schlegel's Dutch–Chinese dictionary for translators, both pioneering works. However, the first was the work of a beginner and it took so long to be printed that it was already said to be outdated when it appeared, although it was still useful because of the Chinese characters added. The second was the result of Schlegel's gigantic labour, and although it contains many practical words and much ethnographic information, there is also a large amount of unpractical academic detail. As a result of major changes in Chinese vocabulary and language during the 1900s, it was outdated sooner than expected. Still, both dictionaries are monuments of Dutch sinology never equalled afterwards. Van de Stadt's Hakka dictionary is partly based on other dictionaries; it is much less ambitious than Schlegel's but gives a lively picture of the Hakka language spoken in the Banka and Billiton mines. Other works include Schlegel's meticulous study of secret societies, *The Hung-League*, which is still being reprinted. According to Schlegel, its publication lessened the fear of the Chinese (Sinophobia) and led to mitigated immigration rules. De Groot also contributed to mutual understanding by informing the public about Chinese customs in his book *The Yearly Festivals and Customs of the Amoy Chinese*, comparing them with those of Europe. His work on the Chinese kongsi on Borneo also had a great impact. He pleaded for more autonomy for the Chinese on Borneo in order to prevent the emergence of dangerous secret societies. It is remarkable that De Groot showed understanding for the predicament of the Chinese living in a hostile environment under foreign dominance. His *Religious System of China* remains an important source of ethnographic information. But many other smaller works and articles, such as those by Young, Meeter, Van der Spek, Borel and others, also had an impact in popularising knowledge about China and the Indies Chinese.

The Indies government at first expected to need a large number of European interpreters of Chinese, but in actual practice it soon became clear that there was little work for them and no need for their advice. This subject is treated in Chapters Twelve, Thirteen, and Fifteen. The original high expectations of the government in the 1850s, when ten interpreters were thought to be needed, were not fulfilled, leading to reductions of the required number in 1879 (four) and 1896 (five). The primary causes of the reduction were the general lack of work in translation and interpreting, and their very modest position in the bureaucracy. They also could not compete with the rich and powerful Chinese who were at the same time officers. Of course, the sinologists were inexperienced and young when they were first appointed, but they could not further develop themselves (except in scholarship) since they were denied any administrative responsibilities concerning the Chinese. In hindsight it turned out that the government only needed a small number of sinologists as trouble shooters

and safeguards during crises. Later, even after the establishment of the Bureau of Chinese Affairs in 1916, the number of active sinologists remained small.

All sinologists sailed to the Indies with high expectations but were deeply disappointed by the lack of work and appreciation. Having little to do, many of them were ready to take upon themselves other administrative tasks. Being highly educated men, most could very well perform these jobs. For one-third of the sinologists, this later developed into a stepping stone for a new career in the Indies, making use of their special knowledge of Chinese affairs. One had a career in the administration ending as Vice-President of the Council of the Indies; another became President of the Batavian Orphans Chamber, a third Chief of the Opium Monopoly and a fourth the first Inspector of Labour. Two joined private companies in the Indies, and two returned to Europe and became successful in scholarship. Only one chose an entirely different career in Europe.

One interesting question is what the attitude of the sinologists was towards China and the Chinese. Most references to this can be found in Chapters Three, Nine, Ten, and Thirteen. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Europeans in general had a low opinion of China and the Chinese. In many ways, China was at the time considered a backward and despicable country, lagging behind in hygiene and scientific knowledge, and infested with the evils of corruption (squeeze), greedy mandarins, cruel punishments, treacherous and fraudulent activities, aberrant sexual morals, etc. Nineteenth-century students of Chinese were confronted with a much heavier culture shock than students nowadays. The sinologists shared some of these negative opinions, but through their studies of the Chinese classics and literature and their contacts with Chinese teachers and friends, they also learned to sympathise with the Chinese. Schlegel became a fervent supporter of Chinese culture and interests, or of what he thought these were. In his dictionary Schlegel always stressed the importance of finding *equivalents* in translation, believing that any text could be translated into Chinese. He did the same when explaining Chinese customs and institutions to the European public, including his students, thereby trying to bridge the cultural gap. But Schlegel's arguments were hampered by his fantastic theories and stubborn attitude, by which he estranged himself from both his friends and the public. Others such as Groeneveldt were more pragmatic and realistic in their appraisal of the Chinese, and still others like Meeter did not agree with Schlegel's optimism about finding equivalents of all Western concepts in Chinese. But being confronted with both the backwardness and the greatness of Chinese civilisation, all had an ambivalent attitude. This is well illustrated by the case of Borel, who could both rail against the bad behaviour of his Chinese teachers, servants and

Buddhist monks, and at the same time idealise the spiritual qualities of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism.

In the Indies, there was often competition between the well-educated sinologists and the wealthy, powerful but illiterate Chinese officers, parts of whose tasks were taken over by the Europeans. The sinologists often had a greater liking for the Chinese newcomers (*sinkheh*), who were the underdog in Indies society, although disdain for the uncivilised and rude coolies was also not uncommon among some. The situation varied, and the sinologists often had different opinions leading to debates in the press. From the Chinese side, there is evidence of their respect for the learning and wisdom of Dutch sinologists, and even of some remarkable cases of friendship.

Finally, the question remains: to what extent did the sinologists contribute to a better understanding of the Chinese, and what was the overall impact of sinology in Indies society, including the government and judiciary? What difference did the sinologists make? This subject is treated in Chapters Twelve to Fifteen. Clearly, by translating and interpreting, the interpreters could help resolve a lot of problems and misunderstandings, but this happened only rarely. The same is true for their *notas* for the administration and reports to the courts. But among the European public, through their publications, they could foster a certain degree of understanding and more respect for the Chinese. This was perhaps the main impact they had. And although the sinologists were rarely asked for advice by the administration, they were appreciated by the Indies scholarly world: from 1870 until 1914, almost continuously at least one sinologist was a member of the Board of Directors of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, showing that they were in any case academically respected.

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING (Dutch summary)

De vroege Nederlandse sinologen: een onderzoek naar hun opleiding in Nederland en China, en hun werkkring in Nederlands-Indië (1854–1900)

Inleiding

De sinologie is in Nederland als universitaire studie op een bijzondere manier ontstaan, anders dan in andere landen. Deze studie was niet verbonden met de behoeften van de handel, zending, diplomatie of wetenschap gericht op China, maar begon als een opleiding van tolken Chinees voor het koloniaal bestuur in Nederlands-Indië, waar een grote en belangrijke Chinese minderheid woonde en nog steeds woont. Deze gerichtheid leidde tot de uitzonderlijke keuze om Zuid-Chinese dialecten te bestuderen in plaats van het Mandarijn, de taal van de overheid, zoals gesproken in Noord-China. Na voltooiing van de studie in Nederland en een studieverblijf in Zuid-China werden de sinologen in Indië aangesteld als 'tolk voor de Chinese taal', een functie die echter spoedig problematisch bleek te zijn.

Aangezien de eerste sinologen behoorden tot één corps van taalkundigen en gedurende meer dan een halve eeuw in samenspel met elkaar optraden, is in dit proefschrift voor een prosopografische benadering gekozen. Dat resulteert in een uitgebreide collectieve en interactieve biografie van de 24 jonge mannen die tussen 1854 en 1900 zijn opgeleid. De meesten studeerden eerst Chinees in Leiden, daarna in Amoy (Xiamen), en werden tenslotte aangesteld in Nederlands-Indië. Daar werden zij in het diepe gegooid en ontdekten zij dat er eigenlijk niet zoveel behoefte was aan hun kennis als zij hadden verwacht.

Deze eerste sinologen waren intelligente en hoogopgeleide jongemannen, die probeerden er het beste van te maken. Velen volgden later een andere loopbaan en eindigden op hoge posities, zoals Vice-President van de Raad van Indië, President van de Weeskamer van Batavia, Inspecteur van de Arbeid, chef van de Opium Regie en hoogleraar in het Chinees te Leiden.

Aan de hand van de beschrijving en analyse van de levensgeschiedenissen, de studie en carrière van de eerste Nederlandse sinologen, de herleving van hun ervaringen, en de beschouwing van China en de wereld door hun ogen, ontvouwt zich een fascinerend schouwspel tegen de achtergrond van de veranderende betrekkingen tussen Oost en West in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw. Tijdens de hoogtijdagen van het imperialisme wer-

den ook de Nederlandse koloniën geconsolideerd, met grote juridische, maatschappelijke en economische gevolgen voor de Chinese minderheid. Te midden van deze ontwikkelingen balanceerden de Nederlandse sinologen als middelaars tussen Oost en West. Dit veelomvattende onderwerp vereist een multidisciplinaire aanpak waarbij geschiedenis, taalkunde, antropologie en recht worden gecombineerd.

Hoofdstuk 1, De oorsprong van de Nederlandse sinologie

Dit hoofdstuk geeft antwoord op de vraag waarom en hoe de sinologie in Nederland in de jaren 1849–55 is begonnen. Nieuwe wetgeving en maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen in Nederlands-Indië deden aan het begin van de jaren 1850 de behoefte gevoelen om enkele Europese jongelieden op te leiden tot tolk Chinees en tevens inlichtingenofficier, hoewel dat laatste nooit zo verwoord werd. De minister van Koloniën vroeg advies aan J.J. Hoffmann, kenner van Chinees en Japans te Leiden, die vervolgens een studieprogramma opstelde en tevens melding deed van zijn eigen ervaringen en plannen in de opleiding van studenten Chinees. In 1854 werd zijn opleiding officieel erkend door een maandelijkse toelage aan zijn jeugdige leerling Gustaaf Schlegel. Tegelijk kreeg het Indisch gouvernement opdracht enige kandidaten te zoeken om vanuit Batavia rechtstreeks naar China te sturen. Met enige moeite werden twee 'élèves' of 'kwekelingen' gevonden die in 1856 naar Kanton vertrokken om onder toezicht van de Nederlandse Consul Chinees te studeren. Bovendien werd Hoffmann in 1855 benoemd tot de eerste hoogleraar (titulair) Chinees en Japans in Leiden.

Hoofdstuk 2, Hoffmanns leerlingen (1854–1865)

In de jaren 1854-65 studeerden in totaal acht 'élèves' bij J.J. Hoffmann in Leiden. Hoffmann kreeg de opdracht daartoe nadat was gebleken dat in Indië zelf niet voldoende kandidaten konden worden gevonden. Zij werden in groepjes van twee of drie op middelbare scholen in Leiden door Hoffmann geselecteerd en informeel getest, en ontvingen daarna een beurs van *f* 50 per maand van het ministerie van Koloniën, maar zij werden niet als student ingeschreven aan de Leidse Universiteit. Hun studie werd begroot op drie à vier jaren; zij leerden Chinese karakters lezen en schrijven, en gebruikten daarbij de Mandarijnse uitspraak. Hoffmann besteedde veel aandacht aan grammatica en had een voorkeur voor spreekwoorden als lesmateriaal. Aan het einde van hun opleiding lazen zij uit de werken van Confucius en Mencius, en daarnaast natuurhistorische werken.

Hoffmann stimuleerde zijn leerlingen om hun kennis te verbreden door aan de Universiteit colleges in de exacte wetenschappen ('natuurkunde') te volgen; enkel een taalstudie was volgens hem niet voldoende. Zodra Hoffmann vond dat enige élèves ver genoeg gevorderd waren, werden zij ter beschikking gesteld van de Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlands-Indië om na studie in China aangesteld te worden als tolk in Indië. Aangezien men verwachtte in Indië tien tolken nodig te hebben, en er al twee élèves vanuit Batavia waren uitgezonden, werd Hoffmann na de opleiding van acht kwekelingen voorlopig van zijn taak ontheven.

Hoofdstuk 3, Studeren in China (1856–1867)

In de jaren 1856–67 studeerden de eerste tien sinologen in China, twee uit Batavia en acht leerlingen van Hoffmann. De studieduur in China was voor de eerste zes leerling-tolken ruim vier jaar, de latere vier bleven er slechts twee jaar, omdat men ervan uitging dat zij zich in Indië verder zouden kunnen bekwamen. Zij stonden onder toezicht van de Nederlandse Consul te Canton of de waarnemend Vice-Consul te Amoy, en kregen dagelijks vele uren individueel les van een Chinese leraar. Van hem leerden zij het Chinees in de uitspraak van een zuidelijk dialect, niet het Mandarijn. Daarnaast leerden zij veel door allerlei persoonlijke contacten, ervaringen en reizen. De twee kwekelingen uit Batavia begonnen met de studie in Kanton, maar verhuisden al spoedig naar het veiliger Macao. Zij leerden het Kantonees, dat gesproken zou worden in de Buitengewesten (gebieden buiten Java). De anderen begonnen in Amoy met Hokkien, het op Java meest gesproken dialect. In 1858 werd besloten, ondanks protesten van Hoffmann, geheel af te zien van de studie van het Mandarijn, omdat kennis daarvan voor Indië niet van belang zou zijn. Van 1859 tot 1864 leerden alle leerling-tolken twee dialecten om zowel op Java als in de Buitengewesten inzetbaar te zijn. Toen duidelijk werd dat in Indië nauwelijks Kantonees werd gesproken, werd dat in 1862 door het Hakka dialect vervangen. In 1860, na een roerige periode van oorlogen en opstanden in China, voltooiden de eerste twee tolken hun studie en werden in de Buitengewesten aangesteld.

Hoofdstuk 4, Bijdragen aan de natuurwetenschappen

Drie sinologen verzamelden tijdens hun studie in China in 1857–64 actief flora, fauna en mineralen, namelijk C.F.M. de Grijs, G. Schlegel en J.A. Buddingh. Hoffmann benadrukte altijd het belang van een brede kennis en die pasten zij hier toe. De Grijs verzamelde planten voor een

Engelse Consul/bioloog, en Schlegel en Buddingh dieren voor het Museum van Natuurlijke Historie in Leiden, waar Schlegels vader directeur was. Dit hoofdstuk beschrijft de manier van verzamelen, de verzamelde soorten en de problemen die zich daarbij konden voordoen. De Grijs en Schlegel ontdekten een aantal nieuwe soorten die naar hen zijn genoemd. Later verzamelde Buddingh in Indië ook voor 's Lands Plantentuin te Buitenzorg.

Hoofdstuk 5, De Grijs en het Verdrag van Tientsin (1863)

In 1863–4 trad C.F.M. de Grijs op als "Chineesch secretaris en tolk" van de Nederlandse gezant J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, die tegelijk "Consul in Kanton" was. Hij vervulde een onmisbare rol bij de totstandkoming van het eerste verdrag van vriendschap en handel tussen Nederland en China. Dit verdrag werd in 1863 in Tientsin ondertekend en de ratificaties werden in 1865 in Kanton uitgewisseld. Voor deze functie had De Grijs zich ook enigszins in het Mandarijn bekwaamd. De Nederlandse delegatie reisde met een oorlogsschip van Hong Kong via Shanghai naar Tientsin, waar zij ruim een maand verbleef. Door dit verdrag vestigden Nederland en China voor het eerst diplomatieke betrekkingen. Nederland kon dankzij de meest-begunstigde natie clausule profiteren van de voordelen die andere landen al hadden bedongen. Enkele passages uit zijn brieven en dagboek, aangevuld met informatie uit Chinese bronnen, geven een beeld van de bijzondere taken van De Grijs tijdens dit gezantschap. Ook zijn bezoek aan Peking en de problemen bij de ratificatie komen aan bod.

Hoofdstuk 6, Chinese taalmeesters/schrijvers in Nederlands-Indië

Alle sinologen namen vanuit China een Chinese leermeester/schrijver mee naar Indië om hen te helpen bij hun verdere studie van het Chinees en om hun als schrijver (kopiist) en informant te dienen. Voor de tolken bleken deze leermeesters al spoedig onmisbare assistenten te zijn. In 1865 brachten alle tolken op verzoek verslag uit over de behoefte aan een leermeester, met vermelding van zijn werkzaamheden, zoals het ontcijferen van handschriften, het netjes overschrijven van Chinese vertalingen, en het verschaffen van inlichtingen over Chinese zaken. De levensloop van drie meesters wordt kort behandeld. Later namen sommige tolken ook leermeesters in Indië in dienst om het plaatselijk gesproken Chinese dialect te leren. In 1909 kreeg Borel als eerste toestemming om een leraar Mandarijn in te huren en een paar maanden in Peking te studeren.

Hoofdstuk 7, Chinees studeren in Batavia en China (1864–1877)

In de periode 1864–71 werd met veel moeite in Batavia een cursus voor de volgende generatie tolken opgezet. Volgens plan zouden na opleiding van de eerste tien tolken in China voortaan nieuwe élèves worden opgeleid door de tolken in Indië, bijgestaan door hun Chinese leermeester. De twee tolken in Batavia, G. Schlegel en M. von Faber, stelden hiervoor in 1864 een programma op. Toen later bekend werd dat de élèves via een vergelijkend examen moesten worden geselecteerd, stelden de tolken een examen voor naar het voorbeeld van deel A van het grootambtenaarsexamen voor Indische ambtenaren; dit examen kwam overeen met het HBS eindexamen, maar met de nadruk op de vier moderne talen en toevoeging van het vak boekhouden (1870). Het bleek echter dat er in Indië nog steeds te weinig geschikte kandidaten waren te vinden. Uiteindelijk zijn er slechts twee leerling-tolken in Batavia opgeleid (1871–5). Aangezien deze élèves van begin af aan het Hokkien dialect leerden, vond men, na maximaal vier jaar studie in Batavia, een verblijf van één jaar in China voor hen voldoende.

Hoofdstuk 8, Schlegel en zijn leerlingen in Leiden (1873–1878)

Na een verblijf van tien jaar in Batavia keerde Schlegel in 1872 met ziekteverlof naar Nederland terug. Vanwege het overlijden van drie tolken en het ziekteverlof van twee anderen, en het gebrek aan geschikte kandidaten in Batavia, stelde hij voor in Leiden een kweekschool voor Chinese tolken op te richten, en ook een hoogleraar te benoemen, namelijk hemzelf. Het eerste gelukte meteen en het tweede enkele jaren later ook: Schlegel werd in 1875 hoogleraar titulair en in 1877 werd hij benoemd op de eerste leerstoel Chinees, die in het kader van de nieuwe wet op het hoger onderwijs was ingesteld. Het oorspronkelijk voor Batavia ontwikkelde opleidingssysteem is daarna gedurende bijna veertig jaar met meer succes in Leiden toegepast. Na een vergelijkend examen werden steeds groepjes van drie leerlingen aangenomen. Zij kregen eveneens een beurs van *f* 50 per maand, en voltooiden in ruim drie jaren hun studie. Zij werden nog niet als studenten aan de universiteit ingeschreven, maar namen wel actief deel aan het studentenleven. Schlegel onderwees hen van begin af aan de gesproken taal van Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou, bij Amoy), het op Java meest gesproken Hokkien-dialect, en begon pas na enkele maanden met het Chinese schrift, maar hij gaf geen grammatica. In de periode 1873–8 leidde Schlegel twee groepen van drie leerlingen op. Toen het duidelijk werd dat de Chinese tolken in Indië weinig te doen hadden, besloot de minister van Koloniën het aantal tolken geleidelijk terug te brengen tot vier. Daarom werd de opleiding in Leiden tijdelijk gestaakt; tussen 1878 en 1888 zijn geen nieuwe leerlingen aangenomen.

Hoofdstuk 9, Schlegels latere leerlingen (1888–1895)

In het midden van de jaren 1880 ontstond weer behoefte aan nieuwe tolken Chinees, vooral in Buitengewesten als Deli en Borneo. Hierover werd zelfs in de Tweede Kamer gedebatteerd, en ook over de vraag welk dialect zij moesten leren. In 1885 werd De Groot op zijn verzoek met een wetenschappelijke zending naar China gestuurd. Schlegel bouwde intussen de Chinese bibliotheek in Leiden op en had enige buitengewone leerlingen, zoals A. Lind en S.H. Schaank. In 1888–95 leidde hij weer twee groepen van drie leerlingen op. Door de dagboeken, brieven en publicaties van Borel (derde groep) is veel bekend over zijn studie en studentenleven. De leerlingen van de vierde groep werden voor het eerst als student in Leiden ingeschreven (1894). Bij de reorganisatie van 1896 werd de adviserende taak van de sinologen voorop gesteld, tolken en vertalen kwamen op de tweede plaats. De tolken kregen nu de titel "ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken". Aangezien het aantal 'organieke' plaatsen geleidelijk tot vijf zou worden teruggebracht, werd de opleiding in Leiden nu voor twaalf jaren gestaakt.

Hoofdstuk 10, Schlegels leerlingen in China (1877–1880 en 1892–1898)

De vier groepen van Schlegels leerlingen studeerden in de perioden 1877–80 en 1892–8 in China. Zij verbleven vooral in Amoy en stonden onder toezicht van de Nederlandse Consul, meestal een Duitse zakenman. In de jaren 1870 studeerden sommigen ook enige tijd in het binnenland in Zhangzhou. Dankzij het dagboek van Van der Spek is er veel bekend over de tweede groep (1879–80). Eén jaar studie in China was eigenlijk te kort, en vanaf 1893 werd de studieduur van de derde groep verlengd tot twee jaar. Over de studie van deze groep is veel bekend door Borels dagboeken, brieven en publicaties (1892–4). De vierde groep (1896–8) stond onder toezicht van de nieuwe Consul Generaal in Hong Kong en leerde naast Hokkien in Amoy ook het Hoklo dialect in Chaochow (Teochow) en het Hakka dialect in Kia Ying Chow (Meixian). Een verzoek van een leerling om in Peking Mandarijn te mogen studeren werd afgewezen. Ook dit was weer een roerige periode van oorlogen en Westerse inmenging in China, die van invloed was op hun studieverblijf.

Hoofdstuk 11, De samenstelling van woordenboeken

De Nederlandse sinologen publiceerden in totaal drie Chinese woordenboeken. Voor de eerste twee was Hoffmann was in twee opzichten een voorbeeld. Hij werkte zijn hele leven aan een Japans–Nederlands woor-

denboek, waarvan postuum drie afleveringen zijn verschenen. Bovendien maakte hij voor zijn jonge leerlingen een losbladig, manuscript Chinees–Nederlands woordenboek, dat zij moesten overschrijven. Na aankomst in China gingen zijn eerste leerlingen ook Hokkien woordenboeken samenstellen. Die taak werd bemoeilijkt door het grote verschil tussen geschreven en gesproken taal. Ook kon de gesproken taal niet altijd goed met de bestaande karakters geschreven worden. J.J.C. Francken maakte een Chinees–Nederlands woordenboek van de gesproken taal van Amoy (en Tsiangtsiu/Zhangzhou), dat bijna twintig jaar later in Batavia is verschenen; helaas was het toen al achterhaald door het veel betere Amoy–Engelse woordenboek van Douglas, dat echter geen Chinese karakters bevat. Schlegel stelde een Nederlands–Chinees woordenboek van de schrijftaal samen, met Tsiangtsiu uitspraak, dat bestemd was als hulp bij het maken van vertalingen uit het Nederlands. Het verscheen in 1882–91 in Leiden in vier grote delen met in totaal meer dan 5.000 pagina's; dit woordenboek bleek echter nogal wijdlopig en niet altijd praktisch. Bovendien was het destijds controversieel vanwege de vele voorbeelden van 'bordeelentaal' die erin voorkwamen. De Nederlandse gezant in Peking, J.H. Ferguson, weigerde het mede daarom aan de Chinese keizer aan te bieden, maar toen Li Hongzhang in 1896 Nederland bezocht, nam deze het wel in ontvangst en verleende Schlegel later zelfs een onderscheiding. Vooral vanwege de veranderingen in de Chinese taal was ook dit woordenboek al spoedig verouderd. Toch zijn beide woordenboeken monumenten in de Nederlandse sinologie. Tenslotte stelde P.A. van de Stadt in 1912 een Hakka woordenboek samen, met veel praktische en levendige woorden en uitdrukkingen uit Banka en Billiton.

Hoofdstuk 12, De werkkring als tolken en vertalers

De 'tolken voor de Chinese taal' waren in de eerste plaats bestemd voor werk als tolk en vertaler. Hoewel de instructie van 1863 de mogelijkheid bood om de tolken ook als adviseur te laten optreden, werd daarvan weinig gebruik gemaakt. Zelfs als tolk werden zij al spoedig minder gevraagd, omdat de meeste Chinezen op Java als voldoende Maleis kenden en indien nodig plaatselijke Chinese tolken het werk evengoed konden doen. 'Tolk' werd niet meer dan een formele aanduiding. Als vertaler hadden de Nederlandse 'tolken voor de Chinese taal' in Batavia wel veel werk vanwege de vertaling van ordonnantiën en keuren naar het Chinees. Daarbij kregen zij in min of meerdere mate hulp van hun Chinese schrijvers. Deze vertalingen werden vanaf 1862 vaak gedrukt bij de Chinese afdeling van de Landsdrukkerij. Het was niet eenvoudig deze juridische teksten in het Chinees te vertalen, niet alleen vanwege de moeilijke in-

houd, maar vooral ook door het ontbreken van overeenkomstige Chinese juridische terminologie. Een aantal passages uit vertalingen wordt hier geanalyseerd. De sinologen waren innovatief door hun standaard vertalingen van Nederlandse namen van ambten en instanties, in plaats van de tot dusver onder Chinezen gebruikelijke transcripties van de klanken; de invloed van hun standaard vertalingen was echter beperkt. Verder vertaalden zij vooral Chinese boekhoudingen of maakten extracten ervan die nodig waren bij de afhandeling van faillissementen en nalatenschappen. Afgezien hiervan konden zij hun met veel moeite verworven vaardigheid in het vertalen weinig toepassen. Tegen vaste tarieven mochten zij ook particuliere tolk- en vertaaldiensten verrichten, maar dat leidde enerzijds tot naijver onder andere ambtenaren, anderzijds waren de voorgeschreven tarieven zo hoog dat zij er in de praktijk weinig profijt van hebben gehad.

Hoofdstuk 13, De adviserende taken van de tolken

De tolken hadden ook adviserende taken, die nog belangrijker werden toen zij vanaf 1896 de titel van 'ambtenaar voor Chinese zaken' kregen. Vanaf 1866 hadden zij in vijf grote plaatsen een adviserende taak als buitengewoon lid van de Weeskamer. Hier konden zij belangrijk werk doen bij de afhandeling van Chinese failliete boedels en nalatenschappen. Daar zij geen bestuurlijke functie bekleedden—de Chinezen werden immers bestuurd door hun eigen hoofden, de Chinese officieren—werd hun vrijwel nooit om advies gevraagd door het gewestelijk bestuur (Resident) en zelden door het Gouvernement (Directeur van Justitie). Zij werden steeds beschouwd als slechts 'tolken', hoewel zij die functie zelden vervulden, of als 'dwarskijkers' (spionnen), die zoveel mogelijk buiten Chinese zaken moesten worden gehouden. Na Albrechts nota over de werkkring van de tolken (1878), waarin hij stelde dat de functie in de meeste plaatsen een sinecure was, besloot de minister van Koloniën het aantal tolken geleidelijk te reduceren tot vier. Dankzij Schlegels opleiding waren er inmiddels zoveel tolken opgeleid, dat in 1881–3 twaalf tolken in functie waren, het grootste aantal ooit. Door hun slecht omschreven, zwakke positie in de ambtenarij konden zij, ondanks hun kennis van de Chinese taal en cultuur, en hun Europese achtergrond, niet concurreren met de rijke, machtige, maar vaak weinig ontwikkelde Chinese officieren. Alleen de rechtbanken vroegen hun af en toe om als deskundige een rapport uit te brengen over Chinees burgerlijk recht. Zij moesten daartoe uit het Chinese wetboek van strafrecht, eventueel aangevuld met de Chinese klassieken, de regels van het burgerlijke recht destilleren, aangezien het Chinese burgerlijk recht niet gecodificeerd was. Geleidelijk werd duidelijk dat in Indië deels een ander recht gold dan in China, een Indisch-Chinees gewoonterecht dat evenmin

gecodificeerd was. Voor de Chinezen was de gedeeltelijke toepassing van Europees recht (op grond van de verordening van 1855 no. 79) een zegen vanwege de deels gelijke behandeling met Europeanen, maar ook vaak een bron van onzekerheid en onrecht. Een controversiële kwestie gedurende deze gehele periode was de juiste uitvoering van de Chinese eed. Er vonden meerdere debatten tussen de tolken hierover plaats.

Hoofdstuk 14, Studies en zendingen

Van groot belang waren de studies, publicaties en wetenschappelijke en andere zendingen van de sinologen. De tolken/ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken konden hun mening en kennis vooral kwijt in hun publicaties, variërend van krantenartikelen tot wetenschappelijke verhandelingen. Een belangrijk onderwerp van studie waren de gevreesde Chinese geheime genootschappen. Schlegel en De Groot publiceerden hierover klassieke studies, en toonden sympathie voor de onderdrukte Chinezen die zich uit zelfbehoud bij elkaar aansloten, maar andere tolken wezen juist op de gevaarlijke kanten van deze genootschappen. Enkele tolken werden voor een studieverblijf naar China uitgezonden. Daarbij kregen zij als bijzondere taak de bevordering van de rechtstreekse emigratie van koelies uit China naar Indië. Hiervoor hebben vooral De Groot en Hoetink zich verdienstelijk gemaakt. Na 1900 waren ambtenaren voor Chinese zaken ook actief als arbeidsinspecteur en begeleider van remigrerende koelies.

Hoofdstuk 15, De reorganisatie van 1896

Bij de reorganisatie van 1896 kregen de sinologen de titel van 'ambtenaar voor Chinese zaken' in plaats van 'tolk'. In het nieuwe reglement werd hun adviserende taak benadrukt, maar in de praktijk werden zij toch vaak nog als tolk beschouwd. Al vanaf het begin hadden sommigen geboden kansen aangegrepen om andere functies in het bestuur te vervullen, vooral in de Buitengewesten. Zo konden zij zich nuttig maken en (onbedoeld) een overstap naar een andere betrekking voorbereiden. Ruim een derde van de sinologen is overgegaan naar een andere werkkring in Indië of Nederland, waarbij velen hoge posities bereikten.

Nawoord

Vanwege de vele onvolkomenheden van het systeem werden in 1916 alle (vier) ambtenaren voor Chinese zaken samengebracht in de Dienst voor

Chinese Zaken te Batavia. Kort daarna werd ook de opleiding in Nederland grondig gewijzigd en meer op China gericht. Het studieprogramma in Leiden omvatte nu in de eerste plaats het Mandarijn, en daarnaast Hokkien. De Dienst voor Chinese zaken in Batavia heette vanaf 1935 Dienst der Oost-Aziatische Zaken en kreeg vooral een inlichtingenfunctie. In 1942 werd door de Japanse inval in Indië de functie van ambtenaar voor Chinese zaken feitelijk opgeheven. De laatste Nederlandse sinoloog verliet Indonesië in 1954.

Conclusie

Door de beantwoording van de in de inleiding gestelde onderzoeksvragen geeft de conclusie nog een thematische samenvatting van de inhoud van het proefschrift.

Deze monografie bevat bijna twintig bijlagen. De persoonlijke achtergronden en details van individuele carrières zijn beschreven in de 26 korte biografieën in Appendix A. Verder zijn er tabellen, overzichten en lijsten, en de Nederlandse tekst van drie belangrijke ordonnantiën. Tevens zijn kaarten van Zuid-China en Nederlands-Indië, een grafiek, 45 illustraties en een algemene bibliografie opgenomen.

STELLINGEN

1. De Chinese taalstudie was, gezien de noodzaak verschillende nauwelijks beschreven dialecten te leren en vanwege het gebruik van 'klassiek' Chinees als schrijftaal, voor de Nederlandse *élèves* in de negentiende eeuw veel moeilijker dan voor de hedendaagse studenten sinologie, die het moderne Mandarijn leren.

2. Hoewel de instelling van de leerstoel Chinees in Leiden eerder te danken is aan de persoonlijke ambitie van Schlegel dan aan de toen gevoelde behoefte aan tolken in Indië, heeft de Nederlandse sinologie toch zijn nut bewezen voor de wetenschap en de koloniale overheid.

3. De term 'tolk' voor de sinologen in Nederlands-Indië was een formele aanduiding die feitelijk onjuist bleek te zijn. Al spoedig werden zij immers nauwelijks als tolk ingezet.

4. Het geringe gebruik dat door het koloniale bestuur gemaakt werd van de Europese tolken voor de Chinese taal als deskundigen was in de eerste plaats te wijten aan hun slecht omschreven positie binnen de Nederlands-Indische ambtenarij.

5. J.W. Young heeft door zijn kwalificatie van de Chinese eed bij de Nederlands-Indische rechtbanken als "een Westerling in een Chineesch pak kleeren" (1881) het hybride karakter van deze eed goed verwoord.

6. De naam 'Mandarijns' als aanduiding van de Chinese standaardtaal (*putonghua, guoyu*) is om historische en taalkundige redenen eigenlijk beter dan 'Mandarijn', maar aangezien 'Mandarijn', dankzij J.J.L. Duyvendak, is ingeburgerd, verdient die naam nu de voorkeur.

7. De invoering van *Hanyu pinyin* (de officiële spelling van China) in 1958 is binnen China en voor de sinologen buiten China een zegen. De internationale invoering van *pinyin* door China per 1 januari 1979 voor alle Chinese persoonsnamen en plaatsnamen heeft geleid tot wereldwijde eenheid van spelling van deze namen; tegelijkertijd veroorzaakt *pinyin* echter ook verwarring door het onconventionele gebruik van sommige letters (*a, c, i, j, q, u, x*).

8. De hybride namen Ba-land (*Baguo* 吧國) en Ba-stad (*Bacheng* 吧城) voor Batavia (Jakarta) zijn niet afgeleid van het Nederlandse 'Batavia',

maar van de oude, onder Chinezen gebruikelijke naam van deze plaats Kalapa (*Galaba*), gevolgd door het Chinese *guo*, 'land' en *cheng*, 'stad'.

9. Bij het gebruik van de apostrof (scheidingsteken, *geyinhao*) in *Hanyu pinyin* (Chinese spelling) dient men niet het ingewikkelde gebruiksvoorschrift zelf, maar de eenvoudige Chinese standaard interpretatie daarvan toe te passen (alleen vóór klinkers; bijvoorbeeld niet in *dangan* 胆敢, maar wel in *dang'an* 档案).

10. In de periode 1863–1944 werd in de Nederlands-Chinese diplomatie de oude Chinese naam voor Holland 和蘭 (*Hélán*), die op Java normaal was, weer als standaardnaam gehanteerd. Dit anachronistisch gebruik is kenmerkend voor het destijds grotere belang voor Nederland van Indië dan van China zelf.

11. Indien het belang van kennisname van de Chinese literatuur wordt beperkt tot het hokje van 'literatuurwetenschap' of 'zuivere kunst', dreigt het taalkundig, maatschappelijk en psychologisch belang ervan over het hoofd wordt gezien. Het lezen en bestuderen van literatuur verschaft immers essentiële kennis voor een juist begrip en vooral een juist gevoel voor de Chinese taal en cultuur.

12. Tolken in de rechtszaal is voor de beginnende sinoloog-tolk een uitdaging, omdat hij als tolk zijn deskundigheid alleen mag gebruiken als steun voor de vertolking en geen blijk mag geven van zijn kennis van China.

13. De naam 'Sinologisch Instituut' in Leiden is nationaal en internationaal zo gevestigd, dat het wenselijk is die naam op de een of andere wijze in leven te houden.

14. Het voordeel van het in het Engels schrijven van een proefschrift over een negentiende-eeuws Nederlands onderwerp is dat de auteur zo gedwongen wordt het oudere Nederlands te vertalen in modern Engels, waardoor hij tot een beter begrip komt van de inhoud dan door enkel te citeren.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Pieter Nicolaas Kuiper (Koos Kuiper) was born in Wageningen in 1951. Starting in 1963 he attended the Wagenings Lyceum, where he received the Gymnasium β diploma in 1969. Afterwards he studied for one year as an auditor at Princeton University, following courses and taking exams in cultural anthropology, linguistics, and statistics. From 1970 to 1978 he studied Languages and Cultures of China (*Talen en Culturen van China*) at Leiden University (*Rijksuniversiteit Leiden*), specialising for his B.A. (*kandidaats*) in Chinese, Japanese, and linguistics, and for his M.A. (*doctoraal*) in modern Chinese literature, Japanese, and literary theory (*Literatuurwetenschap*). In 1975 he studied Mandarin for half a year at the Chinese Language Institute of Fu-jen University in Hsinchu, Taiwan.

From 1980 on he worked mainly as a freelance translator of modern Chinese literature into Dutch and of other documents in both directions, and as an interpreter of Mandarin and later also Cantonese. From the 1990s he specialised in court interpreting and translation, and he also acted as interpreter in Dutch–Chinese diplomacy.

He has also taught Mandarin to amateurs for almost forty years, Dutch to Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands and to students for eight years in total, and has been teaching courses in court interpreting in Mandarin for almost twenty years.

Finally, he has also been working part-time in the Chinese library of the Sinological Institute in Leiden from 1989 on. Since 2010 he has been part-time curator (*conservator*) of old Chinese and Japanese books and manuscripts in the Special Collections Department of Leiden University Library.

Part II

NOTES

Notes to Chapter One

[1] This was not a social revolution, although the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels was published in the same year. They wrote in their Manifesto that "A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of Communism," but this did not influence the democratic revolutions.

[2] Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie der Chinezen*, 84, note 73.

[3] *Algemeene bepalingen van wetgeving voor Nederlandsch Indië, Reglement op de regterlijke organisatie en het beleid der justitie in Nederlandsch Indië, Burgerlijk wetboek, Wetboek van Koophandel, Bepalingen betrekkelijk misdrijven begaan bij faillissement, kennelijk onvermogen en surséance van betaling. Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 3, Rechtswezen, 391 [1902], vol. 4, Wetgeving, 762 [1905], vol. 4, Strafstelsel, 127 [1905]. *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1847, no. 23, 1848 no. 10, p. 16.

[4] *Bepalingen tot regeling van enige onderwerpen van strafwetgeving die eene dadelijke voorziening vereischen*. *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1847, nos. 40, 52, 57, 1848 nos. 2, 6, 10, 16.

[5] *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1847, no. 23, art. 7.

[6] In the Netherlands, the first Dutch Penal Code (*Wetboek van Strafrecht*) was promulgated much later, in 1881, and came into effect on 1 September 1886, replacing Napoleon's (revised) *Code Pénal*.

[7] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1915, no. 732. *Beknopte encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1921, Strafrecht, 523, Unificatie, 582.

[8] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1917, no. 27. Containing special rules for adoption for the Chinese.

[9] Full title: *Regulation of Netherlands Indies Government Policy* (*Reglement op het beleid der regering van Nederlandsch-Indië*). Abbreviated: RR.

[10] *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1855, no. 79, effective from 1 March 1856.

[11] Pieter Johannes Veth (1814–95) was appointed in 1838 as lecturer in the Malay language at the Royal Military Academy in Breda, in 1842 professor of Oriental languages at the Athenaeum Illustre, the predecessor of the University of Amsterdam, from 1864 teacher at the National Institute for Education in the Languages, Geography and Ethnography of the Netherlands Indies (Rijks-instelling voor onderwijs in de taal- land-, en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië), the training college for East Indies officials in Leiden, in 1877 professor at Leiden University. He was the first president of the Royal Netherlands Geographical Society (KNAG) in 1873 (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, part 4, [1905], 540-1). Van der Velde, *Een Indische liefde, P.J. Veth (1814–1895)*; English translation: *A Lifelong Passion: P.J. Veth (1814–1895)*.

[12] P.J. Veth, "Over de noodzakelijkheid om de beoefening der Oostersche talen aan de Nederlandsche Hoogescholen uit te breiden," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Nederlandsche Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde en Schoone Kunsten* (1849), 62-85, especially 77-80.

[13] "… zoolang hunne taal en vreemdsoortig schrift een' onoverkomelijken slagboom tusschen hen en ons stellen, zoolang ons de middelen ontbreken om hun geheimzinnig wezen te doorgronden." Veth, "Over de noodzakelijkheid," 78.

[14] Wolter Robert *baron* van Hoëvell (pronounced as in Dutch Heuvel) (1812–79) first worked as a Protestant minister in Batavia from 1836 to 1848. He was very influential in scholarship and after his return to the Netherlands also in politics. As (vice) president of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, from 1843 on he revitalised this scholarly society, established in 1778 and thus the oldest of its kind in Asia.

[15] Van Hoëvell, "De uitbreiding van het hooger onderwijs in de Oostersche talen aan de Nederlandsche Akademieën." *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* 11 (1849), vol. 2, pp. 68-78, especially 73-6.

[16] From 1848 the title was *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*.

[17] *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, II [1900], 45-6. Slavery was abolished in the East Indies in 1860.

[18] K. ter Laan, *Letterkundig woordenboek voor Noord en Zuid* (Den Haag / Djakarta: Van Goor, 1952).

[19] "De wijze waarop de Chineezen de drukkunst uitoefenen, is zeer eenvoudig. Zij snijden de letters of liever woorden in eene weeke houtsoort, bestrijken die met inkt, leggen er een blad Chineesch papier op, wrijven er een of tweemaal over, en de bewerking is afgeloopen. Er is daarvoor geen werkplaats, geen toestel, geene afzonderlijke inrigting noodig. Alles geschiedt in stilte, zonder dat iemand er iets van merkt. Ook op Java worden op die wijze stukken gedrukt," Van Hoëvell, "De uitbreiding van het hooger onderwijs," 74.

[20] This probably refers to the Chinese revolt in Krawang (near Batavia) that began on 8 May 1832. All European houses in Purwakarta were burnt down and the collection on natural history of Dr. H.Chr. Macklot (1799–1832) was lost. Macklot himself was murdered with lances by the Chinese on 12 May (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1918), vol. II, p. 632).

[21] R.J.M.N. Kussendrager wished to study Chinese on a government stipend, but this was refused. *See* below.

[22] W.R. van Hoëvell in "De uitbreiding van het hooger onderwijs," 68-78, in particular 73-6.

[23] *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* (1855), I, pp. 260-2.

[24] Karl Gützlaff (1803–51), German missionary, who was sent to the Indies by the Netherlands Bible Society in 1827, but soon turned to China. He also worked on Bible translations and as an interpreter and secretary for the British. He was very influential because of his charisma, both in China and in Europe, where he caused an early China hype, but was also controversial and was criticised by learned missionaries such as James Legge. In 1850 he was given an honorary doctor's degree at the University of Groningen.

[25] Henricus Christiaan Millies (1810–68), Protestant minister, from 1847 professor at the Lutheran Seminary, member of the board of the Netherlands Bible Society, and from 1857 professor of Oriental languages in Utrecht.

[26] Nicolaas Beets (1813–1903), clergyman and writer, author of the famous collection of short stories *Camera obscura* (1839).

[27] *China: verzameling van stukken betreffende de prediking van het evangelie in China en omliggende landen* (Nijmegen: Ten Hoet, 1852–1864). The regulations of the association were approved on 7 November 1850.

[28] Copy of the letter from the Trustees of Leiden University to the Minister of Home Affairs dated 23 February 1855 quoting this letter, kept in V 28/2/1855 no. 75 (Geheim) inv. 5867, and in AC 2 inv. 119 II/2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. The original letter was to be returned to the Ministry. Unfortunately, it could not be located in the archives of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

[29] Email from Ton Kappelhof (Netherlands Missionary Archives, Het Utrechts Archief) to Cheng Weichung, 24 Feb. 2010.

[30] *Gützlaff's Geschiedenis van het Chinesche Rijk van de oudste tijden tot de vrede van Nanking* ('s Gravenhage: Fuhri, 1852), p. XVII. Preface (*Voorrede*) dated 15 December 1851.

[31] A Resident was the head of regional government. Originally, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Resident had a diplomatic function, but this gradually developed into a governing role. Pieter van Rees (Rotterdam, 1806 – The Hague, 1865) began as a clerk in the Indies in 1820, and was from 24 August 1847 to 1 May 1854 Resident of Batavia. Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren B 73. The report and all related documents are in V 17/1/1854 no. 19 inv. 311.

[32] Type of Indonesian boat (Dutch *prauw*).

[33] Number 1 of the supplement appeared on 12 March 1852. In the beginning the Chinese title was *Lang Ko-lan* 蘭高囔 (Semarang Newspaper) (1852–1854). During the first year it comprised one page in Chinese and one page in Javanese and Malay, lithographically reproduced. From 1853 on, only the Chinese version appeared, now on two pages. Quite a few copies from 1852–7 are in the KITLV Collection (microfilm of an Indonesian archive). Evidently the contents are only translations from the Dutch version, such as an-

nouncements of auctions; nothing subversive could be found. It was later called the Chinese supplement (*Chineesch bijblad*), appearing until 1859. Starting in 1863, this weekly was continued as *De Locomotief* (1863–1903), which became one of the most important newspapers in the Indies. Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 361-414, 816-8.

[34] In contrast to the situation in the Netherlands, from that time on there was no freedom of the press in the Indies, although censorship had been abolished. Paradoxically, these regulations resulted in an even more critical and lively press, and there were many lawsuits on account of 'defamation of the Governor General' and 'sedition.' Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 75-82, etc.

[35] Carel Sirardus Willem, Count (*graaf*) van Hogendorp (1788–1856), was then a member of the Council of the Indies. He was a nephew of G.K. van Hogendorp, president of the drafting commission of the first Dutch Constitutions in 1813 and 1815.

[36] Reinder Jan Lambertus Kussendrager (Groningen, 1805 – Batavia, 14 September 1846), teacher in Batavia from 1838 on, is known for his description of Java (*Natuur- en aardrijkskundige beschrijving van het eiland Java* (Groningen, 1841)) (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren G 396). His son had won an honour prize at the Drawing School of the First Primary School in Weltevreden, Batavia (*Javasche Courant*, 9 July 1845).

[37] "… heeft uit eigen beweging lust betoond tot de studie der Chinesche taal."

[38] All that is known about his Chinese studies is that he owned a copy of Morrison's dictionary. In a note pasted in his personal copy of Medhurst's *Chinese and English Dictionary*, Hoffmann mentioned that the bookseller E.J. Brill offered vol. 1 of Morrison's dictionary for sale with the name Kussendrager and the date 5 September 1845 on the title page (SINOL. 15.810.34 in Van Gulik Room, East Asian Library).

[39] In the VOC period (1617–1799) this Council together with the Governor-General was the highest governing body. In the nineteenth century it became a purely advisory body, but in some cases the Governor-General was obliged to hear its advice first before he could make a decision.

[40] Letter of 4 August 1846 no. 2372.

[41] Letter of 7 August 1846. Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857), missionary and eminent sinologist, regularly resided in Batavia from 1822 until 1843, when he moved to Shanghai. To mention just two of his many scholarly works, he published the first Hokkien dictionary in 1832 and was one of the main translators of the Delegates' Bible of 1850–55. *See* obituary by H.C. Millies.

[42] "De Chineezen gaan vrij wat daadzakelijker mede in de vorderingen van onzen tijd, vernemen en leeren of zien die af van ons, waarvan de gevolgen merkbaar! Doch wij in onze betrekkingen tot hen, verzoeken op de hoogte te blijven waar wij zijn en twee eeuwen geleden waren."

[43] Letter of 19 August 1846 no. 1666. A little more than a month later, the father R.J.L. Kussendrager passed away. On 4 October 1854, Kussendrager jr. made another request, probably to be sent to Canton, but this was rejected again (IB 10/10/1855 no. 3, inv. 7175). He worked as an official in the lower ranks of the East Indies administration, and also was translator for Malay for some time (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren K 445, II (rom) 137). In 1889 he translated the article on Chinese cemeteries by J.W. Young into Malay (*see also* bibliography of J.W. Young).

[44] Literally 'Penal Sanction,' in English usually designated as 'indentured labour,' defined by Purcell as follows: "the engagement of coolies … under contracts enforceable by penal sanctions; that is to say, labourers were liable to arrest and punishments if they broke their contract or left their work. This system of contract and recruitment gave rise to severe criticism not only in the world at large, but in Holland also." Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, 541.

[45] Jean Louis Ernest Schepern became translator for the French language in Batavia in 1837, but in the same year he began to work in a government office. In 1845, he obtained the *radicaal* (qualification) of second-class East Indies official. He was stationed as Administrator (*Administrateur*) of the tin mines in Soengei Liat from 14 December 1851 to 11 July 1852, and in Pankan Pinang from 11 July 1852 to 23 December 1852, whereupon he went on sick leave to the Netherlands. He retired in 1860. Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, E 404.

[46] Letter from the Resident of Banka, 28 July 1852 no. 1358.
[47] Letter of 29 December 1852 no. 2805/516.
[48] Letters of 29 June 1852 and 13 January 1853.
[49] IB 27/1/1853 no. 3. The High Court was to ask the opinion of the Resident of Banka and the Commission for Further Regulation of the Legislature (*rechtswezen*) in the Outer Possessions (IB 28/6/1849 no. 4) on the advice of the Procurator-General; it should also be generally known that, when imposing punishments because of minor offences (*overtredingen*) the Residents in the Outer Possessions were to comply with article 28 in the *Regulation etc. of penal law*. The latter had been published in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1848, no. 6. Actually, this regulation was already effective in the Outer Possessions, but the legislation for the Outer Possessions was generally less developed than that for Java and Madura. Article 28 allowed four kinds of punishments for certain minor offences which the Residents could impose: a maximum of 20 blows with the cane for men only, not in public, and less than 20 blows in case of possible injury to health; block arrest (solitary confinement) for a maximum of 3 days (not concurrent with blows with the cane) and imprisonment for a maximum of 8 days; labour for public works without pay but with board for a maximum of 3 months.
[50] With much needless bloodshed. *See* Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies*.
[51] J.D.G. Schaap, since 1822 a clerk at the General Secretariat, in 1825 became 'pupil for the native languages in Malacca' (*élève voor de inlandsche talen te Malakka*), and four years later he continued his career in the General Secretariat. He passed away in Batavia on 30 September 1841 (Stamboeken C54, inv. 3093, toegang 2.10.01).
[52] This shows how little was known about the Chinese. From the Kong Koan Archives in Leiden University Library it is evident that there were many more literate Chinese in Batavia.
[53] Examples of these can be found in a collection of Chinese letters with Malay translations from Western Borneo in BPL 2186 M; *see Catalogue* 2005, 177-90.
[54] Translation: "Publication on behalf and in the name of the King. The Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies … makes known: That He, after having had experience with the existence of secret societies or brotherhoods among the Chinese population in the Netherlands Indies, makes known to all those whom this may concern, that such societies or brotherhoods, whose purpose is beneficial or harmless, can be tolerated by the government; but that all such whose object could in any measure entail an attack on or undermining of the legal authorities, either by the use of means that are contrary to the conditions on which the Chinese are admitted to these regions, or by endangering the peace of the population under the protection of the government, will be checked by force and the perpetrators will be evicted unconditionally from the Netherlands Indies; therefore everyone is now warned to refrain from taking part." (Publikatie. Vanwege en in naam des Konings. De Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indie. … doet te weten: Dat Hij, in ervaring gekomen zijnde van het bestaan van geheime genootschappen of broederschappen onder de in Nederlandsch-Indie gevestigde chinesche bevolking, bij deze allen, wien zulks mogt aangaan, bekend maakt, dat zoodanige genootschappen of broederschappen, wier doel weldadig of onschadelijk is, van regeringswege kunnen worden geduld; doch dat al dezulken, welker strekking maar eenigermate zou kunnen leiden tot aanranding of ondermijning van het wettig gezag, hetzij door aanwending van middelen, strijdig met de voorwaarden, waaronder de chinezen in deze gewesten zijn toegelaten, hetzij door in de waagschaal te stellen de rust der onder 's gouvernements bescherming staande bevolking, met klem zullen worden tegen gegaan, en derzelver deelnemers onvoorwaardelijk uit Nederlandsch-Indie zullen worden verwijderd; wordende mitsdien een iegelijk bij deze gewaarschuwd, zich van alle deelname daaraan te onthouden.) Published in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1851, no. 65.
[55] "Reeds sedert geruimen tijd is de wenschelijkheid ingezien van de aanstelling van Europesche tolken voor de *Chinesche taal*. / Zooals Uwe Excellentie bekend is, moet het bestuur, bij ontstentenis van dusdanige translateurs zich verlaten op Chinezen, die de hun voorgelegd wordende geschriften moeten overbrengen in het Maleisch, de eenige taal, die zij verstaan. Dat dusdanige overzettingen gebrekkig moeten wezen, ligt in den aard der zaak. / De behoefte naar vertrouwde Europesche tolken voor het Chineesch is dringender geworden naarmate het bestuur meer bekend geworden is met daden en verrigtingen

van in *Indië* gevestigde Chinezen, welke in eene geordende Maatschappij niet geoorloofd zijn. / Die behoefte deed zich vooral gevoelen bij de overwegingen die geleid hebben tot de uitvaardiging van een verbod omtrent de bekende geheime Chinesche broederschappen (hoei's) zie de Publicatie van den 8en November 1851 (*Staatsblad* no. 65). / Zij deed zich gevoelen tijdens de verwikkelingen met de Chinezen ter *Westkust* van *Borneo*, zoomede bij de behandeling der opzending van twee Chinezen van *Banka*, die volgens de vertaling van twee in hun bezit gevonden Chinesche brieven, behoorden tot een geheim genootschap te *Malakka*. / … / Eindelijk nog doet zich de behoefte aan eenen Europeschen translateur voor de Chinesche taal gevoelen, niet alleen bij de behandeling van regtszaken, waarin Chinezen betrokken zijn of als getuigen gehoord moeten worden, maar ook voornamelijk voor eene juiste beoordeeling van hetgeen door middel van de Chinesche drukkerijen openbaar wordt gemaakt: men beweert immers, dat te *Batavia* geregeld eene Chinesche Courant wordt uitgegeven;—maar het bestuur is niet in staat die bewering tegen te spreken of te erkennen;—veel minder het schadelijke of niet schadelijke van hetgeen daarin wordt opgenomen te beoordeelen." Letter from Governor-General Duymaer van Twist to Minister Pahud, 18 September 1853, in V 17/1/1853 no. 19 inv. 311.

[56] The exchange rate was apparently *f* 3 to $1, higher than the *f* 2.55 specified in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1854, no. 39 (1 May 1854).

[57] Hoffmann was often, out of courtesy, addressed as doctor and sometimes he also used this title himself. Serrurier stated that Hoffmann had obtained a doctorate at a German university in 1840 (Serrurier, "Hoffmann"). But no doctorate is mentioned in Kern's obituary, and there is no evidence relating to a doctorate in the archives of the Dutch Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences in Haarlem or in the Academy of Berlin.

[58] "Japansch translateur van het gouvernement van Nederlandsch Indië," as from 1 July 1846. Royal Decree 11 December 1846 no. 38, in V 19/12/1846 no. 13 inv. 1752 toegang 2.10.01.

[59] Leonard Blussé, "Of Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water: Leiden University's Early Sinologists (1853–1911)," in Willem Otterspeer, *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850–1940* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 317-53. Revised edition in Wilt L. Idema, *Chinese Studies in the Netherlands*, 27-68.

[60] Until into the twentieth century, in English the French word 'sinologue' was used instead of 'sinologist.'

[61] Robert Morrison (1782–1834), British missionary and Bible translator who came to Canton in 1807, and who also acted as interpreter for British delegations.

62 Harry Smith Parkes (1828–85), came to China in 1841 (he was a cousin of Mrs. Gützlaff), studied Chinese under J.R. Morrison (Robert Morrison's son), and started as an interpreter but, like many other interpreters, later had a career as consul (Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 425).

[63] This is a somewhat optimistic and simplistic view on the differences among the Chinese dialects. Actually, these 'dialects' should be called Chinese 'languages,' as they differ as much as the Germanic languages or the Romance languages differ among each other, but for cultural and political reasons they are felt to be dialects of one language.

[64] This grammar was the first endeavour at logical synthesis and reasoned construction of the Chinese language, independently of the framework of European grammatical tradition, and it is written in a clear and pleasant style; it remained the manual for beginning sinologists for almost forty years after its publication (Alain Peyraube, Introduction, reprint of *Élémens*, 1987). Hoffmann had also started to learn Chinese with this grammar in 1831. Jean-Pierre Abel Rémusat (1788–1832) originally studied medicine, but became interested in learning Chinese after he found a Chinese Materia Medica in a library. He published several articles on Chinese and Manchu, and in 1814 he was made the first professor of Chinese (and Manchu) in Europe at the Collège Royal, the later Collège de France. He studied and published on many Oriental subjects and languages. His grammar was published in 1822, and reprinted in 1857 and in 1987. The grammar begins with a general introduction to the writing system and the sounds of Chinese, followed by part I, the ancient style (*guwen*) and part II, the modern style (*guanhua*).

[65] This is the English translation of the original Latin text. This textbook has been called 'the foundation stone of European sinology' (Lundbaek, p. 11). It was not a systematic

grammar, but a textbook with 12,000 examples. Joseph de Prémare S.J. (1666–1736) was in China from 1698 until his death in 1736. His idea was that one could only learn the language by reading many examples, not by theory or grammar. He was the first to make a clear distinction between the modern and classical styles. He sent a manuscript of his *Notitia* to Fourmont in France in 1728, where it ended up in the Royal Library and was forgotten while Fourmont's very defective and misleading grammar was printed. Abel Rémusat rediscovered the manuscript, and it became the main source of his knowledge of Chinese. Rémusat's copy was again copied by his student Stanislas Julien, sent to Malacca and printed for the first time by the Anglo–Chinese College in 1831 (without mentioning its Roman Catholic origin). The English translation by J.G. Bridgman (1820–50), a cousin of the first American missionary to China, E.C. Bridgman (1801–61), was published in 1847. According to Lundbæk, it contained so many mistakes and omissions as to be of little use (Lundbæk, pp. 11, 24, 176-9). On Prémare *see also* Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 457-8.

[66] For example, Endlicher considered the particle *zhi* 之 a relative pronoun, and translated 道之不行也我知矣 as "Der Weg welcher nicht betreten wird, ich kenne ihn." (The Way which is not followed, I know it). This should be translated as "dat de weg niet begaan is, weet ik" (I know that the Way is not followed.) (*Zhongyong* 4, 1). For bibliographical data, *see* Hoffmann's biography in Appendix A.

[67] Stanislas Julien (1797–1873), the most brilliant student of Abel Rémusat and the indisputable master of sinology in the middle of the nineteenth century, was professor at the Collège de France in 1832–73, conservator of Chinese books at the Bibliothèque Nationale and professor at the École des langues orientales in 1862–9 (Demiéville, "Aperçu," 79-81). A new biography and bibliography is Walravens, "Stanislas Aignan Julien – Leben und Werk" (2014).

[68] In the Royal Academy (*Koninklijke Akademie*) in Delft, which included an institute for training East Indies officials (1843–64), future civil servants were taught Javanese and Malay in the same manner. They learnt much grammar and the literary languages, not the colloquial languages (Fasseur, *Indologen*, 159 etc.). This was the general method of teaching languages in the early nineteenth century. Like Hoffmann, most teachers had never been in the Indies. But from the 1870s onward, teachers of Javanese such as A.C. de Vreede, who had lived on Java for a long time, would like Schlegel use a different method.

[69] "Hij is zeer vlug in het schrijven der Chinesche karakters."

[70] V 11/1/1854 no. 6 inv. 309, letter to A.L. Weddik dated 9 January 1854.

[71] Henderikadius Zwaantinus Kloekers (Veenhuizen (Norg), 7 April 1828 – Nieuwe Pekela, 10 October 1894) had according to Nicolaas Beets "pure and warm-hearted evangelical convictions, but no special skills and qualities;" his personal motto was "With my God I can jump over a wall" (*Met mijnen God spring ik over een muur*). He was inspired by Gützlaff to establish a China Committee in 1850. He studied in Rotterdam starting in September 1851; he went to Shanghai in 1854 and, when the China Committee was abolished in 1858, he became a Baptist and went to England. From 1859 to 1865 he was again sent to China. In 1867, he established the first Baptist Church in the Netherlands. From then on he worked as a minister in Stadskanaal and Nieuwe Pekela (Wumkes: *Baptisme*, 131-5; Molhuysen, *Biografisch Woordenboek*, part 2, p. 687; Wylie, *Memorials*, 233-4).

[72] Henricus Christiaan Millies (1810–68), Protestant minister, from 1847 professor at the Lutheran Seminary, member of the board of the Netherlands Bible Society, and from 1857 professor of Oriental languages in Utrecht.

[73] Letter from Hoffmann to Millies dated 23 June 1851, copied in Hoffmann's report.

[74] It is not known whether he did return to Leiden. On 17 November 1855, Kloekers sent Hoffmann a letter and a copy of the new Delegates' translation of the Old Testament from Shanghai; both are now in SINOL. VGK 1977.1.2, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[75] "Noms indigènes d'un choix de Plantes du Japon et de la Chine, determinés d'après les échantillons de l'herbier des Pays-Bas, par MM. J.J. Hoffmann et H. Schultes, Paris 1853," *Journal Asiatique* (1852), no. 10. Based on the collection of plants brought along from Japan by Von Siebold in the National Herbarium. A Dutch translation appeared in 1864. For his other works on botany, *see* his list of publications.

[76] "Aanteekeningen omtrent het geneeskrachtig gebruik van de papaver getrokken uit de Chinese Materia Medica Pèn-ts'aò Kâng Mŏ 本草綱目 van Lì Schî tschîn," in: *Bijdra-*

gen tot de TLV van NI, 1 (1853), 195-9. Hoffmann would continue to publish on these subjects.

[77] At this time, Schlegel was not yet officially assigned to become a translator in the Indies. V 11/1/1854 no. 6 inv. 309.

[78] B.W.A.E. *baron* Sloet tot Oldhuis (1807–84) was a spokesman for both the small farmers in Gelderland and Overijssel and the native population in the Indies. He had been a member of the Commission for the Revision of the Constitution in 1840–48, and was a member of Parliament in 1848–60 (www.historischcentrumoverijssel.nl). He was sometimes styled a 'baron in wooden shoes.' He was a younger brother of the later Governor-General L.A.J.W. *baron* Sloet van de Beele (1806–90).

[79] Von Siebold had collected a large Japanese library in Leiden, but Chinese sources were meagre compared to those in some other European countries.

[80] In Kazan Mongolian languages were taught, not Japanese.

[81] For instance, on the Netherlands Indies Government Regulation of 1854, and the establishment of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië (KITLV, Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography, and Ethnography of the Netherlands Indies) in 1851.

[82] Japan had been forced to open its doors by the American Commodore Perry in a treaty earlier that year.

[83] *Handelingen der beide kamers der Staten-Generaal, 1854–1855*, vol. 1, Zitting van den 5den December, II Staatsbegrooting voor 1855, pp. 265-6, 269, 271-2.

[84] V 18/12/1854 no. 525 Geheim (secret) inv. 5866.

[85] V 22/11/1854 (Exh.) no. 4, inv. 382. *See* Chapter Two. However, in V 18/12/1854 no. 525 Geheim (secret) inv. 5866 only the decisions of January 1854 were mentioned, and not the plea in Parliament or Hoffmann's request.

[86] The original letter was to be returned to the Ministry. Unfortunately, it could not be located in the archives of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

[87] Copy of the letter from the Trustees of Leiden University to the Minister of Home Affairs dated 23 February 1855, in V 28/2/1855 no. 75 Geheim, inv. 5867. Also in AC 2 inv. 261, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Hoffmann was naturalised by the law of 5 July 1855, *Staatsblad* 1855 no. 53. At the time, naturalisation was only possible by way of a special law accepted by Parliament for each naturalised person.

[88] V 28/2/1855 no. 75 Geheim inv. 5867.

[89] V 5/3/1855 no. 82 Geheim inv. 5867.

[90] Actually the King's approval was a mere formality; it was the Minister who decided by Royal Decree.

[91] "Aan den Heer J. Hoffmann, woonachtig te Leijden, bij Koninklijk Besluit van den 11 December 1846, benoemd tot Japansche Translateur van het Gouvernement van Nederlandsch Indië, te verleenen den titel van Hoogleeraar." Royal Decree (KB) 21 March 1855 no. 70, in V 5/4/1855 no. 12 inv. 413. Also in AC 2 inv. 120/2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library, and in inv. 908, toegang 2.02.04, Kabinet des Konings, Binnenlandse Zaken, NA.

[92] V 5/4/1855 no. 12, inv. 413.

[93] "… de jaarwedde van *f* 1.800 … te verhoogen met *f* 1.000 en mitsdien toe te kennen tot een bedrag van *f* 2.800 's jaars, ingaande den 1 April 1855, onder verpligting om tevens gratis onderwijs te geven in de Japansche en Chinesche talen aan degenen, die daartoe van Regeeringswege, hem zullen worden aangewezen." Royal Decree 9 April 1855 no. 55. In: V 16/4/1855 no. 1 inv. 415.

[94] V 16/4/1855 no. 1 inv. 415. Hoffmann's letter dated 21/4/1855, in V 23 April 1855 no. 22 (Exh.) inv. 416.

[95] These documents are all in V 22/11/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[96] Albert Hendrik Wendelin *baron* de Kock was born in Surabaya in 1808. He became a member of the Council of the Indies by IB 1/3/1855 no. 1. Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren F 51, F 402.

[97] Unfortunately, such reports are not in the archives of the Ministry of Colonies.

[98] Albertus Petrus Gerardus Abels was about 27 years old at that time. He was born about 1827 and passed away on 10 December 1883, 56 years old, probably in Haarlem (Abels,

Familieberichten, CBG). He was appointed as English translator in November 1852 and resigned in October 1856 (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren K 169).

[99] This Royal Academy (which opened in 1843) consisted of the training college for East Indies officials and a school for engineers. After 1864, the latter continued as the Polytechnical School of Delft. It was the predecessor of the Technical University of Delft.

[100] Fasseur, *Indologen*, 60-3, 74-6, 93-7, 101-30, 138-45 and passim.

[101] In 1877 the not very successful Leiden institution was also converted into a municipal one, which was abolished in 1891. Many of its teachers were also on the staff of Leiden University.

[102] *Instelling voor onderwijs in de taal- land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, which existed from 1864 to 1900.

[103] This Society is different from the KITLV van Nederlandsch-Indië, established in 1851 in Delft, which was concerned with the languages, geography, and ethnology of the Netherlands Indies. The KITLV moved to The Hague in 1864 and to Leiden in 1966; its library was abolished and incorporated in the Leiden University Library in 2014.

[104] "Aanprijzing om de zoogenaamde inlandsche kinderen op Java te bezigen tot het beoefenen der Chinesche taal," in: *Handelingen en geschriften van het Indisch Genootschap te 's Gravenhage* 1854, pp. 159-68.

[105] Against this argument, others have said that the students from Delft had a good reading knowledge and could learn to speak the language easily in the Indies. J. Pijnappel (1822–1901), later professor of Malay in Leiden, argued that practical knowledge of these languages could only be obtained in the Indies (Fasseur, *Indologen*, 149-50).

[106] *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1855), I, pp. 261, 266.

[107] "… die niets in zich heeft tot boeijing of veraangenaming van den arbeid." This opinion is not very reassuring as to the possible results of Abels' Chinese studies.

[108] Tonco Modderman (1813–58) had been sent by the Governor-General from Batavia to become the first Consul in Canton in 1843 (appointment on 21 March 1843). Leonard Blussé, "Dutch Consular Representation on the Southeast Coast of China during the Nineteenth Century," in: *Sailing to the Pearl River,* 63-75, 65. *Nederland's patriciaat*, no. 38, p. 237.

[109] This was not an unrealistic thought, as will become apparent later.

[110] Herwijnen was the first secondary school in the Indies. It was a private boarding school near Buitenzorg (Bogor), far away from the enticements of Batavia and other towns, and existed from 1851 to 1856, when Gastmann left for the Netherlands. In 1860 the first government secondary school was established, the Willem III Gymnasium (*Gymnasium Willem III*) in Batavia. From 1867, this was actually a HBS, not a *gymnasium*, but it kept its name (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*; *see also* the article by M. von Faber about Herwijnen).

[111] Letters of 14 December 1854 and 26 August 1855. For Albrecht, whose parents had died in 1851, these were his stepparents or guardian(s).

[112] Jan des Amorie van der Hoeven (Rotterdam, 1825 – Utrecht, 18 March 1877). *See also* Chapter Five, De Grijs and the Treaty of Tientsin (1863).

[113] George Seel jr. (Buitenzorg, 9 February 1836 – Batavia, 3 July 1857) was originally a clerk in the Navy Department; in 1854 he became extraordinary third clerk (*derde commies*) at the Chamber of Audit (*Algemene Rekenkamer*). On 7 May 1857 he was honourably discharged (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren L 30. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[114] IB 10/10/1855 no. 3 inv. 7175.

[115] *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* (1856), I, p. 160.

[116] Letter dated 10 October 1855 in V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[117] Their coming departure from Batavia and, on another page, the departure of "Master M. von Faber" were announced in the *Java-bode* of 16 January 1856.

Notes to Chapter Two

[1] Blussé, "Leiden University's Early Sinologists," 328.

[2] V 7/6/1854 no. 8 inv. 342. On the beginning of De Grijs' studies *see* V 12/4/1854 no. 24, inv. 330.

[3] V 22/11/1854 no. 4, inv. 382.

[4] In the nineteenth century, many sinologists learnt Manchu for this reason. The first professor of Chinese in the Western world, Abel Rémusat, was also professor of Manchu. *Cf.* Haenisch, *Mandschu-Grammatik*, 17-18.

[5] V 6/8/1855 no. 2/586 inv. 444.

[6] "ten einde zich te laten dienstbaar maken aan de uitbreiding onzer kennis van de kunst en natuur voortbrengselen van China." V 19/6/1855 no. 1 inv. 430.

[7] V 19/6/1855 no. 1 inv. 430.

[8] A list of the books is in the letter from Hoffmann to the Minister of Colonies dated 21 July 1855, V 6/8/1855 no. 2/586, inv. 444. This list and other lists of books will be analysed in Chapter Three, Studying in China.

[9] Stamboeken officieren KNIL 1814–1940, vol. 396 p. 59 and vol. 667 p. 75, NA, The Hague.

[10] He would be in office until 22 May 1856, and was succeeded by the former Minister of Colonies Pahud. The Governors-General were often later appointed as Minister of Colonies and vice versa. *See* the lists of Ministers of Colonies and Governors-General in Appendix O.

[11] Letter from the Governor-General to the Minister 16 January 1856, in V 21/4/1856 no. 19/373, inv. 509.

[12] Verwijnen, *In memoriam*, 170. This obituary contains many minor mistakes, in particular in dates, but the general meaning seems to be correct.

[13] IB 26/9/1856 no. 2, in V 8/12/1856 no. 10, inv. 562.

[14] V 2/2/1857 no. 5, inv. 578.

[15] *Voorbericht* in his *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek*. The 'consul in Canton' J. des Amorie van der Hoeven wrote to the Governor-General that he had advised De Grijs to go to Amoy. Letter dated 6 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[16] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister of Colonies dated 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5, inv. 734.

[17] Dr. Carl August Xaverius Gottlob Friedrich Sicherer (Rottweil, 1807 – Goes, 1886) had come to the Netherlands as a private teacher and attained a doctorate in Utrecht in 1840. He published new editions of W.G. Brill's German school grammar (*Hoogduitsche spraakleer voor gymnasia en hoogere burgerscholen*, 1861, 1867 etc.), wrote a book of anecdotes about the Netherlands (*Lorelei, Plaudereien über Holland und seine Bewohner* (2 vols.), Leiden: Sijthoff, 1870) and compiled a Dutch–German and a German–Dutch dictionary (1883–5, together with A.C. Akveld) (Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. III 1914, p. 1168).

[18] One moved elsewhere and the other would perhaps join them later. Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister 15 December 1855 in V 22/1/1856 no. 6, inv. 484.

[19] Hoffmann wrote that they were 16-17 years old, but in July 1855 they were only 16 and 14.

[20] Dr. J.J. de Gelder (The Hague, 1802 – Alkmaar, 1888) opened his private school, preparing students for the University, in Leiden in 1832. In September 1856 he became director of the *gymnasium* in Alkmaar (*Jaarboekje 1985*, Historische Vereniging Oud Leiden, 86-7).

[21] This technical secondary school was established in Leiden in 1785; at that time, the lessons were given at the Latin School (Lokhorststraat); in 1990 the school was merged with the Secondary Technical School in Leiden. Schaalje went to this school before the establishment of the HBS (*Hoogere Burger School*, Civil High School) in 1863, which would exist for more than a century.

[22] Letters from Hoffmann to the Minister, 31 May 1855 in V6/8/1855 no. 2/586 inv. 444, 15 December 1855 in V 22 January 1856 no. 6 inv. 484, 3 February 1856 in V 12/2/1856 no. 6, inv. 490. It is assumed both students were attending the same secondary school in May 1855 as in February 1856.

[23] Before 1894, their names did not appear in Leiden University's *Album Studiosorum* (of 1575–1875 and 1875–1925), except for J.J.M. de Groot and J.A. van de Stadt (*see* below).

[24] From 1845 to 1859, correspondence between the Indies and the Netherlands took about 55 days (Termorshuizen, "Indië is eigenlijk Europa geworden," 166).
[25] V 22/1/1856 no. 6, inv. 484.
[26] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister, 15 December 1855 in V 22/1/1856 no. 6, inv. 484.
[27] V 12/2/1856 no. 16, inv. 490.
[28] Letter from Hoffmann, 30 January 1857 in V 16/6/1857 no. 1/662, inv. 613.
[29] A few months later, he passed the *admissie* examination giving entrance to the University.
[30] "… een der knapste beoefenaars der Chinesche taal en letterkunde."
[31] Willem Frederik Reinier Suringar (1832–98), botanist, became extraordinary professor in 1857 and ordinary professor in 1862. He is best known for his *Zakflora* (Pocket Flora, many editions).
[32] "de onmisbare ruime blik in het wezen der etymologie en der logische taalvorming."
[33] Letter from Hoffmann 30 January 1857 in V 16/6/1857 no. 1/662, inv. 613.
[34] "… ter beschikking gesteld van den gouverneur-generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië tot verdere opleiding tot tolk in de Chinesche taal." V 16/6/1857 no. 1/662, inv. 613.
[35] This refers probably to the Anglo–French war with China (Arrow War or Second Opium War) which took place from 1856 to 1860. It resulted in the general opening up of China (Fairbank, Reischauer, *East Asia: The Modern Transformation*, 168-71).
[36] V 30/5/1857 no. 8, inv. 608. Francken never received any stipend (V 9/2/1861 no. 33/172 inv. 1029).
[37] V 6/10/1857 no. 17 inv. 646.
[38] The books bought with the *f* 300 government allowance would remain government property; those bought with the advance payment were the students' own. V 6/10/1857 no. 17 inv. 646.
[39] Lists are kept in V 23/10/1857 no. 6 inv. 651. Prices of books varied somewhat.
[40] Letter of 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.
[41] "… om de zuivere uitspraak te krijgen." V 28/9/1857 no. 4 inv. 644.
[42] On 12 January 1858, and on 22 and 24 July 1858, he bought these books (two copies of the latter). *See* his list of books in V23/5/1859 no. 23/562 inv. 833.
[43] By this time, Hoffmann also knew that the choice of dialect would decide the place of stationing. Those who studied Cantonese would be placed in the less popular Outer Districts or Outer Possessions (*buitengewesten*, *buitenbezittingen*), while those who learned Hokkien would be stationed on Java (V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734, decision of the Minister, art. 5 and 6).
[44] List of books in V 23/5/1859 no. 23/562 inv. 833.
[45] V 22/2/1859 no. 35 inv. 792.
[46] V 11/3/1859 no. 3 inv. 797. After Napoleon had at the beginning of the nineteenth century introduced general conscription in the Netherlands, a system of drawing lots with the possibility of paying for a substitute for those who did not wish to serve was in force until 1898. There were two kinds of substitutes: a 'replacer' (*remplaçant, plaatsvervanger*) who had not participated in the drawing of lots, and a 'number changer' (*nummerverwisselaar*) who had drawn a lot exempting him from service. E.W.R. van Roon, "De dienstplicht op de markt gebracht. Het fenomeen dienstvervanging in de negentiende eeuw," *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis van Nederland* 109 (1994), 613-37.
[47] Schaalje acted as witness at the Vice-Consulate in Amoy on 12 July 1859 (Or. 26.273 no. 89, *Catalogue* 2005, 41).
[48] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister, 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.
[49] L.W.Ch. Keuchenius (Batavia 1822 – The Hague 1893), worked as a lawyer in the Indies, then became an East Indies official; in 1854–9 he was Secretary General of the Ministry of Colonies, in 1859–66 a member of the Council of the Indies, later a member of Parliament and in 1888–90 Minister of Colonies.
[50] V 24/8/1858 no. 3 inv. 739.
[51] V 1/10/1858 no. 8 inv. 750.
[52] V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234. One wonders if the elimination of Mandarin from the curriculum of his students in China may have been another reason for him (*see* Chapter Three).

[53] Request by Buddingh and Groeneveldt dated 14 February 1862 in V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234.
[54] "stoffenwinkel." Personal communication from Mr. Reinier D. Groeneveldt, Velsen, in June 2009.
[55] Letter by Hoffmann to the Minister 25 September 1858 in V 1/10/1858 no. 8 inv. 750.
[56] V 29/7/1861 no. 5/9641 inv. 1082.
[57] Letter accompanying the first report by Hoffmann in V 18/1/1859 no. 29, inv. 780.
[58] V 18/4/1859 no. 14 inv. 808.
[59] He was living with his aunt Cornelia Buddingh and her husband Herman Schlegel, probably in Gustaaf's room (Bevolkingsregister Leiden, 1854–1861, buurt 2 fol. 174).
[60] L.A. te Winkel, *De Nederlandsche spelling onder beknopte regels gebracht*, 1859. In 1866, he and M. de Vries published their well-known word list in standard Dutch spelling.
[61] In 1848, Evert Jan Brill (1810–71) took over the printing office and bookshop called Luchtmans, which had been established by S. and J. Luchtmans in 1683.
[62] Hendrik Adrianus Kramers (1816–98) was a well-known bookseller and publisher in Rotterdam.
[63] The basic Confucian classic with commentary by Zhu Xi (1130–1200), consisting of the *Great Learning*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Analects* of Confucius and the *Mencius*.
[64] The fee (*collegegeld*) for one course of lectures of at least three hours per week during one Academic year was *f* 30 (*Almanak van het Leidsche Studentencorps* (1876), 125).
[65] Petrus Leonardus Rijke (1812–99) was extraordinary professor in Leiden starting in 1845 and professor from 1854 to 1882. He taught what is now called experimental physics; he was famous for his research in electricity. His students included the Nobel prize winners H.A. Lorentz (1902) and J.D. van der Waals (1910). He was succeeded in 1882 by H. Kamerlingh Onnes (Nobel prize 1913).
[66] "Hem in handen gegeven voor eene vacantie van 14 dagen (zonder mijn geleide)" (V 15/10/1861 no. 6 inv. 1109). The financial reports are kept in V 8/1/1859 no. 29 inv. 780, V 18/4/1859 no. 14 inv. 808, V 21/7/1859 no. 17 inv. 850, V 26/10/1859 no. 3 inv. 881, V 16/1/1860 no. 4 inv. 905, V 26/4/1860 no. 5 inv. 936, V 24/7/1860 no. 10 inv. 966, V 15/10/1860 no. 7 inv. 992, V 9/2/1861 no. 6 inv. 1029, V 17/4/1861 no. 9 inv. 1055, V 24/7/1861 no. 6 inv. 1081. For De Breuk alone: V 15/10/1861 no. 6 inv. 1109, V 23/1/1862 no. 10 inv. 1142, and V 17/4/1863 no. 20 inv. 1326 and V 22/2/1864 (Exh.) no. 18 inv. 1442 with Meeter.
[67] He was born in Echteld, Gelderland, on 19 November 1827, and married Amarentia Susanna Burghgraef(f). Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren M 437. Register of Dutch Japanologists, East Asian Library (Japanological section), Leiden.
[68] Schott, *Chinesische Sprachlehre: zum Gebrauche bei Vorlesungen und zur Selbstunterweisung* (1857).
[69] Because at that time the Japanese only had Japanese–Dutch interpreters, Dutch was used as the language of diplomacy in contacts with Japan. Thus the Americans engaged a Dutch interpreter, Henry Heusken. From the 1860s on the Dutch lost their advantageous position in Japan. V 22/2/1859 no. 35 inv. 792. Blussé et al., *Bewogen betrekkingen, 400 jaar Nederland–Japan*, 184-93.
[70] Letters by Hoffmann 18 February 1859 and by St. Aulaire 16 March 1859 in V 15/4/1859 no. 3 inv. 807.
[71] J.H. Donker Curtius (1813–79), one of the last East Indies officials in Japan, was originally a judge at the High Court in Batavia.
[72] Mentioned in an internal report of the Ministry, 21 February 1859 in V 8/3/1859 no. 16/283 inv. 796.
[73] V 15/4/1859 no. 3 inv. 807.
[74] V 26/4/1860 no. 5 inv. 936, V 24/7/1860 no. 10 inv. 966.
[75] In the end, this student was prevented from doing so because of special circumstances. Request by Buddingh and Groeneveldt, 14 February 1862, in V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234.
[76] V 14/2/1860 no. 25/195 inv. 915.
[77] As stated in IB 31/7/1860 no. 11.

[78] Letter from Governor-General to Minister 9 August 1860 in V 9/1/1861 no. 5 inv. 1020.

[79] For the first time, the places to be assigned to the interpreters were mentioned: one in each of the three main cities on Java (Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya), and one each in Banka, Western Borneo, South Eastern Borneo, Riau, Padang, Makassar, and Ambon. The Minister of Colonies added question marks before South Eastern Borneo, Padang, and Ambon. It would not be advisable to appoint less than ten, because the interpreters would be obliged to train others.

[80] V 18/1/1861 no. 45 inv. 1023.

[81] V 21/2/1861 no. 35 inv. 1033.

[82] Bertha Maria Dina was born on the ship *Dina* on 19 May 1861 (V 31/7/1865 no. 24 inv. 1635). A daughter, Hermana Maria, was born in Nagasaki on 4 September 1862, but she probably died young (Register of Dutch Japanologists).

[83] IB 15/8/1861 no. 25 inv. 7313.

[84] KB 23/7/1862 no. 64 (Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 40-1).

[85] Blussé et al., *Bewogen betrekkingen, 400 jaar Nederland–Japan*, 184-93.

[86] V 26/2/1863 no. 25 inv. 1305, V 24/7/1863 no. 45/909 inv. 1361.

[87] V 24/7/1863 no 45/909 inv. 1361.

[88] V 4/6/1864 no. 26 inv. 1479.

[89] IB 29/7/1864 no. 2.

[90] V 31 /7/1865 no. 24 inv. 1635. His library of 272 items was auctioned in The Hague in 1872; there was a printed catalogue entitled *Catalogue d'une collection de livres en langue Japonaise et Chinoise, suivis d'ouvrages de linguistique, d'histoire, de géographie etc. du Japon et de la Chine, provenant de la succession de M. R.-J. de Saint-Aulaire, interprète pour la langue japonaise à Nagasaki; en vente aux pris marqués chez Martinus Nijhoff, à la Haye, Ramstraat, 49. La liste des livres japonais et chinois est dressée par Mr. le Prof. J.-J. Hoffmann. La Haye, Martinus Nijhoff, 1872; Février 1872. Cat. no. 128* (with manuscript list of titles in characters in BPL 2186 J: 2, *Catalogue* 2005, 162, 164).

[91] Letter by Hoffmann dated 24/4/1861, in V 10/6/1861 no. 13 inv. 1069.

[92] "Liu Noni sinsiang 劉奴年先生" (or Lau Noni, *Liu Nunian*). Also in Chinese characters in Hoffmann's letter, but the character *Liu* 劉 is written without the 'knife' radical. Liu Noni (Non-ni) stayed for more than half a year in Amsterdam. Liu Noni was the first Chinese visitor to the Netherlands in thirty years. P.H. Witkamp, "Een Chineesch letterkundige te Amsterdam," *Nederlandsch Magazijn* (1861), 183-4. A Chinese visitor was a rare occasion, and this article was quoted fully or in part by many national and local Dutch newspapers, also in the Indies and Suriname, including *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, *Leidsch Dagblad*, *Padangsch nieuws- en advertentieblad*, *Surinaamsche courant en advertentieblad* etc.

[93] "Hij is een eerlijk, opregt, goedig en humaan karakter, soms geestig; eene zuivere type van het Chinesche menschenras, naar onze begrippen niet schoon, maar in zijn manier van doen vriendelijk, dienstvaardig, en zelfs beminnelijk."

[94] V 10/6/1861 no. 13 inv. 1069.

[95] V 29/7/1861 no. 5/9641 inv. 1082.

[96] Letters from J.A. Buddingh to Herman Schlegel dated 13 May 1862, 4 June 1862, 8 December 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[97] Letters from Buddingh to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[98] Lists in V 24/10/1861 no. 2/1319 inv. 1111.

[99] Aart Cornelis Groeneveldt (1826–1903). *Nederland's Patriciaat* 79 (1995/96), 237-9.

[100] V 7/9/1861 no. 26 inv. 1096. Groeneveldt requested exemption from active service, which was granted. He was therefore officially posted (*gedetacheerd*) on Java, and did not pay for a substitute.

[101] Buddingh wrote a letter to his uncle on 3 October 1863 stating that he had left Leiden exactly two years earlier (Letters to H. Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden). This date would be easy to remember for him, as it is the date of the festival commemorating the liberation of Leiden from the Spaniards in 1574.

[102] "Onze Chinees is reeds in China, hij is eerder vertrokken dan wij, aan boord heeft hij zich charmant gedragen." (Letter from Singapore, 21 February 1862, Museum Naturalis,

Leiden). For the time being, the Governor-General made no decision on the gratification (Letter of 4 February 1862, V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234).

[103] IB 4/2/1862 no. 11 based on IB 12/11/1860 no. 8 art. 1, in V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234.

[104] Letter of 4 February 1862, in V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234. There would be six places for stationing eight interpreters, so in some places there would be more than one.

[105] "Binnen acht dagen gaan we per mail naar *Hongkong* en dan naar *Macao*, want ze willen ons tot Chinesche translateurs gebruiken, wij hebben echter hiertegen geprotesteerd. De schuld ligt aan ons, wij hadden niet mogen vertrouwen op mondelinge gezegden van Mr. Dr. Hoffmann, maar moeten zorgen dat onze aanstelling op papier stond, in dier voege: 'Ter verdere opleiding tot Japansche translateurs,' en niet 'tot Chinesche en daarna tot Japansche tolken.' Zooals ons aanstelling luidt, ik verwacht dat ZHGl [Zijne Hoog Geleerde] het noodige zal aanwenden om ons naar Japan te doen zenden. Anders zullen wij ons zelve moeten redden." Letter to Herman Schlegel of 21 February 1862, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[106] Letter from Buddingh to his uncle Herman Schlegel from Amoy, 13 May 1862, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[107] Boot, "J.J. Hoffmann – the First Japanologist," 35-7.

[108] In contrast to many others, Hoffmann always correctly distinguished 'translator' and 'interpreter.'

[109] Hoffmann often stressed this argument. This was exactly what happened.

[110] The members of the delegation of 1862 were impressed by De Breuk's qualities and made this suggestion (V 19/3/1864 no. 18 inv. 1451).

[111] "Ik wensch op deze gedane zaak niet terugtekeren en niet nauwkeurig te onderzoeken of de verdienstelijke Dr. Hoffmann door zijne opvatting, een gevolg zijner warme belangstelling in de Japansche taalstudie, verder is gegaan dan in de dezerzijdsche bedoeling lag, maar ik moet bekennen dat er bij die opvatting wel eenige grond bestaat voor de bezwaren." (V 29/8/1864 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234).

[112] Letter from Hoffmann dated 2 March 1864 in V 19/3/1864 no. 18 inv. 1451.

[113] His official title was 'Japansch translateur van het gouvernement van Nederlandsch-Indië.' Royal Decree of 11 December 1846 no. 38, in V 19/12/1846 no. 13 inv. 1752, toegang 2.10.01.

[114] "hoogleeraar belast met de opleiding van tolken voor de Chinesche en Japansche talen."

[115] "omdat het toch mogelijk is dat uwe diensten daartoe in vervolg van tijd weder zullen worden ingeroepen en meer nog omdat ik, bij uwen ijver voor de Japansche taalstudie, vermoed dat u dit aangenaam zou zijn." (V 29/8/1862 no. 6 inv. 1234).

[116] Letter of 4 September 1862, V 26/9/1862 no. 73 inv. 1243.

[117] Royal Decree (*Koninklijk Besluit*) of 30 September 1862 no. 84, V 15/10/1862 no. 6/1295 inv. 1250.

[118] Boot, "J.J. Hoffmann – The Founder of Japanology," 37.

[119] Blussé, *Bewogen betrekkingen*, 181 etc.

[120] V 19/3/1864 no. 18 inv. 1451.

[121] V 4/4/1864 no. 6 inv. 1457.

[122] Lists of books in V 22/6/1864 no. 17/679 inv. 1485.

[123] V 11/5/1864 no. 17 inv. 1470.

[124] This was before the Suez Canal was opened in 1869. Termorshuizen, "Indië is eigenlijk Europa geworden."

[125] Letter of Hoffmann dated 2 May 1864 in V 11/5/1864 no. 17 inv. 1470.

[126] V 31/5/1864 no. 26 inv. 1477.

[127] V 30/8/1864 no. 42 inv. 1512. The Dutch merchant Anthonie Wouter Pieter Kup (Rotterdam, 30 August 1829) became Chancellor at the Consulate in Canton by decision of 2 March 1856 (V 8/5/1856 no. 16 inv. 512) and was the first Dutch Consul in Hong Kong from 25 March 1857 to 1866 (Blussé, *Sailing to the Pearl River*, 67).

[128] V 9/1/1862 no. 14 inv. 1138; V 12/2/1862 no. 14 inv. 1150.

[129] Established in Leiden in 1859, it became the National Ethnographical Museum in 1864. A. Hakbijl (1812–98) had worked for Von Siebold from the 1830s, taking care of

the material collection, while Hoffmann took care of the Japanese books. Hakbijl remained *custos* in the Ethnographical Museum until 1881 (Effert, *Volkenkundig verzamelen*, 191, 146 etc.).

[130] Request dated 6 December 1860, possibly a copyists' error for 1861. V 12/2/1862 no. 14 inv. 1150.

[131] V 13/6/1862 no. 29 inv. 1205.

[132] V 18/8/1859 no. 5/9641 inv. 860. He wished to study "the Chinese or Japanese language." The Governor-General was then asked how many Chinese interpreters were to be trained. The Minister commented that the number was still undecided.

[133] G.C. Kuneman (Alkmaar, 20 August 1840 – Amsterdam, 21 January 1908) later became a surgeon and obstetrician (*vroedmeester*).

[134] "… bloote taalkennis kan niet volstaan."

[135] "Ik moest roeien met de riemen die ik heb om een bepaald doel te bereiken."

[136] On 27 January 1863, De Grijs wrote a letter from Amoy to Jan Francken in Surabaya, joking: "How is your brother Henri? Has he become a Chinaman or should he become something else?" (*Hoe gaat het met Uw broer Henri, is hij Snees geworden of moet er wat anders van komen*.) (BPL 1782:28, p. 6). The word *Snees* is first attested in Dutch in 1681. It is probably derived from *Sinees* (Chinese); slang for 'haggler, huckster, fence.'

[137] V 13/6/1862 no. 29 inv. 1205.

[138] Henri Francken (Leiden, 11 March 1845 – Interlaken, 23 August 1893) studied law in Leiden from 1863 and worked as a barrister (*advocaat*) in the Indies starting in 1868.

[139] V 7/7/1862 no. 59 inv. 1213. Abraham Hakbijl (born Leiden 3 June 1844) passed away in Leiden on 26 October 1874, 30 years old.

[140] V 25/4/1863 no. 20 inv. 1328. He paid for it in January-March 1863.

[141] V26/2/1864 (Exh.) no. 41 inv. 1443. A.H. van der Boon Mesch (1804–74) was titular professor of chemistry in Leiden from 1829, and full professor from 1837 on.

[142] At the end of his first year, in April-June 1863. V 22/2/1864 no. 18. inv. 1441.

[143] V 26/2/1864 (Exh.) no. 41 inv. 1443.

[144] Letter by Meeter's father dated 29 March 1864. V 2/4/1864 no. 4 inv. 1456.

[145] V 2/3/1865 no. 11 inv. 1577.

[146] List of books in V 24/5/1865 no. 2 inv. 1611. In Hoffmann's accompanying letter these were called the books bought with the allowance, but on the list itself Meeter wrote it was from his advance payment. As the total sum (not calculated on the original list) amounted to *f* 317.75, it was probably a combination of both.

[147] Letter from the Consul dated 11 February 1867 in V 15/8/1867 no. 30 inv. 1955.

[148] "adspirant tolk voor de Chinesche taal." Letter from Hoffmann 12 February 1865, V 2/3/1865 no. 11 inv. 1577.

[149] The only exception would be a case of proven mental or physical defects. V 15/3/1865 no. 7 inv. 1583. This policy was proclaimed by Royal Decree 9 May 1865 no. 49, which was published in the *Staatscourant* and in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* (no. 78, 1865). East Indies civil servants had to repay allowances for equipment, passage fees and costs of training if they left their office within five years after appointment (Art. 2).

[150] Letter from P. Meeter to J.J. Hoffmann dated Macao 12 August 1865, Or. 26.971, East Asian Library, Leiden. His stipend was paid from July (Financial overview on earlier students in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900).

[151] Funds were allotted for the year 1868. V 11/4/1867 no. 22, inv. 1900.

[152] V 18/4/1867 no. 14, inv. 1902. E.A. Cabell worked as a notary in Suriname from 1875 until his death in 1904 (Benjamin and Snelleman, *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië* , 514). He was owner/director of the Voorburg sugar plantation in 1893–6.

[153] V 29/4/1867 no. 2 inv. 1905.

[154] V 3/6/1867 no. 6 (Exh.) inv. 1922.

[155] Hoffmann's report dated 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[156] Blussé, *Bewogen betrekkingen*, 181.

[157] This is parts 8 and 9 of *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, first published in 1321. Von Zach asserted in 1929 that Willem Vissering's main source was not the original Chinese text but De Mailla's French translation (Von Zach, *Gesammelte Rezensionen, Chinesische Geschichte*, 87). Many years after this thesis was published, Willem's brother Gerard (1865–1937), a

banker, president of the Java Bank (*Javasche Bank*) in 1906–12, and president of the Netherlands Central Bank in 1912–31, wrote a book with almost the same title: *On Chinese Currency:* I. *Preliminary Remarks on the Monetary Reform of China;* II. *The Banking Problem*, published in 1912–4. G. Vissering's biography is in Dr. J. Charité, *Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland*, Den Haag 1989, vol. III, 628.

[158] Vos, "Japanese Studies until 1940," 369-70. Also Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie* (1877), 19.

[159] He also wrote an obituary "Dr. J.J. Hoffmann," *Het Vaderland*, 23 January 1878.

[160] *Nederland's Patriciaat* 75 (1991) 267. Schlegel's and Hoffmann's report (May 1873) in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Album Studiosorum*, 1875, 1410.

[161] From the rather critical obituary by Schlegel, "Nécrologie Lindor Serrurier," *T'oung Pao* 2 (1901), 279-82.

[162] *Jaarboek Rijks-Universiteit Leiden*, 1888–1896.

[163] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries.

[164] "Johannes Josephus Hoffmann." Obituary in Dutch by L. Serrurier dated Leiden 29 January 1878, *De Nederlandsche Spectator* 16 Feb. 1878 no. 7, 50-2 (offprint in BPL 2186 K:20).

[165] V 22/11/1854 no. 4 inv. 382.

[166] Letter from Hoffmann 15 December 1855, V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[167] Letter dated 15 December 1855 by Hoffmann in V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[168] Letter to the Minister of Colonies dated 2 March 1856, in V 14/3/1856 VA no. 147 Geheim inv. 5876.

[169] These are the modern house numbers (Volkstelling 1849, Bevolkingsregister 1854–61, Huisnummerboek, ELO). The front of the present house at Hogewoerd 124 is probably not the original one. *See also The Honorable Visitor, Japan in Leiden*, Wandelgids, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, 2000, 43.

[170] Gezinskaarten 1812–63, ELO.

[171] BPL 2106 II: 1A-B, *Catalogue* 2005, 136.

[172] V 12/4/1854 no. 24 inv. 330.

[173] 'Enkele Chinesche taalsnippers,' kept in the Hoffmann Collection (II E 2), Special Collections, Utrecht University Library.

[174] "Hij is thans met deze studie zeer ingenomen en dit strekt mij tot waarborg dat hij voor de beoefening van het Chineesch gewonnen is" (letter of 11 April 1854 in V 12/4/1854 no. 24 inv. 330).

[175] "De ondergeteekende heeft langzamerhand eene zoo groote voorliefde voor de beoefening dezer taal opgevat, dat hij voornemens is na zijne komst op Java al den tijd die hem na de vervulling van zijn beroepsplichten overblijft aan studie van genoemde taal te besteden …." Letter from De Grijs to the Minister dated 29 May 1854, in V 7/6/1854 no. 8 inv. 342.

[176] "… zijne buitengewone ingenomenheid met dit vak" (Letter Hoffmann 17 November 1854, V 22/11/1854 no. 4 inv. 382).

[177] "Zij waren spoedig met het schrift en de taal der Chinezen ingenomen …." (Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister, 15 December 1855 in V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484).

[178] BPL 2180, 2186, *Catalogue* 2005, 154-201.

[179] "Het Edikt van Schao hing foe" (The edict of Shaoxing Fu 紹興府) (1 f.; 34x63 cm). Edict of toleration of Christianity. Chinese lithographic copies are kept in Or. 4997: 1 and BPL 1782: 12 J. Four other copies are kept in the East Asian Library, Leiden (Archiefkast 3D [= Or. 27.031] and SINOL. VGK 1982.3). Hoffmann received the original from K. Gützlaff. His Dutch translation was published in *Staatscourant* 131, 5 June 1850.

[180] This is the normal form for printed characters, traditionally called 'Song-style.' Actually, this style was developed during the Wanli period (1573–1620) at the end of the Ming dynasty.

[181] Preface to *A Manual of Chinese Running-hand Writing, Especially as it is Used in Japan, Compiled from Original Sources* by R.J. de St. Aulaire and W.P. Groeneveldt; Printed for the authors; Sold by G.M. van Gelder, Amsterdam; Printed by J.C. Drabbe, Leyden; 1861, IV, 60 p.

[182] In this dictionary and thesaurus, the words were arranged in *iroha* sequence and then divided into categories. A different edition of this book and another dictionary which they used are kept in Leiden University Library (Ser. 8, 6; Kerlen, *Catalogue*, 20, 15-16).

[183] "Treaties of Peace 和約章程," in *The Chinese Repository*. Also published in offprint (BPL 1782: 25. *Catalogue 2005*, 112).

[184] Introduction, 2. [J. Hoffmann, ed.,] *The Japanese Treaties, Concluded with the Netherlands, Russia, England, the United States and France in 1858 at Jedo. Fac-simile of the Japanese Text. De Japansche traktaten met Nederland, Rusland, Engeland, de Vereenigde Staten en Frankrijk in 1858 te Jedo gesloten. Facsimile van den Japanschen tekst* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1862).

[185] For his earliest students, such as De Grijs, this transcription was again adapted somewhat to the Dutch spelling: 'u' was written 'oe', and 'ü' as 'u', but these sounds were sometimes mixed up.

[186] The earlier Western dictionaries of Chinese used the Southern Mandarin or Nanking pronunciation. These were also given in Chinese dictionaries: they were based on ancient rhyme tables retaining older (or even fictitious) pronunciations. The Southern Mandarin pronunciation was more in accordance with these than the Northern pronunciation of Peking, also called the 'Court dialect,' which had gone through more linguistic changes. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Peking dialect was already gaining ground. Morrison wrote in the introduction to his *Dictionary*: "A Tartar–Chinese Dialect is now gradually gaining ground, and if the Dynasty continues long, will finally prevail" (p. X). The destruction of Nanking during the Taiping revolt in 1864 dealt the final blow to Southern Mandarin. In 1867, Thomas Wade was the first to use the actual Peking pronunciation in his *Tzu-erh-chi.* In 1874, Samuel Wells Williams also indicated the Peking pronunciation (next to the standard Southern Mandarin) in his dictionary. The publication of H.A. Giles' dictionary in 1892 with the Wade-Giles system marked the change to Northern Mandarin in English transcriptions. In this dictionary, the Southern Mandarin pronunciation was not even indicated. Afterwards the Southern Mandarin transcription was retained by the Chinese Postal Service in the spelling of place names such as Peking, Chungking, Chekiang, Tientsin, Kinmen, etc. The spelling characteristics of Southern Mandarin were also retained in B. Karlgren's etymological transcription and in the standard French transcription (E.F.E.O., École Française d'Extrême-Orient), although the words were pronounced as in Northern Mandarin, e.g. *king* and *tsing* were both pronounced *jing*. In *Mathews' Chinese–English Dictionary* (1931, many reprints) these differences are still indicated, for instance *chin (k)* [金] versus *chin or tsin (ts)* [津], *hsi (hi)* [喜] versus *hsi or si (si)* [西], and the ending *–h* for the *rusheng* or entering tone. This was based on the official Chinese pronunciation as given in the standard *Guoyin zidian* 國音字典 (1920), used until 1932 when Peking Mandarin pronunciation was adopted. ("Introduction on pronunciation" in *Mathews' dictionary*; Karlgren, *The Romanization of Chinese*; W. South Coblin, "Notes on the Sound System of Late Ming *guanhua*," *Monumenta Serica*, 45 (1997), 261-307; W. South Coblin, "A Diachronic Study of Míng *guānhuà* Phonology," *Monumenta Serica*, 49 (2001), 267-335; Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education*, 66-76).

[187] Southern Mandarin also retained the traditional four tones, which Hoffmann indicated with the usual diacritics: *pingsheng* ˆ (now 1st or 2nd tone), *shangsheng* ` (now 3rd tone), *qusheng* ´ (now 4th tone), *rusheng* ˇ (now 2nd and other tones). Most other sounds were as in modern standard Mandarin, e.g. Hoffmann wrote tschî (*zhī* 之), tsí (*jì* 際), yeù (*yǒu* 有), rl (ér 而). Aspiration was indicated by a *spiritus asper* ' (not by *spiritus lenis* ').

[188] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister dated 5 December 1855, in V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[189] BPL 2106 I: 2-4, *Catalogue* 2005, 134.

[190] SINOL. 15.600.19b.

[191] Edkins, *Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language Commonly Called the Mandarin Dialect*. Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister dated 14 January 1859 in V 29/1/1859 no. 52 inv. 786. De Grijs sent him a copy from Amoy on 1 January 1858 (now kept as SINOL. 15.610.11A).

[192] Letter from Groeneveldt to Foreign Affairs, The Hague, 23 December 1898, in no. 338, inv. 67, toegang 2.05.90.

[193] "Het eigenaardige van onderscheidenen takken van Chinesche letterkunde leren kennen, i.h.b. wat iemand dient te kennen om met vrucht Chinesche werken over natuurkunde te kunnen gebruiken" (V 22/11/1854 no. 4 inv. 382).

[194] "Hoffmann, die nooit in China geweest was en geen enkel dialect der spreektaal kende." Letter from Groeneveldt to Foreign Affairs, The Hague, 23 December 1898, in no. 338, inv. 67, toegang 2.05.90.

[195] Liu Noni (Non-ni) only spoke a few words of Dutch, Spanish, and English. Kamphuis, "Chineesch letterkundige," 184.

[196] Hoffmann's and St. Aulaire's copies are now kept in the Hoffmann collection (III, IV), Special Collections, Utrecht University Library. St. Aulaire's copy has the title: "*Wên tszé yáo-liŏ [Wenzi yaolüe]* 文字要略, *Chineesch handwoordenboek bewerkt door Dr. J. Hoffmann*, Leiden 1849–1859." Both copies once belonged to Willem Vissering. *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries.

[197] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 28 August 1866, 209-11; 25 September 1866, 230-1. It is probably still kept in the National Library in Jakarta.

[198] "… reeds bezig met de beoefening en boekstaving van het Chineesch woordenboek." Letter of 15 February 1864, in V 26/2/1864 (Exh.) no. 41 inv. 1443.

[199] The price was *f* 79.90. V 21/7/1859 no. 17 inv. 850.

[200] Letter from Hoffmann dated 11 April 1854, in V 12/4/1854 no. 24 (Exh.) inv. 330.

[201] It is still popular in Taiwan. Free copies of at least two editions can be found in the temples, and there is even a cartoon film version of the stories on the internet (2008).

[202] Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 1902, xxxvi.

[203] According to Julien's introduction, the *Taishang ganying pian* was first published in *Chrestomathie chinoise* by Moinier del Maynis in 1820 (Julien, *Le livre des recompenses et des peines*, Paris 1835).

[204] BPL 1784, *Catalogue* 2005 116.

[205] Letter from Hoffmann 15 December 1855, V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[206] BPL 1782: 13D, *Catalogue* 2005, 106-7 and 208. A fourth copy which belonged to W. Vissering is in the Hoffmann Collection (II G), Utrecht University Library.

[207] John Francis Davis (1795–1890) went to China with Lord Amherst's embassy in 1816, and worked many years for the East India Company. He was governor of Hong Kong in 1844–8. He published many translations of Chinese literature.

[208] "Moge dan onze nieuwe bewerking van Davis' verzameling onze jeugdige beoefenaars der Chin. taal tot eene leidsvrouw verstrekken, die hen te gelijk menig aangenaam uur zal doen herdenken." BPL 2044.

[209] In his notes, Hoffmann explained that it was an elliptic sentence, because *rou* 揉 should be followed by the demonstrative particle *zhi* 之. The predicate could also be replaced with 從小可揉, "one can bend them from youth" (*men kan ze van jongs af aan buigen*). If *rou* 揉 were a mistake for *rou* 柔, 'pliant,' then the translation would be: "The twigs of the mulberry tree are pliant from youth" (*De takken van de moerbezienboom zijn van jongs af aan buigzaam*).

[210] BPL 2044, *Catalogue* 2005, 116-8. Hoffmann made another copy for W. Vissering, dated December 1873 to April 1874, now kept in the Hoffmann Collection (II C), Special Collections, Utrecht University Library.

[211] "Hij vertelt van Hoffmann o.a. dat hij zijn leerlingen op een goeden dag naar den minister stuurde met de spreuken van Davis onder den arm. Om ze een goed figuur te laten slaan gaf hij ze eerst een lesje. Groeneveldt speelde voor minister en Hoffmann voor Groeneveldt. Alles in ernst." (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 15 april 1880).

[212] Von Siebold brought a copy of this encyclopaedia dating from 1713 (preface) to the Netherlands. It is no. 1 in both Hoffmann's and Serrurier's catalogues of Japanese books (Kerlen no. 1821). Title also 倭漢三才圖會.

[213] Or. 6943 b-c (St. Aulaire's handwriting), BPL 1782: 13C (De Grijs), BPL 2106 II: 12 (Schaalje), *Catalogue* 2005, 10, 106, 136.

[214] The introductory part of the story "Wang Jiaoluan bainian chang hen" 王嬌鸞百年長恨, not the story itself.

[215] BPL 1782: 15, *Catalogue* 2005, 107.

[216] Collection "Schaalje, tolk voor de Chineesche taal, Riouw," no. 28.5, NEHA, IISG, Amsterdam.

[217] The title of Schlegel's manuscript is: "Wang Jiaoluan bainian chang hen 王嬌鸞百年長恨 *Wâng Kiâo luan pĕ niên tschang han oder die Blutige Rache einer junger Frau*, Chinesische Erzählung mit einer hochdeutschen Uebersetzung, Leiden, 1857" (in Archiefkast 3D, EAL; = Or. 27.030). *See also* Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. xxxiv.

[218] Listed in Kuiper, "Hoffmann as a Sinologist: Teacher and Librarian." This was the number of books he owned at his death in 1878, and the number in Leiden University at that time. In the 1850s the numbers would have been even smaller.

[219] F.H. von Siebold, *Catalogus librorum et manuscriptorum Japonicorum* … (Leiden, 1845).

[220] On 23 February 1855, by Royal Decree (no. 1), the Department of Arts of the Royal Institute had been established, and Hoffmann and others became members (KNAW Archief, inv. 78, Noord Hollands Archief, Haarlem). The Royal Institute was the predecessor of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[221] Taco Roorda (1801–74) was professor of Javanese in Delft (1842–64) and Leiden (1864–74); he was the founder of Javanese studies in the Netherlands. A. Rutgers was professor of Semitic languages in Leiden (1837–75), where he also taught Sanskrit. The archaeologist Conradus Leemans (1809–93) was director of the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (1835–91); from the 1840s to 1864, he was also responsible for the Von Siebold Collection. Proposal and report in *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde* (1856), 14-15, 49-60.

[222] Together with many books in other Oriental languages. Described in De Jong, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Regiae Scientiarum*. The descriptions of Chinese and Japanese books were made by Hoffmann. Later described in *Catalogue* 2005, 68-83.

[223] In the nineteenth century, Hoffmann and many other sinologists often had their Chinese (and Japanese) books bound in hard covers in Western fashion.

[224] "Den Heer … F. de Grijs, van zijnen vriend, Dr J. Hoffmann, Leiden den 1e Junij, 1855." Hoffmann gave De Grijs *Jieyuan Sanzijing, Huiyuan Qianziwen, Zhuangyuan Youxueshi* (Guanghuatang) 解元三字經、會元千字文、狀元幼學詩，光華堂藏板 (SINOL. KNAG 164).

[225] Hoffmann gave Schlegel *Jiaozheng jianyun fenzhang fenjie Sishu zhengwen (Xiameng)* 較正監韻分章分節四書正文 (下孟) (SINOL. KNAG 17b). Probably he also gave him the first volume, containing the rest of the *Four Books*, which is bound in an identical cover and entitled: *Meifeng shuyuan jiaozheng Guozijian Sishu zhenben* (Wenruitang, Wenlintang) 梅峰書院校正國子監四書真本, 文瑞堂, 文林堂 (SINOL. KNAG 16).

[226] V 16/1/1860 no. 4 inv. 905.

[227] V 25/4/1863 no. 20 inv. 1328.

[228] In the second quarter of 1863, during his first year of study. V 22/2/1864 no. 18 Exh. inv. 1441. It may have been Julien's edition.

[229] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister, 30 March 1856, in V 8/5/1856 VA (Geheim) no. 252/13 inv. 5879.

[230] Alcock, *Elements of Japanese Grammar* (1861). V 25/4/1863 no. 20 inv. 1328.

Notes to Chapter Three

[1] His salary was *f* 1,200 yearly in 1859 (Letter 3 November 1859 in Consulaten in China 1830–1870, inv. 3030, toegang 2.05.01). His appointment is mentioned in V 23/8/1855 no. 1 inv. 449. Tonco Modderman (1813-1858) had this function from 1854 to 1855, but he had earlier been in Canton in the 1840s.

[2] Jan des Amorie van der Hoeven (1825–77) was 'Consul in Canton' from 1855 to 1866 (*Nederland's Patriciaat*, no. 16 (1926), 161).

[3] Letter from De Grijs to Francken dated 7 May 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, p. 13.

[4] Printed document dated 15 July 1855, in Consulaten in China, inv. 3030, toegang 2.05.01.

[5] Muller, *Azië gespiegeld: Malakka en China*, 165.

[6] This so-called 'Arrow Incident' took place after many conflicts and irritations. After protests and an ultimatum by the newly appointed British Consul Harry Parkes, British forces attacked Canton on 23 October and entered the city on 29 October, but retreated the same day. This was the beginning of the so-called Arrow War or Second Opium War between Britain and France (later joining the British because of the murder of a French missionary in Guangxi) and China. The war ended with the Treaty of Tientsin of 26 June 1858, but as this could not be ratified, hostilities continued during the Franco–British expedition to the North, culminating in an attack on Peking. The treaty was finally ratified in the Convention of Peking in 1860. As a result, diplomatic relations could be established, more harbours were opened to trade, and the interior of China was opened to Christian missions. The Chinese were forbidden to use the word 'barbarians' (Yi 夷) for foreigners in official correspondence (Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 557-8).

[7] Report on the hostilities from the Consul in V 2/2/1857 no. 5 inv. 578.

[8] This letter dated 8 November was first sent by sailing ship; a later version with additions dated 10 November was sent by regular mail (V 3/1/1857 no. 54 inv. 568). De Grijs himself wrote that he had arrived on 2 November (Report of 20 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 59).

[9] Later the Dutch requested compensation from the Chinese, which was refused. Then the British Consul Parkes told Van der Hoeven that a request for compensation from the British would probably be successful, and this was tried by way of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but it was also to no avail; this affair dragged on for two years, but no compensation was given for the time being (V 15/7/1857 no. 14 inv. 621, V 23/8/1858 no. 22 inv. 939, V 14/11/1859 no. 22 inv. 886). However, in the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) and Convention of Peking (1860) it was stipulated that huge indemnities were to be paid to the British and French.

[10] A.J. Baudouin, "Verslag wegens zijne reis naar China, aan de factorij der Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij te Batavia," quoted in Muller, *Azië gespiegeld: Malakka en China*, 160 note 3, 165, 210-1. The original report is probably kept in the Arsip Nasional in Jakarta. *See also* Blussé, *Sailing to the Pearl River*, 65-7.

[11] The next year the *Bali* was sent to Japan. V 14/10/1858 no. 8 inv. 753 (to Macao), V 11/3/1859 no. 16 inv. 797, V 21/4/1859 no. 33 inv. 809 (to Japan). On 6 July 1859, Van Capellen signed a treaty between the Netherlands and Ryūkyū (*Catalogue* 2005, 192, 194, BPL 2186 Q: pp. 14-15).

[12] In his correspondence with the Governor-General and the Minister of Colonies, Van der Hoeven never mentioned that the students returned to Canton.

[13] Bridgman, *Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect*; S. Wells Williams, *A Tonic Dictionary of the Canton Dialect*. De Grijs mentioned these books in his letter on dialects dated 19 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734. Four other Cantonese textbooks are mentioned in Williams' dictionary, including his *Easy Lessons*.

[14] Letter from the Consul to the Governor General dated 6 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 7341.

[15] However, J.G. Bridgman's English translation of Prémare's *Notitia*, printed in Canton, was no longer available, the entire stock having been destroyed during the fire in the European factories in Canton in December 1856. Hoffmann suggested that it would probably be possible to order the Latin edition in Malacca. He added that although the *Notitia* was an excellent book, it was now superseded by J. Edkins' *Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language Commonly Called the Mandarin Dialect* (Shanghai 1857). Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister dated 14 January 1859 in V 29/1/1859 no. 52 inv. 786. De Grijs sent Hoffmann a copy of this book from Amoy (SINOL. 15.610.11A).

[16] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated 18 July 1858 in V 17/11/1858 no. 2 inv. 762.

[17] At present many schools in Hong Kong are gradually adopting the system used in Mainland China, teaching Chinese in Mandarin. In this system Chinese characters are taught in Mandarin pronunciation, not in Cantonese. This undoubtedly stimulates the propagation of Mandarin, but it may be hazardous for the status of Cantonese as one of the official and cultural languages of Hong Kong.

[18] V 8/12/1856, no. 10, inv. 562, containing IB 26/9/1856, no. 2.

[19] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated 6 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[20] Introduction (*Voorbericht*), in Francken and De Grijs: *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt*.

[21] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister of Colonies dated 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[22] As from 1 October 1856, the Consul would complement his military salary (which was paid by the civil government) to a total of $175 (IB 24/8/1860 no. 5 inv. 7289).

[23] Letter from De Grijs to Johnston 25 June 1863 in BPL 1782: 28, p. 30. No information can be found on the date and conditions of De Grijs' appointment, but it was probably in 1857. In his book of minutes, De Grijs always signed as 'acting Vice-Consul,' so he probably had never been officially appointed as full 'Vice-Consul' by the Governor-General. In the *Staatsalmanak* of 1864 and 1865, De Grijs was also mentioned as 'acting Vice-Consul,' although he already left Amoy in May 1863, but the year of first appointment was represented by dots, showing that at that time already no documents could be found on this subject in the Dutch archives.

[24] IB 25/3/1851 no. 12. He was in office from 1851 until 1863 (*Koninklijke Almanak*, from 1860 entitled *Staatsalmanak*).

[25] Cf. letter to Schaalje dated 17 June 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, p. 20. After De Grijs left Amoy, Schaalje took care of the vice-consulate, and in this letter De Grijs wrote that the fees received until then were of course for him ("De Consulaatsgelden die Gij totnogtoe gemaakt hebt zijn natuurlijk voor U.").

[26] *Cf.* letter to Schaalje, 17 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 19-20. Johnston remained *acting* Vice-Consul (Letters 26 June 1863 and 29 November 1863, inv. 3030, 2.05.01, Consulaten in China). Two years later, in 1865, J. Paterson (Tait & Co.) became Vice-Consul until 1875 (*Staatsalmanak*). On De Grijs' work as acting Vice-Consul, see Blussé, "Wills, Widows and Witnesses" (2004).

[27] This misunderstanding was probably due to the ambiguity of the name 'Canton,' which could designate both the province (Guangdong) and the capital (Guangzhou).

[28] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated 6 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[29] This was also somewhat optimistic, but many Chinese in Southern China know more than one dialect.

[30] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries.

[31] De Grijs perhaps learned some Cantonese when he was in Macao. He probably meant that one could to some extent guess the pronunciation of cognate words in another dialect, if one knew the cognate sounds. Cf. S. Wells Williams' Cantonese dictionary, Introduction. Letter from De Grijs to the Consul dated 19 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734. For the advanced student, this method is obviously unreliable. For a modern comparison of the sounds of cognate words in Mandarin and Cantonese, *see* Wang Li 王力, *Guangzhouhua qianshuo* 广州話淺說. Cantonese and Hokkien are more closely related to each other than to Mandarin.

[32] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated 20 November 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[33] IB 21/2/1858 no. 2 inv. 7229.

[34] This is the modern name of the island. Gulangyu was formerly called Kulangsu, Kulang-su or Ku-lang-hsü (Gulangxu), in Hokkien Kolongsu. The Hokkien name Amoy (old Dutch spelling Emoi) is now in Mandarin Xiamen (Wade Giles spelling: Hsia-men). *See also* the description of Gulangyu in 1878 in Chapter Ten.

[35] One of these was probably his servant Ung Hau Leng, "only 18 years old of age, yet he appears to have savingly experienced the power of the Gospel, and professes his determined resolution to live henceforth as a servant of Christ. He joins the Church with the full approbation of his employer who is himself a brother disciple." Letter by Stronach and Lea dated 15 June, Missionary Magazine for October 1858, *The Scottish Congregational Magazine*, 223.

[36] "Wat mijn spreken van het Amoysch aangaat, hierover zal Thieme (een stuurman) en

vele hollandsche kapiteins U kunnen vertellen. Ik spreek tegenwoordig beter Chineesch dan Maleisch, hoewel ik vrij vlot Maleisch spreek. Mijn huishouden bestaat uit twee bootslieden, een kok, een koeli; twee bedienden en drie leermeesters; allen zijn Chinezen. Ik geef al mijne orders zelf, en niemand van mijne onderhorigen spreekt Engelsch, behalve een jongen, die de boodschappen etc. van schepen aanneemt. Met timmerlieden, metselaars etc. doe ik alles zelf af en vermeen zeer duidelijk Chineesch te spreken, daar ik den *toon van elk woord ken*. Bij mijne reizen in het binnenland spreek ik Chineesch en vervul meermalen de rol van tolk voor de vrienden die met mij gaan. / Mijne bezigheden als waarnemend vice-consul brengen mij in aanraking met Chinezen, als advocaat, notaris, procureur. Nu eens moet ik een bewijs van leven of van dood zijn geven, dan weder 8 of 10 getuigen verhooren, die alle hun verklaringen in het Chineesch geven; dan weder komt een Chinees met een稟 [*pin*, offic. kennisgeving], dat ik deftig aanneem, voorlees, en beantwoord. … / 's morgens bij zonsopgang heb ik mijne bedienden, die Christenen zijn, bijeen, lees een hoofdstuk uit den Bijbel of eenig goed boek en ga er over spreken. Het is merkwaardig wat voor uitdrukkingen ik op al die verschillende manieren verzamel." Letter to the Minister dated 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[37] Quoted indirectly in Hoffmann's letter to the Minister dated 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[38] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister (9 July 1858) mentioning Kup's letter dated 3 May 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[39] On that date, he acted as a witness for the Vice-Consulate (Or. 26.273, no. 89, *Catalogue* 2005, 41).

[40] Letter to the Governor-General dated 20 June 1858, in V 23/9/1858 no. 6 inv. 747.

[41] Both were in Amoy in October 1859 (letter from the Consul 10 December 1859) and in May 1860 (letter from the Consul 18 May 1860, both in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334, inv. 1005). And Albrecht was in Amoy on at least two other dates, 31 August 1859 and 18 February 1860; on the former he acted as witness at the Vice-Consulate, and on the latter date an *attest de vita* was drawn up for him by De Grijs (Minutes of (notarial) certificates issued by the Vice-Consulate in Amoy 1858–62, nos. 45 and 67, Or. 26.273).

[42] Letter by Hoffmann dated 29 April 1861, in V 10/6/1861 no. 13 inv. 1069. Later also called the Hoklo dialect.

[43] In the Indies, the name of the Netherlands was usually written 和蘭 instead of 荷蘭. Both of these are pronounced the same in Hokkien (hô-lân or hô-lan), just as in Mandarin (Hélán). In the *Gong'anbu* 公案簿, the records of the Chinese Council of Batavia, until 1912 always the archaic name 和蘭 was used instead of the modern name 荷蘭. *See* Kuiper, "The Chinese name for 'Holland.'"

[44] The Dutch colonial government was often called *gongbanya*, another word for 'Company,' originally denoting the Dutch East India Company (VOC) which ruled the Indies until 1799.

[45] Letter to Francken dated 3 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 12. "He [Ang] formerly wrote a eulogy on you to be carved in wood and placed in the Netherlands gê mên here in Amoy." (Hij heeft indertijd eene éloge op U geschreven om in hout te snijden en hier in Emoi te plaatsen in de hollandsche gê mên.)

[46] *See* Blussé, "Wills, Widows and Witnesses."

[47] Or. 26.273. Described in *Catalogue* 2005, 40-1.

[48] This information is based on the diary of the later student Jacobus van der Spek (1879–80).

[49] *Java-bode*, 23 April 1859, no. 33.

[50] *Java-bode*, 20 April 1859, no. 32, "Aangekomen vreemdelingen" (Arrivals from foreign countries).

[51] "Een reiziger, onlangs van Amoy (China) gekomen, deelt ons mede, dat de Nederlanders aldaar met buitengewone onderscheiding worden bejegend. Gelijk men weet, zijn aldaar gevestigd de Heer C. F. M. de Grijs (laatst militair apotheker bij het Indische leger) en twee Hollandsche jonge lieden, die uitsluitend tot de aanleering der Chinesche taal, waarvan eerstgenoemde Heer reeds in Europa een ijverige studie gemaakt heeft, bestemd zijn. De Heer de Grijs bekleedt daarbij de betrekking van Nederlandsch vice-consul. Door zijn loyaal karakter en aangename manieren, heeft hij de achting en het vertrouwen zijner

Chinesche landgenooten gewonnen, wier taal hij reeds met het meeste gemak spreekt en schrijft. Als zoodanig is hij vaak de raadsman en de vraagbaak der Chinezen, die zich, met voorbijgang der Engelschen, tot hem wenden, terwijl hij, bij alle voorkomende gelegenheden, steeds tot tolk dient bij hunne zamenspreking met Europeanen. Terwijl het schieten aan de Engelschen volstrekt verboden is, werd 's Konings laatste verjaardag door de Hollandsche koopvaardijschepen, die zich ter reede van Amoy bevonden, met donderende salvo's begroet en de Nederlandsche vice-consul herdacht ten zijnen huize op feestelijke wijze den geboortedag van zijn koninklijken meester. De zich aan den wal bevindende Hollandsche zeelieden worden door de Chinezen met de meeste voorkomenheid behandeld, terwijl de Engelsche zich, na zonsondergang, niet in het publiek kunnen vertoonen, zonder gevaar te loopen, van zich aan moeijelijkheden en beleedigingen blootgesteld te zien." *Java-bode*, 23 April 1859, no. 33.

[52] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 July 1859, "Nederlandsche Koloniën," *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*, 8 July 1859, "Koloniën"; *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, 11 July 1859.

[53] "*Mijnheer de Redacteur*, Ik verneem dat in den Javabode van 23 April, no. 33 door een reiziger onlangs van Amoij (Emoi) gekomen, over de Nederlanders aldaar gesproken wordt. Met den noodigen eerbied voor het goede hart van dien goedhartigen reiziger (mij onbekend) heb ik de eer eenige punten ter overweging en inlichting mede te deelen. / 1. De Nederlanders in Emoi worden volstrekt niet met buitengewone, doch slechts met gewone onderscheiding bejegend. / 2. Ik bezit niet meer het vertrouwen van mijne *Chinesche landgenooten* ?! dan elk ander Europeaan, dat wil zeggen, zoo wat niets. / 3. Ik dien nooit voor tolk en de engelsche en amerikaansche sinologen hier in Emoi weten er veel meer van dan ik. / 4. Ik schrijf en spreek Chineesch *volstrekt* niet met het meeste gemak; de Europeaan, die dat doet, moet nog geboren worden. / 5. Ik heb in Emoi op koningsverjaardag nimmer een kanonschot, nog minder een salvo en nog veel minder een donderend salvo gehoord. / 6. De zich aan de wal bevindende Hollandsche zeelieden worden zoo lief aan den wal bejegend, dat ik verlof bekwam, om naar beste weten te verhinderen, dat de Hollandsche zeelieden aan wal gingen. Een matroos is en blijft in het oog van een Chinees een roodharigen barbaar [noot: Sic!!! *Redactie*] die aan wal komt om dronken te wezen, hoe onwaar ook zulke eene definitie ook zij, de Chinezen denken het toch. / 7. Wie onzen goedhartigen reiziger vertelde, dat de Engelschen na zonsondergang zich niet in 't publiek kunnen vertoonen weet ik niet, maar iemand die gezond verstand heeft en het gebruikt kan het niet gezegd hebben. / 8. Ik verzoek beleefdelijk van welgemeende loftuitingen verschoond te blijven. / C.F.M. DE GRIJS." *Java-bode*, 3 August 1859.

[54] "Vervolgrapport omtrent het wezen der Chinesche taal in geschrift en uitspraak." Mentioned in V 23/9/1858 no. 6 inv. 747.

[55] "Vergelijkend overzigt der Mandarijnsche en der Tšoan tšeu [Quanzhou] klanken."

[56] Letter to the Governor-General in V 23/9/1858 no. 6 inv. 747.

[57] Actually it was an edict from the Yongzheng Emperor (1728). *See* Kaske, *Politics of Language*, 48.

[58] Based on Antoine Bazin, *Mémoires sur les principes généraux du chinois vulgaire* (Paris 1845), 5-19. Hoffmann owned a copy of this book. Bazin, a student of Rémusat and Julien, was professor of modern Chinese at the School of Oriental Languages in Paris in 1843–62 (Angel Pino, Isabel Rabut, "Bazin aîné et la création de la chaire de chinois vulgaire à l'école des langues orientales," in Bergère, Pino, *Un siècle d'enseignement du chinois*, 29-51). The edict had been translated into English by Robert Thom in 1840 in his *Esop's Fables Written in Chinese by the Learned Mun Mooy seen-shang, and Compiled in their Present Form by his Pupil Sloth*, VIII. Chinese text in *Guangdong tongzhi* 廣東通志, *juan* 1, Yongzheng liunian 雍正六年.

[59] Bazin, *Mémoires*, 12.

[60] Bazin, *Mémoires*, 13.

[61] De Grijs would later ironically refer to Van der Hoeven as "such an expert on Chinese" (*zulk een Chineesch-kenner*) in a letter to Francken dated 7 May 1863 (BPL 1782: 28, p. 13).

[62] He did not mention that Mandarin was also important in commerce and culture, for

instance the theatre. Nor did he mention that Thom compared the position of Mandarin in China with that of French in Europe, while English—granted that it was spoken only in the British Isles—would resemble one of the Chinese dialects (*Esop's Fables*, IX). These could have been Hoffmann's arguments. Leiden University has a copy of this book donated by Thom (1807–46).

[63] This opinion would dominate Dutch sinology for the next fifty years. Apart from Hoffmann's students who learnt Mandarin pronunciation and could perhaps speak a little Mandarin, in particular De Grijs and later Groeneveldt, all Dutch sinologists from this period spoke only dialects of Guangdong and Fujian, and only from 1909 on, when the Chinese Movement had become active in the Indies, did the government allow (and later order) some of them to study Mandarin.

[64] At the same time he asked to be sent De Grijs' comparative sound table, which he had not yet received. Letter from Hoffmann to the minister dated 27 September 1858 in V 2/10/1858 no. 9 inv. 750. A few months later, De Grijs' table was sent to Hoffmann by the Governor-General (V 24/3/1859 no. 22 inv. 801).

[65] No reference can be found that the texts were returned to the Minister.

[66] Archief van het KITLV, H 1406 nos. 93 (Bestuursvergaderingen), 236 (Brievenboek 1851–1863), 242 (Brieven 1860), KITLV Collection, Leiden.

[67] IB 21/4/1860 no. 19 inv. 7281.

[68] The Consul's letter has not been found; Diepenheim's letter is in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334, inv. 1005.

[69] Abraham Benjamin Cohen Stuart (1825–76) studied for a short time in Leiden and then in Delft, where he received the *radicaal* of East Indies official in 1846. On the advice of his teachers, he did not enter government service, but dedicated himself to scholarly studies, being assigned to assist the Javanologists C.F. Winter (1799–1859) and J.A. Wilkens (1813–88) (both 'native children') in Surakarta. They were to translate Dutch ordinances and compile a Javanese–Dutch dictionary (*Encyclopaedie*, pt. I [1896], 361-2).

[70] The teachers' (clerks') salary was at the same time set at *f* 30 per month, one tenth of the interpreters' salary, with five-yearly increases of *f* 5 to a maximum of *f* 50 (IB 31/7/1860, no. 11, inv. 7287; also in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005). Two years later it was already clear that this salary was too low, and it would be more than doubled to *f* 63.75.

[71] IB 23/6/1860, no. 9, inv. 7285.

[72] IB 9/8/1860, no. 38, inv. 7288. For Albrecht's teacher this was not comforting enough; he refused to proceed to Mentok (*see* Chapter Six). Both were transferred to Java soon; Von Faber came to Batavia in 1862 and Albrecht to Surabaya in 1864.

[73] "Het is bovendien niet aangenaam of vlijend voor jonge lieden van eenen zekeren leeftijd, die zich met zulk eene ernstige studie, als die der Chinesche taal, bezig houden, om als kinderen of schooljongens, die te onberaden zijn hunne eigene zaken te beheeren, behandeld te worden." Advice to Governor-General Sloet by Schlegel and Von Faber on the training of interpreters in Batavia, 1 September 1864, in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[74] V 9/2/1861 no. 33/172 inv. 1029.

[75] "… want men moet hier leven en voor den dag komen als een fatsoenlijk man, als een door het gouvernement bezoldigd ambtenaar, en bovendien worden ons 5 dollar gelijkstaand met *f* 5 hollands 's maands aan ons (*sic*) uitgekeerd voor het koopen van sigaren en andere zaken, doch niet voor weelde; de geringste benoodigde zaak is hier peperduur." The official exchange rate was $1 = *f* 2.55.

[76] "Het is de geheele dag werken, studeren; 6 uur per dag houdt (*sic*) ik mij bezig met de Chinesche leermeesters. Spoedig gaat het leeren niet, alles van het Chineesch is moeijlijk, tot zelfs het schrijven toe, en ik durf u verzekeren dat er zonder bluffing voor ons wel 4 jaaren nodig zullen zijn om als Gouvernementstolk te kunnen optreden." This proved to be a too optimistic estimate; Schaalje finished his studies in China after five years in 1864.

[77] "… indien ons dit in tijde bewust mogt worden, dan zullen wij *trachten* een der in de haven liggende schepen te bereiken."

[78] "… die door hem des te meer gevoeld werd, naarmate hij de schoonste jaren zijner jeugd nagenoeg op eene eenzame, ongezellige en alles behalve aangename plaats moest slijten."

[79] All students received a printed copy of the "Regulation of rations and the menu (*schaftorde*) of private ships carrying troops or passengers to Java" together with their ship-

ping contract (*akte van verbintenis*). The weekly rations were: 7.5 ounces of meat, 7.5 ounces of bacon (*spek*), 2.5 ounces of hake (*stokvisch*), 2.5 ounces of cheese, 3.75 ounces of butter, 2 pounds of bread. The menu was: Sunday: 3.75 ounces of meat with yellow peas (*graauwe erwten*), gherkins (*agurken*) or other pickles; Monday and Friday: 1.25 ounce of hake with peas or groats (*gort*); Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday: 2.5 ounces of smoked bacon with sauerkraut; Wednesday: 3.25 ounces of meat with yellow peas. "Moreover every morning groats and daily six measures (*maatjes*) of beer (as long as available), and two nips (*zoopjes*) of *genever*, one of them with *kina* (quinine; each containing 5 thimbles), and drinking water as needed. The shippers (*Reeders*) should also prepare sufficient quantities of salt, vinegar, pepper, mustard seed, dried onions and garlic, and molasses (*stroop*), to add to the morning groats at least twice a week; and the necessary light and fire." V 28/9/1857 no. 1/1108 inv. 644.

[80] V 9/2/1861 no. 33/172 inv. 1029. He referred to the law of 3 October 1843, *Staatsblad van het Koningrijk der Nederlanden* 47, the Stamp Duty Act (*Wet op het regt van zegel*); article 8 forbade government officials to make a decision on any document without legal stamp or without payment of stamp duty.

[81] V 18/11/1861 no. 3 inv. 1120.

[82] "Het is voor een vader op gevorderde leeftijd eene groote opoffering zijnen eenigen dubbelomranden zoon voor jaren te moeten missen, of welligt niet weder te zien." Schaalje's father was at the time 55 years old.

[83] Letters of Schaalje's father of 11 December 1861 and of Francken's mother of 20 December 1861 in V 17/1/1862 no. 7, inv. 1140.

[84] IB 27/7/1861 no. 32 inv. 7311.

[85] Introduction, 1-17, in *Le Vendeur-d'huile qui seul possède la reine-de-beauté* (Leyde, Paris, 1877).

[86] Xue Tao 薛濤 (circa 770–832) was a famous courtesan and woman poet in the Tang dynasty, who exchanged poems with Bai Juyi and other well-known Tang poets. This story is the first part of *Nü xiucai yihua jiemu* 女秀才移花接木, in *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀, and was translated by Schlegel in this introduction.

[87] The Chinese title of the latter is *Maiyoulang duzhan huakui* 賣油郎獨佔花魁. A Dutch translation by W.L. Idema appeared 99 years later in Feng Menglong, *De drie woorden* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1976).

[88] Henri Cordier, "Nécrologie, Le Dr. Gustave Schlegel," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 409.

[89] IB 10/10/1855 no. 3, art. 2, inv. 7175.

[90] IB 21/2/1858 no. 2, art. 5.

[91] IB 12/11/1860 no. 8 inv. 7294.

[92] Report of Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies (pp. 4-5), 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[93] Cordier, "Nécrologie" of Schlegel, *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 410.

[94] Letter in Chinese to De Grijs and Schaalje in Amoy by Runan 汝男 dated 六月廿七日 (3 August 1861) (BPL 2106 II 13A). Runan is probably the same as Ang Dzu-lam 洪汝嵐 (Hong Rulan), presumably Schlegel's teacher.

[95] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, vol. II, p. 455, entry 'klapperman' (night watchman).

[96] The contract for the concession was signed by all three sides on 3 September 1861.

[97] Préface, VII. *Le Vendeur-d'huile qui seul possède la reine-de-beauté* (Leyde, Paris, 1877).

[98] Schlegel, "A Canton Flowerboat," 7.

[99] For instance in vol. II, p. 36 (*handschoen*), p. 193 (*hoorn*); vol. IV, p. 1242 (*worst*), p. 1309 (*zeug*), p. 1349 (*zoo*), p. 1377 (*zulk*).

[100] Schlegel, "A Canton Flowerboat," 7. With a drawing by Schlegel as illustration.

[101] This account was published in French in the Préface to *Le Vendeur-d'huile* (pp. VI-IX) and later in English in "A Canton Flowerboat" (pp. 2, 3). In the French version the incident is described as happening three months after arrival in Canton, which would be in October 1861, but that was not in the summer and at that time their Cantonese may not have been good enough for this conversation on the boat—assuming that they spoke Cantonese.

[102] Note by Schlegel: "Allusion to a saying of Confucius: Among the men of the West there is (or are) a Sage (or Sages)." This is a quotation from *Liezi* 列子 (Zhongni juan 4 仲尼卷四): 西方之人有聖者焉.

[103] Schlegel, "A Canton Flowerboat," 2-3.

[104] Letter to Herman Schlegel, dated Amoy 13 May 1862, Museum Naturalis, Leiden. "Wij arriveerden per stoomboot in Hongkong, vertrokken daarop naar Macao en logeerden daar bij den u wel bekende Consul J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, van daar nam ik mijne reis opzettelijk over Canton naar Hongkong terug, terwijl Groeneveldt direct doorging naar Hongkong om van daar gezamentlijk naar Emoi te stoomen. Ik had slechts eenige dagen ter mijne dispositie, maar die heb ik dan ook genotvol doorgebracht bij Gustaaf. Eerst had ik moeite hem te herkennen, ik meende de melancolische, kleine neef van vroeger te zullen zien, maar neen! die is in hem niet meer te herkennen, ik zag hem gunstiger dan hij er ooit uitzag, met een van vrolijkheid, opgeruimdheid en levendigheid stralend gelaat, voorzien van zware bakkebaarden, hij is daarbij groot geworden met een' omvang om van te schrikken, onmiddellijk was ik met China ingenomen, nu ik het welvaren van Emoi zag (dit is namelijk de naam die ik Gustaaf voor mij zelve toedacht). Francken ziet eruit alsof hij met Schaalje zoo even uit Holland per spoor was aangekomen, ze zijn wat grooter geworden maar hebben kleur noch geur verloren. Dagelijksch gingen wij de stad rond om alles te zien, beiden deden ze hun best om mij omtrent alles op de hoogte te helpen, het is mij van groot nut geweest, omdat ik Gustaaf ken en weet dat ik op hem kan afgaan, genotvol was het onverhoopt wederzien, zoowel voor hen als voor mij, het speet mij dat ik niets medegebracht had voor hen, maar hoe konde ik verwachten ze te zullen ontmoeten."

[105] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated Macao 24 May 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[106] Cordier, "Nécrologie," 410.

[107] Schlegel IB 20/8/1862 no. 25, inv. 7333; Francken IB 22/9/1862 no. 9, inv. 7334.

[108] Letter to Herman Schlegel dated Amoy 13/5/1862, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[109] George Phillips (1836–96) entered the Chinese Consular service as a student-interpreter in Hong Kong in 1857, and held various positions, including acting Consul in Amoy. "Nécrologie" by G. Schlegel in: *T'oung Pao* A 7 (1896), 593-5.

[110] "Nu zijn wij in Emoi, waar iedere Europeaan aangename herinneringen aan Gustaaf aan mij verhaalt, ook de Chinezen kunnen hem niet vergeten; Kolongsu is mij zeer meêgevallen. 't is dan ook de laatste tijd zeer verfraaijd, wij gaan er misschien later wonen, in geval wij in China blijven om later naar Japan te gaan. / Op het oogenblik woonen wij in 't Engelsche Consulaatsgebouw, bij den Interpreter die een der vleugelgebouwen voor zich heeft. 't is hier dus Engelsch van top tot teen, van den vroegen morgen tot den laten avond, ik kan er mij zeer goed mede vereenigen, bovendien is onze huisheer een charmant mensch, jong en ongetrouwd, zijn naam is G. Phillips. Ik heb mij hier overal laten introduceeren, een en ander maakt ons het leven hier zeer aangenaam."

[111] This should be interpreted in a positive way: the Chinese are very sympathetic and accommodating.

[112] "De studie van 't Chineesch is alles behalve makkelijk, in Europa heeft men volstrekt geen idee van China, land, volk en taal. De Chinezen zijn de beste menschen van de wereld, groote kinderen in alles, je kunt ermeê doen wat je wil, nu ik er eenmaal ben, zou ik wel in China willen blijven, vooral in Emoi. En in ons huis dat even buiten de stad ligt, met een prachtig uitzigt buiten alle Chinesche vuiligheid, want de Chinezen zijn verschrikkelijk vuil in huis, op straat en in de stad."

[113] Letter in English to "My Dear Mac" dated 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 3-5.

[114] Letter from Buddingh to Herman Schlegel dated 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[115] Letter from De Grijs to Schaalje, 29 June 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, p. 32. When he wrote this letter, there were still eight months to go of his one-year contract.

[116] Boating was a popular sport in the foreign community in Amoy (Coates, *China Consuls*, 98). Inventory list in BPL 1782: 28, pp. 28-9, 31-2, 36-7, 46-7.

[117] Letters to Schaalje dated 25 and 29 June 1863, to N. Peter dated 28 July 1863, BPL 1782: 28.

[118] "Door de terugkomst van Schaalje hebben wij weder een eerste tenor & bas bekomen, het zal u dus niet bevreemden dat de muziek hier vrij hoog is: Mrs Pedder heeft sedert een jaar de nagel van haar pink in de war en kan niet spelen. Onlangs toen Mrs Vanker [?] hier was is zij weer begonnen." Letter to Francken dated 27 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 7.

[119] Van der Spek, *Diary*, about Schlegel (p. 11), and the entry for 9 May 1879.

[120] "De zendelingen hier zijn al vrijwel 't zelfde als overal, helaas, zij laten veel te wenschen over, maar het zal wel zijn met de zendelingen als altijd, men ziet de splinter bij anderen en niet de balk in ons eigen oog." Diary on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 62.

[121] Letter to "My Dear Mac," 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 4-5. On the embassy, *see* Chapter Five.

[122] Coates, *China Consuls*, 100.

[123] "Freeman's vrouw komt over vier weken uit en de mijne, Gij weet zij is gelukkig getrouwd en dus een zorg minder." Letter to Francken, 27 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 7.

[124] Letter to Van der Hoeven, Leiden, 22 December 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 77 (end).

[125] *See* the biography of De Grijs in Appendix A.

[126] "Gij zult onlangs ontvangen hebben de thee per Kim-thai-hien. Ik zal U nu iets anders opdisschen, wat misschien nog meer na Uw smaak zal zijn: het gebeurt hier gedurig dat Chinezen geld moeten ontvangen van de weeskamer te Batavia. Dan benoemen zij anderen om dat geld per procuratie te ontvangen, iets waarop dikwijls veel geld verloren wordt. Zo Gij nu gevolmagtigde wilt worden dan zou ik nu en dan nog wel eens een chineesje aan je consigneren en mij dunkt zoo Gij vijf percent der te ontvangen gelden rekent namelijk voor u 2½ percent en voor mij 2½ dan zouden wij alligt de schatten van Peru kunnen verzamelen: onlangs heb ik nog twee maal gelegenheid gehad om U tusschen 2 à 300 gulden te laten verdienen, maar moest ervan afzien daar ik niet wist of Gij er trek in hadt. Schrijf mij per omgaande opdat ik u rijk make." Letter to 'Amice' [Schlegel] dated 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 2.

[127] "Alhoewel ik nog geen antwoord op een paar vorige brieven heb, zal ik U echter heden weder moeten schrijven. Ook al omdat ik Uwe opinie over eene dollar affaire wil vragen. / Het gebeurt namelijk gedurig dat Chinezen mij vragen om als gevolmagtigde te fungeren in zaken de weeskamer betreffende. Dat heb ik steeds van de hand gewezen omdat ik geene agenten op Java had, maar het zou best gaan dat bv: Gij agent zijt voor mijne zaken in Sourabaja & Samarang en dan valt er bij geld inzamelen 5% te verdienen die wij zamen deelen kunnen. Ik maak dan de chinesche volmagten in Uwen naam, terwijl ik op mij neem de verantwoordelijkheid en deugdelijkheid der uit China gezonden documenten. Denk hier eens over na en vertel mij Uwe opinie." Letter to Francken dated 27 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 6.

[128] Schlegel told this to Johan Gram in 1902. Gram, "Een bezoek aan Schlegel," 88.

[129] "Kunt Gij een goed baantje in China krijgen, goed neem het aan, maar zal het gouvernement u vrijlaten, dat is de quaestie; denk er wel over na. Gij weet Francken heeft 't geweigerd." Letter to Schaalje dated 25/6/1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 29.

[130] V 15/3/1865 no. 7 inv. 1583. *See* Chapter Two, section on Meeter. Later regulated in Royal Decree 9 May 1865 no. 49, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indië* no. 78, 1865.

[131] Richard J. Smith, John K. Fairbank, Katherine F. Bruner, *Robert Hart and China's Early Modernization; His Journals, 1863–1866* (Cambridge (Mass.), 1991). Van der Hoeven's name was misspelled in the transcript as 'Vanderhavin.' Robert Hart (1835–1911) came to China in 1854, was student-interpreter, joined the Consular Service in 1859, and was Director of Chinese Maritime Customs from 1863 to 1907 (Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 227).

[132] In 1896, the most widely spoken dialects were Hokkien (Fujianese dialects), not only on Java but also in the commercial towns in the Outer Possessions, and Hakka (in Western Borneo, Banka, Billiton, and Deli). Only recently had immigrants arrived from the Chaozhou region (including Swatow). Cantonese was not even mentioned as a dialect spoken in the Indies at that time. *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië*, vol. I (1896), 349. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were Cantonese or 'Macao Chinese' in Deli, but they were all working in special niches; they were gold- and silversmiths, cabinet-makers, tailors and silkmerchants; in addition, all women prostitutes were Cantonese (De Bruin, *De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra*, 44).

[133] Report of Schlegel and Hoffmann, 9 April 1873, pp. 4-5, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[134] "Schets van Montrado in 1861," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde,* 13 (1864), 457-91. It seems to have originally been a *nota* written for the government.

[135] When in Western Borneo, Von Faber did his best to learn Hakka. In 1866 he offered a vocabulary and other materials that he had compiled on the Hakka language as spoken on Borneo, for publication to the Batavian Society. He probably meant to use these as teaching materials for other interpreters. But in 1870, he acknowledged that his Hakka was not good enough for him to teach Hakka to new students (Statement by Von Faber, 10 February 1870, in V 15/8/1870 no. 21 inv. 2339).

[136] IB 27/8/1861 no. 8 inv. 7313.

[137] Letter from the Consul dated Macao 24 May 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[138] IB 9/11/1862 no. 6 inv. 7337. This was the first decision about the Chinese interpreters to be (in part) published in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1862 no. 136).

[139] On the Hakka *see* Sow-Theng Leong, *Migration and Ethnicity in Chinese History: Hakkas, Pengmin, and their Neighbours*.

[140] It would take several weeks before Sloet's decision would reach China, and Schaalje's copy of a letter in Chinese dated 9 December 1862 to Van der Hoeven may indicate that Schaalje was then still in Canton or Macao (BPL 2106 I: 5 A, *Catalogue* 2005, 134).

[141] "Schaalje woont tegenwoordig bij mij en zal beginnen aan het Hakka dialekt. Geluk ermee, maar Maurits heeft het kruid (*sic*) ook al niet uitgevonden." Letter to Schlegel dated 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 2.

[142] Letter to Van der Hoeven dated 23 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 25.

[143] BPL 2106 II: 23, *Catalogue* 2005, 146. Illustration on p. 147.

[144] The first missionary arrived in Zhangcun 樟村 in Tsong Lok (Changle 長樂, now Wuhua 五華) in 1862 ('Basel Mission' in Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 44).

[145] "Wij zijn nu tamelijk op de hoogte van dit dialect, maar aangezien het ons hoofdvak niet is, geven wij het op en gaan nu naar eene andere provincie, …, ik zie er zeer tegenop, 't is in Emoi zoo heerlijk, het volk is zo goed en geschikt en de landstreek zoo gezond, en nu we eenmaal zoover zijn met de landstaal, acht ik het zonde die optemoeten geven en aan iets anders te beginnen." Letter to Herman Schlegel dated Amoy 4 June 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[146] Rudolf Lechler (1824–1908) came to China at the invitation of Gützlaff in 1847 as one of four missionaries, and first joined Gützlaff's Chinese Union, which stressed indiginisation and accommodation to the Chinese way of life. From 1854, he worked for the Basel Mission, concentrating on the Hakka population in Guangdong. In the 1860s, many Hakkas had fled to Hong Kong and sought refuge with him. He was the first to translate the Gospel of Matthew into romanised Hakka, and established mission posts in Meixian and Xin'an, laying the foundation of the very successful Hakka Church. He worked in China for 52 years. Lutz, "The Legacy of Rudolf Christian Friedrich Lechler (Biography)."

[147] "Daarbij komt dat de drie heeren toch nooit zullen harmoniëren en in een boarding house vrij van elkander zijn." Letter to the Consul, 20 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 24.

[148] Gerhard Tiedemann, "Die Missionsmethoden Gützlaffs," in Klein, *Karl Gützlaff*, 219.

[149] This would be 2½ times the price which Schaalje had paid in Canton in 1862!

[150] Letter from De Grijs to the Consul dated 23 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 25.

[151] Letters from De Grijs to Schaalje 17 June 1863 and to Groeneveldt dated 24 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 20, 26.

[152] Letter from De Grijs to Schaalje dated 29/6/1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 31.

[153] "Verleden week kreeg ik een brief van Groeneveldt waarin hij mij bedankte voor mijn vriendschap en niets meer met mij te doen wilde hebben: het was omdat ik hem vroeger beloofd had het beheer der zaken te hebben en Schaalje het nu heeft. Ik heb hem geantwoord dat het mij wel speet & dat ik hem aanraad om maar liever niet boos te wezen maar dat als hij volstrekt boos wilde blijven hij het maar in Godsnaam doen moest. Ik hoop dat hij bijdraayen zal want hij is een knappe jongen en zal een der sieraden der tolkerij wezen." Letter to Francken dated 18 July 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 34. Groeneveldt had been 'acting' before on 27 October 1862 (Or. 26.273, *Catalogue* 2005, 40-41).

[154] Letter from De Grijs to Francken dated 18 July 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 34.

[155] The spelling 'Sauga' is uncertain. Letter from De Grijs to N. Peter dated 4 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 39.

[156] "Heden is het juist twee jaren geleden dat ik Holland verliet en weldra zullen wij

China ook verlaten, want er is een besluit gekomen dat wij in plaats van in Hongkong, het Hakka dialect aanteleren, dit zullen doen op onze toekomstige standplaatsen in Indië zelve, aangezien er zich op die plaatsen (Bandjermassing, Montrado, Pontianak) meer Chinezen bevinden die dit dialect spreken dan in Hongkong, 'bovendien is de Hakka bevolking van Hongkong het allergemeenste en laagste rot van volk,' het is geheel tegen ons begaan en aldus door den grooten man uit Macao (de couranten noemen hem *angular carcase*) voorgesteld aan de Gouverneur Generaal en *atque ergo* hebben we nu China te verlaten, zeer ten onzen nadeele of liever ten nadeele van onzen studie en bruikbaarheid in Indië, nu ontbreken ons nog goede meesters ook, want die wij nu hebben gekregen uit Hongkong door bezorging der zendelingen zijn *uilskuikens*. Waarschijnlijk zal het wel 1865 worden eer wij betere mensen krijgen om ons naar Borneo te vergezellen, want die wij nu hebben verstaan geen enkel boek behalve de classieke boeken die ze op school in hunne jeugd hebben van buiten geleerd." Letter to Herman Schlegel dated 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden. The word "angular carcass" is poorly legible.

[157] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister dated 2 March 1864, in V 19/3/1864 no. 18 inv. 1451.

[158] IB 25/3/1864 no. 3, in V 28/10/1864 no. 10/1305 inv. 1534.

[159] Letter to Herman Schlegel dated 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[160] Letter from De Grijs to Francken dated 3 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 10.

[161] Report by Buddingh dated 23 August 1865 in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[162] Then spelled Lilong. Now in Bao'an Xian, Shenzhen, and written 李朗. It lies near the railroad just north of the city of Shenzhen.

[163] Lilang (Lilong) was (intermittently) a major Basel Mission post starting in 1852. Ernst Johann Eitel (1838–1908), missionary and sinologist, was sent to China for the Basel Mission in 1862, worked for the London Missionary Society from 1865 to 1879, and later concentrated on sinology. He told Van der Spek that Groeneveldt was his fellow student for three months (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 21 February 1879). Obituary by Cordier in *T'oung Pao* 10 (1909), 92-4.

[164] He was expected to leave on 26 July. Letters from the Consul dated 26 June, 10 and 25 July 1864, in V 28/10/1864 no. 10/1305 inv. 1534.

[165] V 28/10/1864 no. 10/1305 inv. 1534.

[166] IB 16/8/1864 no. 2 inv. 7374.

[167] IB 20/8/1864 no. 5 inv. 7374.

[168] Biennial increases of *f* 50 up to *f* 800 (IB 31/7/1860 no. 11 inv. 7287. Also IB 4/2/1865 no. 5, inv. 7385).

[169] This was in accordance with IB 9/11/1862 no. 6, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1862 no. 136.

[170] V 24/5/1864 no. 22/563 inv. 1475, and V 30/8/1864 no. 42 inv. 1512.

[171] Letter from Consul N. G. Peter to the Governor-General, dated Macao 26 July 1866, in V 29/11/1866 no. 85 inv. 1837.

[172] IB 9/9/1866 no. 4 inv. 7423.

[173] Letter from Hoffmann to Minister Fransen van de Putte, 12 February 1865, in V 2/3/1865 no. 11 inv. 1577.

[174] V 1/4/1865 no. 6 inv. 1590.

[175] Letter from the Consul dated 28 May 1865 in V 19/7/1865 no. 2 inv. 1630.

[176] Letter from P. Meeter to J.J. Hoffmann, dated Macao 12 August 1865, Or. 26.971 (letters and manuscripts of J.J. Hoffmann, originally Schlegel, *Catalogue*, no. 214), East Asian Library, Leiden.

[177] "Toen kwam er een tijd, die mij niet veel amusants opleverde. Ik had nog niets te doen daar ik nog geen meester had, zat den geheelen dag in een groot hol vertrek met kale witte muren en 2 ramen die het uitzigt gaven op eene nog kalere witte muur. Niets hebbende dat mij bezighield, dacht ik onwillekeurig aan ouders en vrienden en ik werd wat men onder jongelui "landerig", bij andere gelegenheden "zwaarmoedig" noemt. —Doch weldra kreeg ik werk daar de 10 Junij mijn meester Then 典先生 [*Dian xiansheng*, meester Dian] genaamd arriveerde. Ook ben ik later verhuisd naar een soort van torentje boven op het dak gebouwd met 8 ramen zoodat ik het niet alleen zeer luchtig maken kan, maar ook een fraai uitzigt heb op zee, bergen, Macao en de omliggende dorpen." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, Macao 12 August 1865.

[178] Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, dated Macao 29 December 1859, Or. 26.971, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[179] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXXV, XXXVI," *Java-bode*, 20 and 28 December 1898. Meeter's main argument in these articles was that opium smoking did not always lead to damage or addiction, and was not as harmful as alcoholism in the West.

[180] Van der Hoeven engaged his brother-in-law N.G. Peter as a clerk starting in 1860; later he became his business partner. Peter officially succeeded him as Consul on 28 May 1866 (Letter by Van der Hoeven dated 30 March 1865 and other documents, Consulaten in China, inv. 3030, toegang 2.05.01).

[181] "Over het algemeen is onze toestand hier vrij dragelijk; alleen is het mij moeijelijk gevallen, gewend aan het vertrouwen en de liberale leiding onder wetenschappelijke en bejaarde mannen zooals dit in Leiden en in Alkmaar het geval was, thans elken maand op eene niet zeer delicate wijze gedwongen te worden tot het verantwoorden der kosten van haarsnijden en tandpoeder en dergelijke muizennesten aan een jong mensch van 26 jaren, die zeker oneindig veel weet van picols en rijst en schepencharters en bankdisconto's maar in wiens ervaring en levenswijsheid ik voldoende reden heb niet veel vertrouwen te stellen." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, dated Macao 29 December 1859, Or. 26.971, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[182] Letter from Peter to Governor-General Mijer, in V 15/8/1867 no. 30 inv. 1955.

[183] IB 28/6/1867 no. 17, in V 15/8/1867 no. 30 inv. 1955.

[184] IB 27/8/1861 no. 8 inv. 7313.

[185] Letter dated 18 September 1867 in V 6/4/1868 no. 25 inv. 2061.

[186] Letter dated 20 November 1867 in V 6/4/1868 no. 25 inv. 2061.

[187] Letter by Tonco Modderman, 13 November 1854, in V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[188] Starting in 1854, most British consular officers were first trained at King's College in London, where they were taught Chinese by a missionary named James Summers (1828–91), who spoke some Cantonese and Shanghai dialect, but was supposed to teach Mandarin as well. Summers taught there from 1853 to 1873. As textbooks, they only read parts of the New Testament in Chinese translation. It was later acknowledged that this preparatory teaching was useless, and their Chinese could not be understood by anyone when they came to China. From 1856 on, Thomas Wade (1818–95), who was both a zealous sinologist and a government officer, and later a compiler of textbooks and British ambassador to China, gave the education of student-interpreters as all entrants were then called, a sounder base in China (Coates, *China Consuls*, 75-6, 83). One problem the British had to face was that in Southern China, Mandarin was practically a 'dead language' (p. 82), which could only be practiced with the teachers, who themselves were not native speakers of Mandarin. Later, when students could study in Peking, the situation changed drastically. Wade wrote that in Peking students could learn in 18 months what they learned in the South in 8 years (p. 85).

[189] Coates, *China Consuls*, 82.

[190] Note by Schlegel: "I was at the time only 18 years old." Actually he was only 17 in February-May 1858, when he was in Macao and Hong Kong.

[191] Schlegel, "Nécrologie James Legge," *T'oung Pao* A 9 (1898), 59-63, 60.

[192] On the other hand, one should take into account that Legge must have learned Chinese from Chinese teachers who did not have any grammatical awareness in the Western sense.

[193] My italics. Schlegel, "Nécrologie James Legge," 60.

[194] BPL 1780-1782, BPL 2104-2106.

[195] For instance, books of De Grijs and Schlegel are kept in the KNAG Collection.

[196] *See* Chapter Eight, Schlegel and His Students in Leiden (1873–1878).

[197] Book of minutes dated 1858-1862, Or. 26.273. *Catalogue* 2005, 40-1.

[198] Schlegel, *Thian ti hwui. The Hung-League*, 236. John Stronach (1810–88) from Scotland worked as a missionary mostly in Amoy from 1844 to 1876. Together with W.H. Medhurst, W.C. Milne and E.C. Bridgman, he was one of the Delegates who translated the famous Delegates' Version of the New Testament (1850–2).

[199] "Correspondance," *T'oung Pao* 1 (1900), 397.

[200] Under 'naam' it is transcribed in the Literary Tsiang-tsiu pronunciation as Hông

Dzí-lâm (Vol. II, 1027), while under 'voornaam' the colloquial Amoy pronunciation Âng Dzú-lâm is given (Vol. IV, 913).

[201] Transcribed in Mandarin as Tching-yu-chin (Vol. I, 128); the envelope is dated 19 September 1862, Batavia, two months after Schlegel arrived in Batavia.

[202] Letter from De Grijs to Schaalje 17 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 19.

[203] "deze menschen, geheel eenzijdig ontwikkeld, hebben wel eene groote practische kennis van hunne taal, maar kunnen zich voor de mededeeling hunner kennis aan anderen geene methode denken, dan die welke zij zelf als kinderen in de school hebben doorgemaakt en die voor aan de kinderschoenen ontwassen Europeanen geheel onbruikbaar is. Zulke leermeesters staan geheel lijdelijk tegenover hunne leerlingen, wat men noodig heeft zit er wel in, maar men moet zelf weten hoe te doen om het er uit te halen. / De Chineesche meester kent geene vreemde taal, waarin hij zich met een buitenlandschen leerling zou kunnen onderhouden; wanneer deze nu geheel onvoorbereid tot hem komt, dan zal de meester voor den leerling een gesloten boek zijn en er zal heel wat tijd verloopen, eer eene geregelde mededeeling en overneming van kennis tot stand kan komen." Letter from Groeneveldt to W.A.P. Verkerk Pistorius, Secretary General of Foreign Affairs, dated 23 December 1898, p. 3, inv. 1324, toegang 2.05.38 (another copy in no. 338, inv. 67, toegang 2.05.90). An interesting guide for finding a good Chinese teacher (one who actively corrects pronunciation and can explain the meaning of words) can be found in Th.T.H. Ferguson's "Leiddraad bij de praktische studie van de Chineesche taal," 33-50.

[204] Compare the randomly chosen Chinese names of foreign companies in the Indies in Schlegel's dictionary. Schlegel noted that these names were often ludicrous and unrecognisable (*Woordenboek*, Vol. I, 1184-5).

[205] A red Chinese name card and a name stamp can be found in SINOL. KNAG 139, East Asian Library, Leiden. This name is also stamped on KNAG 138, v. 4. The name is also used in *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末. The name Kai laoye 凱老爺, 'old gentleman Kai,' was used in a letter from his Chinese teacher (BPL 2106 II 13, *Catalogue* 2005, 140).

[206] In this certificate no. 9 dated 6 July 1858, the Chinese captain 甲丁 Be Biao Tsoan 馬淼泉 of Semarang was assigned as proxy for Be Song Poan 馬雙泮.

[207] Written or stamped on SINOL. KNAG 20 and 21, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[208] Letter by Runan 汝男 to De Grijs and Schaalje dated 1861, BPL 2106 II: 13A p. 3, *Catalogue* 2005, 140. Perhaps this Runan was the same as Hong Rulan (Âng Dzú Lâm 洪汝嵐), since the names are homophonous in Hokkien (*lâm*). Therefore, he may have been the teacher from Amoy who came to Canton.

[209] *Catalogue* 2005, 129, 132, 140.

[210] In a translation by De Grijs from 1879, *Catalogue* 2005, 95-6.

[211] Medhurst, *A Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dialect of the Chinese Language, According to the Reading and Colloquial Idioms: Containing about 12,000 Characters, the Sounds of Tones of which are Accurately Marked; and Various Examples of their Use, Taken Generally from Approved Chinese Authors.*

[212] The compiler was Xie Xiulan 謝秀嵐. The East Asian Library in Leiden has five different editions, which are all reprints of the same work; some of them are rather defective. In 1820, there appeared a supplement entitled *Zengbu huiyin* 增補彙音 (6 juan) ("Additions to the collected initials") without distinction in colour between literary and colloquial readings (*see below*). Other rhyme dictionaries had been published earlier for the Fuzhou (1749), Canton (Guangzhou, eighteenth century), and Quanzhou (1800) dialects.

[213] "使農工商賈，按卷而稽，無事載酒問字之勞。" Introduction to a rhyming dictionary of the Quanzhou dialect *Huiyin miaowu* 彙音妙悟 (1800; SINOL. KNAG 158), also quoted in Yuan Jiahua et al., 袁家骅等著 *Hanyu fangyan gaiyao* 汉语方言概要 (2nd ed.), *Wenzi gaige chubanshe* (1989), 237.

[214] Actually it was the closely related Zhangpu 樟浦 variant. It consists of 8 *juan* (sections) and was often in 8 volumes. This system of 'cutting up in rhymes' (*qieyun*) was originally inspired by Indian works on phonology and was used for the first time in the famous rhyming dictionary *Qieyun* 切韻 in the sixth century. Although the original *Qieyun* was lost, similar dictionaries from the eleventh century (*Jiyun* 集韵 and *Guangyun* 廣韻) were still extant.

[215] On many pages at the end of the book, only one colour was printed and the literary readings are indicated by the addition of the words 'red character' (*hongzi* 紅字), probably for economising on blocks.

[216] His copy is now in SINOL. KNAG 160, compiled by Xie Xiulan 謝秀嵐, published by Wendetang 文德堂 in 1861, with the alternative title: *Zengbu zhuzi Shiwu yin* 增註硃字拾伍音. Apparently, he bought it after three years of study in Amoy.

[217] V 12/1/1874 no. 12 inv. 2652. *See* Chapter Eight, Schlegel and His Students in Leiden (1873–1878).

[218] BPL 2106 II: 5 and 12 A, illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 143, ill. 45. The second and sixth tone (both *shangsheng* tones) are identical.

[219] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction (in English), 2. At some time, Francken also drafted a Dutch–Chinese dictionary, the manuscript of which was also presented to the Batavian Society (*Notulen*, 1866, p. 210).

[220] "daar elke uitdrukking, elk woord, uit den mond van Chineezen moest worden opgeteekend." (Francken, De Grijs, *Woordenboek*, voorbericht).

[221] *Emoisch Hollandsch woordenboek* (Amoy–Dutch dictionary), now in BPL 2104 I, *Catalogue* 2005, 119-21. Illustration on p. 120.

[222] Written on slips of paper with character text in normal and cursive script, Amoy transcription, literal translation and free translation. About 250 items have transcriptions and translations, 38 only have the Chinese text. Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.038; original shelf number SINOL. 5160.4. *Catalogue* 2005, 138.

[223] BPL 2106 II: 11; illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 141.

[224] This was never published (Schlegel's report, 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589), but it may have been incorporated in the dictionary.

[225] "*Hollandsch–Chinesche & Chineesch–Hollandsche Woordenlijst der Familiebetrekkingen. Alphabetisch gerangschikt*. G. Schlegel. Kolongsu (Emoi) 1860" (Dutch–Chinese and Chinese–Dutch vocabulary of family relations, alphabetically arranged. G. Schlegel. Gulangyu (Amoy) 1860). Small manuscript booklet (8 ff., 9.6x6.6 cm). Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.036.

[226] *Benamingen der familiebetrekkingen onder de Chinezen* (Names of family relationships among the Chinese), BPL 2106 II 4 B. Short list with characters in BPL 2106 II 4 A, illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 137.

[227] "De geslachtsnamen der Chinezen gerangschikt naar de Klassenhoofden en Aphabetisch." BPL 2106 II: 12.

[228] *Mi* 謎, "riddles". BPL 2106 II: 7. Illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 139.

[229] No title. BPL 2106 II: 10.

[230] This suggestion was made several times, for instance around 1860 by J. Pijnappel, professor of Malay in Delft. Fasseur, *Indologen*, 96, 149.

[231] The Dutch word *colloquializeeren* was later used in the Diary of J. van der Spek (11 March 1879).

[232] In Hokkien, this word could be written with the character 伊. Schaalje Collection, no. 28.5, NEHA archives, IISG, Amsterdam.

[233] BPL 1782: 13A, B. *See* the example in "Studying written Chinese" below.

[234] Diary of J. van der Spek, 10 and 29 December 1879. Van der Spek met their teachers in Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou).

[235] BPL 2106 II: 12A (Illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 143); BPL 2106 II: 20B. At that time, no distinction was made between the two *yinru* 陰入 tones, now called *shangru* 上入 and *zhongru* 中入.

[236] BPL 2106 II: 19, 20A.

[237] BPL 2106 II: 20C. Illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 145.

[238] BPL 2106 II: 18.

[239] Report by Buddingh dated 23 August 1865, in V24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[240] Buddingh complained later that this was the only study aid they had (Report 23 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757). *Das Evangelium des Matthaeus im Volksdialekte der Hakka-Chinesen* (*Ma thai tšhong fuk yim šu Hak ka syuk wa*). Translation by Rudolf Lechler, Berlin 1860. Translations of other Gospels were published soon afterwards.

[241] In characters probably 打工人. BPL 2106 II: 23B. Illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 147. Other word lists are in BPL 2106 II:22 B-G.

[242] BPL 2106 II: 22A, p. 4.

[243] Schaalje Collection, no. 28.5, NEHA Collection, IISG, Amsterdam.

[244] BPL 2106 II: 23A and 25. Some of the original, unsimplified, stories are also in S. Wells Williams, *Easy Lessons*.

[245] Later several Bible translations in Hakka were published in characters.

[246] "Mijne studie bepaalt zich tot nog toe geheel tot het memoriseren en repeteren van conversatie-woorden en zinnen, waarvan ik nu ongeveer 700 mij eigen heb gemaakt zoodat ik reeds aardig begin te spreken." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, dated Macao 12 August 1865, Or. 26.971, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[247] BPL 2106 II: 22A.

[248] "Men noemt [de spreektaal van] het Hakka's 白話 [*baihua*, spreektaal] [… uitspraa]k verschilt somtijds zeer veel van het *sjoe*-wá [書話 boekentaal]. b.v. 何如 en 如此 Waarom? en Daarom worden uitgesproken *nióng pan* [樣邊] en *kan lî* [咁裡]." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, dated Macao 12 August 1865. This letter is slightly damaged. Missing words are reconstructed and written between brackets. The characters for the colloquial expressions are also reconstructed. One of these expressions appears in Schaalje's manuscript: "Dat is zoo zeer goed. ('That is very good so') 如此至好 Kan lî tsî haò ne" (p. 2), but *kân lî* is written there also in colloquial characters as 咁裡 (p. 12) (BPL 2106 II, 22A).

[249] "Overigens bevalt mij de studie zeer wel; ik volg geheel mijn eigene methode, en beoefen in mijn ledigen tijd het schrijven met penseel, het cursief-schrift en maak een soort van hollandsche woordenlijst met de chinesche karakters er achter om gemakkelijker met mijnen Sen-sang te kunnen spreken door te schrijven. Anderen mogen gezegd hebben dat het Chinees [*sic*] leeren in Leiden niets geeft, ik kan opregt verklaren dat ik vooral in den beginne veel nut gehad heb van de teekens in het vaderland onder Uwe leiding geleerd. Verder heb ik de gewoonte om als ik uitga alles op te schrijven wat ik op aanplakbilletten, uithangborden enz. vind, hetgeen ik dan thuis op mijn gemak ga zitten vertalen." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, Macao 12 August 1865.

[250] "Met mijne studies ga ik steeds naar wensch voor uit. Het koudere jaargetijde heeft hierop vooral eenen gunstigen invloed. Bij het lezen van de 三國志 [*Sanguo zhi*, De Drie Rijken] komen mij dikwijls zeer goed te pas de monographien over de partikels 所以而者 enz. vroeger van de Uwe gecopieerd. De chinesche stijl is en blijft het ons zeer lastig maken. Ik heb nu ongeveer 2000 colloquial phrases in 't hoofd die ik door het veelvuldig repeteren niet ligt weer vergeten zal." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, Macao 29 December 1865, Or. 26.971.

[251] Wade, *The Hsin Ching Lu* [尋津錄], *or, Book of Experiments.*

[252] These manuscripts are kept in Archiefkast 3; = Or. 27.037; the book itself (originally containing these manuscripts) is now in Compactus II A 7, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[253] Also titled *Zhengyin cuoyao* 正音撮要, Wenxuanlou 文選樓藏板, originally printed in 1852, now SINOL. KNAG 157.

[254] Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 329; Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 87-8.

[255] BPL 2106 II: 14C, D.

[256] BPL 1782: 13A, pp. 12a, 23b. Colloquial Cantonese can be written with characters better than Hokkien, and it is more common to do so, although it is still considered vulgar.

[257] BPL 1782: 13B.

[258] On Chinese festivals and customs, possibly from a local gazetteer. BPL 1782: 14.

[259] BPL 1782: 17.

[260] Translation dated Gulangyu 18 September 1858 (BPL 1782: 19). De Grijs' original Chinese book is in SINOL. KNAG 46.

[261] "Munten met Chinesche stempels uit Cheribon," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 5 (1856), 487-8.

[262] *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 9 (1860), Bestuursvergaderingen, 4 June 1859, pp. 237-8.

[263] IB 12/11/1860, no. 8 inv. 7294, containing a summary of the letter of the Consul dated 10 October 1860.

[264] Staunton, *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*.

[265] Preface, BPL 1871: 1.

[266] "Index van de Composita voorkomend in de Chineesche text van het Wetboek Tai Tsang Lut Li [*Da Qing lüli*], door C. de Grijs" (26 ff.), BPL 1781: 6.

[267] Preface to De Grijs' *Geregtelijke geneeskunde*, which is dated 28 February 1862.

[268] De Grijs learnt all this much later. By the end of the year, he asked Schlegel to inquire of J.A. van der Chijs if this translation had arrived. Letter dating before 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 1.

[269] Letter of De Grijs 25 June 1862, decision in *Notulen* 1, 1862, meeting of 20 September 1862 (p. 13). At the same meeting, De Grijs was made a corresponding member of the Batavian Society (p. 30).

[270] On the cover is written: "Het Strafwetboek Tai-Tsing-loet-lee, uit het Chineesch vertaald en met aanteekeningen voorzien door C.F.M. de Grijs, Amoy 1863," but the preface is dated Amoy 1861. BPL 1781: 1.

[271] Meeting of 10 February 1865, *Notulen* 3, p. 10.

[272] He wrote a supplement about Chinese inheritance law, now in BPL 1781:3 or 4. *Notulen* 1865, 7 April 1865, p. 42.

[273] *Notulen* 3, 1865, p. 66 (meeting of 30 April 1865).

[274] Archief van het KITLV, H 1406, Notulen Bestuursvergaderingen, No. 94, 24 July 1866, 15 September 1866, 17 November 1866; Brievenboeken, No. 239, letters nos. 683, 704, 729, 732 (KITLV Collection).

[275] P. Meeter, "Mr. J.W.T. Cohen Stuart over den regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 28 and 30 October 1882. Also published in: *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 39 (1882), 316-25. W.P. Groeneveldt, Letter to T.H. der Kinderen dated 28 February 1886, p. 34, in V 19/4/1892 no. 33 inv. 4567.

[276] It has 406 pages of text and 12 pages of notes. BPL 1781:1 (*Catalogue* 2005, 91).

[277] Lan Dingyuan came from Zhangpu 漳浦 near Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou); he passed the district examinations and was therefore a *xiucai* (graduate). He worked as a teacher and scholar for some time. In 1721 he accompanied a relative on the expedition suppressing rebels on Taiwan. In 1724 he was chosen as a student at the Imperial Academy in the capital and he later became an editor. Finally he became magistrate in Puning and Chaozhou, in the Hoklo-speaking region in Eastern Guangdong, where "his wisdom in settling legal cases led the common people to believe he had supernatural aid." (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 440-1). De Grijs' translations are in BPL 1780: 3, 7, 8. These were copies that he made later. On the first page a Dutch comment is written in pencil: "worthy of revision and publication." Schaalje's translations are in BPL 2106 II: 16.

[278] The cases of Judge Bao are collected in *Longtu gong'an* 龍圖公案, but Judge Dee's cases only form part of the novel *Wu Zetian Si da qi an* 武則天四大奇案. The detective part was translated by R.H. van Gulik as *Dee Goong An: Three Murder Cases Solved by Judge Dee*, first edition 1949 (*see* p. 230). After the example of this translation of Chinese detective stories, Van Gulik later wrote his well-known Judge Dee stories (*Rechter Tie*). All these original Chinese detective stories are fictional, but may have been based on fact, as is common in fiction, and can therefore bear comparison to *Lan gong'an*.

[279] H.A. Giles, *Historic China and Other Sketches* (London 1882), 141-232. Giles became a student-interpreter at the British consular service in 1867.

[280] De Grijs had a copy of Lan Dingyuan's collected works *Luzhou quan ji* 鹿洲全集 in 21 vols., now SINOL. KNAG 175. The cover of the volume containing *Lan Gong an* was used as a blotter for a letter dated Kolongsu (Gulangyu) 1863.

[281] BPL 1780: 2, 4, 9A. In some notes he referred to De Groot's *Jaarlijksche feesten* (1883). Still other translations were made by him in the 1890s.

[282] The book lists are in V 6/8/1855 no. 2/586 inv. 444 (De Grijs), V 23/10/1857 no. 6 inv. 651 (Francken, Schlegel), V 29/1/1859 no. 52 inv. 786 (Albrecht, Von Faber), V 23/5/1859 no. 23/562 inv. 833 (Schaalje), V 24/10/1861 nov. 2/1319 inv. 1111 (Buddingh, Groeneveldt), V 22/6/1864 no. 17/679 inv. 1485 (De Breuk), V 24/5/1865 no. 2 inv. 1611 (Meeter).

[283] Groeneveldt and Buddingh bought the books for their gratifications together, in total 54 titles, four of which in two copies. So the average of 29 books should be added to the number of books purchased by each from their advance payment.

[284] Only one list of Meeter's could be found, but this was probably all that he bought.

285 Or the German original *Das algemeine linguistische Alphabet: Grundsätze der Übertragung fremder Schriftsysteme und bisher noch ungeschriebene Sprachen in europäischer Buchstaben* (Berlin, 1854). This alphabet was an early version of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA, 1888).

[286] A collection of about 250 Chinese books belonging to the Royal Dutch Geographic Society (KNAG) was kept in a depot of Amsterdam University Library, and was discovered in the 1990s. They were very fortunately donated to the Sinological Institute in 2004, where they constitute the KNAG Collection.

[287] *See* the KNAG Collection list, East Asian Library, Leiden. This list is also available on the University Library catalogue and the Library blog of the East Asian Library, Leiden.

[288] *A descriptive Catalogue of a rare and valuable collection of CHINESE PRINTED BOOKS constituting the libraries of the late Mr. W.P. Groeneveldt* [... and others], auction on Friday, May 27th, 1921, [compiled by A.G. de Bruin] E.J. Brill, Leyden. Containing at least 114 titles from Groeneveldt, including voluminous works such as the 24 dynastic histories.

Notes to Chapter Four

[1] Schlegel said that De Grijs was posted in China to study the Chinese pharmacopeia (*Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 13), but this was not mentioned in the decision of the Governor-General (IB 26/9/1856, no. 2, in V 8/12/1856, no. 10, inv. 562).

[2] Bretschneider, *History of European Botanical Discoveries in China*, 532-3.

[3] Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 222.

[4] Hance had also been collecting here in 1857. This Nan Taiwu 南太武 (562 m) dominates the entrance to the waters around Amoy. There used to be a stone pagoda on the top of this hill dating from the Song dynasty (960–1279), that was used as a navigation aid by sailors; it was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution in 1968. Nan Taiwu is still a well-known scenic area. It is called Nan or Southern Taiwu in contrast with the Northern Taiwu (Bei Taiwu 北太武 or Taiwu Shan 太武山, 253 m) on Jinmen (Quemoy, Kinmen) island, now governed by Taiwan, dominating the other side of the entrance.

[5] Letter in English addressed "My dear Mac" and dated Amoy, 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 4.

[6] Two were described by C.J. Maximowicz, to whom Hance used to send duplicates (Bretschneider, *History*, 1067).

[7] Bretschneider, *History*, 533-4.

[8] H.F. Hance, "Spicilegia Florae Sinensis," *Journal of Botany* 1878, new series, vol. VII, pp. 10, 112, 226, 233. 1879 vol. VIII, p. 9.

[9] *See* description in J. Robert Sealy, *A Revision of the Genus Camellia* (London: The Royal Horticultural Society, 1958), 92-3.

[10] Camellia Grijsii, published by Yuri Panchul, March 13, 2008, on the website Sazanka, The Flower of the autumn sun (http://Sazanka.org/2008/03/13/grijsii/).

[11] No reference to De Grijs can be found in the on-line catalogue of the Nationaal Herbarium. In contrast, the collection of 2,477 specimens of plants collected by Von Siebold in Japan is accessible on-line. According to a personal communication by the head of collections, Dr. G. Thijsse, no specimens were delivered by De Grijs (8 May 2009).

[12] Described in BPL 1780:2-8, 1781:1, 1782:19, in *Catalogue* 2005.

[13] "Over de bereiding en het gebruik der groene Chinesche verfstof 綠糕 of 綠餻, *Lŏ Kaô* (groene koek)." The article is dated Amoy, 30 May 1857, a few weeks after he arrived there; it was published in *De Volksvlijt* (1857), 313-9.

[14] Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 152. By 1917 it had been almost totally superseded by aniline dyes.

[15] J.A. van Eijk, "Over de groene verfstof *lukoe*," 411-7; Prof. S. Bleekrode, "Nog iets over de Chinesche plantaardige verfstoffen lukoe (*lo-kao*) and weifa (*wei-wha*)," 418-522; De Grijs' article; Prof S. Bleekrode, "Verdere bijzonderheden over het Chinesche groen

lŏ-kaô," 321-3; Natalis Rondot te Parijs, medegedeeld door Prof. S. Bleekrode, "Het Chinesche groen *lŏ-kaô*," 193-218.

[16] According to Professor S. Bleekrode in 1858, De Grijs' article did not solve the problem. And in 1857, a French article with the same contents was published by Hélot in the Report of the Chamber of Commerce in Lyons (*De Volksvlijt* (1858), 321).

[17] Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, Introduction, no. 70.

[18] Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 30 (3).

[19] His copy of this edition is now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden (SINOL. KNAG 142). This edition has 5 *juan* (sections). De Grijs translated *juan* 1-4 and only the two lists at the end of *juan* 5, not the text in *juan* 5, of which the first two pages are missing in his copy. This copy contains De Grijs' corrections of misprints, and explanations of rare characters written by his teacher.

[20] Hoffmann, *Catalogus van matrijzen*, 1860. These instructions were probably meant for the printer. Around this time, the Landsdrukkerij in Batavia obtained Chinese type from Leiden and could print Chinese characters.

[21] R.H. van Gulik, *Crime and Punishment in Ancient China: T'ang-Yin-Pi-Shih* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1956), 18 note 4. Later, H.A. Giles published a translation of *juan* 1 and 2 under the title "The 'Shi Yüan Lu' or Instructions to Coronors" in *The China Review*, vol. III (1874).

[22] Wang (In-hoai), *Gerichtliche Medizin der Chinesen. Nach der holländische Uebersetzung des Herrn C.F.M. de Grys herausgegeben von Dr. H. Breitenstein* (Leipzig: Grieben 1908), vii, 174 p. Dr. Breitenstein (1848–1930) worked in the Indies as a military physician for many years. For him, this book was only important as a guide to Chinese manners, not as a technical handbook of forensic medicine. He added some notes. *See also* his *21 Jahre in Indien*, vol. 2, *Java*, 296-301. Modern scholars highly appreciate this handbook of forensic medicine; *see* Brian McKnight (translator), *The Washing Away of Wrongs: Forensic Medicine in Thirteenth Century China*: Science, Medicine, & Technology in East Asia 1 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1980).

[23] *Natuurkundig tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* 29 (1867), 157 (meeting of 24 March 1866).

[24] There were three books on algae and several on related subjects on his book list. V 23/10/1857 no. 6 inv. 651.

[25] Originally in 6 volumes; reprinted in 1860, 1868 (popular edition) and 1878.

[26] Schlegel, "Levensschets van Herman Schlegel," *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 1884 (off-print), 75 note. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, birds were usually collected by shooting them.

[27] "Levensschets," 79. When Gustaaf later read Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859), he was therefore very enthusiastic about it, but after his return to the Netherlands in 1872, he discovered that his father was opposed to this theory, and finally was even convinced by his father that the theory was not correct.

[28] Probably the following edition: Charles Robert Darwin, *Naturwissenschaftliche Reisen nach den Inseln des grünen Vorgebirges, Südamerika, dem Feuerlande, Falkland-Inseln, Chiloe-Inseln, Galapagos-Inseln, Otaheiti, Neuholland, Neuseeland, Van Diemen's land, Keeling-Inseln, Mauritius, St. Helena, den Azoren etc.* (Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1844). A Dutch translation appeared in 1845.

[29] V 23/10/1857 no. 6 inv. 651; V 24/10/1861 no. 2/1319 inv. 1111.

[30] Robert Swinhoe (1836–77) entered the British Consular Service in 1854 and came to Hong Kong. From 1855 to 1860 he was stationed in Amoy, where he learned the dialect and studied the local fauna; he also kept some animals as pets. He travelled to Formosa in 1856 and 1858, and was appointed as the first British Consular official on Formosa in 1860 (Samuel Stephenson, "Robert Swinhoe," in http://academic.reed.edu/formosa/texts/swinhoebio.html). He described and named innumerable species and laid the basis of all later studies of Chinese ornithology.

[31] "Toen ik, ten behoeve van het Museum van Natuurlijke Historie te Leiden, in China dieren en vogels schoot en insekten verzamelde, behoefde ik den Chineeschen boeren slechts wijs te maken, dat ik die dieren verzamelde om er geneesmiddelen van te maken,

en ik werd onverlet doorgelaten." Schlegel, "De oorsprong van den vreemdenhaat der Chineezen," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, September 1901 (on off-print p. 12). The subject of this speech was Chinese hatred of foreigners, for which according to Schlegel there were reasons, but it could also be gotten around.

[32] "Zij wisten ook dat, wanneer des nachts Chineesche zeeroovers eene landing op het eiland beproefden, wij met onze jachtgeweren den boeren te hulp kwamen, en het bloote gerucht, dat zes blanken het dorp beschermden, was voldoende om de zeeroovers te doen afdeinzen." Schlegel, "Vreemdenhaat," 12.

[33] Mees, "Historisches über *Anthus Gustavi* Swinhoe," *Mitteilungen aus dem Zoologischen Museum in Berlin, Annalen für Ornithologie* 14, Band 66 (1990), Supplementshaft, 137-41. Lists by Gustaaf with these numbers (including duplicates) can be found in the letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[34] "Eene groote doos met insecten waarbij een zeer groot aantal nieuwe soorten schijnen te zijn, vooral onder de nachtvlinders of soorten zonder opzichtige kleuren, welke beide door de Chinezen niet verzameld worden." List dated 2 November 1859, letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[35] "Levensschets," 64 note. Letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden. Here, "Holosceptrum" has been corrected to "Halisceptrum."

[36] "Ingezonden stukken" (letters to the editor), signed "X," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 21 December 1870.

[37] Most of them were stuffed later (Mees). Until 1900, collected specimens (hides) of animals in the Museum of Natural History in Leiden were usually stuffed in natural poses. After 1900 they were usually kept in stretched-out form to facilitate research (measuring etc.). Nowadays specimens are no longer actively collected by the Museum (personal communication from S.D. van der Mije, Senior Collection Manager Aves & Mammalia, November 2010).

[38] Schlegel, "Levensschets van Herman Schlegel," *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen 1884*. In off-print pp. 63-4, note.

[39] Barbara and Richard Mearns, *Biographies for Bird Watchers: The Lives of Those Commemorated in Western Palearctic Bird Names* (London etc.: Academic Press, 1988), 337-9. Nowadays, the *Anthus Gustavi* has also been observed passing the northwest coast of the British Isles.

[40] Described by Swinhoe in *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, 90-1.

[41] Mees, "Historisches über *Anthus Gustavi* Swinhoe."

[42] These could not be located. E-mail from Ms Caroline Pepermans, Head of Collections Administration, Naturalis, October 2010.

[43] Dr. Eduard Carl (Karl) von Martens (1831–1904) took part in the Prussian expedition to East Asia (1860–2) which concluded treaties with Japan, China (1861), and Siam (6 February 1862). There were four ships, the steamship (steam corvette) *Arkona*, the sail frigate *Thetis*, the schooner *Frauenlob,* and the clipper *Elbe*. In August 1860, the *Frauenlob* was lost with all hands on board on the way to Japan.

[44] "Waarde Oom, / Niettegenstaande eene slechte verlichting mij ter beschikking staat (bestaande in een nachtlichtje), wil ik, daar morgenvroeg de mail vertrekt, u toch een en ander mededeelen aangaande onze reis. Onze behouden aankomst op Java zal Papa u zeker reeds medegedeeld hebben, de reis leverde weinig belangrijks op. Wij hebben geen enkele visch of vogel kunnen vangen op zee, land hebben wij onderweg ook niet gezien, maar hebben veel windstilte en slechte voeding en behandeling aan boord gehad. Storm hadden wij slechts eens, buiten het kanaal, alles liep evenwel goed af, en de geheele reis hadden wij de nachten een prachtig gezicht op de phosphoriseerende zee; de verstandhouding tusschen de 36 passagiers was zeer goed, dit vergoedde de slechte behandeling van de zijde des kapiteins, die anders een goed zeeman is en nooit boos wordt. / Java is een prachtig land, ik heb er maar weinig van gezien, de omstreken van Batavia vielen mijne verwachtingen niet tegen, vogels en insecten in groote menigte. Ik zag er ook het zoogenaamde wandelend blad, dat de stoutste verbeelding overtreft; ik heb *f* 5,00 geboden per stuk, ze waren van Buitenzorg, ik heb ze echter niet gekregen; het verzamelen van insecten gaat met veel moeijlijkheden gepaard, de hitte van den dag massacreerd [*sic*] den Europeaan. / Onze reis naar Singapore per mail schroefboot hebben wij in 5 dagen volbracht. Wij deden Muntok

aan op Banka en Riouw, beide heerlijk gelegen eilanden; op deze reis weder 2 dagen hevige val-winden die zeer gevaarlijk zijn, het mistige weder in de Chinesche zee verhinderde land te zien om goede koers te houden en de menigte van gevaarlijke droogten en eilanden te vermijden, 3 dagen is de gewone overtogt. / Singapore is eene beroerde plaats, de stad namelijk, de bevolking bestaat uit Klingen of Cingalezen en Chinezen, enkele Maleijers, en verder Europeanen, die meestal buiten wonen; gisteren zijn wij aangekomen, en logeeren op 't oogenblik in 't Hôtel de l'espérance; heden middag aan tafel hoor ik opeens Duitsch spreken door een bekende stem tusschen al dat Engelsch door, en naast mij ziende en hem aansprekende herkende ik von Martens, eene aardige ontmoeting; morgen spreek ik hem weder, zijne reis met de Thetys is tot nog toe goed volbracht, het verlies van de Frauenlob ging hem zeer ter harte, zijne verzendingen zijn nogal talrijk, hij prees Japan zeer, China beviel hem niet; 't speet hem zeer Gustaaf niet ontmoet te hebben, hij verzocht aan allen zijne vriendelijke groeten. …" Letters from J.A. Buddingh to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[45] "En nu iets over de verzamelingen, ik ben druk bezig met een en ander, ik vrees echter dat Gustaaf reeds alles gezonden heeft wat hier zooal is, gisteren stikte ik weêr twee slangen in een der blikken met Chinesche brandewijn, dit is een excellent middel om ze te dooden, binnen weinige uren zijn ze dood; tot mijn leedwezen is het arsenicumpotje gebroken onderweg, ze behandelen de goederen zoo beestachtig aan boord der schepen, ik zal echter nieuwe prepareeren om huiden te maken, anders is alles goed aangekomen." Letter dated Amoy 13 May 1862.

[46] "Door onvoorziene gebeurtenissen is de helft van hetgeen ik in de 3 [*sic*] zomermaanden Mei-September verzameld had bedorven en voor verzending ongeschikt geworden, moge de rest geapprecieerd worden, daar het een zwaar werk is in een warme of liever gezegd verzengde luchtstreek in vrije uren eenige voorwerpen te verzamelen, die hier waarachtig niet gezaaijd liggen, zooals men wel in Europa meent; ons eiland is daarentegen zeer arm, men kan lang zoeken om wat te vinden." Letter dated 15 September 1862.

[47] Letters from J.A. Buddingh to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden. Short biography in: Mees: *A List of the Birds Recorded from Bangka Island, Indonesia*, Zoölogische verhandelingen uitgegeven door het Rijksmuseum voor Natuurlijke Historie te Leiden, no. 232 (Leiden, 1986), 158.

[48] "Ik heb hier weinig kunnen verzamelen wegens te veel studie, onaangenaamheden met ploerten, en eene warme winter die uitstapjes onmogelijk maakten." Letter dated 4 June 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden

[49] "Ik heb tot nog toe geene gelegenheid gehad om een groote kist met vogels etc. met een schip mêe te geven, de kapteins zijn soms zulke beroerlingen, dat ik ze niet vertrouw, en buitendien gaan al zoo zeldzaam schepen direct naar Nederland via Java." Letter dated 4 June 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[50] From Grimmen near Stralsund. Albert Pasedag perhaps later emigrated to the United States; a person with the same name, born around 1840 in Prussia, was living in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1880 (internet, 1880 US census). He was possibly related to the Amoy merchant C.J. Pasedag (Pasedag & Co.), who would later become the Netherlands' Consul in Amoy from 1874 to 1884.

[51] "Zooeven vertrok een mijner vrienden uit Emoi voor goed naar Duitschland terug, omdat het hem in de koophandel niet naar wensch ging. Deze gelegenheid heb ik natuurlijk niet laten voorbijgaan om een en ander meêtegeven naar Leiden, slechts een klein kistje werd mij toegestaan te brengen en ik heb derhalve het kleinste en voornaamste er in gedaan dat gereed was voor verzending." Letter 5 June 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[52] "2 uilen (van groote waarde) / 1 Alcedo lugubris (keurig exemplaar) / 1 Alcedo bengalensis (dito) / 1 zee eend (dodaars, die heel moeilijk te krijgen zijn; deze is geschoten door Schaalje en mij tegelijkertijd, ieder vuurden wij twee maal op dit dier; een keurig exemplaar waarvan ik de eer als schenker afsta aan mijn vriend Schaalje, die hem u aanbiedt) …" Letter 5 June 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[53] "Ik ben nu voornemens de huid te prepareren van mijn wezel, die ik nog steeds in leven heb, hij is echter achterlijk in groei en minder donker gekleurd als de exemplaren in de vrije natuur, die men wel zien maar niet vangen kan, reeds heb ik nieuwe proeven genomen, die tamelijk wel gelukt zijn." Letter 5 June 1863.

[54] De Grijs, Schlegel, and Albrecht also donated to this museum and Hoffmann often made descriptions of coins. *See* Van der Chijs, *Het munt- en penningkabinet der Leidsche Hoogeschool in 1867*, 113-5, 122. In 2007 this museum merged with two other museums into the Geldmuseum (Money Museum) in Utrecht. On 1 November 2013 this museum was abolished because of lack of financial resources. The collection and archives were to be entrusted to De Nederlandsche Bank in Amsterdam.

[55] "… eindelijk twee huiden, een van eene rat en een van de getemde wezel, door een ongeluk om 't leven gekomen, zijn staart is verongelukt bij 't villen." Letter 3 October 1863.

[56] "Het is jammer dat wij uit Emoi weggaan, want men moet altijd eenige tijd lang ergends geweest zijn om bekend te worden en bekend te zijn. Daarvoor heb ik dikwijls uitgaven gedaan, die mij nu niets zullen opleveren, want men moet alles door Chinezen laten verzamelen, zelf verzamelen gaat niet, 't zou behalve in den wintertijd het leven kosten aan een Europeaan." Letter to Herman Schlegel, 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[57] "Het zal u misschien verwonderen dat ik dit jaar zoo weinig verzameld heb in vergelijking van de collectie van 1862 die nu op reis is, maar zooals ik u geloof ik reeds eerder geschreven heb, ben ik verhuisd en woon nu in de stad aan de haven, vis à vis Kolangsu, sedert Maart heb ik het oude Engelsche consulaat verlaten moeten, en derhalve tuin en omgeving, het is weêr in Chinesche handen, anders had ik er van tijd tot tijd toch heên kunnen gaan, maar alles is nu afgesloten. Zoo heb ik ook dit jaar geen vogeleieren kunnen verzamelen, ook geene kapellen of insecten." Letter to Herman Schlegel, 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[58] *Euplocamus Swinhoii* Gould or Formosan Wakoe (Wá-koë) is an "exceedingly beautiful species" (Gould), now an endangered species from the mountains of Taiwan. Swinhoe wrote that after he heard of a beautiful bird which the Chinese colonists called Waköe (perhaps hoa-koe 花雞, 'piebald hen'), he offered a reward for live specimens. He obtained two specimens: one was shot and had been skinned because of the hot climate; the other was caught alive "but it battered itself so, that they were obliged to kill it to save its feathers." He did not observe it in the wild (*The Ibis* (1863), 401-3). Described by John Gould in *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* (1862), 284-5 (25 November).

[59] "Onlangs ben ik naar Formosa geweest, 3 dagen binnenslands, maar de omstandigheden en de tijd hebben mij verhinderd daar iets te verzamelen, slechts een vogel en een paar nesten, benevens zwavel en steenkool uit de mijnen heb ik meêgebracht, het is een goddelijk land, niets minder dan Java: Formosa is niet genoeg, het land moest Formossisima heeten, ik was geheel verrukt van de vruchtbaarheid, schoonheid en natuurrijkdom en pracht in dit eiland, de rivieren zijn ook wonderschoon, zoo als wij ze niet in Europa hebben. Nog meer verbaasd over de schoone natuur was ik, omdat Formosa zoo digt onder de Chinesche kust ligt, en deze zoo armoedig, stiefmoederlijk bedeeld is, vooral ons kale Emoi, dat eigentlijk Kolangsu in 't groot is, maar in evenredigheid minder boomen heeft, dus dat hier weinig vogels zijn is niets vreemds. Maar het verwonderde mij ten zeerste dat ik zoo weinig vogels op mijn uitstapjes gezien heb op Formosa, en toch geloof ik dat er genoeg zijn, juist door de weelderige bosschen komen ze niet te voorschijn, voedsel behoeven ze niet ver te zoeken en onrust kennen ze er niet; die fazant door Swinhoe in Engeland gebracht en naar hem genoemd, heeft hij geschenk van de Engelsche consul op Tamsui en deze had hem van een Chinees gekocht die uit het bovenland kwam op Formosa, slangen heb ik in menigte gezien op Formosa, maar niet hetzelfde soort, vlinders zijn er prachtig, ook geheel verschillend van de Emoi en Kolangsu kapellen, apen en vooral schildpadden zijn er in allerlei soort, in 't geheel ben ik slechts 5 dagen aan wal geweest, en 10 dagen van huis." Letter to Herman Schlegel, 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[60] "… eene zoogdier-huid, dezelve is afkomstig uit het binnenland dezer Provincie, de Chinezen noemen hem steen-tijger [石虎]. Ik beschouw hem als een soort van civetkat of wilde kat, misschien is het iets nieuws, hij is geheel door Chinezen gevild en gedroogd, er mankeert evenwel niet veel aan behalve de pooten en de slecht geconserveerde staart." Letter 3 October 1863.

[61] In Dutch: "geweren en pistolen." These were sold after he left Amoy. Letter to Schaalje 25 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 28.

[62] "Wolf van de Emilie zal nu wel op Java zijn en zoo Gij mogt hooren dat hij in moeilijke omstandigheden zit, of misschien wel dood is of zooiets, schrijf het mij dan: Gij weet dat

Groeneveldt hem een kogel in zijn voorhoofd gejaagd heeft waardoor Wolfs oog verloren was bij zijn vertrek van Emoi, maar daar de kogel nog niet uit 't hoofd is maak ik mij ongerust ...." Letter dated 3 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 12.

[63] Letter dated 14 June 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, p. 17-18.

[64] Mees, *Birds from Bangka*, 10, 158. This new species, *Macrobrachium geron* Holthuis, is not mentioned in Fransen et al., "Type Catalogue of the Decapod Crustacea," *Zoölogische Verhandelingen Leiden* 311 (1997).

[65] "Verslag omtrent 's lands Plantentuin over het Jaar 1868," quoted in *Java-bode*, 23 June 1869.

Notes to Chapter Five

[1] Pieter de Gooyer and Jacob de Keyzer (1655–7), Pieter van Hoorn (1666–8), Vincent Paets (1685–7), and Isaac Titsingh (1794–5).

[2] Duyvendak, *Wegen en gestalten*, 241-50, 273-8. Vixseboxse, *Een Hollandsch gezantschap*, 1-3.

[3] Cai Hongsheng, "Dutch Enterprise in the Pearl River Delta during the 17th and 18th Century," in Blussé, *Sailing to the Pearl River*, 7.

[4] Blussé, "Wills, Widows and Witnesses," 318.

[5] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 44.

[6] This is one of Van Dongen's conclusions.

[7] Prince Gong (Kung, 1833–98) 恭親王 was a half-brother of the Xianfeng Emperor (1831–62, ruled 1850–61). The full name of the Zongli Yamen (Tsung-li ya-men) was *Zongli geguo shiwu yamen* 總理各國事務衙門 (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 380-4).

[8] Royal Decree 23 July 1862 no. 64. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 40.

[9] Xue Huan 薛煥 (Hsüeh Huan, 1815–80) was Governor of Jiangsu province in 1860–3 and Commissioner of Trade in 1861–3 (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 744).

[10] IB 23/2/1862 no. 13 inv. 7323. Draft texts dated 28 November 1862 by Van der Hoeven and 12 December 1862 by the Minister of Foreign Affairs are kept in Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126 toegang 2.05.01, Foreign affairs, NA, The Hague.

[11] Correspondence inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01. Summary of the Chinese letters with De Grijs' translation in BPL 1782:24 F pp. 1a-2a. Chinese memorials in *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末 (1972 edition) Vol. 8, Index, pp. 350-1.

[12] "内稱伊主為大皇帝，將來尚須設法令其更改." This was followed by: "其餘詞氣，均尚恭順." (The tone of the rest of the words is altogether respectful and submissive.) *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末 (1972 edition) Vol. 5, pp. 255-6 (同治朝 *juan* 10, pp. 7-9).

[13] A copy by Schaalje of one of Xue Huan's letters is kept in the Leiden University Library, letter of 9 December 1862 giving approval of a treaty to copy the Belgian one (BPL 2106 I: 5 A, *Catalogue* 2005, 134). And on his list of standard translations of Dutch and East Indies officials, *Koning* (King) was translated as *Huangdi* 皇帝 and *Huangshang* 皇上 (Emperor) (BPL 2106 II: 35, p. 1).

[14] Lobscheid, *English and Chinese Dictionary*, Vol. III, p. 1076 footnote. Nowadays both words are still confused by Cantonese speakers in Hong Kong. In Cantonese *wang* and *huang* are both pronounced *wong*.

[15] He was Minister from 12 March 1862 to 15 March 1864 (*Staatsalmanak*).

[16] Chinese and Dutch letter dated 11 August 1863, in BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 1a-2a.

[17] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 40-5.

[18] In Dutch: *schroefstoomschip*. Named after Jan Coenraad Koopman (1790–1855). In 1832, during the Belgian Revolution and its aftermath, he courageously burned his ships rather than capitulate to the French and Belgians near Antwerp.

[19] Instructions of 27 December 1862, Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 40.

[20] A copy book of De Grijs' letters from January to December 1863 including a diary of the mission written on 10 November 1863 is kept in BPL 1782: 28, and his draft article is in BPL 1783: 1D and 2. Some copies of Chinese diplomatic letters with his Dutch trans-

lations dated August 1863 to May 1864 are in BPL 1782: 24 F, and three original letters in Chinese from September 1863 are in inv. 74, toegang 2.05.90. Chinese correspondence is published in *Li Wenzhong gong quanji* 李文忠公全集 and summarised in memorials in *Chouban yiwu shimo* (Tongzhi) 籌辦夷務始末 (同治朝).

[21] "Vroeger sprak ik U over Peking, maar weet Gij wel dat Ang met mij gaat: hij krijgt van mij $ 35 's maands zoolang als de expeditie duurt en hij is mij dit wel waard daar ik hem vertrouw zooveel als een Chinees te vertrouwen is." Letter to Francken dated Amoy 3 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 12.

[22] De Grijs mentioned the indignation of the Chinese in 1891, almost thirty years later, when answering questions from the member of Parliament A.J.W. Farncombe Sanders. BPL 1781: 9, p. 1. Another reason for the anger of the Chinese was probably that the change of Van der Hoeven's Chinese name had made him unrecognisable; *see* below.

[23] "De Grijs who knows a little Mandarin" (die een weinig de … Mandarijnsche taal … magtig is). Letter Schlegel to Director of Justice De Pauly dated 27 May 1872, V7/8/1872 no. 40 inv. 2515. In his draft article and letters, De Grijs sometimes mixed up Mandarin and Hokkien pronunciations, writing Tangchow for Tungchow 通州 (draft article, p. 32) etc.

[24] De Grijs probably meant: to be responsible for their livelihood. Beef was popular among Europeans but it was rarely eaten by the Chinese.

[25] "Wat de tractaten-boel betreft, ik kan er niets van zeggen: vroeger had ik mij ingebeeld dat een fatsoenlijk mensch uit Holland of Java zou gezonden worden en dus bleef ik tegen mijn belang in China, nu is vdHoeven het en ik merk dat hij er al lang op gerekend heeft: zoo ik mij nu terugtrek zal het domme vee en ook de verstandige hoop opgestookt door een ultra-conservatief koopman in Gember kruiderijen, spijsolie etc. denken dat ik mij terugtrek daar ik bang ben om een tractaat te maken onder oogen van zulk een chineesch-kenner als de onderhavige ambassadeur. / Zooal de Goden en godinnen mij hunne spreektrompetten leenden om te vloeken, ik zou nog te kort schieten om uit te drukken mijne woede, maar helaas zooals Thomas Carlyle zegt, om in een houten hoofd iets te trommelen is eene lastige operatie. De infatuatie van het gouvernement gaat zoo ver dat zij uit alle schepen ter wereld hebben gekozen een schip genaamd *V.A. Koopman* met een *koopman* als ambassadeur, zonder secretaris zonder tolk zonder iets, daar ik maar toegevoegd schijn te zijn om menschen Gû-bah [牛肉] te koopen enz. Het ergste is dat ik er niets aan kan doen! Voordat het tractaat echter gesetteld wordt zal ik met Van der Hoeven een praatje houden en ik beloof U het zal zoo fatsoenlijk mogelijk zijn." Letter to Francken dated Amoy 7 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 13.

[26] "… ik ben vrij zeker dat ik mij aan den ambassade zal trachten te onttrekken!" Letter to the students in Amoy, Hong Kong 1 June 1864, BPL 1782: 28, p. 14.

[27] "Ik wilde nu naar Java maar vdH houdt mij terug zeggende [dat] ik in de volgende week met hem naar 't noorden ga, en waarschijnlijk snel 't tractaat naar huis zal brengen." Letter to Francken dated Hong Kong 10 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 15.

[28] In Chinese characters: 黃埔. These docks were in Hung Hom 紅磡 on the Eastern side of Kowloon. Not to be confused with the harbour of Whampoa (Huangpu) near Canton or the Huangpu River 黃浦江 in Shanghai.

[29] Letters to Schaalje dated Hong Kong 17 June 1863 and to Groeneveldt 24 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 19, 26.

[30] "De VA Koopman kwam dus hier aan en heeft 15 officieren en 175 man aan boord, de overste is een ultra-Conservatief Hollander wiens hart & boezem kloppen op 't woord Holland en die mij verweet toen ik hem een half uur gezien had dat ik beschaamd was over Holland & geen Hollander was, de officieren zijn alle ware hollandsche jongens (bollebuizen) en het eten aan boord is ultra-conservatief. Van der Hoeven zal er zich geheel tehuis gevoelen maar ik eene bastaart voel er mij vreemd." Letter to Schaalje dated 17 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 19-20. J.E. Buys was Captain Lieutenant-commander (*Kapitein-Luitenant ter zee*).

[31] No reference concerning this decision could be found.

[32] Letter to Schaalje dated Hong Kong 25 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 29.

[33] Letters to Schaalje dated Hong Kong 17 June 1863 and 25 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 19, 28. The full name of this Ang is not given, but he was probably Ang In Liong 汪寅

亮. The students had two teachers named Ang, but pronounced with different tones: Ang În Liōng and Âng Dzú Lâm 洪汝嵐 (*see* Chapter Three, section on teaching methods). In his letters De Grijs always indicated the tones on words and names. Now he perhaps was calling him "the cross-eyed one" to avoid any misunderstanding.

[34] "… de spiegel bloemen." De Grijs had a copy of this novel, now in SINOL. KNAG 199.

[35] Letter to Schaalje dated Hong Kong 29 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 31. His second servant, his "boy," must also have arrived then (Letter from Mossel to Van der Hoeven, 24 July 1863, inv. 74, toegang 2.05.90).

[36] Letter in English to "My dear fellow," dated Tientsin 31 August 1863, BPL 1782: 28, between pp. 48 and 49.

[37] De Grijs' draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 10.

[38] "[Dan] gaan er altijd een paar maanden voorbij, eer dat er chinesche onderhandelaars benoemd zijn, terwijl ik vrees dat het sluiten, het teekenen van het tractaat wel ad calendas Graecas zal verdaagd worden." Letter to Francken dated Hong Kong 18 July 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 33.

[39] In his letter of 11 August 1862 to Xue Huan, Van der Hoeven had announced that the Dutch would arrive with two warships (BPL 2601 I: 5A, p. 2a; Li Hongzhang's version of this letter only mentions one ship, 奏稿, 卷四, p. 12r). This ship, in Dutch also a *schroefstoomschip*, was named after a famous battlefield in the Dutch–Belgian War in 1832. This war ended with the independence of Belgium from the Netherlands, which was a traumatic experience for the Dutch.

[40] Letter to "My dear fellow," dated Tientsin 31 August 1863, BPL 1782: 28, loose A5 leaves after p. 49. De Grijs heard a common Dutch curse meaning "God damn." Jardine was one of the largest British firms in China. It would pay the publication costs of Legge's *Chinese Classics*.

[41] The Belgian Treaty was dated 8 August 1862 and consisted of only four articles, but included the most-favoured nation clause. French text in inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01, NA. Chinese text in *Zhongwai jiuyue huibian* 中外舊約章彙編 (北京三聯書店, 1957, vol. 1) pp. 207-8 (Dutch Treaty of 1863 on pp. 208-13). According to De Grijs, it could not be considered a real treaty, and the interpreter was to be blamed for this, not the Belgian Consul General (BPL 1783: 2, p. 13). The Belgian treaty was never ratified, but a full treaty was signed in 1865.

[42] Draft article by De Grijs, p. 13, BPL 1783: 2.

[43] Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (Li Hung-chang, 1823–1901) became a *jinshi* in 1847 and took part in the suppression of the Taiping revolt. He was Governor of Jiangsu and Commissioner of Trade in the Southern Harbours in 1863–71. Later he became Commissioner of Trade of the Northern Harbours (1872–1901) and for thirty years was the foremost Chinese diplomat. In 1896 he made a tour around the world, visiting St. Petersburg, Berlin, The Hague, Brussels, Paris, and America (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 464-71; *see also* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Schlegel and Li Hongzhang in 1896").

[44] "Later toen wij al te Tientsin waren kregen wij een brief van den commmissaris waarin hij zeide dat wij het toch in Shanghai moesten doen, dat wij gekomen waren om een tractaat *aftesmeeken* en wij dus maar het belgische tractaat moesten copieren enz. enz. en hij eindigt met eene allerbeleefdste phrase verzoekende hem wel te willen antwoorden in onderwijs alias de gewone brieventerm van een inferieur aan een superieur: ik vind de stijl lomp & onbeschaafd en 't kan best zijn dat de heer Commissaris den brief niet gelezen heeft. Hoe 't ook zij, er is niet verder op geantwoord." Letter to Francken dated Tientsin 7 September 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, pp. 49-50.

[45] "今 貴國照比國章程立約，自應仍在上海辦理，毋庸赴京. 若冒昧前去必致無人接待料理.貴大臣亦必致仍回上海方可與本大臣會議立約." Chinese letter and Dutch translation in BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 4a-5b.

[46] 李文忠公全集，奏稿，卷四, pp. 9a-13a.

[47] Schaalje made a copy of the letter from Xue Huan of 9 December 1862 (BPL 2106 I: 5 A, *Catalogue* 2005, 134), and "King" was translated as "Emperor" on his list of officials in the Indies (BPL 2106 II: 35, p. 1).

[48] “其國名荷字改用和字，似取音同之故。其去年申陳内稱伊主為皇帝，兹文内則稱爲君主。是此一層，不煩力爭而先已更易。將來立約，自當以該使此文為定。” 李文忠公全集，奏稿，卷四, pp. 9a-9b (punctuation added).

[49] The name 和蘭 had been used in the Ming dynasty, for instance in the *Dongxi yangkao* 東西洋考 (1617) *juan* 6, p. 15 and in the *History of the Ming dynasty* 明史 (1368–1644), printed in 1739, which has a chapter about the Netherlands (和蘭傳). From the 1650s on, when the first Dutch envoys visited Peking, the modern name 荷蘭 (or 荷蘭國) had been used in China in all official contacts with the Dutch. It had become well established as the standard name in China by the beginning of the nineteenth century. But in the Indies the older Ming-dynasty name 和蘭 continued to be used until well into the twentieth century; for instance in the Kong Koan archives of Batavia it was used exclusively from 1787 to 1912. In Japan the archaic name 和蘭, pronounced *Oranda*, was often used in book titles until 1945, and afterwards replaced by katakana オランダ (Kuiper, “The Chinese name for ‘Holland.’”).

[50] As Consul in Canton, Van der Hoeven was called 大荷蘭國欽命駐劄廣州總理本國事務領事方 (J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, Consul General of the Netherlands in Canton). As plenipotentiary he was called 大和國君主特派欽差駐劄中華便宜行事全權大臣礬 (J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, extraordinary plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands in China). De Grijs probably chose the new Chinese name Fán 礬 for Van der Hoeven because its large number of strokes (20) showed more authority than the simple name Fāng 方 (4 strokes); for a Dutchman, it also better represented the Dutch sound of ‘Van.’ Van der Hoeven’s full Chinese name used in Tientsin was Fan Da Hewen 礬大何文.

[51] In the nineteenth century, these were the most common names for England and France, appearing for instance in the modern geography schoolbook by Zhang Shiying 張士瀛, *Diqiu yunyan* 地球韻言 (*juan* 3, pp. 5a, 10a; many editions in 1898–1905). These names were later superseded by the modern names *Yingguo* 英國 and *Faguo* 法國, which had also been used in the treaties. By contrast, *Heguo* 和國 never became the common name for the Netherlands.

[52] Kuiper, “The Chinese name for ‘Holland.’”

[53] “Shanghai de 12 Augustus verlaten, vielen wij ter reede van Taku op 19 Augustus en de volgende morgen ging ik naar wal om van Taku naar Tientsin te trekken: aan wal gekomen ging ik bij den franschen Commandant van het fort die mij allerbeleefdst ontving & eene huurboot bezorgde met welk fraai vaartuig ik ’s avonds om negen uur vertrok en de volgenden nacht ten ½ 2 te Tientsin arriveerde. Ik had dus meer dan 24 uur in de boot gezeten en ruimschoots gelegenheid gehad om de rivier te zien en kan u verzekeren het is wel der moeite waard. De rivier maakt zoo vele en wonderlijke bogten dat de reis daardoor overmatig verlengd wordt, terwijl de regtlijnige afstand tot Tientsin zoowat de helft van de rivierweg beslaat. Nu had ik wel met kar en paard kunnen gaan, maar door de veelvuldige regens waren de wegen zoo slecht dat ik mij niet van een postchaise met twee muilezels bediend heb. ’s Morgens verliet ik den boot en ging Fred Pedder opzoeken.” BPL 1782:28, p. 50.

[54] Later Frederick Pedder (Bo Feili 伯飛鯉) was Vice-Consul for the Netherlands in Tientsin from 1864 to 1866.

[55] “De dag daarop vertrok ik met vanderHoeven, Colonel Mossel & H vdWijck attaché naar Tientsin waar wij zaturdagavond 29 Aug arriveerden tot groot vermaak der heeren, die zich er maar niet genoeg over konden uitlaten, dat het huis mooi & goed gemeubeld & gearrangeerd [was]. Ik had aan een Cantonkok gezegd dat het eten tegen zeven uur moest klaar wezen en had de scheele thuis gelaten om te zien dat mijn orders werden uitgevoerd. Het eten was sumptueus en steeds zoo gebleven en daar ik directeur des huizes & kas-houder ben en Tsaì laî mij terzijde staat is alles perfect naar mijn zin.” Letter to Francken dated 7 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 51.

[56] De Grijs’ draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 18.

[57] Letter dated 21 August 1863, in BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 6a, 6b.

[58] Chonghou 崇厚 (Ch’ung Hou or Tsung Hau, 1826–93) was a Manchu. He was Commissioner from 1861 to 1870, later led diplomatic missions to France (1871) and Russia (1879), but after unsuccessful negotiations with the Russians, leading to loss of territory, he was sentenced to imprisonment awaiting decapitation, which was later com-

muted to imprisonment. He was released after making a contribution to the government of 300,000 taels (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 209-11).

[59] "In de vertaling is Tientsin zoo opgegeven alsof 't op 's Konings bevel geschiedde en er aldus geen sprake van Shanghai kan wezen." BPL 1782: 24 F, p. 6a, b. Chonghou's Chinese version to the Emperor even added Peking as second destination (天津京城) (*Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, p. 476 (*juan* 18, p. 49a)).

[60] Letter dated 26 August 1863, in BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 7a,b. De Grijs' draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 20. Li Hongzhang was worried that the Dutch would (otherwise) rush on to Peking.

[61] De Grijs' draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 20.

[62] Possibly the pawnshop (*dangpu* 當鋪), in China a highly respected place often functioning as a bank (Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, 445).

[63] De Grijs' draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 18.

[64] "Wij kwamen dus in een prachtig gebouw bijeen, ik als tolk en hoewel ik gedacht had geen woord mandarijnsch er uit te zullen brengen ging het beter dan ik dacht." Letter to Francken dated Tientsin 7 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 51. Unless otherwise specified, the account given here by De Grijs is based on this letter. In the nineteenth century all diplomacy with China was conducted in Chinese (Demiéville, "Aperçu," 85).

[65] A copy of the Dutch and Chinese text is in BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 12v, 13r.

[66] Letter to Francken dated Tientsin 7 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 51.

[67] "Ja, ik weet wel dat Gij een geleerd man zijt en geen koopman, terwijl Mr. van der Hoeven handel drijft." "Steeds werd ik met onderscheiding behandeld, terwijl van der Hoeven volstrekt niet zoo gezien was als Kolonel Mossel van de Marine." De Grijs answered questions of A.J.W. Farncombe Sanders, member of parliament, probably in 1891. BPL 1781: 9, pp. 1-2 (*cf.* the preceding and following nos. 8, 10 and 11). The Chinese also wished to foster De Grijs' sympathy; Chonghou mentioned this policy in his memorial of 10 October.

[68] N.G. Peter was a clerk with Van der Hoeven from 1860 and later became his partner in business. He was also his brother-in-law. When Van der Hoeven returned to the Netherlands in 1866, Peter succeeded him as Consul (Letters from Van der Hoeven to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 30 March 1865 and 12 May 1866, inv. 3030, Consulates in China, toegang 2.05.01).

[69] "Ons leven hier gaat voort als dat van den nijveren landman, dat wil zeggen wij laten Gods water over Gods akker loopen, en daar het onbetwistbaar is dat alles teregt komt behalve Lapidoth's beenen, zoo willen wij hopen dat ook het tractaat wel schikken wil. Wij leven in *the lap of luxury*, en alhoewel het dames personeel niets te wenschen overlaat, omdat er geene dames zijn, zoo is het toch meer dan waarschijnlijk dat zelfs Gij hier U eigen zich zelleve lekker zoudt gevoelen: eten is zoo overvloedig dat wij koelies er op na houden om de gebraden kalkoenen aftehouden die ons in de mond loopen. vdHoeven is vrijwel tevreden geloof ik en *in fact as good as could be expected under the circumstances*. De groote vlootvoogd is bezadigd liberaal, eet veel, slaapt veel en verveelt zich niet al te veel." Letter to N.G. Peter (then in Macao) dated 4 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 40.

[70] Hâm (Kâm) [含] means "to hold in the mouth." De Grijs probably found the matter too embarrassing to use the Dutch word. *Hâm* is the literary Hokkien pronunciation, while *kâm* is the colloquial one.

[71] "Tientsin is eene welvarende plaats met eene buitengewone vlugge ontwikkeling bewijze het aantal chinesche winkels die europeeschen goederen verkoopen. Er is een straat genaamd High street, misschien een mijl lang die vol is met winkels van allerlei kostbare waren, zijden stoffen, bontwerken, porcelein, yadestone, plaatwinkels, eethuizen enz. enz. Ik heb Canton gezien maar dat haalt niet bij de rijkdom van die straat en denk er bij dat bijna de geheele straat een 1½ jaar geleden is afgebrand zoodat de winkels allen nieuw zijn. Eenige winkels verkoopen aarden poppetjes die zoo mooi zijn dat zij in eene étagère hooren en tegen 12 voor 1 dollar te krijgen zijn. Mikroskopische zaken, photographien in duizenden vooral nakende meyden. Dan zijn er een aantal tempels waar jeugdige neophyten ik meen Katamieten te krijgen zijn en alhoewel het hier als gemeen wordt beschouwd om bij meiden te loopen, heeft bijna iedere chinees zijn jongen: in allerlei openbare speel & tooneelhuizen zijn afgeschoten hokken waarheen de jongens U leiden en zoo het op deze

manier niet gaat dan op gene: zoo zelfs dat men er niets in vindt om te Hâm (Kâm) Uw geval. Nu dat is een smerig praatje, maar 't is de waarheid. De woningen der vreemdelingen zijn chinesche huizen en aan de rivier op het settlement wordt nu gebouwd, dus zullen daar binnen 2, 3 jaar een tal europeesche huizen zijn." Letter to Francken dated Tientsin 7 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 52.

[72] "onder de europesche voorwerpen vindt men heele pakken met photographiën die een zeer ongelukkig idee van Europesche zeden en smaak geven, het ware te wenschen dat men ten minste niet met *zulke* prentjes aan 't beschaven der chinezen ging." On the other hand, among the Chinese clay puppets, there were also "extremely immoral figurines that are in high demand" (maar ook hoogst onzedelijke beelden die gretig verkocht worden), BPL 1783: 2, p. 28.

[73] "Om de eentonigheid van vdH[s] leven wat te variëren hebben wij chinesche kunstenaars aan huis gehad: ik had er wel veel tegen maar 't hielp niet. De gymnastische toeren van een kind van negen jaar waren zeker zeer fraai maar overigens was het naar!" Diary on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 62.

[74] Draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 29.

[75] "Dit laatste geschiedde op den tienden September met al de deftigheid en formaliteit die men van twee natiën op eenen voet van gelijkheid wenschen kan: de volmagt des keizers was geschreven op geel papier in eene geele doos omwonden met geele zijde; de beide volmagten in orde bevonden stelde Tsung How voor twee kommissarissen om de voorloopige behandeling der verschillende artikelen af te doen, waarop de heer Van der Hoeven, de schrijver dezes benoemde tot nederlandsche kommissaris. De nederlandsche gevolmagtigde bood al dadelijk eene chinesche vertaling van een concept traktaat aan, ten einde te voldoen aan den wensch van het chineesch gouvernement dat eene spoedige afdoening der zaak beoogde." Draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 31.

[76] This is no. D of the four draft texts of the treaty kept in the Leiden University Library in BPL 1782: 24 A-D. *Catalogue* 2005, 112-3. Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 62-3.

[77] "Tsung Hou de benoemde gevolmagtigde is een Tartaar die reeds bij meerde[re] tractaten als gevolmagtigde gediend heeft. Hij is zeer goed gezind jegens de Europeanen en een van de meest beschaafde en welgemanierde menschen der wereld: hij is een uitmuntend voorbeeld van een natuurlijk beschaafd man en terwijl hij niet altijd zeer spraakzaam is, komt dit misschien meer uit een soort van natuurlijke beschaamdheid dan aan gebrek aan conversatie: hoewel hij zeer geslepen is, kleurt hij toch al zeer gemakkelijk als hij uitgevonden wordt iets in 't zin te hebben dat niet regt is. [p. 62] Tsung Hou deelde zijne benoeming tot plenipo mede aan alle vreemde Consuls. Hij wordt geassisteerd door een tweetal Chinezen die zeer wel bij hem passen. Een klein kereltje rang van Tao-tai die zeer brutaal, zeer slim en zeer vlug ter tong is en een groote goede lobbes die eigenlijk meer verstand heeft dan de kleine maar als een mediateur dient wanneer de kleine een beetje te ver gaat. Het waren deze twee presentjes [persoontjes] die van de kant der Chinezen belast waren om te onderhandelen terwijl ik van de kant der Hollanders benoemd was om met hen te werken. Wij zullen dus met ons drieën artikel voor artikel afpraten en als dat afgeloopen is ze ter goedkeuring voorleggen aan de gevolmagtigden." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 61-2.

[78] "Daar hij er altijd op uit is om op goeden voet met vreemdelingen te zijn, laat hij bij minder aangename onderwerpen de bespreking over aan twee personen die hem altoos ter zijde staan en als zijne gelastigden optreden: [doorhaling: deze twee personen verdienen wel afzonderlijke vermelding] de jongste Tsiu-kia-hiun [Zhou Jiaxun] die den rang van Tao-tai (resident of directeur) heeft is zeer geslepen, zeer spraakzaam, zeer brutaal, deinst echter terug voor iemand die hem aan durft; hij was het die altijd de attaque begon bij moeijlijk te verdedigen positiën, werd hij afgeslagen dan kwam de tweede persoon Kao-tsung-wang [Gao Congwang] hem te hulp; deze heer gouverneur van Tien-tsin fu en onderhoorigheden heeft veel met Europeanen omgegaan, is voorzigtiger dan zijne collega en tracht het effekt van de wat al te scherpe tong van den eersten wat te verzachten. Ik bedoel hier de aard van die heeren in officieel verkeer: zoodra het werk is afgeloopen zijn zij innemend, vrolijk, gul en zelfs goedhartig en opregt." BPL 1783: 2, p. 19. Characters of Chinese names in BPL 1782: 24 F nos. 6, 7; *Catalogue* 2005, ill. on p. 113. Gao Congwang accompanied Chonghou to France in 1871.

[79] De Grijs mentioned another name: Gao Congwang 高從望. He had name cards of all three (BPL 1782: 24F (nos. 6-8); *Catalogue* 2005, 111, ill. no. 32).

[80] The Treaties of Tientsin of 1858 with Britain and France contained respectively 104 and 42 short articles, and were about twice as long as the final Dutch Treaty in 16 articles.

[81] "[崇厚]委派天津府知府費學曾、候補知府周家勳、與隨該使前來能通中國文字語言之翻譯官凱士商論。當據凱士面稱，此次該使特來天津，議立條約，擬照英法各國條款辦理，以示一體優待之意。當答以凡在通商章程內，兩國取利防損之處，均可斟酌允准，惟不能照英法各國，分別數十款之多，祇須得其大意，包括一切，立有數款，即可完峻等語。詎意該翻譯官訂期，先與委員等面語。據稱現在擬送條約稾本." *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 511-2, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, p. 7b).

[82] *Catalogue* 2005, 112-3. BPL 1782: 24 A-D. No. D was De Grijs' earliest version in 19 articles, No. C De Grijs' second version, no. B was Prince Gong's version and no. A the final version by the Chinese.

[83] "Op 14 September had de eerste zamenkomst der nieuwbenoemde kommissarissen plaats, en begon er een reeks van [p. 32] schermutselingen die soms hoogst onaangenaam waren. De twee vroeger genoemde chinesche beambten Tsiu-kia-hiun [Zhou Jiaxun] en Kao tsung wang [Gao Congwang] kweten zich dapper van hunnen taak en trachtten steeds door allerlei omwegen, van zaken in kwestie af te dwalen, tot onderwerpen die geheel buiten de zaak lagen, het was dus een voortdurend streven om hen voet bij stuk te doen houden: daar de zamenkomsten zonder streng ceremonieel plaats hadden, was het nog al gemakkelijk om de opinie van den Nederlandsche gevolmagtigde aan die heren te doen kennen, zonder zijn toevlugt te moeten nemen tot allerlei fraaije zinswendingen. De bijeenkomsten die gewoonlijk tegen half tien begonnen en ten een uur afgeloopen waren, werden meestal besloten met een collation waar de drie kommissarissen onder champagne en chineesch gebak hunnen animositeit vergaten en ruimschoots gelegenheid hadden aan allerlei vragen over europa en china te wisselen." BPL 1783: 2, pp. 31-2.

[84] This draft text is not among De Grijs' BPL documents and also not in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Consulates in China, inv. 3030 and 3216, toegang 2.05.01; Treaty of 1863, inv. 74 toegang 2.05.90).

[85] One copy is now in BPL 1782: 24 C.

[86] The question was about the import duty for this woolen cloth produced in Leiden, which was imported from the Netherlands at a high tariff. The Chinese name was *yuduan* 羽緞.

[87] "14 sept: Heden had de eerste zamenkomst plaats tusschen de twee Chinezen, 高 [Gao] & 周 [Zhou] en mijn persoontje: zij hadden ons concept tractaat in 19 artikelen nagezien & bragten nu een concept in 10 artikelen voor den dag. De onderhandelingen waren *desultory* en na eene lange redenering tot een uur besloot ik het concept aan vdH ter inzage te geven. vdH keurde het af omdat steeds tot tractaten met andere natiën gerefereerd wordt. Deze aanmerking is volkomen juist. / Bleef middag, avond & een gedeelte van de nacht doorbrengen met de aanmerkende verschillen tusschen de beide concepten [p. 63] overeen te brengen en zoo eene versie van texten te maken ten einde te toonen dat wij waarlijk niets meer of minder kunnen hebben dan ons eigen tractaat. / 15 sept: Toonde mijn papier met de hoofden van elk artikel, had de grootste moeite ter wereld om ze aan 't verstand te brengen dat wij geen lang tractaat wenschen maar alleen kort & zakelijk alles opgeven zonder tekort te doen aan de duidelijkheid, kwam tot het resultaat dat ik een concept tractaat zou maken uit de twee tractaten, ging naar huis, toonde mij een beetje boos tegen de chinezen en werkte de geheelen middag en avond en schreef eigenhandig het nieuwe tractaat in 16 artikelen, waarvan een tweetal copieen gereed waren op 17 sept. … / 17 sept. Heden morgen onderhandeld met de twee chinesche Comm: die bijgestaan werden door nog een tweetal. Mijn nieuwe concept werd doorgegaan en na veel praten & nog meer praten kwamen wij eindelijk tot het resultaat om alles aan te nemen behalve de polemieten, 't gaan naar Peking en 't teekenen van 't tractaat te Peking. Het laatste zullen wij toegeven, het andere zal te kiezen staan bij een bezoek van Tsung Hou & vdH. Na afloop van de discussien zijn wij aan tafel gegaan en hadden een alleraangenaamst discours over allerlei." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 62-3.

[88] "Waarlijk geloof ik niet dat er zooveel te zeggen valt op chinesche diplomatie, zij zijn

slim en heel slim ook bv: toen ik opmerkte dat een tractaat uitvoerige aanwijzingen moest bevatten over de pligten van schepen & schippers, vroegen zij of dan de schepen die af & aankomen altijd tegen de lamp loopen of niet & hoe of die achter de bestaande wetten komen zoolang er geen tractaat met China bestaat." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 63.

[89] A complete reconstruction of the negotiations based on Dutch and Chinese sources and draft texts goes beyond the scope of this book and cannot be made here.

[90] "嗣據凱士前來，呈出所擬條約十九款." *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, p. 511, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, p. 8a). Here and below "19" has been corrected to "16," since this must have been De Grijs' second version.

[91] Several of these were already dropped in De Grijs' 16-article second draft.

[92] "據稱現在擬送條約彙本，係按照英法各國，及參用續立之布西丹國等條約章程，分別各款，請為商酌會議。該委員等即持定前說，仍答以現在各口通商，均有定章，無庸多列條款，祇須將大意敍明。若開列多款，難以允准。再三切屬，該翻譯官允以從簡開送。嗣據凱士前來，呈出所擬條約十九款。並云此次所列各款，較他國刪去三分之二，格外從簡，再不能刪減短少。當告以所列之款，雖較他國減少，而大意並無稍異。和國既定十九款，我處仍當酌量併歸。祇須簡明了當，不在款目多寡。並將該國所擬各款內緊要關鍵，當面逐款指駁，如前往京師南京通商，並內地傳教、減稅，以和文為正義，既在京互換條約各節，先行刪改。彼此各執意見，辯論一番。去後當將該使所開條款，照錄咨呈總理各國事務衙門王大臣查照." *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 511-513, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, pp. 7b-8b).

[93] Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 130-4.

[94] "Twee punten bleven echter onbeslist, namelijk het aanstellen van Consuls zonder bezoldiging en het verblijf van eenen nederlandschen gemagtigde in Peking: de twee gevolmagtigden kwamen dus te zamen om die zaak te bespreken en hoewel die zamenkomst niet geheel couleur de rose was, gaf Tsung-how toch eindelijk toe." Draft article, p. 32.

[95] "22 sept. Hadden zamenkomst met Tsung Hou. Hij had ook een concept in 16 artikelen en trachtte ons op alle mogelijke wijzen te vangen. Het discours duurde vijf uur lang en ik had mijn hoofd ter dege noodig." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 64.

[96] "旋准總理衙門函覆，開示緊要各節，一併參酌，分別是六款。即令委員送交閱看。旋據該使訂期，率同凱士前來面議，內有不肯應允之處，堅執不下，復經當面逐款商議，或婉言開導，或侃論駁斥，塗改數次，該礬使不通漢文，但覺詞氣怏怏，而凱士巧黠異常，每挾布西各國條約力爭，嘵瀆不休。奴才竊思從來事涉外國，無不費盡唇舌。洋人索性巧詐。如拒之太峻則償事，許之過輕，又恐意存奢望。遂令委員等從旁與凱士再四曉喻，以作騰那，令其就我範圍。" *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 511-3, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, pp. 8b-9a).

[97] Muller, *Azië gespiegeld*, 167; Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 43.

[98] Several letters were written about this item, and Chonghou also reported extensively on it. The technical details cannot be discussed here. *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 511-3, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, p. 9a).

[99] De Grijs' elaborate arguments are in his draft article. BPL 1783: 2, pp. 32-3. Probably on De Grijs' advice, Van der Hoeven considered Peking as a place of diplomatic residence "tormenting" (*kwellend*) to the Chinese (Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit* , 55).

[100] *See* illustration 12. *Also* in *Catalogue* 2005, 111, ill. 31.

[101] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 42-3. Article 15 of the Treaty.

[102] This letter is dated 23 September; a copy is kept in BPL 1782: 24 F, p. 10b.

[103] Here De Grijs personally sympathised again with the Chinese standpoint. "23 sept. Zagen 't tract: na, vonden een paar dingen niet goed, schreven over polemieten: ik vind de kwestie niet kiesch en mij dunkt het had er moeten uitgelaten worden. / Niets geslapen, ziek. / 24 sept. Werkte verder aan 't tractaat, geen antwoord van T.H. ziek, zenuwachtig, koorts. / 25 sept. Ant. van T.H., ziek en verdrietig: twaalf uur zamenkomst met Zhou, Gao, geheel opgeruimd kwam ik terug, amuseerde mij perfect. kwestie over polemieten. *Zij hadden gelijk*." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 64.

[104] "稟經數易，始將緊要各節，刪改無遺，大致尚無出入。" *Chouban yiwu shi-*

mo 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 511-3, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, p. 9a).

[105] These words were crossed out in version A (BPL 1782: 24 A). Final Chinese text in 中外舊約章彙編, 北京三聯書店 1957, vol. 1, pp. 208-13. Dutch text in Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit,* 377-83.

[106] De Grijs' draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 34.

[107] "Droomde dat ik tehuis kwam en dat toen mij gevraagd werd wat ik dan wilde. Ik zeide: erwten met rundvleesch en later stokvisch & zuurkool. Eindelijk kwam dan de dag dat het tractaat zal geteekend worden en natuurlijk was ik al heel vroeg uit de veeren. Ik had dan eindelijk mijn doel bereikt en verlangde nu niets meer dan om maar weg te wezen. Om half tien 's morgens werden de soldaten geïnspecteerd, twaalf man een korporaal & een sergeant. Daarop gaf ik directie hoe de soldaten moesten loopen en klokke half een begaf de stoet zich op marsch: voorop kwam Mr de Grijs in een draagstoel, waarachter een korporaal met mijn cassette & de zegels, daarop volgde een viertal soldaten dan de stoel van vdH gedragen door 4 man en ter zijde vier soldaten, daarachter weder 4 soldaten. Dan de Colonel en drie officieren allen in draagstoelen; binnenkomende werden de soldaten in 't gelid geschaard en presenteerden hunne geweren. De Chinezen hadden pakkie-an-deftig en wij gingen in de zaal zitten; vdH & T.H. aan een tafel, 高 [Gao], 周 [Zhou], een officier & ik aan een tafel: de Colonel 2 off: en de ser aan een tafel, dan nog een tal mandarijntjes regts & linksch. Nu werden tractaten, zegels, casettes enz. voor den dag gehaald & alles geteekend, terwijl ik de Chinesche datums invulde. [p. 66] Daarop werden de soldaten in een afzonderlijke zaal onthaald op eten en drinken." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 65.

[108] Additions from the draft article. "Ook ons werd een groot diner opgedischt, waaraan behoorlijk eer werd bewezen, terwijl wij echter bij gewone visites champagne dronken, kregen wij nu sherry-cordial in bierglazen." "maar het lezen van de spijskaart zou nu teveel gevergd zijn van onze lezers, wij merken alleen aan dat de vogelnestjes, haaijenvinnen en dergelijke niet ontbraken." BPL 1783: 2, p. 35.

[109] "vdH stelde een toast in op den keizer & T.H. op den koning en wij scheidden beste vrienden. De troep marcheerde nu af, en om drie uur was alles afgeloopen en begon ik preparaties te maken voor mijn vertrek naar Peking." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 65-6.

[110] On 13 Oktober 1863, the Minister refused permission: sending by mail would be sufficient (inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01).

[111] Letter Van der Hoeven to Minister 30 October 1863, Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01.

[112] Diary of 13 September written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 61.

[113] Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 64.

[114] The original passport, with one side in English and the other in Chinese, is kept in the Leiden University Library. On the English side, it was issued to "M. de Gris," while the words "the American businessman" were crossed out; but on the Chinese side, the name and function of the holder were "the American businessman Fei Lijiu" 美國商人費禮就. BPL 1782: 27. *Catalogue* 2005, 112, 115 (illustration).

[115] Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 65.

[116] Mongol prince who was charged with the defences around Tientsin in 1858-1860 (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 632-4).

[117] "[Ik] passeerde de rivier, de marmeren brug. Sankalensin's muur. Het rollen van de wagen was afgrijselijk en 't zou mij niet verwonderen dat er menschen geweest zijn die na een uur rijden terugliepen." Diary 10 November, BPL 1782: 28, p. 66.

[118] "het lijden in die wagen: eerst dacht ik te kunnen slapen, wat in de laatste twee nachten niet gebeurd was, maar het bonzen van hoofd en armen was zoo geweldig dat er zelfs zittende niet aan te denken viel, eindelijk was mijn geduld uitgeput, maar de ezeldrijver uit zijn mijmeringen ontwakende had medelijden met mij en raadde mij aan op den disselboom te gaan zitten, waarlijk de man had gelijk, ik zat wel met de knieën tegen den muilezel aan, maar het hossen is veel minder;" Draft article, p. 37 (text crossed out).

[119] "Het eten dat de chinesche Vatel opdischte [p. 39] was nog al smakelijk en sterkte

mij in de overtuiging dat de Chinezen van nature goede koks zijn." Draft article, pp. 38-9. François Vatel (1631–71), legendary French chef.

[120] "Vrij vermoeid sliep ik al spoedig na het middagmaal in maar werd tegen tien uur wakker door stemmen in mijn kamer, denkende dat het dieven waren greep ik naar het kistje met zilver dat bij mij stond en vond het onaangeroerd, nu luisterde ik naar het discours van de heeren indringers en begreep er niets van. Op mijne vraag wat zij verlangden, kreeg ik in 't chineesch ten antwoord dat zij mij kwamen bezien, daar zij nog nooit een Europeaan in hun land (Mongolië) gezien hadden: het gesprek met de Mongoolsche visiete [*sic*] werd al meer en meer geanimeerd vooral toen ik verzocht mij eenige chinesche uitdrukkingen in 't mongoolsch te vertalen, wat ik dan opschreef, binnen kort was er eene tamelijk voldoende verzameling van woorden en uitdrukkingen bijeengebracht, die mij op reis door Mongolië goed konden te pas komen." (p. 39 is crossed out by De Grijs) Draft article, pp. 38-9.

[121] "dit gebouw … was tot nu toe steeds gesloten voor een ieder buiten den keizer en zijn gevolg [p. 46] het is dus niet vreemd dat een Europeaan die door langdurig verkeer met chinezen en chinesche boeken met eenigen eerbied de plaats binnentreedt waar de keizer eenmaal 's jaars als hoogepriester zich in het stof buigt." De Grijs referred in a note to his translation of the *Qing Code*. BPL 1783: 2, pp. 45-6.

[122] "Vrijdagmorgen [9 October] bezocht ik den tempel des Hemels en vond dat alle gebouwen en de bosschen in goeden orde gehouden werden, daarentegen nemen sommige vreemde bezoekers de vrijheid gaten te breken in de met loofwerk uitgesneden deuren en geven als hun excuus op dat zij anders de tempel niet kunnen binnengaan. Als men bedenkt dat de tempel des hemels de plaats is waar de keizer als Pontifex Maximus eenmaal 's jaars voor het geheele volk offert, dan is het te verwonderen dat het chineesch gouvernement nog vreemdelingen dult [*sic*] in zulke plaatsen. [p. 55] De gordijnen die in de tempel gebruikt worden zijn gemaakt van blauwen glazen buizen die op de wijze van bamboe gordijnen met touw worden aaneengehouden, er zijn vreemdelingen hier die die glazen buizen afbreken en meenemen om er pennehouders van te maken!!" Letter to Van der Hoeven, Peking 13 October 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 54-5.

[123] "Toen de buit uit de zomertuinen des keizers geroofd, publiek verkocht werd, beliepen de prijzen van vele voorwerpen dikwijls het dubbele van de oorspronkelijke waarde: een ieder in de havens van China wijst met trots op 't een of ander potje of pannetje dat hij in bezit heeft weten te krijgen, vergetende dat het alles gestolen goed is." BPL 1783: 2, p. 47.

[124] Draft article, BPL 1783: 2, pp. 49-50. "These gardens were partly demolished by French and British troops in 1860, but there is enough left to get an idea of what it was like." (Deze tuinen werden in 1860 door de fransche en engelsche troepen gedeeltelijk verwoest, er is [p. 50] echter genoeg overgebleven om een idée te krijgen hoe het eens moet geweest zijn).

[125] "Zaturdag [10 October] bezocht ik het zomerpaleis des keizers *yuen ming yuen Ronde heldere tuinen*: Dit fraaye zomerverblijf is systematisch verwoest door de engelsche & fransche soldaten. Prachtige lanen van ceders & pijnboomen zijn hier & daar geschonden door het verbranden van een paar boomen. Steenen leeuwen zijn geschonden met verlies van staart, oor of poot: marmeren zonnewijzers omvergeworpen of gebroken: fraaye steenen trappen zijn geschonden doordat hier en daar een hoek of een brok afgeslagen is. Een tempel met reusachtige koperen Boeddha en 16 grote Lohan beelden totaal verbrand, de groote Boeddha's omver gevallen, sommige Lohan's zonder hoofd, arm of been en de kleur van het koper, ijzerrood verspreid tusschen marmer, fraayen kalksteen en veel verglaasde dakpannen. Maar dit beeld van verwoesting bereikt zijn klimax als [p. 56] men het oog slaat op het reusachtige gebouw dat onmiddellijk achter den verwoesten tempel staat. Dit gebouw is zeer hoog en heeft ter weerszijden trappen en galerijen van groen & geel verglaasd aardewerk: de trappen opgaande, iets wat niet gemakkelijk is daar men zich een weg moet banen door al het puin waar de trappen onder bedolven zijn, komt men aan eene groote verdieping met gesloten ijzeren deuren. De muren hier zijn bekleed met tigchelsteenen een voet in 't vierkant & geel verglaasd: elk dezer steenen is een Boeddha beeld in steenen lijst. Hooger opgaande worden de verdiepingen lager en de tigchels kleiner, bereikt men de top dan ziet men aan de eene kant een meer met een kunstmatig eiland, aan den andere kant

tallooze dorpen. Ter weerszijden van dit hoofdgebouw staan twee lama pagoda's en beneden, iets verder op, aan de voet is een koperen huisje: alles in dat huisje is koper, de vloer, de balken, de deuren, een waar juweeltje van geduld & netheid—" Letter to Van der Hoeven, Peking 13 October 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 55-6.

[126] Letter to Van der Hoeven, Peking 13 October 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 58.

[127] Joseph Edkins (1823–1905) arrived in Shanghai in 1848, in Tientsin in 1861, and in Peking in 1863. Edkins is known for his works on Chinese religion and on aspects of Chinese grammar and etymology.

[128] A gig is a light ship's boat with oars and sail, that was usually reserved for the commanding officer. "Zondagmorgen bragt de Kapitein mij aan boord van een giek met twaalf hollandsche matrozen, het was eene eervolle uittogt waar ik nooit op had durven hopen." Diary 10 November, BPL 1872: 28, p. 68.

[129] Demiéville, "Aperçu," 85. For instance, the British interpreter Thomas Francis Wade (1818–95) had played a crucial role during the 1858 negotiations with the Chinese (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 133, 428, etc.), and he later became the first British ambassador to China; in 1888 he became the first professor of Chinese in Cambridge.

[130] "Ten slotte voel ik mij gedrongen Uwe Excellentie te betuigen, dat een groot aandeel in het gunstige van den uitslag mijner onderhandelingen aan de kennis en den tact van den Heer C.F.M. de Grijs verschuldigd is, wiens voor Chinezen innemende en overredende wijze van vertolking mijner betoogen, en algemeene vertrouwdheid met hunne denkbeelden en vormen van hoffelijkheid, mij daartoe tot een hoogstnoodigen steun hebben verstrekt." Letter 6 October 1863, Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01.

[131] Letter to Van der Hoeven dated Leiden, 22 December 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 76-7.

[132] Letter 15 January 1864, Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01.

[133] BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 13b, 14a.

[134] BPL 1782: 26 A. De Grijs was still in military service.

[135] Letter by Uijttenhooven in BPL 1782: 26 B.

[136] Letter from De Grijs to the General Secretary in Batavia dated Macao 2 May 1864, in V 19/10/1864 no. 15/1265 inv. 1531.

[137] One copy is in inv. 74, toegang 2.05.90.

[138] "ook ditmaal tijdelijk te belasten met de functiën van Chineesch Secretaris en Tolk, door hem gedurende de onderhandelingen te Tientsin met bijzondere vaardigheid en zaakkennis waargenomen. Het gemis zijner diensten zou mij afhankelijk maken van de meerdere of mindere bereidwilligheid der Engelsche of Fransche autoriteiten te Canton, om mij de hulp van een der hun toegevoegde tolken voor die onvermijdelijk noodzakelijke dienst aftestaan; eene afhankelijkheid, waaraan ik vooralsnog de Nederlandsche belangen ongaarne zou onderworpen zien, vooral daar de kennis dier vreemdelingen van onze bijzondere verhouding tot het Chinesche gouvernement niet juist kan wezen, en ook hunne vaardigheid in het Chineesch zeer veel te wenschen overlaat." Letter to the Governor-General dated Macao 10 May 1864, in V 19/10/1864 no. 15/1265 inv. 1531.

[139] IB 17/7/1864 no. 19, in V 19/10/1864 no. 15/1265 inv. 1531.

[140] V 19/9/1864 no. 4 inv. 1521.

[141] V 19/10/1964 no. 15/1265 inv. 1531. At the time in the Indies an urgent need was felt for Chinese interpreters.

[142] BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 13b, 14a. Dutch original dated 20 May, Chinese translation dated 21 May. Memorials by Chonghou (28 August) and by Prince Gong (30 August 1864) in *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 675-6, no. 735-6 (同治朝 *juan* 27, pp. 22b-24a).

[143] Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾 (Kuo Sung-t'ao, 1818–91), statesman, scholar, and diplomat, governor of Guangdong in 1863–6; in 1877, he would be the first Chinese ambassador stationed in a Western country (Great Britain) (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 438-9).

[144] Letter 22 October 1864, Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01. Cremers was Minister from 15 March 1864 to 30 May 1866.

[145] This is probably the large copy now kept in inv. 74, toegang 2.05.90.

[146] This temple dating from the Tang dynasty (618–907) is in the old centre of Canton just north of Shamian.

[147] "de geratificeerde tractaten uit te wisselen" (art. 16).

[148] Memorial 13 March 1865 by Guo in *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, p. 762, no. 836 (同治朝 *juan* 31, pp. 15b-16b).

[149] "Tijdens zijn verblijf in Nederland heeft de heer C.F.M. de Grijs, naar hij mij verzekerde, er herhaaldelijk op gewezen, dat de Chinezen de oorspronkelijke stukken voor de uitwisseling bestemden; doch Z.Exc. de Minister oordeelde dat men den vorm in de diplomatie gebruikelijk moest volgen.—Dit laatste kan ook zeer goed geschieden, zonder te kort te doen aan de Chinesche gewoonten, door namelijk de ratificatie-acte met het oorspronkelijk document te vereenigen." Letter Macao 14 December 1864, Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01.

[150] Letter 18 July 1865, in Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01.

[151] "De heer Joh. de Breuk, Aspirant tolk voor de Chinesche taal in Ned. Indische dienst, heeft mij bij deze gelegenheid als Chineesch secretaris en tolk terzijde gestaan en zich op voldoende wijze van zijn taak gekweten. Zwarigheden hebben zich daarbij trouwens niet voorgedaan. Tijdens een voorafgaand vriendschappelijk bezoek vroeg de Gouverneur Kuo opheldering van het lange tijdsverloop sedert onze vorige samenkomst. In antwoord heb ik alleen doen opmerken, dat er ongerekend het uitstel door den grote afstand veroorzaakt, natuurlijk meer tijd toe noodig was geweest voor mij om het Nederlandsche Gouvernement tot een inschikkelijkheid te bewegen dan voor hem om bevestiging uit Tientsin te verkrijgen van hetgeen hij op grond der Chinesche gebruiken had meenen te moeten verlangen." Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01. Memorial by Guo Songtao (16 September 1865) in *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 826-7, no. 926 (同治朝 *juan* 34, pp. 26b-27b).

[152] Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01. Mentioned in V 16/11/1865 no. 41 inv. 1679. The original treaty could not be found in the National Archives (toegangen 2.05.02; 2.05.03; 2.05.38).

[153] Henry David Levysohn Norman (1836–92), then Government Secretary and Secretary of the Council of the Indies, became a member of the Council of the Indies in 1877, and member of the Dutch Parliament in 1888.

[154] *Notulen bestuursvergaderingen* 1865–1870, B 94, KITLV archief, Leiden.

[155] Brievenboek 18 October 1865 – 7/7/1875, C 239, KITLV archief, Leiden.

[156] BPL 1783: 1D (original) and 2 (copy with corrections by De Grijs). *Catalogue* 2005, 116.

[157] Note in the margin, in V 7/8/1872 no. 40 inv. 2515.

[158] Letter from Schlegel to Director of Justice 27 May 1872 and letter of Director of Justice to Governor-General 4 June 1872. V 7/8/1872 no. 40 inv. 2515.

[159] IB 5/8/1872 no. 9, in V 5/10/1872 no. 46 inv. 2531. Revised decision IB 22/9/1872 no. 6, in V 1/11/1872 no. 67 inv. 2539.

[160] V 27/7/1872 no. 22 inv. 2512. V 3/10/1873 no. 45 inv. 2626.

[161] *See* Chapter Seven, section about Roelofs, and Chapter Thirteen, section about the weak position of the interpreters. From 1875 to 1892, the primary schoolteacher Jan Rhein would be secretary and interpreter. Only two Dutchmen were working at the Legation (Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 63-4 etc.).

[162] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 51, 54.

Notes to Chapter Six

[1] Albrecht also wrote that the choice of documents was rather unfortunate, as there were only three different documents, of which very similar translations had been made in three different years. But still it was enough to form a judgement. Letter from the Consul Van der Hoeven to Governor-General Pahud 10 December 1859 quoting Albrecht's letter of 21 October 1859 from Amoy, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1335 inv. 1005.

[2] The archives of the Chinese Council of Batavia are presently kept in the East Asian Library, Leiden University Library. Part of the minutes of the Council (公案簿) have been published by Leonard Blussé en Zhuang Guotu in Gong An Bu 吧城華人公館（吧國公

堂）檔案叢書 (vols. 1-13). Scanned original text is online available in Leiden University library (search Kong Koan).

[3] Comment by Prof. L. Blussé. Fortunately, more or less the same transcriptions were used throughout the nineteenth century; after 1880 there was more variation (Personal communication from Dr. Chen Menghong, February 2008 and September 2013). For a list of such terms, *see* Appendix L and *Gong An Bu* 吧城華人公館（吧國公堂）檔案叢書, in particular vol. 9.

[4] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated 10 December 1859 quoting Albrecht, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005. For details of Albrecht's comments, *see* Chapter Twelve, section "The Techniques of Translation."

[5] IB 10/10/1855 no. 3 inv. 7175.

[6] "… dat zij het hoogst wenschelijk vinden dat zij in den beginne worden bijgestaan door meesters uit China, zoowel tot voortzetting hunner studiën als met het oog op de omstandigheid dat zij anderen moeten opleiden hetgeen bezwaarlijk kan geschieden zonder hulp van eenen Chineschen Meester vooral wat het spreken betreft." Letter from the Consul 10 December 1859, as quoted in IB 21/4/1860 no. 19 inv. 7281.

[7] IB 21/4/1860 no. 19 inv. 7281.

[8] Letter from the Consul, 18 May 1860, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005.

[9] The characters of both names were carefully copied in the letter from the Consul to Governor-General Pahud dated 18 May 1860, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334, inv. 1003. The latter name is also spelled Han Bong Kie. Both names are spelled in Hokkien pronunciation.

[10] According to the decision of 1 May 1854 in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1854, no. 39, the exchange rate of a Spanish dollar had been fixed at *f* 2.50, and a Mexican dollar at *f* 2.55, but in a later decision of 1873, only Mexican dollars were mentioned (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1st ed., vol. 4. p. 43 [1905]). During these years, in China the Spanish dollars were gradually being replaced by the Mexican dollars (Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, Currency, p. 168). Both currencies were mentioned in the Colonial correspondence of the 1860s, but later the Spanish dollars (*Spaansche matten*) devaluated considerably, and from the 1890s on finally went into disuse.

[11] Letter Von Faber 8 September 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3, inv. 1310.

[12] With five-yearly raises of *f* 5 to a maximum of *f* 50, and including passage to and from the Indies. IB 31/7/1860 no. 11 inv. 7287.

[13] In particular, the Javanese who had finished the teachers' college in Surakarta. *Staatsblad* 1858 no. 53, quoted in V 12/11/1860 no. 1 inv. 1002.

[14] Letter from the Consul, 14 May 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[15] IB 31/7/1860 no. 11 inv. 7287.

[16] "Han Bongkie is een beschaafd en geletterd man die in China de naaste Akademische waardigheid voor den doctors graad heeft verkregen en is daarbij uit eene aanzienlijke familie." Request by Von Faber 9 August 1864, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548.

[17] *Cf.* Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, vol. I, p. 899, "Doctor."

[18] "… een man van karakter, alleszins het vertrouwen waard." Letter by Von Faber, 9 August 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[19] IB 9/8/1860 no. 38 inv. 7288.

[20] "… spoedig, zo moogelijk voor eigen rekening, en indien dat niet kan, op de goedkoopste wijze voor rekening van den lande naar China terugkeert." Letter to the Resident of Batavia, IB 21/11/1860 no. 13, inv. 7295.

[21] Report by Albrecht 30 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. The date of taking over Oei is not mentioned.

[22] Letter by Von Faber 18 August 1860, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[23] Oei's contract included the special condition that he could take along a cook. Letter from the Consul (and contracts) 24 May 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[24] Teacher's letter, accompanying letter by Von Faber, 8 September 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[25] Letter by Von Faber to the Resident, 8 September 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[26] "Wel klinkt het vreemd, dat élèves na hunne definitieve promotie en aanstelling tot tolken steeds noodig hebben eenen onderwijzer aan zich te zien toegevoegd, ten einde de

taal te onderhouden. / De eigenaardige moeijlijkheden aan de Chinesche taal verbonden, schijnen evenwel die toevoeging onmisbaar te maken. Althans wordt dit betoogd in het geleide schrijven van den tolk von Faber ....” Letter by the Resident to the Director of Finance, 10 September 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310. Schaap was in function from 1 January 1862 on.

[27] IB 9/11/1862 no. 6 inv. 7337.

[28] From a report dated 4 December 1862, quoted in Schlegel’s letter, 1 September 1864, in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[29] “De som van *f* 30 ’s maands … voor bezoldiging van de Chinesche taalmeester is inderdaad voor eenen geletterden Chineesch al zeer gering. Op de hoofdplaatsen, inzonderheid te Batavia, kan men daarvan onmogelijk overeenkomstig zijne stand leven. De Chinesche ambachtslieden en zelfs de koelies verdienen in den regel meer. De ondervinding heeft trouwens ook geleerd dat voor dien prijs geen Chinesche leermeesters meer te bekomen zijn.” Minister of Colonies quoting letter by the Governor-General, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548.

[30] Decision of the Minister of Colonies, letter to the Governor-General, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548. Lo Ling Kaai was allowed the same salary.

[31] For these three teachers, $10 of their salaries went directly to their families in China; for Tsen Kin Sioe this would be paid to his family in Hong Kong at the end of each Chinese month; for Tsjoe Tsjoe Kong the Dutch Consul in Canton would pay this to his family, and for Tsioe Tot Koan the Dutch Vice-Consul in Amoy would pay his family in Amoy. Letter by Groeneveldt 16 August 1864; letter from the Consul 16 June 1864, contract 15 June 1864, in V 28/10/1864 no. 10 inv. 1534. The spelling of Chinese names has been standardised, e.g. Tsjoe-tsjoek-kong is here spelled Tsjoe Tsjoek Kong.

[32] Three years or shorter in case of illness. IB 4/2/1865 no. 5 inv. 7385.

[33] Three years or shorter in case of illness or for important reasons. If he left or if otherwise necessary, he was to be replaced by another teacher. IB 9/9/1866 no. 4 inv. 7423. De Breuk would be stationed in Cirebon on Java; this was perhaps the reason why he engaged a Hokkien teacher.

[34] On the same conditions as Li Phoe Nien. IB 28/6/1867 no. 17 inv. 7442, art. 2.

[35] “… nu ontbreken ons nog goede meesters ook, want die wij nu hebben gekregen uit Hongkong door bezorging der zendelingen zijn *uilskuikens*. Waarschijnlijk zal het wel 1865 worden eer wij betere mensen krijgen om ons naar Borneo te vergezellen, want die wij nu hebben verstaan geen enkel boek behalve de classieke boeken die ze op school in hunne jeugd hebben van buiten geleerd.” Letter dated Amoy, 3 October 1863, Letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[36] Schlegel, *Woordenboek* (English) Introduction, pp. 7-8, in which “India” has been changed to “the Indies.”

[37] Report by Schlegel and Von Faber, 9 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[38] *Catalogue* 2005, ill. on frontispiece and pp. 95, 97, 151; Ms Hoetink H 421a, KITLV Collection. There are also several manuscript translations by Hoetink in the East Asian Library in Leiden, which must have been copied by his teacher/clerk. *See* his list of translations in his short biography.

[39] Summary of IB 24/9/1864 no. 5 art. 1, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548.

[40] Letter Von Faber 9 August 1864, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548.

[41] Decision art. 3, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548. Han Bong Kie used to send *f* 10.20 or $4 monthly to his wife and children in Canton, so Han Jaúwan was perhaps the name of Lo Ling Kaai’s wife.

[42] In October 1864, the Taiping leader Li Shixian 李世賢 attacked Zhangzhou with an army of several hundred thousand men. After he occupied it on 14 October 1864, he established his headquarters there. He retreated from Zhangzhou on 15 April 1865 (Guo Yisheng 郭毅生, *Taiping Tianguo lishi dituji* 太平天国历史地图集, 145, 146; internet).

[43] Letter by Schlegel dated 15 December 1864, in V 9/5/1865 no. 13 inv. 1606.

[44] Schlegel’s *Woordenboek* vol. IV, p. 993, entry on “vrij,” 4) vrij (open, openbaar) “eene vrije school” 義學 *gī hák* (colloquial pronunciation *Gi Oh*). This was probably the Beng Seng Sie Wan 明誠書院 (*Mingcheng shuyuan*), the school subsidised by the Chinese Council (Kong Koan) (Chen Menghong, *Chinese gemeenschap*, 36, 54).

[45] Report by Albrecht 30 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[46] Letter by the Government Secretary 2 August 1865, mentioned in V 25/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[47] V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[48] He then also took along his Chinese teacher Ang with him to Tientsin and paid him $35 monthly (letters 3 May 1863, 17 June 1863 etc., in BPL 1782:28). *See* Chapter Five, "De Grijs and the Treaty of 1863."
[49] De Grijs' report of 9 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[50] Schlegel and Von Faber's report of 9 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[51] Johan Cornelis de Kock van Leeuwen (Batavia, 20 May 1820) had a career as an East Indies official from 1838 on. He was Resident of Batavia from 22 January 1859 (IB no. 1) to 2 December 1861 (IB no. 1), when he was allowed two years of sick leave to the Netherlands. He was reappointed on 5 May 1864 (IB no. 3), succeeding D.F. Schaap, and was again allowed two years sick leave on 2 May 1866 (IB no. 46) (Stamboeken before 1837, F 190).
[52] Letter of 15 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[53] Albrecht's report of 23 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[54] Schaalje's report of 26 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[55] E. Netscher (1825–80) was Resident in Riau in 1861–70, and a member of the Council of the Indies in 1878–80.
[56] Letter dated 28 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[57] At the time there was a change of Residents; the previous Resident C. Bosscher had left and the new Resident F.M.G. Callenburgh had just been appointed on 22 July 1865.
[58] Buddingh wrote more than once to his uncle Herman Schlegel that he and Groeneveldt would be sent to Hongkong to study Hakka, which was postponed each time (letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden). Later only Groeneveldt went to Lilong near Hong Kong to study Hakka for three months.
[59] Arguments which have no direct bearing on the teacher are omitted here. *See* Chapter Twelve.
[60] *Das Evangelium des Matthaeus im Volksdialekte der Hakka-Chinesen* (*Ma thai tšhong fuk yim šu Hak ka syuk wa*). Translation by Rudolf Lechler, Berlin 1860. Lechler was one of the first to use the romanisation system by C.R. Lepsius, inventor of the International Phonetic Alphabet. Other Gospels were soon published afterwards. You Rujie, *Xiyang chuanjiaoshi,* 81, 119, 199.
[61] Buddingh's report of 23 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[62] *See also* Chapter Twelve.
[63] In the instructions for the interpreter of 1863, this was already stated explicitly, so there was no need for humbleness on the side of Groeneveldt, unless it was to show the government it was not abiding by its own rules. *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië,* 1863, no. 39 art 2. The question whether the interpreters should also be advisors in Chinese affairs would remain moot for the next thirty years.
[64] "… die ziet waar hij zelf niet meer kan zien."
[65] Report of 5 September 1866, signed together with Assistant-Resident at disposition C. Kater, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[66] He was in function until 22 September 1865.
[67] "… mits de taalmeesters niet als eenen nul in het cijfer gebracht worden, maar voor het doel waarvoor zij bezoldigd worden." Letter 10 September 1865 no. 2889, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[68] Letter 10 September 1866 no. 2889, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[69] Council meeting of 20 October 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. The Council suggested appointing the interpreters as extraordinary members of the Orphans and Estate Chambers, which happened later that year (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1866, no. 103 etc.). *See also* Chapter Thirteen, section about the Orphans and Estate Chamber.
[70] IB 18/3/1866 no. 10, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. To bridge the gap, Albrecht's teacher Oei Tsoe Khing, whose employment was to end after three years (after 1 April 1862), was allowed to stay for another year (IB 13/12/1865 no. 1, in V 27/3/1866 no. 26 inv. 1735).

[71] "Ik neem echter de vrijheid hierbij te voegen, dat de hulpbehoevende toestand, waarin de Europesche tolken ten aanzien van Chinesche schrijvers en taalmeesters schijnen te verkeeren [crossed out: eenige bevreemding bij mij heeft opgewekt, en dat die toestand] weinig getuigt voor het welslagen van de maatregel, om Europeanen tot Chinesche tolken op te leiden. Ook de Raad van Nederlandsch-Indië schijnt, blijkens zijn advies van de 30e Junij 1865 no. IX dit gevoelen te zijn toegedaan." Dated 24 May 1866, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. The latter advice of the Council could not be found in the archives.

[72] This permission was given to them by the Director of Justice in Batavia, e.g. Young on 14 February 1877 (for three years); Hoetink, De Groot, and Stuart on 5 January 1878; and Van der Spek, Moll, and De Jongh on 22 January 1880 (inv. 2, 3, toegang 2.05.93, Consulaat Amoy 1874–95). Just before he left China, Van der Spek wrote in his diary that he had finalised the contract with his teacher (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 February 1880). Borel, Ezerman, and Van Wettum were allowed travel fees and teacher's fees by the Director of Justice on 27 July 1894 (I.S. 100, inv. 6, toegang 2.05.93).

[73] Another reason that their names are not mentioned may be that starting in 1869 only abstracts of the decisions of the Governor-General were sent to the Netherlands (N.N. en F.J.M. Otten, *Inventaris van het archief van het Ministerie van Koloniën, 1850–1900 (1932)* (toegang 2.10.02), p. 17, The Hague 1997).

[74] Personal communication from Tan Siu Eng's great-great-granddaughter Conny Tirtaman MD (Tan Kam Nio), Loma Linda, USA. Kuiper, "Du nouveau sur la mystérieuse mission de Batavia à Saïgon en 1890," *Archipel* 77 (2009), 27-44.

[75] Image database, KITLV, caption of photo of "Tan Sioe Ing," no. 6551. The names of these interpreters are mentioned on the reverse side of this photograph ("Cohen Stuart" is here corrected into "Stuart"). There also exists a photograph of Tan with his family.

[76] In 1895 his name (Tan Sioe Ing) was mentioned in two decisions by the Governor-General. He was assigned to De Jongh for work in the Orphans Chamber (assignment in IB 19/9/1895 no. 35) and discharged ten days later (IB 29/9/1895 no. 2, both inv. 8118).

[77] Personal communication from Conny Tirtaman. Kuiper, "Mystérieuse mission."

[78] This diary (13 March – 12 May 1890) is kept as SINOL. VGK 3545.52.1 in that library. The diary was published and translated into French by Claudine Salmon and Ta Trong Hiêp, "De Batavia à Saigon – Notes de voyage d'un marchand Chinois (1890)," *Archipel* 47 (1994), 155-92. For the identification of Groeneveldt and Tan Siu Eng as the protagonists, *see* Kuiper, "Mystérieuse mission." An English summary of both articles is in Claudine Salmon and Ta Trong Hiep, "*Wang Annan riji:* A Hokkien Literatus Visits Saigon (1890)" in *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies*, vol. 4 (2010), 74-88 (also on the internet).

[79] IB 3 October 1879 no. 19 inv. 7735. The precise date of engagement could not be found.

[80] "開堤在唐生長, 前又曾為和蘭翻譯官幕賓, 亦嘗為教讀先生數年, 學問閱歷較源祿似為稍優。" *Kong tong Notulen* (*Gongtang anbu* 公堂案簿), no. 21021 (19/1/1881 – 19/9/1884), 11 August 1884 (p. 247), Kong Koan Archief, East Asian Library, Leiden. The other candidate was named 陳源祿 Tan Goan Lok.

[81] "舊為華字翻譯官幕賓陳開堤" *idem*, 15 October 1883 (p. 269).

[82] IB 29/6/1883 no. 13 inv. 7824.

[83] Tan Kaij Thee's appointment is in IB 11/9/1883 no. 14 inv. 7829.

[84] Short biography dated 1895 in Franke, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia*, vol. 3, pp. 255-6. His name also appears on some wooden tablets described on pp. 251, 282, 283, 285 (dated 1890–4), that probably did not survive the burning of the temple in 1997.

[85] Strangely, in the Governor-General's decision his name was misinterpreted as "J.O. Hoa E Giok." IB 29/5/1896 no. 24, inv. 8134. This wrong name was taken over in the *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*.

[86] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 12 November 1897.

[87] Reprinted in *De Locomotief* of 27 March 1899.

[88] "Jo Hoae Giok zal altijd in mijn herinnering blijven als een door en door fatsoenlijk en beschaafd Chinees, met wien het voor mij, Europeaan, een genoegen was, op warmer dan officieele wijze om te gaan. En ik twijfel niet of al mijn collega's, die hem gekend hebben, zullen van mijn meening zijn." Borel, "Een Chineesch Officier," *De Locomotief*, 27 March 1899.

[89] Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-Kak-Sie" te Cheribon*, 34 note.
[90] Reproduced in Franke, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials*, vol. 3, p. 258. The date of these verses (1896) is perhaps mistaken, since it is before Van Wettum's stationing there in 1898–9.
[91] "Tolken en taalmeesters," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24 April 1894, Avondblad, tweede blad. *See* Chapter Nine, section on the reorganisation of the interpreter corps.
[92] "Bepalingen tot aanwijzing der standplaatsen en regeling van den werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken," published in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1896, no. 96, on 28 May 1896.
[93] Letter from Haver Droeze to the Governor-General. Based on a letter from Van de Stadt. No. 1052/447, 25 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.
[94] Letter 1 February 1915, inv. 72, toegang 2.05.27.02.
[95] In 1916 the three officials who were in active service were transferrred to Batavia, but in 1917 they were joined by three others.
[96] Article 2c, "Reglement van de Dienst voor Chineesche Zaken," IB 16 May 1916, no. 16, in: *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1916, no. 377.
[97] Letter 1 December 1916, inv. 72, toegang 2.05.27.02. J.Th. Moll was the first sinologist in more than fifty years to study Cantonese in China. Possibly an Official for Chinese Affairs knowing Cantonese was considered necessary after the riots instigated by the Cantonese ("Macaoers") in Surabaya in 1912.
[98] "Aan den tolk … te Pontianak … Meeter … voor den tijd van één jaar toe te kennen eene toelage van *f* 25.- 's maands ter bestrijding der kosten verbonden aan het bestuderen van het Amoy dialect." IB 4/7/1871 no. 30 inv. 7534.
[99] IB 3/6/1877 no. 25 inv. 7679. Also IB 8/2/1877 no. 46 inv. 7671.
[100] According to Schlegel's "Nécrologie" of Young, he chose to study Hakka, the most common dialect of the rest of Western Borneo. The need to learn Hoklo was not so great since he had studied the closely related Hokkien. Schlegel also wrote that Young could speak Hakka very well.
[101] IB 13/4/1878 no. 7 inv. 7699.
[102] In 1894 he was transferred to Makassar, in 1896 to Surabaya and in 1898 to Batavia. Stuart's report dated 15 April 1907, in V 15/8/1907 no. 44 inv. 484 toegang 2.10.36.04. Stuart was from 1878 until 1892 stationed in Hakka-speaking Mentok and Pontianak. After 1894 he was stationed in Hokkien-speaking Makassar, Surabaya (1896), and Batavia (1898).
[103] No. 654, 12 July 1897, Letter from Government Secretary Nederburgh to Consul General Haver Droeze in Hong Kong, dated Buitenzorg 25 June 1897, No. 1500a, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.
[104] Schlegel, "Nécrologie. J.W. Young," *T'oung Pao* 10 (1899), 223-5. Request mentioned in *De Locomotief*, 16 October 1885.
[105] Borel's requests (Semarang 29 March and 4 April), Stuart's report (15 April), letters of Director of Justice A.L.E. Gastmann (25 April) and Governor-General Van Heutsz (13 June 1907) in V 15/8/1907 no. 44 inv. 484 toegang 2.10.36.04. The criminal case against Borel was dismissed in 1908 (*Cf.* IB 9 February 1908, Borel Archives, uncatalogued, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).
[106] Borel's request is dated Pontianak, 14 December 1908. IB 4/2/1909 no. 7 inv. 8439. He was later allowed *f* 60 per month for a Mandarin-speaking clerk (IB 21/3/1912 no. 29) This was continued after his transfer in a decision of the Director of Justice dated 21 June 1912 (both in Borel Archive, uncatalogued, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).
[107] Letter from Borel to Director of Justice, Pontianak 15 June 1909, and IB 28 August 1909 no. 8, in Mailrapport 1909 no. 1465.
[108] Borel, *Het daghet in den Oosten* (second edition, 1926), 23.
[109] He later wrote a book about his stay in Peking, *Het daghet in den Oosten* (Dawning in the East), which became a bestseller and was reprinted several times. An English translation appeared as *The New China: A Traveller's Impressions* (1912). He wrote about Mandarin and his Mandarin studies on pp. 16, 23, 63-74, 159 (Dutch second edition of 1926).
[110] Borel, *Het daghet in den Oosten* (second edition, 1926), 63.
[111] IB 30/3/1910 no. 53 inv. 8466. IB 12/12/1910 no. 15 inv. 8483. Wang Fung Ting was perhaps the same person as his first Mandarin teacher in Peking, whose surname

was Wang (*Het daghet in den Oosten*, 1926, 63). This salary was continued for 1912 (IB 23/12/1911 no. 53 inv. 8508). Wang took three months' leave to Peking in November 1911 (Borel, uncatalogued no. 233, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague). It is not clear whether Wang later returned to the Indies or Borel engaged another teacher.

[112] The dates of the beginning and end of his engagement are unknown. Borel, ongecatalogiseerde stukken (uncatalogued documents), Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. There is a photograph of Borel with Wang Fung Ting in B 00745 II 004, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[113] Notebooks I-IV, vol. I entitled "Mandarijn-Chineesch, Soerabaja – Peking," and two notebooks based on Henri Boucher's *Boussole du langage Mandarin* etc. In B 745 H 3 Vertalingen etc., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[114] The discussion about the need to study Mandarin would be continued and would ten years later lead to a revolution in Dutch sinology. In 1910 De Groot was still opposed to studying Mandarin; he denied that Mandarin could be of any use for an Official for Chinese Affairs in the Indies (Letter Leiden 20 January 1910, in V 26/2/1910 no. 28 inv. 711 toegang 2.10.36.04). But in 1914 and 1916 one Official and one former Official went to China to study Mandarin (H. Mouw, De Bruin), and in 1916 De Groot's student A.D.A. de Kat Angelino was the first Candidate-Official to study Mandarin in Peking for one year, after studying one year of Hokkien in Amoy. Ezerman went on a study tour to China in 1916, also visiting Shanghai and Peking. From 1919 all Candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs in Leiden were to study both Mandarin and Hokkien. (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1918, no. 82, article 4). And the new lecturer of Chinese appointed in Leiden as from 1919, J.J.L. Duyvendak, only knew Mandarin and no Hokkien.

[115] Receipt of Wang's membership fee of *f* 1, dated 20 July 1911, in Borel, uncatalogued no. 232, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[116] IB 30/3/1910 no. 53 inv. 8466.

[117] "… de afschaffing van den gewonen schrijver, hetzij Hokkian, Kheh-Chinees of van welken landaard ook, [komt] mij hoogst ongewenscht voor, aangezien het juist deze persoon is, met wien de ambtenaren voor chineesche zaken, om zoo te zeggen, dagelijks aanraking hebben, door wiens gesprekken zij de door hen gesproken taal blijvend onderhouden en die van plaatselijke toestanden beter dan een outsider op de hoogte zijnde, in de meeste gevallen desgewenscht de beste nasporingen doen en de meest juiste inlichtingen verstrekken kan." Stuart's report dated 15 April 1907, in V 15/8/1907 no. 44 inv. 484 toegang 2.10.36.04.

Notes to Chapter Seven

[1] Letter from Duymaer van Twist dated 18 September 1853 and master plan by Hoffmann dated 9 December 1853, in V 17/1/1854 no. 19 inv. 311.

[2] Letter from the Consul dated 10 December 1859, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005.

[3] Franciscus Josephus Crefcoeur was born on 29 January 1838 in Den Bosch. It is not known what name his second initial A stands for.

[4] Details about his background from Schlegel's report to the Minister of Colonies dated 9 April 1873, p. 17, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[5] Copies of both requests are in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[6] Letter dated 6 July 1864 in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[7] Classical languages (Latin and Greek) were hardly taught in the Indies, and the so-called Willem III Gymnasium (*Gymnasium Willem III*), which was established in 1860, was unsuccessful as a *gymnasium* and became an HBS in 1867.

[8] Letter dated 12 July 1864, in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[9] "De wijze waarop tot nu toe de opleiding van tolken voor de Chinesche taal plaats vond, is even gebrekkig als kostbaar. Nu er eenmaal tolken zijn, die spoedig door meer zullen gevolgd worden, om bestemd te worden voor die plaatsen waar de beoefende taal

(geen dialect) gesproken wordt, is het verreweg verkieslijk dat de gronden der Chinesche taal door hier aanwezige tolken worden gelegd."

[10] Advice no. XXXII, in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900. All following documents are in this Verbaal.

[11] In answer to letters of the Government secretary of 15 August 1864 and the Resident of 17/8/1864.

[12] "Tariff for the European interpreters of the Chinese language," *Staatsblad van Ned. Indië* 1863, no. 39 (B).

[13] In the appendix, only "Medhurst: Chinese Dictionary (Batavia)" is mentioned. This probably refers to Medhurst's dictionary of 1842, which was a translation of the Kangxi dictionary, and not to his Hokkien dictionary of 1832 published in Batavia and Macao, nor to his *English and Chinese Dictionary* (Shanghae, 1847–1848) which Schlegel considered a failure.

[14] Schlegel spelled *Notitiae* instead of *Notitia*. He did this consistently, also in his inaugural lecture of 1877 (p. 5) and in his dictionary, but in 1892 he used the correct form ("Téghin Giogh," 49).

[15] This short title probably referred to the Romance of the Three Kingdoms (*Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義), not the official history. The language of the novel was simple literary language, not classical Chinese.

[16] Otto van Rees (1823–92) was a member of the Council of the Indies from 1864 to 1867 and, after two-years' leave, again from 1869 to 1872; he was vice-president from 1873 to 1878. He became a member, and later the president of Parliament; Minister of Colonies for some months in 1879, and Governor-General in 1884–8.

[17] V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[18] This means 5 years and 9 months.

[19] Ambrosius Johannes Willebrordus van Delden (1819–87) was the first president of the Batavian Chamber of Commerce in 1864–74 (short biographies in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië* (1917 edition) and *Tijdschrift voor Nijverheid en Landbouw in Nederlandsch Indië*, 35 (1887), 464-8).

[20] "Crefcoeur zette een galanteriewinkeltje op, ging daarna naar Australië, waar hij den Heer Van Delden, bij gelegenheid zijner reis aldaar, om geld bedelde om een pistool te koopen om zich dood te schieten, maar … daarvoor brandy kocht om zich te bedrinken." Report by Schlegel 9 April 1873, p. 17, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[21] Report by Schlegel 9 April 1873, p. 17, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[22] *Javasche Courant*, 1896 no. 87. Stamboeken Oost-Indische ambtenaren, H' 125.

[23] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, vol. 4, 1866, 31 October 1866 (pp. 255-6), 27 December 1866 (pp. 274-5); vol. 9, 1871, 26 March 1871 (p. 23). Probably Hakka dialect characters that were considered indispensable were missing.

[24] Arthur Leopold George Gobée (Batavia, 9 October 1845) was a son of the German military physician August Heinrich Adolf Gobée, who had been stationed in the Indies in 1836–53. A.L.G. Gobée enrolled as a 17-year-old student in the Faculty of Arts of Leiden University on 4 May 1863 (*Album Studiosorum*, 1392); he was a member of the Student Corps and lived with his parents in Leiden; he probably studied classical languages (*Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps*, 1864–6). But on 20 April 1866, he joined the army as a volunteer, and on 27 April he left for the Indies as a soldier, disembarking in Batavia on 11 July 1866 (f. 23, inv. 403, toegang 2.13.07, Stamboeken Officieren Landmacht en KNIL; f. 2340, inv. 9, toegang 2.10.50, Stamboeken en pensioenregisters Militairen Oost Indië en West Indië, 1815–1954).

[25] The names and initials of Gobée and Reeder are mentioned in the letter of the Director of Interior Administration (BB) Waanders to the Governor-General dated 4 October 1869, in V 15/8/1870 no. 21 inv. 2339.

[26] Three names without initials are mentioned in Schlegel's report of 9 April 1873, p. 18, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[27] "Alleen wezenlijke voorliefde voor de beoefening der Chinesche taal moet dus de drijfveer zijn zich aan die te wijden, bij voorkeur boven die, welke den aspirant, na afgelegd Grootambtenaarsexamen, den weg tot alle rangen opent. De studie der Chinesche taal verwacht dat men ten minste zooveel voorstudiën gemaakt hebbe en intellectuele ontwik-

keling bezitte als verwacht wordt om tot afdeeling B van het Grootambtenaarsexamen te worden toegelaten." Advice 14 September 1868, in V 15/8/1870 no. 21 inv. 2339. Hoogeveen's letter is not included in this Verbaal.

[28] "Met weinige uitzonderingen: *gelukzoekers*, *Sinjo's* en *luilakken* die het Grootambtenaarsexamen schuwen en vermeenen dat Chineesch te leeren makkelijker is." Report of Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies, pp. 18-19, 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[29] The candidates could prepare themselves for the examination at the newly established Indies Institute in Delft or at Leiden University. Fasseur, *Indologen*, 201-6. "Appointment regulations for civil officials in the Netherlands Indies" (Ambtenaren bij de burgerlijke dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië), *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1864 no. 194 (Royal Decree 10 September 1864 no. 47).

[30] Examination rules are in *Staatscourant* 1865 no. 66 (resolution of 14 March, edition 19-20 March 1865). Part A was abolished in 1871 (*Staatsblad* 1871 no. 72 and 1872 no. 106).

[31] Article 5, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1864, no. 194.

[32] Article 4, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1864, no. 194. The subjects of part B were: the history, geography, and ethnology of the Netherlands Indies, knowledge of Netherlands Indies government institutions, basic Javanese or Malay, and two of four optional subjects: (1) one or more other native languages of the Indies, (2) religious (Islamic) laws, popular institutions and customs in the Indies, (3) surveying, and (4) bookkeeping. The subjects of the Lower Officials Examination for positions with a monthly salary not higher than *f* 150 were: Dutch language, arithmetic, and demonstration of good penmanship (art. 6). On the Higher Officials Examination, *see also* Fasseur, *Indologen*, 202-6.

[33] Article 12, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1864, no. 194.

[34] Entrance examinations for the university in languages and mathematics for students without a *gymnasium* diploma.

[35] No reason was given for his exemption.

[36] "Het Chineesch is eene keel- en neusklankige taal en op lateren leeftijd zijn de stembanden niet meer lenig genoeg om zich tot het vormen dier klanken met gemak te leenen. De omstandigheid echter dat rekwestrant zich sins [*sic*] jaren met de beoefening van het spreken van andere oostersche talen bezig houdt, kan welligt bij hem de spreekorganen in eenen soupelen toestand gehouden hebben, zoodat zij zich gemakkelijker zullen leenen tot het aanleeren der gesprokene Chinesche taal dan anders verwacht kan worden." Advice dated 14 September 1868, V 15/8/1870 no. 21, inv. 2339.

[37] According to Waanders. Von Faber's formulation is not clear; he probably meant that Gobée (and Reeder?) could be exempted only after finishing university.

[38] In 1866, four new government departments had been established, including that of Interior Administration; before 1866, there was only a Department of Finance (*Encyclopaedie van NI* [1896], vol. I, pp. 436-437).

[39] This decision (no. 14) repeated the Minister's decision of 11 April 1867.

[40] Appointed on 23 July 1869. One member of the Council, O. van Rees, had shown a lack of sympathy to the interpreters before, and had just been reappointed on 25 September after two years' leave.

[41] Although *f* 4,800 was yearly earmarked for training interpreters, this would only be sufficient for stipends and teachers' fees of two students in the Indies, and not for their stipends in China, passage to and from China, passage of the new teacher, and books.

[42] "De ondergetekende, M. von Faber, tolk voor de Chinesche taal te Batavia, heeft zich te kort met de spreektaal van het Kè-Jing-tjioe dialekt kunnen bezighouden en heeft na dien korten tijd bijna geene gelegenheid gehad zich verder daarin te bekwamen of zelfs het daarvan aangeleerde te onderhouden, om de noodige kennis van genoemd dialekt te bezitten tot het geven van onderwijs daarin of tot het doen van mondelinge vertolkingen daarin of daaruit voor eene regtbank, weshalve hij niet alleen in gemoede *kan*, doch zelfs *moet* verklaren, dat hij het Kè-jing-tjioe dialekt niet spreken en niet onderwijzen kan." Von Faber consistently used the spelling "Kè-Jing-tjioe," while Schlegel wrote "Kay Ying Tsiu." Both are Hokkien (Tsiangtsiu) pronunciations of Kia Ying Chow, respectively in Dutch and English spelling. Letter by Von Faber dated 10 February 1870, in V 15/8/1870 no. 21, inv. 2339.

[43] "Het is zaak voor een en ander nog in den loop van dit jaar te zorgen, opdat de twee élèves na hun aanstelling aan 't werk kunnen." Levysohn Norman to Mijer, 30 March 1870, in V 15/8/1870 no. 21, inv. 2339

[44] Based on *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 78, 1865, Art. 2 (Royal Decree no. 49, 9 November 1865).

[45] "Chinesche tolken. Voorwaarden te verbinden aan de bijdragen van Staatswege voor de opleiding van tolken voor de chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië." A later version of this ordinance of 1873 is in Appendix R.

[46] In 1867, Gobée was promoted to corporal, in 1868 to sergeant, and from April 1870 to 1872 he went to the Military School. In April 1872, he was made second lieutenant and paymaster (*kwartiermeester*) of the military administration (f. 23, inv. 403, toegang 2.13.07). In 1872–5, he was stationed in Atjeh (Aceh), in 1875 he became first lieutenant, and in 1883 returned on two-year sick leave to the Netherlands. In 1885, he was honourably discharged because of physical defects not caused by his service, and granted a pension (f. 2340, inv. 9, toegang 2.10.50).

[47] Their initials are not known, but they could be G.Ch. Twijsel, clerk (*klerk*) in the General Secretariat (born 11 May 1844 in Semarang), who received a pension from 1900 (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren Q434); C.E.H. Wollweber, student telegraphist in Batavia, appointed in 1870, in function until 1880 (S313); and Carel Willem Groenewald, third-class clerk (*commies*) in 1866, who passed away in May 1881 (R237). An appointment as interpreter at *f* 300 per month could be attractive for lower officials with salaries not exceeding *f* 150.

[48] Groeneveldt was transferred from Pontianak to Padang to take Buddingh's place, and Meeter was appointed in Pontianak as successor to Groeneveldt. IB 14/9/1870 no. 27.

[49] *Javasche Courant* 1871 nos. 2, 3, 5 (5, 10, 13 January).

[50] Schlegel's report dated 9 April 1873, p. 17, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. A person named H.E. Busscher later had a career in the military administration and was honourably discharged in 1901 (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren I' 740).

[51] The report by the examination committee (dated 7 April 1871) was published in *Extra Bijvoegsel der Javasche Courant* 1871 no. 34 (a printed copy is in V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625). In the printed version the names of the candidates were left out.

[52] V 18/2/1873 no. 26, inv. 2563.

[53] Schlegel's report 1873, p. 20. J.J. Roelofs' younger brother Johannes Gerard would later pass the Higher Officials Examination and have a career in the Indies (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren Z75).

[54] IB 20/4/1871 no. 35, in V 14/6/1871 no. 62 inv. 2405.

[55] "… daar er geene bronnen, behalve levende, voor het aanleeren van dit dialekt bestonden." Schlegel's report 9 April 1873, p. 26.

[56] Schlegel's report 1873, p. 26.

[57] With slightly varying titles. Five copies are known to exist: those by B. Hoetink, H.N. Stuart, A.A. de Jongh, B.A.J. van Wettum, and an unknown student. *See* Chapter Eleven.

[58] The Department of Justice was established in 1870 (*Encyclopaedie van NI* [1896], vol. I, pp. 436-7).

[59] Mr. Timon Henricus der Kinderen (1823–98) had a doctorate in Law from Leiden University and arrived in the Indies in 1848. From 1854 he had a career in the High Court as clerk, from 1861 judge, from 1866 Procurator General. From 1869 he was Director of Justice; from 1871 President of both High Courts; from 1872 he was a member of the Council of the Indies. He contributed greatly to the establishment of secondary education in Batavia and the codification of law in the Outer Possessions. He retired in 1889, returning to the Netherlands.

[60] The committee was first appointed in IB 10/8/1871 no. 26. V 16/10/1871 no. 91 inv. 2434.

[61] Schlegel's letter to the Director of Justice 27 May 1872, in V 7/8/1872 no. 40 inv. 2515.

[62] IB 8/6/1872 no. 12 inv. 7556. IB 18/9/1875 no. 9 inv. 7636. Date of departure in *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 1872, p. 72.

[63] IB 5/8/1872 no. 9, in V 5/10/1872 no. 46 inv. 2531.

[64] Copies are in V 1/11/1872 no. 67 inv. 2539.

[65] During the second year of his study in China, he had to do without the support of De Grijs, who went to Northern China and the Netherlands.

[66] "De élève Roelofs is bezig met het aanleeren van het Hokien dialect, dat te Emoi en omstreken wordt gesproken; mijn bestemming is, voor zover ik weet, Shanghai, waar men eene geheel andere taal hoort, in dit opzigt zou dus Emoi voor hem de beste plaats zijn, ja Batavia zelfs boven Shanghai te verkiezen wezen. / Maar een tolk voor de Chinesche taal moet meer kennen dan de spreektaal, hij moet ook in de schrijftaal bedreven zijn en op de hoogte zijn van wetten en gebruiken, in een woord van het geheele Chinesche leven. Voor het gedeelte zijner studie dat zeker het moeijelijkste is biedt China gunstiger gelegenheid aan dan Batavia en is vooral de leiding van een deskundige een groot voordeel, tijdens mijn verblijf in China heb ik het gemis ervan in vele opzigten gevoeld. / Bovendien kan het bezwaar dat ik tegen Shanghai heb ingebragt, voor een groot deel verholpen worden. De élève Roelofs neemt zich natuurlijk een meester en een bediende uit Emoi en is, met mij zamen zijnde, bovendien nog in dagelijksche aanraking met andere personen die het door hem beoefende dialect spreken, terwijl er te Shanghai zeker een aantal kooplieden enz. uit Emoi zijn, met wie hij zooveel verkeeren kan als hij goed vindt. / Ik ben niet genoegzaam bekend met den aanleg en de vorderingen van de meergenoemde élève; van den heer Schlegel heb ik echter steeds gunstige berigten over hem gehoord. Hierop vertrouwende durf ik beweren dat hij, na een jaar te Shanghai onder mijne leiding geweest te zijn, ten volle in staat kan wezen op zich zelven te staan en zich door een verblijf van nog een jaar in de provincie Hokiën geheel voor zijne taak te bekwamen." V 1/11/1872 no. 67 inv. 2539.

[67] "Hier in Indië worden in hoofdzaak slechts twee dialecten gesproken: het zoogenaamde Hokiën en het Hakka of Kheh dialect. Chinezen van anderen landaard komen slechts op weinige plaatsen en in kleinen getale voor. Die twee dialecten ken ik en voor mijnen werkkring in Indië zou het dus geen nut hebben er nog een bij te leeren. / Wat het dialect van Shanghai betreft, zoo is er, voor zoover mij bekend is, in geheel Indië geen Chineesch die dat spreekt. / Eindelijk moet ik de aandacht vestigen op de omstandigheid dat [tussen] de Chinesche dialecten, bij groot verschil, ook veel overeenkomst bestaan en [dat] het al vrij moeijelijk is en veel oefening vereischt er twee te leeren zonder ze vaak met elkaar te verwarren. / Ook al kan ik het hier in Indië gebruiken, dan zou ik nog aarzelen van een derde dialect eene geregelde studie te maken. / Ik ben met mijne zending naar China zeer ingenomen. Omdat ik mij daaruit veel voordeel voor mijn studiën beloof. Maar ik hoop dat de Regering op grond van het bovenstaande zal afzien van de meergemelde aanbeveling en het aan mijn eigen oordeel overlaten hoe ik van de mij geboden gelegenheid zal partij trekken." V 1/11/1872 no. 67 inv. 2539.

[68] IB 22/9/1872 no. 6, in V 1/11/1872 no. 67 inv. 2539. In China, Groeneveldt would later study Mandarin (Hoffmann's report, 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589), which was necessary for diplomacy, but at that time considered of no use in the Indies. He would also study the history of Sino–Malay contacts; the result was his publication *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from Chinese Sources* (1880).

[69] IB 22/9/1872 no. 6 inv. 7563.

[70] All travel costs etc. were to be refunded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. V 15/8/1873 no. 3 inv. 2611.

[71] V 3/10/1873 no. 45 inv. 2626. Royal Decree in IB 29/10/1873 no. 25 inv. 2634.

[72] The German merchant Carl Junius Pasedag was Consul from the establishment of a Dutch Consulate in Amoy on 23 April 1874 to 25 November 1884 (letter of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, August 1917, in inv. 1329, toegang 2.05.38, NA). He had been appointed on the first day by J.H. Ferguson.

[73] "Hij lijkt me een kerel met een vluggen geest, maar zonder zucht naar het hogere, edlere; en geeft nu en dan te kijken dat hij in Amoy met minder fijne lui verkeerd heeft." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 30 March 1880. Van der Spek had just arrived in Batavia after one year of study in Amoy.

[74] IB 17/6/1875 no. 12, inv. 7630. Correspondence and telegrams about Roelofs' financial affairs in Amoy are kept in inv. 2, toegang 2.05.92 Consulaat Amoy.

[75] IB 17/6/1875 no. 14, inv. 7630.

[76] V (Exh.) 18/10/1872 no. 52 inv. 2535.

[77] IB 7/9/1873 no. 3 in V 1/11/1873 no. 67 inv. 2539.
[78] Schlegel's report, 9 April 1873, p. 17. Also in Schlegel's review of Young's *Uit de Indo-Chineesche samenleving*, in *Het leeskabinet*, juli 1895 (in Schlegel, *Varia*, Overdrukken (off-prints), East Asian Library).
[79] Schlegel, "Nécrologie" [of] J.W. Young, *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899), 223-5.
[80] IB 2/1/1873 no. 7; examination results in marks with commentary are in V 18/2/1873 no. 26 inv. 2563.
[81] Schlegel, "Nécrologie," 225, quoting J.J.M. de Groot.
[82] Probably also in Zhangzhou. Van der Spek mentioned that he met a Chinese friend of Young's in Zhangzhou (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 January 1880).
[83] IB 22/12/1875 no. 26 and correspondence with Pasedag, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93, Consulaat Amoy 1874–1895.
[84] Letter from the Department of Justice 7 October 1876, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93, Consulaat Amoy 1874–1895. He was perhaps inspired by Schlegel's teaching programme in Leiden.
[85] Letter from Pasedag to the Director of Justice in Batavia, dated 3 February 1877, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.
[86] De Groot, *Notizen*.
[87] IB 8/2/1877 no. 46, inv. 7671. Young engaged the teacher before official permission was given.
[88] IB 16/3/1877 no. 16, inv. 7674.
[89] Schlegel, "Nécrologie," 223. Approved by the Governor-General in IB 3/6/1877 no. 25 inv. 7679.
[90] This is from an appendix probably belonging to Schlegel's letter dated 2 March 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. The second argument was more applicable to the Netherlands than to the Indies.
[91] Schlegel's report, 9 April 1873, p. 16, V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. Appointment in IB 24/8/1870 no. 2.
[92] The main exceptions were that from 1893 onwards, two years of study in China were allowed instead of one, and in 1910 De Groot used another system of selection and examination.

Notes to Chapter Eight

[1] Mr. Gerardus Theodorus Hendrik Henny (1828–84) was Secretary General from 1 July 1872 to 12 February 1876. After studying in Delft, he went to the Indies in 1852 as 1st class official to work in the judiciary. From 26 July 1862 to 1872, he had been lawyer at the High Court in Batavia (*advocaat en procureur*) (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren K 120. Van der Hoeven, *Familie Henny*). In that capacity he often came into contact with Schlegel. In his obituary of Serrurier, Schlegel called Henny his 'friend' (*T'oung Pao* 2 (1901), 280). In 1876–82 Henny was again in Batavia, now as Director of Interior Administration.
[2] "Nota omtrent de opleiding van élève-translateurs voor de Chinesche taal."
[3] In total 12 lined, thread-bound pages. These documents are without any reference as to their origin. Therefore they are assumed to have been handed over personally. They are kept together with Schlegel's letter of 2 March 1873 in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. All documents mentioned in this and the next section are from this *Verbaal* unless otherwise specified.
[4] "De opleiding in Nederland onder den hoogleeraar Hoffmann, bleek al ras voor de dienst in Nederlandsch Indië onvoldoende te zijn. Want hoewel het genoemden hoogleeraar volkomen toevertrouwd is zijn élèves in de Chinesche schrijftaal te onderrigten, zoo was het echter voor hem, uit den aard der zaak, minder doenlijk hen in de, in Nederl. Indië gesproken dialekten te onderwijzen. De Heer Hoffmann verstaat namelijk alleen het onder den naam van Mandarijnsch in de noordelijke provintien van China gesproken wordende dialekt, terwijl in Ned. Indië dialekten uit de zuidelijke provintien Fokian en Kwangtoeng gesproken worden."
[5] Schlegel did not mention any names.

[6] "… het toch reeds zo kleine corps tolken voor de Chinesche taal loopt gevaar spoedig uit te sterven." This can be seen in the table of the numbers of active interpreters in Appendix H.

[7] Schlegel did not mention that another student, Young, was being trained in Batavia by his colleague Von Faber.

[8] This title is similar to the *chaire de chinois vulgaire* used by Bazin and his successors at the École des langues Orientales in Paris from 1843 to 1930. From 1871 on, this chair was occupied by former interpreters in the French consulates in China, assisted by Chinese teachers (Bergère, Pino, *Siècle d'enseignement 1840–1945*, passim).

[9] On 12 June 1869 for his dissertation *Chinesische Bräuche und Spiele in Europa*. Schlegel did not mention its shortness (32 pp.).

[10] Ministerial resolution of 15 August 1870, in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1870 no. 151. Dutch text *cf*. Appendix R.

[11] This national institution (*Rijksinstelling*) was established as part of Leiden University, officially replacing the training at the Royal Academy in Delft when that was discontinued in 1864. It was in its turn closed in 1877, and succeeded by a municipal institution in Leiden that existed until 1891 (similar to the one in Delft). Students prepared here for the Higher Officials Examination.

[12] A different title from the one in his previous document. Perhaps Schlegel changed it on the advice of Henny.

[13] In the original letter it can be seen that Schlegel had first written 6,000, which he later changed to 5,000. His arguments for this salary were that his last yearly salary in the Indies was *f* 6,000, to which should be added *f* 1,200 as extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber, while his maximum salary would after another eight years amount to *f* 9,600.

[14] Three months after Julien's death, on 11 May 1873, d'Hervey de Saint-Denys was temporarily charged with the course for a probation period of one year, and on 1 June 1874 he was officially appointed, being the only candidate recommended. He remained in function until his death in 1892. Angel Pino, "Abrégé dûment circonstancié de la vie de Marie Jean Léon le Coq, baron d'Hervey, marquis de Saint-Denys, professeur au Collège de France en membre de l'Institut, sinologue de son état, onironaute à ses heures: une enquête à l'usage, non exclusif, des futurs biographes," in: Bergère and Pino, *Siècle d'enseignement 1840–1943*, 95-129, specially 108-9.

[15] Full name: *Bureau Oostindische algemeene zaken* (Bureau for general East Indies affairs). Since 1861 it was headed by the *referendaris* Jhr. F.E.M. van Alphen, who later succeeded Henny as Secretary General in 1876.

[16] Of course, this was the original function of these archives. Later historians make grateful use of them.

[17] The discussion about the need to study Mandarin between Hoffmann, De Grijs, and Van der Hoeven in 1858 was not mentioned. Perhaps most of the documents could then already not be found. *See* Chapter Three, Studying in China (1855–1867), section "The elimination of Mandarin studies."

[18] Note in the margin: "Dr. Hoffmann will die soon, therefore he did not come with the Japanese envoys. H[enny]." ("Dr. Hoffmann zal spoedig dood gaan, daarom kwam hij ook niet met de Japaneesche gezanten. H.")

[19] No reference about this could be found in V 15/8/1870 no. 21 inv. 2339.

[20] *Dwarskijkers* was during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Dutch name for the highest rank of Japanese–Dutch interpreters, who also functioned as inspectors or inquisitors, and were considered snoopers or busy-bodies by the Dutch (Blussé, *Bewogen betrekkingen*). The word *dwarskijker* became popular after the first Japanese delegation to the Netherlands in 1862 (Van der Sijs, *Calendarium*, 205).

[21] Actually, these numbers had already been decided in 1860 and 1862, around the time when the first interpreters were appointed. It seems that Schlegel was referring to the two letters from two Governors-General, first stating that "ten" and later that "eight" interpreters were needed (dated 9 August 1860 in V 9/1/1861, no. 5 inv. 1020 and 4 February 1862 in V 29/8/1862 no. 7 inv. 1234).

[22] In fact, De Grijs continued to work for another ten years. In 1885 he went to the Netherlands on a two-year leave, and in 1887 was given a pension.

[23] "En van dit voor Indië zoo belangrijk element weten de Indische ambtenaren *niets af*. Omtrent hun zijn de waanzinnigste denkbeelden in omloop; men heeft noch begrip van hunnen godsdienst, noch van hunne eigenaardige zeden en gebruiken, noch van hunne huishouding, en het allerminst van hunne taal. En dientengevolge worden grove misslagen ten hunnen opzigte begaan en levert de regering over de Chinezen op vele plaatsen moeilijkheden op, terwijl toch anders de Chinees een het makkelijkst te regeren volk is. Verschillende conflicten die op *Riouw* en *Pontianak* alléén door de kennis van taal en zeden der Chinezen, door mijn collega's *Schaalje* en *Groeneveldt* zijn voorkomen, zouden *zonder* hunne tusschenkomst tot ernstige ongeregeldheden aanleiding gegeven hebben." Schlegel's letter of 9 April 1873, p. 23.

[24] Schlegel should have known by then that De Grijs had agreed to edit the dictionary, because he quoted from a letter by Der Kinderen dated 17 February 1873 (p. 25 of his report). De Grijs' acceptance was already mentioned in the *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* on 17 December 1872, p. 171.

[25] "De voormalige tolk voor de / Chinesche taal te Batavia / thans met verlof. / Dr. G. Schlegel."

[26] Also published in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1873, no. 123 (IB 18/7/1873 no. 3).

[27] Groeneveldt left the interpreters' service on 7 August 1877, two months before Schlegel definitively quit on 3 October 1877, but Schlegel already left the active service in 1872.

[28] V 26/6/1873 no. 47 (Exh.) inv. 2696, V 27/6/1873 no. 25 inv. 2597.

[29] *Staatscourant*, 1 July 1873, no. 153, and 4 July 1873, no. 156.

[30] V 24/6/1873 no. 36 inv. 2596.

[31] *Staatsblad* 1871, no. 72 (decision of 23/6/1871), and 1872, no. 106 (30/10/1872). Part A was abolished in 1871, but the examination could still be taken in 1871 and 1872.

[32] Ten Brink (1834–1901) became professor of Dutch literature in Leiden in 1884, and Van der Waals (1837–1923) was professor in Amsterdam from 1877 to 1907; he won the Nobel prize for physics in 1910. The other committee members were: L. Chatelain (French), J. Klein (German), F.S. Gomm (English), J.C. Mensing (arithmetic and bookkeeping, also secretary of the committee), Dr. W.F. Koppeschaar (natural history, minerology and geology), M. Salverda de Grave (geography and history) (V 20/8/1873 no. 45 inv. 2612).

[33] A large stack of documents is kept in V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625.

[34] Groeneveldt's *nota*, in Advice from the Council of the Indies, 12 October 1894, V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[35] V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625. '5' represents 'just satisfactory knowledge.'

[36] V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625, V 1/10/1873 no. 22/1793 inv. 2626.

[37] V 12/1/1874 no. 12 (Exh.) inv. 2652.

[38] "verlangt vurig in eenige betrekking in Nederlandsch Oost Indië te komen."

[39] For the 'technical forestry officials' a similar system of a competitive examination and fully paid three-year course including half a year of practical training in Germany had recently been established. Van Eijk, *De opleiding der technische ambtenaren bij het boschweezen in Nederlandsch-Indië (1865–1897)*.

[40] V 18/10/1873 no. 14 inv. 2630.

[41] A photocopy is kept in the Archiefkast 2, East Asian Library, Leiden; = De Groot Archief, Leiden. The original diary was kept in the Maurice Freedman Collection in the London School of Economics, but is now lost (Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 16 note 6).

[42] De Groot, *Notizen*, 8, 15.

[43] "Wil de wereld zien." De Groot, *Notizen*, 1.

[44] "Over de hooge, rotsige kusten van Havre rond te zwerven, was een buitenkansje, dat de lust om verre gewesten te zien krachtiger dan ooit deed ontwaken." De Groot, *Notizen*, 2.

[45] "Weet geen beteren uitweg om mijne neiging de wijde wereld in te gaan te voldoen, dan maar Oost Indisch ambtenaar te worden." De Groot, *Notizen*, 3.

[46] "Wil ijverig wezen, ten einde zoo gauw mogelijk weg te komen. Maar wat een winkel! De colleges schijnen er als uitgevonden om de idealen over Indië bij jongelieden uit te blusschen. Wat een overstelpende massa beuzelarijen, kleinigheden en nietswaardige bijzonderheden!" De Groot, *Notizen*, 3.

[47] J.M. van Vleuten (1837–after 1891) was appointed as East Indies official in 1857, later

became an Assistant Resident, and in 1871 he went on two (actually three) years' leave to the Netherlands (Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren M91, M524). He was not a regular teacher at the Institution. In 1885–9 he was Director of Interior Administration.

[48] J.J. de Hollander, *Handleiding bij de beoefening der land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië, voor de cadetten, bestemd voor den dienst in die gewesten*, first edition Breda, KMA, 1861, many re-editions. De Groot would refute De Hollander's prejudices about the Chinese in *Het Kongsiwezen van Borneo* (pp. 152, 154-5, note 2).

[49] "De helft der lessen telegrafeert hij af, daar hij Den Haag, waar hij woont, maar noode kan verlaten; en wanneer hij komt, verveelt hij zijn gehoor door stukken voor te lezen uit die treurige Handleiding van De Hollander, en die zoogenaamde lessen met allerhand flauwiteiten uit eigen ervaring aan te vullen. Geen enkele greep in de ziel of den geest der inlanders; alles handelt over den buitenkant." De Groot, *Notizen*, 3.

[50] Dr A.W.Th. Juynboll (1834–87) first taught Javanese, and after 1868 Islamic law and its influence on East Indies society.

[51] "Die weet zijn lui te boeien en een en ander te leeren; hij verstaat ook de kunst hen nu en dan te doen lachen, kortom, is een lichtpunt in dien donkeren boel." De Groot, *Notizen*, 3.

[52] This should be 13 and is clearly a misreading of his original diary.

[53] "Gelukkig komt tegen het einde van het eerste jaar verlossing. Op een schoonen dag lees ik, op mijn kamer boven den Banketwinkel van Gussenhoven, aan de Binnen-watersloot, de tijding, dat aspiranten worden verlangd om in Leiden te gaan studeeren voor tolk voor de Chineesche taal. Daar in die akademiestad drie of vier jaar te vertoeven, lacht mij toe; dààr zal men wat leeren en studeeren kunnen, en dan, behalve Indië, nog China zien op de koop toe, ja, wellicht een interessante carrière kunnen maken een geheel andere richting uit. De betaling is bovendien beter dan die bij het Binnenlandsch Bestuur. Van dralen dus geen quaestie; de stukken worden ingediend, en op het examen in Den Haag, onder 18 [should be: 13] sollicitanten, door mij het hoogst aantal punten behaald. Lid in de afnemings-commissie was o.a. Jan Ten Brink. / In September komt een schrijven van den Minister van Koloniën, dat ik mij ter beschikking van Schlegel heb te stellen. Veel aandrang van den kant der Delftsche vrienden, die aanstelling als leerling-tolk toch van de hand te wijzen; ambtenaar bij het Binnenlandsch Bestuur, zoo heet het, is veel deftiger dan tolk, enz. Eenige weifeling, natuurlijk, mijnerzijds; doch de gedachte dat elke betrekking eervol is, zoo zij maar eervol wordt bekleed, gepaard aan de zucht om een zeer onbekend stuk van de wereld te zien, en de kans om mijzelven misschien een merkwaardigen levensloop te banen, behouden de overhand. Zonder de geringste hartzeer scheid ik van de Indische Instelling en hare ongenietbare colleges." De Groot, *Notizen*, 3-4.

[54] V 12/1/1874 no. 12 (Exh.) inv. 2652.

[55] This salary was before the deduction of 2% for civil pension and 5% contribution to the Widows and Orphans Fund of Civil Officials in the Netherlands Indies.

[56] V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625.

[57] An *Exhibitum* is a simple *Verbaal*, just containing one incoming letter without any response. They are placed before the normal *Verbalen* of a certain date in the archives represented by numbers such as 'Exh. 25/3-73 no. 25.' If there is a later response from the Ministry, the *Exhibitum* is usually transferred to the later *Verbaal*. For each group there were 11 reports. No reports of January and April 1878 could be found.

[58] Published in *Verslag van den staat van hooge-, middelbare en lagere scholen in het Koningrijk der Nederlanden*.

[59] Address on a letter from Hoffmann to Schlegel dated 24 January 1873, in: dossier 144, inv. 180, toegang 2.04.26.02.

[60] The Schlegel family lived here from the 1840s to 1869. Originally Vliet 539, in 1875 the number was changed to Vliet 23; the house has been demolished since (Bevolkingsregister 1844–1861, buurt 2, fol. 174, ELO). Gustaaf's mother Cornelia Buddingh had already passed away in 1864. His father Herman Schlegel, his new wife Albertina Catharina Petronella Pfeiffer (Utrecht, 27 September 1829 – Leiden, 10 March 1894) and Gustaaf's brother and sister moved to Breestraat 109 in 1869 (Bevolkingsregister 1860–1870, buurt 2, folio 278, and 1870–1880, buurt 1, folio 123, ELO).

[61] He registered on Papengracht 10 on 27 March 1877, giving as his previous address "East Indies" (Bevolkingsregister 1870–1880, buurt 11, fol. 43, ELO).

[62] He was registered on Rapenburg 51 on 22 June 1878 (Bevolkingsregister 1870–1880, buurt 1, fol. 324, ELO).

[63] When he was teaching two groups at the same time in 1875–6, the day or time must have been different.

[64] V 29/8/1892 no. 1 inv. 4610.

[65] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 17 no. 12.

[66] "Wij waren pas aan het Chineesch bezig. Moll werd zat als een snip en liep aldoor te zeggen: kun, kún enz." (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 15). De Jongh's birthday was on 28 November 1875.

[67] Schlegel's reports in V 12/1/1874 no. 12 (Exh.) inv. 2652. V 14/4/1874 no. 21 (Exh.) inv. 2672.

[68] Schlegel's report in V 3/4/1876 no. 47 (Exh.) inv. 2872.

[69] Schlegel's report in V 3/7/1874 no. 45 (Exh.) inv. 2691.

[70] Davis, *Hien Wun Shoo* 賢文書 (A book of wise words), *Chinese Moral Maxims* (1823).

[71] De Groot's copy entitled *Hièn Bûn Si* is kept in his *Nachlass* (no. 19) in the archives of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. Schlegel's copy is in BPL 2044.

[72] Schlegel's report in V 8/10/1874 no. 5 (Exh.) inv. 2720.

[73] Schlegel's report in V 11/10/1876 no. 45 (Exh.) inv. 2926.

[74] Five copies with slightly different titles still exist, made by B. Hoetink, H.N. Stuart, A.A. de Jongh, B.A.J. van Wettum, and an unknown student. *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Manuscript Dictionaries."

[75] B.A.J. van Wettum's copy has on the first page the date 17 June 1888, one day after the course began on 16 June, and on the last page a date three years later, 15 August 1891. His group was much slower than the earlier groups and needed three years for what the others did in two years.

[76] Stuart's copy bears the date "July 1875," and De Jongh's has "14 October 1877."

[77] Schlegel's report in V 7/1/1875 no. 49 (Exh.) inv. 2747, V 12/4/1877 no. 33 (Exh.) inv. 2979.

[78] Schlegel's report in V 7/1/1875 no. 49 (Exh.) inv. 2747.

[79] This anthology dates from about 1640 and contains forty stories chosen from other collections of short stories (*huaben*).

[80] A copy of such a notebook with the story "Du Shiniang" from *Jingu qiguan* by Schlegel's later student Van Wettum survived in the Borel archive (B 745 H. 3 Vertalingen e.a., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).

[81] William Frederick Mayers (1839–78) came to China as student-interpreter in 1860. He wrote some books that became very useful, such as *Chinese Reader's Manual* (1874). He passed away in Shanghai on his way to England on leave of absence. Quoted in Schlegel's report in V 6/7/1875 no. 22 inv. 2798. Schlegel met Mayers as interpreter at the British Consulate in Canton in 1861 (Schlegel, *Chineesche taalstudie*, 10).

[82] V 6/7/1875 no. 22 (Exh.) inv. 2798.

[83] V 16/10/1877 no. 30 (Exh.) inv. 3035. More than ten years earlier, in 1862, Schlegel had himself translated this text into Dutch at the request of that Association. In 1884, he would publish it with the original Chinese text as "Eene Chineesche begrafenis- en huwelijksonderneming" [Soerabaja], *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 32 (1884), 517-59. It contained several related texts.

[84] V 7/10/1875 no. 7 (Exh.) inv. 2800.

[85] In 1875 Schlegel made a manuscript Dutch translation of this story, with the Chinese text (*Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Orientale … de feu Mr. le Dr. Gust. Schlegel* (1904), 1, no. 5).

[86] V 6/7/1875 no. 22 (Exh.) inv. 2798.

[87] "Hij maakte in Leiden een dictionaire en midden in den nacht stond hij soms op om er weer aan te gaan werken. Eens in Amsterdam een bezoek brengende bij iemand dien hij nooit gezien had vroeg hij na 5 minuten sprekens pen en inkt om weer iets betreffende zijn woordenboek op te teekenen." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9.

[88] V 17/1/1876 no 15 (Exh.) inv. 2853. Schlegel did not mention any title of a book by Confucius. They probably studied selections from the *Four Books*.

[89] V 10/7/1876 no. 35 (Exh.) inv. 2898. V 11/7/1878 no. 50 (Exh.) inv. 3113.

[90] *Kwang Sse Loui Fou* 廣事類賦, Recueil encyclopédique de Choses diverses où [*sic*] Bibliotheca Classica Sinensis, traduit du Chinois et compilé par Gustave Schlegel, Interprête pour la langue Chinoise. Manuscript kept in Archiefkast 3 D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.034.

[91] *Le Vendeur-d'huile qui seul possède la reine-de-beauté* (Leyde, Paris, 1877).

[92] Gabriel Devéria, interpreter at the French legation in China in 1860–89 and professor at the Ecole des languages orientales in 1889–99, considered it one of the best Chinese textbooks (Cordier, "Nécrologie," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 411). In the 1910s, Franz Kuhn was inspired by Schlegel's book to become a translator of Chinese literature (Kuhn, *Dr. Franz Kuhn, Lebensbeschreibung* (English version), 12-13).

[93] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Hoffmann's Japanese Dictionary."

[94] Schlegel, *Chineesche taalstudie* (1877), 11. S. Wells Williams, *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1874).

[95] Only in Mandarin was the pronunciation indicated for each character; for the Southern dialects possible pronunciations of groups of characters were given. Another dictionary would be needed to find the correct dialect pronunciation.

[96] "*Moll* verliefd op Bertha Cors. Zij gaat onder zijn raam voorbij en hij laat uit aandoening zijn pijp vallen. Den volgenden evenzoo met de groote dictionary van Williams." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 8.

[97] In 1857 James Legge had already told him that Chinese should not be studied with the help of grammars but by wide reading (*T'oung Pao* 9 (1898), 59-63, p. 60; *see* Chapter Three, Studying in China (1855–1867), section "Study Methods").

[98] "Vous, vétérans! ne gaspillez pas votre précieux temps à faire des grammaires plus ou moins complètes de la langue chinoise; le Nestor des Sinologues, James Legge, n'en a jamais fait une; et vous, jeunes de l'avant-garde! jetez vos grammaires au feu. Lisez, lisez, lisez—traduisez, traduisez, traduisez des auteurs Chinois jusqu'à ce que vous soyez entrés dans l'ordre-d'idées chinois, et que vous pensiez comme eux." Schlegel, "La stèle funéraire du Teghin Giogh" (1892), 48-9. Italics are added. Schlegel always stressed the importance for students of learning to think like a Chinese. In the nineteenth century Chinese characters were often considered to be directly representing ideas, not words.

[99] Here quoted from Bridgman's English translation *The Notitia Linguae Sinicae* (1847), 36.

[100] Legge, "Chronique," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1893), 88-9. And for example in 1938 Schlegel's motto was quoted by Lionel Giles, "Reviews of Books" (about J.J. Brandt, *Introduction to Literary Chinese*), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1938), 572-3.

[101] Julien, *Syntaxe nouvelle de la langue Chinoise fondée sur la position des mots* (1869-70). The title page has the motto: "The whole of Chinese grammar depends on position (Marshman)."

[102] Schlegel, *Chineesche taalstudie*, 7.

[103] "Meine Schüler bekommen erst dann eine chinesische Grammatik in Händen, wenn sie der chinesischen Sprache schon Meister sind." Schlegel, "Bulletin critique," review of Carl Arendt, *Handbuch der nord-chinesischen Umgangssprache* (1891), *T'oung Pao* 3 (1892), 196. Van Zijderveld, *Duitse familie*, 255-6.

[104] Now SINOL. 15.600.24b, East Asian Library, Leiden. It is not known whether he bought it during his studies in Leiden or later from his allowance for books. The second volume also contained some older works by Julien, such as *Examen critique* and *L'orpheline de la Chine*.

[105] Taking such courses became obligatory only after 1917 (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1918 no. 82 art. 4; Royal Decree 5 September 1917 no. 23).

[106] "en is het duidelijk dat zij de studie met liefde opvatten en beoefenen." V 3/7/1874 no. 45 (Exh.) inv. 2691.

[107] "De jongelieden blijven met liefde aan de studie der Chinesche taal voortwerken." V 18/7/1877 no. 15 (Exh.) inv. 3008.

[108] Based on the photocopy of the manuscript in Leiden and with help of the English translations by Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 16.

[109] "Schlegel kan mij maar weinig bekoren. *Altijd geeft hij ons op de lessen vieze erotische*

praatjes te slikken, geneert zich niet ons de laagste Chineesche scheldwoorden te leeren, onder voorwendsel dat de kennis daarvan ons in onze latere betrekking als tolk onmisbaar is, en is altijd vol van *de schuinste uien en platheden ten aanzien van het sexuele leven. Hij schijnt … …… zwakkere karakters al hun respect voor de vrouw uit het lijf te halen.*" *Notizen*, 5. Unreadable text is here represented by '…'

[110] "Bijna niets hebben we voor hem te doen. Chineesche syntaxis leert hij ons niet; wij moeten maar naar de beteekenis van Chineesche volzinnen leeren slaan als blinden naar een ei. … Waarom alle heil gezocht in het aanleeren van een zekere hoeveelheid woordjes per week, en een stuk of wat zoogenaamde spreuken, door Davis bijeengegaard, spreuken die niet eens spreuken zijn? Waarom ons voort laten wurmen met een plat-erotisch novelletje uit de 今古奇觀 [*Jingu qiguan*], geschreven in plat Pekingsch dialect, niet eens in behoorlijk literarisch Chineesch?," *Notizen*, 5-6.

[111] Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 34-6.

[112] "Waarom doet hij ons geen colleges bij andere professoren volgen? … Waarom ons nooit een woord ten beste gegeven over Chineesche letterkunde, geschiedenis, zeden, gebruiken, godsdienst? Niets, hoegenaamd niets, krijgen wij te hooren over aanverwante vakken, als Boeddhisme en Sanskrit, niets over aardrijkskunde, noch over Chineesche staatsinstellingen, of wat ook. Voor mijn twee mede-élève-tolken zijn dit dan ook drie jaren van echte leeglooperij; trouwens schijnt het opleidingssysteem à la Schlegel er met voordacht op ingericht te zijn om leegloopers te kweeken." *Notizen*, 6.

[113] De Groot, *Notizen*, 8-9.

[114] This was in order to finish the University courses in Ethnology and Law that he began to follow in September, and to further extend his language studies. Letter from De Groot to the Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 19 January 1899 (end), and from Groeneveldt to the Secretary General of Foreign Affairs A.P. Verkerk Pistorius, dated 23 December 1898 (end), in inv. 1324, toegang 2.05.38.

[115] "Hooggeleerde Schlegel, geachte Leermeester, onder wiens gewaardeerde leiding ik mijn eerste schreden op het veld van wetenschap heb gezet … Uwe ongeëvenaarde kennis toch van China's talen en geschriften …" De Groot, *Over het belang der kennis van China voor onze koloniën*, 31-2.

[116] "De Groot spoke Chinese badly but studied a lot" ("de Gr. [de Groot] [sprak] slecht [Chineesch] maar studeerde veel"). Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 March 1879.

[117] Franke, "Gedächtnisrede," p. CXVIII.

[118] De Visser was nevertheless happy with De Groot's clear and simple explanations, and disagreed with him only in this respect. De Visser, "Levensbericht J.J.M. de Groot," 12 (off-print). "Die chinesische Philologie, besonders die Grammatik verachtete er." Forke, "De Groots Lebenswerk," 275.

[119] About two weeks after their arrival in Amoy, he wrote a long section in his *Diary* comprising "Leiden memories." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 6-20 (17 March 1879).

[120] Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), German poet. Van der Spek often quoted lines of Heine in his *Diary*.

[121] "Schlegel. Deze heeft ons in Leiden voor het grootste deel, die ideën ingeprent over godsdienst en deugd en zedelijkheid, welke hij wederom ontleend had uit Heine en anderen. Hij is op onze geestesvorming van grooten invloed geweest." *Diary*, 11. However, in retrospect, in a later comment on his diary, Van der Spek also showed some regret about Schlegel's teachings. After the words 'spiritual education' in the quotation above, he added in pencil: 'Unfortunately' (*helaas*), suggesting that there were also negative effects.

[122] George Drysdale (1825–1904), *The Elements of Social Science: or Physical, Sexual and Natural Religion* (first impression 1854). The 1886 edition had the subtitle: *An Exposition of the True Cause and Only Cure of the Three Primary Social Evils: Poverty, Prostitution and Celibacy*.

[123] "Het zou moeilijk geweest zijn een prettiger leraar voor ons uit te zoeken. Zooals ik zei: veel hebben we van hem geleerd buiten Chineesch en van de twee uur college praatte hij minstens een half uur over andere zaken en soms veel langer. Hij vertelde ons honderden schuinsche histories, was de eerste die ons op de hoogte bracht van wat geschreven staat in de Elements of Social Science, en dat alles zeer onderhoudend. Hij vertelde ons veel van de slechtheden der menschen (zendelingen enz.) van de domheden der menschen (professo-

ren) enz. enz. Verder ook een belangrijk aantal interessante verhalen en anecdotes, uien; hij kende alle schandalen." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 11.

[124] "Een reiziger komt in Amoy en is bij een Engelschman ten eten. Daar komt op tafel een vleeschgerecht in papier gebakken en ziet er dus vreemd uit. Met een half benauwd gezicht proeft de reiziger er van en toen hij gegeten heeft, wordt hem gevraagd hoe het smaakt. 'Goed.' Ja[,] dat is een byzonder gerecht; men krijgt het zoo mooi, doordat de kok het eerst kauwt.' En het benauwde gezicht van den dupe ziende, die bijna kotst. 'O[,] maakt U je maar niet ongerust; ik heb goed gekeken of zijn tanden schoon waren.' / Een poosje later komen een twintigtal Chineezen schreeuwende aan en trekken een boot naar land. De boot kan men echter nog niet zien en de vreemdeling vroeg wat dat beteekende. Het was toevallig Chineesch nieuwjaar en hem werd verteld dat de Chineezen een touw in het water gooien en dan symbolisch het nieuwe jaar inhalen." *Diary*, 23 March 1879.

[125] Leiden: Brill, 1896, pp. 2-3.

[126] In his book Schlegel used this anecdote to illustrate how prefaces of Chinese books were written: the more obscure and the less intelligible they were, the more they were admired by the ordinary Chinese, in particular if one out of a thousand readers could grasp all the allusions with which the author stuffed it. The Chinese reader didn't wish to understand it, just as in the anecdote about the Dutch farmer who liked obscure preaching and did not appreciate the clear and understandable preaching of the famous Protestant minister Van der Palm. (Johannes Henricus van der Palm (1763–1840) was a theologian and writer famous for his oratory talent and clear speeches, professor in Leiden from 1806 to 1836.) Schlegel often compared apparently strange Chinese customs with Western ones to show basic similarities. Other examples of this can be found in his dictionary.

[127] "De Schlegels zijn even groot als de Humboldts en Grimms! en de ééne Schl. is even groot als Lessing!" *Diary*, 14 September 1879.

[128] "S. is m.i. geen schepper, maar volgt de woorden op. Was Du ererbt von Deinen Vätern hast, erwirb es, um es zu besitzen." *Diary*, 11. Quotation from Goethe's *Faust* I, pp. 682-3.

[129] Otterspeer, *Wiekslag*, 333-4.

[130] Catharina Elisabeth Gesina Buddingh (1857–97), daughter of Dr. Johan Buddingh, a brother of Gustaaf Schlegel's mother. She was a younger sister of the sinologist J.A. Buddingh (1840–70) and had become an orphan in 1874. She was the same age as the students and was 17 years younger than Schlegel. In 1890 they were divorced.

[131] "In Juni 78 trouwde S. met zijn nicht Buddingh en wij hadden 3 of 4 prettige theeavonden waarop hij en Mevr. beiden het woord hadden en last not least een allerkeurigst diner, waarbij de wijn niet gespaard werd. Na het diner speelde Mevr. piano en S. zong prachtig en behandelde ons, zoo mogelijk, nog meer dan anders als vrienden. Tamelijk gemonteerd togen wij naar huis." *Diary*, 11.

[132] "Voor den eten bij Groeneveldt, minder amusant door JdGr's tegenwoordigheid." *Diary*, 28 April 1880.

[133] V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625.

[134] He was allowed two years of sick leave in June 1872, but this was later reduced to one year and eight months (a decision of the Minister of 7/8/1872 no. 4, not found in the archives).

[135] V 8/5/1874 no. 15/776 inv. 2679. Salaried leave could only be extended in case of important services to the Ministry of Colonies (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1862, no. 2). Schlegel's salary was subject to the usual reductions for pension and the Widows and Orphans Fund. He continued receiving his teaching allowance of *f* 1,200.

[136] V 7/7/1875 no. 15 inv. 2799, containing an old *Verbaal* 14/4/1875 no. 34.

[137] Repeated on 13 July no. 162 and 16 July no. 165.

[138] G.G. Balland, teacher at the *gymnasium* and University in Leiden, replaced L. Chatelain (French) (V 18/9/1875 no. 34 inv. 2819), and Dr. P.H. Schoute, teacher at the HBS in The Hague, was added to take over Arithmetic from Van der Waals who already did Physics and Cosmography (V 24/8/1875 no. 37 inv. 2812).

[139] V 22/9/1875 no. 25 inv. 2820. Wolter Robert *baron* van Hoëvell (Dordrecht, 1857 – Amsterdam, 1888) became 2nd class *controleur* in Sumatra's West Coast in 1880 (*Nederland's adelsboek*, 85 (1995), 240). The actual study time of the student-interpreters who

started in 1875 would not be longer, since they would also be appointed in the Indies in 1880.

[140] In a large stack of documents in V 22/9/1875 no. 25 inv. 2820.

[141] The Minister had on 15 September 1875 received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs an excerpt of a letter from J.H. Ferguson, Dutch Minister Resident in China, in which he criticised the way interpreters were trained in Europe (V 15/9/1875 no. 46 inv. 2818), but the letter was ignored and it did not influence the Minister's conclusion (*see* Chapter Thirteen, Section "The weak position of the interpreters as advisors.") For many years, Ferguson would miss no opportunity to criticise the Leiden sinologists. On the other hand, Schlegel would also often mock Ferguson because he did not know any Chinese.

[142] V 22/9/1875 no. 25 inv. 2820.

[143] V 7/10/1875 no. 7 (Exh.) inv. 2800.

[144] Paul François Hubrecht (1829–1902) happened to be the father of Ambrosius Arnold Willem Hubrecht (1853–1915), who had studied zoology in Utrecht and was curator for fishes at the Museum of Natural History in Leiden from 1875 to 1882; Gustaaf's father Professor Herman Schlegel was director of this museum. In 1882 A.A.W. Hubrecht became professor in Utrecht.

[145] "Een gewrocht van geestesarbeid in Indië" (*A creation of spiritual labour in the Indies*). Unsigned letter to the editor published on Thursday 29 April 1875. Kept in dossier 144 (1875), inv. 180, Kabinetsarchief, toegang 2.04.26.02, Ministerie van Binnenlandsche Zaken.

[146] These letters are kept in the same dossier without any reference as to their origin.

[147] The documents are kept in an envelope with the seal of the Ministry to "den Heer ref. Vollenhoven."

[148] "Omtrent de behoefte eener Kweekschool voor Elève-translateurs voor de Chinesche taal in Nederland."

[149] In his inaugural lecture of 1877 Schlegel only mentioned Medhurst's English–Chinese dictionary, which he considered a failure (p. 6). It has the title *English and Chinese Dictionary* (Shanghae, 1847–1848). He did not yet mention W. Lobscheid's newer and much larger *English and Chinese Dictionary, with the Punti* [Cantonese] *and Mandarin Pronunciation* (Hongkong 1866–1869) (in 4 volumes).

[150] "Ten slotte: indien Nederland het indertijd noodig heeft geoordeeld een hoogleeraar voor het *Japansch* aan te stellen, een land waarmede wij slechts handelsbetrekkingen hadden, dan mag een *leerstoel voor het Chineesch* niet overbodig schijnen, daar Nederland in zijne Koloniën over de tweehonderdduizend Chinesche onderdanen telt, wier belangen naauw met de onze verknocht zijn, daar zij geen gering aandeel toebrengen aan de baten der Indische Schatkist en de ontwikkeling der nijverheid en des handels in Nederlandsch-Indië." Schlegel did not mention that Hoffmann was titular professor for Chinese and Japanese, and that when he became titular professor in 1855, his Chinese teaching was just as important as his knowledge of Japanese.

[151] Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern (Poerworedjo, 1833 – Utrecht, 1917) was professor of Sanskrit in Leiden in 1865-1903. He was also an expert on Old Javanese, and was professor of Javanese at the Indies Institute in Leiden in 1874–7. At the time, Kern was a member of the board of the KITLV, and so was Schlegel.

[152] V 18/8/1875 no. X19 Secret (*Geheim*) inv. 6068.

[153] "aan Dr. G. Schlegel, tolk voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië met onbepaald verlof hier te lande, te verleenen den titel van hoogleeraar." V 15/10/1875 no. 17/2103 inv. 2827.

[154] *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps*, 1876 and 1877. Hoffmann was always mentioned.

[155] "De hoogleeraar, tolk voor de Chinesche taal met verlof, G. Schlegel." V 17/1/1876 no. 15 (Exh.) inv. 2853.

[156] "De hoogleeraar, G. Schlegel." V 3/4/1876 no. 47 (Exh.) inv. 2872.

[157] Otterspeer, *Wiekslag*, 412.

[158] "In September schrijft Prof. De Vries mij als jurist op het Akademisch Album in. Zonder die inschrijving kan men namelijk geen lid van het Studentencorps worden." Prof. Matthias de Vries (1820–92), who was then *rector magnificus*, registered De Groot in the

Album Studiosorum on 30 September 1873. De Vries is known for his *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (1864–1998) and his standard spelling of Dutch of 1863 (together with Te Winkel).

[159] "Ik loop groen en wordt [*sic*] met de rest op .. October geïnaugureerd."

[160] *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps voor 1874*, 176-8. They probably sang the student song *Pro Patria Marsch* composed by A. Grentzius.

[161] "Men had 's namiddags vóór onzen inauguratiedag in den tuin der societeit voor de groenen volksspelen op touw gezet, met bittertjes tot prijzen. Het was guur, miserig Octoberweer. Ik werd aangewezen om S.B., een zwak gestel, onder een balanceerende tobbe door te kruien, die hij met een stok te treffen had, opdat het water zich over mij zou uitstorten. Maar door een snelle terugwaartsche beweging, die ik op het kritieke oogenblik den kruiwagen gaf, daalde de watergolf op hemzelf neer. Dolle toejuichingen: maar naar den druipnatten knaap keek niemand om. Geen dacht eraan om hem naar huis te zenden en zich te verkleeden; kalm liet men hem tot aan het slot der feestelijkheid rondloopen, en hield hem daarop zelfs nog aan een studententafel te eten. Eerst laat kwam hij thuis. Niemand heeft hem ooit weer gezien. Na een paar dagen verspreidde zich de mare, dat hij ziek naar huis was gehaald en na een tweetal weken zijn doodsbericht." [De Groot], *Groenloopen. Een ernstig woord aan ouders en voogden van aanstaande studenten, door een hoogleeraar* (Amsterdam, 1904), 59. The Leiden University Library copy has the names of all persons concerned added. S.B. was short for Schuurbecque Boeije from Zutphen. De Groot, *Groenloopen*, 59. Quoted in Otterspeer, *Opvoedende kracht*, 22-3.

[162] *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps voor 1874*, 176-8.

[163] "Flink stel clubgenooten. Heb het vooral aan hunnen omgang te danken, dat de lust tot lezen en studeeren in mij levendig blijft. Lees bij voorkeur werken over godsdienstwetenschap en wat daarmede samenhangt. Dupuis' 'Origine des cultes', Strauss, Renan, Volney, enz. enz." *Notizen*, 4.

[164] Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 107-8. "Mythologising" here means giving a mythological meaning to the Gospels. Comparative mythology was a serious subject of study at that time.

[165] De Groot, *Notizen*, 6-7.

[166] 'Het Scherm- en Gymnastiekgezelschap Arena studiosorum' was a sub-association of the Student Corps.

[167] Adriaan Isebree Moens (1847–91) studied medicine in Leiden from 1872. His doctoral dissertation of 1877 was made into a monograph *Die Pulskurve* (1878), which was an important contribution to medical science. *See* Philip Dow, "Adriaan Isebree Moens (1847–91)," *The Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, vol. 12, no. 3 (1940).

[168] "Mijn voorliefde voor sport verlaat mij niet. Werk vrij geregeld minstens vier malen 's weeks op de Studenten-Gymnastiek-Vereeniging Arena, waar ik mij den naam verover van besten gymnast van het Corps, na Isebree Moens. Zomers beoefen ik ook trouw op Rhijnzicht de edele zwemkunst—van ouds mijn hoofdliefhebberij. 's Zondags worden met enkele vrienden lange wandeltochten gemaakt, en als er ijs is, zijn mij de schaatsen bijna niet van de voeten zoolang de dag van den hemel schijnt." *Notizen*, 6-7.

[169] Johan Christoph Gerhard Jonker (1857–1919) from Amsterdam was registered as student of law on 28 September 1876. He wrote a doctoral thesis *Over Javaansch strafrecht* (*On Javanese Criminal Law*) in 1882, and was appointed as 'official for the East Indies languages' in Makassar in 1885. From 1877 on, Leiden University had chairs for Javanese and Malay. Jonker later specialised in the languages of the Eastern Islands of the Indies; in 1901 he returned on sick leave to the Netherlands. He was professor of Javanese in Leiden from 1909 to 1919. (The chair for Javanese in Leiden was abolished in 2009.)

[170] Letter by Schlegel dated 17 October 1878, in V 7/11/1978 no. 15 inv. 3149. On Lind, *see also* Chapter Nine.

[171] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9.

[172] Jan Marinus Rienstra from 's-Gravendeel was registered as a student of theology on 30 September 1875 when he was 20 years old. He later became a protestant minister (*dominee*).

[173] Gerrit Jan Koopmans van Boekeren from Eelde was registered as a student of law on 2 October 1878 when he was 18 years old.

[174] "Wij kwamen op een vasten avond in de week bij elkaar om te kaarten; doch spoedig vonden we het beter en aangenamer een literarisch clubje daaruit te vormen. Voor ons allen is dat zeer nuttig en aangenaam geweest. Ik heb er geleerd te improviseeren, zoo goed of kwaad als ik het nu kan; bij of liever vóór het schrijven goed na te denken en mijn gedachten tamelijk goed uit te drukken; maar vooral heeft Insulinde onze liefde voor kunst en kunstkennis ontwikkeld en aangevuurd. Das Leben wäre ein ewiges Verbluten, wenn nicht die Dichtkunst wäre. Sie gewährt uns, was uns die Natur versorgt: eine goldene Zeit, die nicht rostet, einen Frühling, die nicht abblüht, wolkenloses Glück und ewige Jugend (Börne)." Quotation from Heine, *Harzreise* (1824), "Rede auf Jean Paul" of Ludwig Borne.

[175] For one year De Jongh was not a member, in order to save *f* 5 in membership fees (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 19).

[176] "In Leiden kwam ik 1 October 1875 als een tamelijke groen in veel zaken, zoo ook wat betreft de meisjes. Het is derhalve niet vreemd, dat ik spoedig verliefd raakte op *(Jose-) phine van Geenen*, een coquette, tengere brunette, die ik bijna den heelen dag zien kon als ik voor mijn raam zat. / Zij wist zich zeer net te kleeden en hoewel mager was ze tamelijk mooi en had ze een eenigszins elegant lichaam. Ik heb niet veel met haar gesproken, maar mijn scherts wilde zeer goed bij haar vlotten en al was het vrij oppervlakkig, toch levendig en aangenaam. Dat duurde zoo een paar maanden, toen kwam er reäctie en ik zag ze niet meer aan; naderhand was ik tegenover haar totaal gleichgültig. Tijdens die laatste periode heb ik haar ééns op een zomeravond, toen er niemand thuis was en zij alleen voor het open raam zat, wellustig gekust. De Jongh en ik deden het om beurten, wel een bewijs, dat het alléén wellust was, waar ik toen door bewogen werd." *Diary*, 6 no. 1.

[177] Although Poeloo was one of Van der Spek's best friends, his real name was not disclosed.

[178] For some time they often visited this family with three young daughters. When it became clear that De Jongh and Van der Spek would not fall in love with any of them, they were no longer invited. *Diary*, 6 no. 3.

[179] "Den tweeden dag dat we in Leiden waren, voerde deJ. mij voorbij een mooi meisje, die in de engelenbak der Pieterskerk, aan het eind der Nieuwsteeg woonde. Nu eens sprak hij over haar dikke billen, dan over haar hemelsche oogen en werd steeds verliefder. Met Poeloo samen maakte hij een brief, waarin stond hoeveel het tractement van een tolk bedroeg */ enz. Natuurlijk weigering en bij een tweeden brief evenzoo. Toen we bij Van Dijk aan huis kwamen wist Stine, de oudste dochter, de heele historie en deJ. vroeg haar of hij haar daar aan huis niet zou kunnen ontmoeten. Neen. Hij trok de stoute schoenen aan en ging bij den ouden Heer Hoogeboom vragen om aan huis te komen. Den volgenden Zondag ging hij er heen en kreeg een paar dagen later een formeele weigeringsbrief.
*/ Hij deed den brief op de post en den volgenden dag ging Betsy voorbij Poeloo. DeJ. o toppunt van stommiteit! vloog haar achterna en liep haar een paar maal voorbij.
Geh den Weibern zart entgegen, Du gewinnst sie, auf mein Wort; / Doch wer rasch ist und verwegen, kommt vielleicht noch besser fort (Göthe) / Not much he kens, I ween, of woman's breast / Who thinks that wanton thing is won by sighs: / Pique her and soothe in turn, soon Passion crowns thy hopes (Byron 129)" *Diary*, 7.

[180] "Veel Leidsche studenten schwärmten voor een meisje dat ze nooit gesproken hadden." *Diary*, 8 no. 9.

[181] "Nu moet ik nog iets melden, dat 't hart van de Jongh met weemoed zal vervullen. Café l'Amour in de Nes is afgebrand, weder in zijn vaderland teruggekeerd zal hij dus 't tooneel van een zijner vroegere heldendaden niet meer kunnen zien." Letter from Lind to Van der Spek, received in Amoy on 9 April 1879. Jonker wrote about the same incident to Van der Spek. Preserved with Van der Spek's *Diary*. *Cf.* Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9 April 1879.

[182] "In Leiden zijn vele vrij mooie wandelingen. De witte en andere cingels, Endegeest om, Poelgeest, Warmond, de Vink, Leierdorp. Meestal ging ik 's Zondags Endegeest om met M. of L. of meer." *Diary,* 12.

[183] "Een der aangenaamsten excursies was naar *Haarlem* in 77, op een schoonen Mei Zondag met *Lind en de Jongh*. Wij stopten hier en daar in de schoone dorpen, aten wat of dronken bitter en kwamen erg vrolijk in den Hout, waar we nog veel schoone Haarlemmerinnen zagen. [in the margin: Helpen in Lisse een dienstmaagd water dragen en straat schoonmaken] Wij gingen in de avondkerk, het schoone orgel hooren, maar onze aandacht

werd zeer gestoord door een paar lieve burgermeisjes, die daarna de kerk verlieten, gevolgd door ons. Wij pakten nog wat dienstmeisjes en gingen naar Leiden met den trein." *Diary*, 12. It is not clear if they walked all the way or took a carriage.

[184] "Zondagmorgen 8 uur gaan Stuart, deJ. en ik op schaatsen naar Delft, hoewel ze van thuis geschreven hadden dat het te gevaarlijk was. Het was slecht ijs en bij Leidschendam rijdt Stuart voorop en komt op een plank, die onder een brug hangt en vlak voor mij zakt deJ. door het ijs. Hij grijpt zich aan een touw, waaraan die plank hangt en wordt door toegeschoten hulp opgehaald. Stuart's positie was hachelijk, want de vier touwen die de plank ophielden waren zeer dun. Evenwel haakt hij heel pacifiek zijn schaatsen los en geeft ze aan de bijstanders benevens een lapje dat hij voor het knellen tussen de riem en zijn voet had gelegd. Daarna werd hij opgeheschen en werd door de lui met woedende blikken beschouwd, daar hij in plaats van op de knieën te zinken en God te danken, eenige krakende vloeken loslaat. Wij gaan in bij een boer en deJ. krijgt 'de Zundesche broek van Jan de knecht' enz. en verkleedt zich in de boes. Juist is hij bezig de bewuste broek aan te trekken, toen de heele boerenfamilie komt kijken met een lieve boerenmeid van 20 jaar voorop. In de confusie vergat deJ. een onderpantalon aan te trekken maar daar het zoo te koud is legt hij wat hooi op zijn buik. Verder wandelden we naar huis, bij elk heilig huisje aanleggende en brandewijntjes verschalkende en komen half zwaaiende in Delft nadat deJ. zoo vrij was geweest in Reijneveld in een kolenbak te pissen." *Diary*, 12-13.

[185] Also called Mephisto's Waltz, composed by Franz Liszt. The wild beginning of this piece probably maddened the drunken students even more.

[186] Marinus Constans Justinus Wanrooy from Den Bommel was registered as a student of theology on 28 September 1875 when he was 19 years old. He later became a protestant minister (*dominee*).

[187] A student of medicine (*Diary*, 10).

[188] "'s Avonds reden we naar Alphen en aan den overkant van het water zag ik lichten, klein en groot, en in mijn latere rede, drukte ik mijn hoop uit dat Jonker veel groote lichten, veel genoegens op zijn levenspad zou ontmoeten. Rienstra had naar gewoonte ruzie met den tolbaas, maar muntte 's avonds uit door geestigheid. Voor we gingen soupeeren wou hij, als ceremoniaal, nog een speech afsteken en terwijl hij deftig praatte, kotste Moll het heele tafelkleed onder. 'Het spijt me, Mr. Moll dat mijn woorden zoo'n indruk op je maken.' Even later kotste Moll weer wat en nog altijd waardig vervolgde het ceremoniaal en vlocht alleen deze kleine zinsnede tusschen zijn woorden in: 'om met den Hr. Moll te spreken' Vervolgens werd het woest. Moll kreeg voortdurend broodjes op zijn kop (Hij was weer bijgekomen door 3 kruikjes seltzerwater). Jonker ging pianospelen, de Faust-wals en nu werd iedereen dol inzonderheid Lind, Rienstra en Moll. Lind was op het punt van te vallen en kreeg bij ongeluk een klap van Wanrooy, zodat hij neersmakte en zijn lippen kapotviel. Nu sprong ieder op tafels en stoelen, smeet de stoelen door de zaal en eindelijk kregen we ruzie met den kroegbaas. Nadat Rienstra een ballon van een lamp enz. gemoerd had ving de terugtocht van het 'zieltogende allegaartje' aan. Met zijn 8. (Jonk. Lind. Wanr. Rienstra. deJ. M. de Bruin en ik) hadden we 20 flesschen fijne roode wijn en 4 flesschen champaign gedronken, buiten en behalve een flesch of vier bij Jonker thuis en in het rijtuig." *Diary*, 15-16.

[189] "*Anton de J.* kwam in Oct. 76 bij me. Wij gingen naar Poeloo, fuifden tot 6 uur, kwamen om 9 uur op en tevergeefs verzocht ik S. geen college te geven. Dat was een katterig boeltje!" *Diary*, 17 no. 13. It is not known who this 'Anton de J.' was; perhaps he was a relative of A.A. de Jongh.

[190] "*Lind's 2e* [verjaardag]. Moll werd stelselmatig zat gevoerd en moest den anderen dag bij Schlegel vragen of hij weg kon, nadat hij eerst een glas water vergeefs had gebruikt." *Diary*, 17 no. 12.

[191] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 17 no. 16.

[192] V 20/11/1876 no. 18/2623 inv. 2937.

[193] V 13/1/1877 no. 6 (Exh.) inv. 2952.

[194] "De ondervinding heeft geleerd, dat zulk een voorschot tot aankoop van wetenschappelijke werken zeer veel nut stichten kan, omdat het bestudeeren dezer werken de jongelieden aanspoort om ook zelf, op het voetspoor der vroegere wetenschappelijke mannen, de wetenschap te bevorderen." Schlegel's letter to the Secretary General, 12 Nov. 1876, in V 20/11/1876 no. 18/2623 inv. 2937.

[195] All letters are kept in V 20/11/1876 no. 18/2623 inv. 2937.
[196] Royal Decree no. 19 in V 28/11/1876 no. 1/2695 inv. 2940.
[197] V 1/12/1876 no. 42, V 2/12/1876 nos. 32 and 33, all inv. 2941.
[198] De Groot, *Notizen*, 7. According to the Consul they arrived on 24 January (V 31/5/1877 no. 43 in. 2995).
[199] De Groot, *Notizen*, 7, 8.
[200] Earlier drafts had been made from 1868 on (Otterspeer, *Wiekslag*, 348-52).
[201] Sloet tot Oldhuis on 5 December 1854 in Parliament, *Handelingen der beide kamers der Staten-Generaal, 1854-1855*, vol. 1, Zitting van den 5den December, II Staatsbegrooting voor 1855, pp. 265-6.
[202] The name *Rijksuniversiteit Leiden* was abolished in 1998 and changed into *Universiteit Leiden*, *Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht* became *Universiteit Utrecht* in the 1990s, but *Rijksuniversiteit Groningen* kept its old name until now (2015).
[203] The name *gymnasium* was first introduced in the Netherlands in the 1830s for a modern variant of the age-old Latin School (*Latijnsche School*) where more subjects were taught than classical languages, such as mathematics, Dutch language, modern languages, and geography. Gradually the local Latin Schools were changed into *gymnasia*, for instance in Leiden. After 1863 many *gymnasia* were transformed into HBS.
[204] Like the HBS, this new type of *gymnasium* would exist until the Mammoet law of 1968 reorganising secondary education.
[205] Students with an HBS diploma could take a State examination in Latin and Greek to become qualified for the university. This changed in 1917, when students who finished the HBS were allowed to study at the Faculty of Sciences at a university. At that time, for language studies the *gymnasium* remained obligatory.
[206] Otterspeer, *Wiekslag*, 336-8, 406, 408.
[207] "Wet van 28 April 1876, tot regeling van het hooger onderwijs," *Staatsblad* 1876, no. 102.
[208] "Bovendien 1 prof. in het Chineesch en 3 lectoren in de levende talen." File No. 180, 160 I/3, AC 2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. The living languages were French, German, and English.
[209] He was appointed as Trustee together with three others on 31 May 1876 (*Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit Leiden*, *Staatsalmanak*) and as president on 16 August 1877 (*Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*).
[210] Van Zijderveld, *Duitse familie*, 151-2, 193.
[211] "… daar hij [Schlegel] op een professoraat wachtte, waarvoor door zijn vriend Sloet Van den Beele c.s. gewerkt werd." De Groot, *Notizen*, 8-9.
[212] File No. 126, 160 I/2, AC 2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.
[213] They were to teach the following subjets. P.J. Veth: History, literature, antiquities, institutions, manners and customs of the peoples of the East Indies Archipelago; physical geography of the same; P.A. van der Lith: Islamic law and other popular institutions and customs in the Netherlands Indies; constitutional law and institutions of the Nation's colonies and overseas possessions; A.C. de Vreede: Javanese language and literature, Madurese; J. Pijnappel: Malay language and literature; general linguistics of the East Indies Archipelago. At the same time, G.J. Grashuis was appointed as lecturer in Sundanese at a yearly salary of *f* 2,000. *See also* Otterspeer, *Wiekslag*, 274-7.
[214] Probably refering to V 18/8/1875 no. X19 (Geheim) inv. 6068. Van Goltstein already preferred a chair for Chinese in August 1875.
[215] Letter of 29 September 1877, in: no. 134, inv. 186, toegang 2.04.26.02.
[216] "te benoemen tot hoogleeraar in de faculteit der letteren en wijsbegeerte aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden tot het geven van onderwijs in de Chinesche taal: Dr. G. Schlegel, op eene jaarwedde van vierduizend gulden (*f* 4,000) …" File No. 499, 161 I/1, AC 2, Special Collections. Leiden University Library.
[217] ASE No. 1 (notulen), p. 44, Archief Rector Magnificus en Senaat 1875–1972, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Text of the oath in File 465, 161 I/1, AC 2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.
[218] Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 12-13.
[219] Giles' dictionary (1912) only gives the meaning 'to dry by the fire.'

[220] J. Edkins, *China's Place in Philology: An Attempt to Show that the Languages of Europe and Asia have a Common Origin* (London 1871).

[221] *Sinico-Aryaca, ou recherches sur les racines primitives dans les langues chinoises et aryennes*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 36 (1872) (181 p.).

[222] Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735-1815) is famous for his commentary on the ancient dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* (*Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字註, 1807).

[223] H.N. van der Tuuk wrote a hilarious review: "Fancy op taalkundig gebied," *Algemeen Dagblad van Nederlandsch-Indië,* 8 and 10 January 1876. For a modern appraisal, *see* Rint Sybesma, "A History of Chinese Linguistics in the Netherlands," in: Idema, *Chinese Studies*, 138-44.

[224] "Dit werkje heeft meer opgang gemaakt dan ik er zelf ooit van verwacht had, en leverde het bewijs dat de afschrik tegen het bestudeeren der Chineesche taal verdwijnt, zoodra zij, door hare verwantschap met onze talen, onze sympathie heeft weten op te wekken." Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 18.

[225] d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine* (1876), for which he obtained the Prix Stanislas Julien in the same year. W. Vissering, *On Chinese Currency*).

[226] This was the name of a nationalist society established by the Flemish poet Prudens van Duyse (1804–59) in Gent in 1836. It propagated the use of the Dutch language in Belgium after its war of independence in 1830–2. Its full name was 'Maatschappij van Nederlandsche letterkunde: De taal is gansch het volk.'

[227] In a footnote Schlegel gave the following rendering in characters: 伊講我們的話 (p. 22).

[228] "Kennis is verdriet." Probably referring to *Laozi* section 20, 絕學無優 (Abolish study and you will be free from care) (J.J.L. Duyvendak, *Tao Te Ching* (London 1954), 55).

[229] "Wees een geleerde in den zin des edelen; En niet een geleerde in den zin van het plebs." Text in Schlegel's note: 女為君子儒, 無爲小人儒. *Analects* 6-11. *See* Legge, *Analects*, vol. I, p. 53.

[230] *Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit Leiden* 1877–1878, p. 13.

[231] Michaël Jan de Goeje (1836–1909) was professor of Oriental Languages (the Semitic languages other than Hebrew) in Leiden since 6 October 1866 and became professor of Arabic in 1877.

[232] *Jaarboek* 1877–1878, p. 26. Speech by *rector-magnificus* Dr. R.J.F. Fruin (Dutch History) on 17 September 1878.

[233] Samuel Sigmund Rosenstein (Berlin, 1832–1906) was professor of medicine in Groningen from 1866 tot 1873 and in Leiden from 1873 to 1902.

[234] This ominous opinion later proved true. *See* Chapters Twelve to Fifteen.

[235] Engelhart's report (2 November), Van der Spek's letter of protest (dated 7 November but received at the Ministry on 11 November), Rosenstein's certificate (9 November), medical report by the Inspector of the Medical Service Dr. A.W.M. van Hasselt (21 November) in V 5/12/1878 no. 10/2690 inv. 3156. Additional information is from Van der Spek's *Diary*, 11.

[236] Mr. J. van Gigch was teacher of political science (*staatswetenschap*) at the HBS in Delft since its foundation in 1864 (*Staatsalmanak*).

[237] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 11.

[238] V 18/12/1878 no. 17/2796 inv. 3159.

[239] "Gezien in de Nouvel Opéra Faust; geweest in Folies Bergères en Frascati. Gezien: Place de la Concorde, Tuileriën van buiten, Madeleine van buiten, Notre Dame beklommen, Arc de Triomphe beklommen, Bois de Boulogne gereden (waterval), Buttes Chaumont (hangende brug), Hôtel des Invalides met tombeau de Napoléon, Morgue, Place de la Bastille, Louvre, Panorama van binnen, Trocadéro van buiten, absinthe op boulevard des Italiens, gegeten bij Tissot (Pal. Royal/en Bocher (Ital.)." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 0. Absinthe was considered a strong and often harmful, drug-like alcoholic beverage that was forbidden in France in 1915.

[240] Van der Spek's copies are now kept in SINOL. KNAG 153 and 189, De Jongh's in SINOL. 5173.8 and 5764.2.

[241] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 0-2.

[242] Mr. L.A.P.F. Buijn (Indramaijoe, 1827 – Batavia, 1897) was Director of Justice from 3 March 1876 until 2 March 1892 (Stamboeken S 272). The last student-interpreter in Batavia (Young) had left at the end of 1875.

[243] Letter from Groeneveldt to the Director of Justice dated 4 April 1877, and from Governor-General to Minister of 26 April 1877 in V 8/6/1877 no. 6 (Exh.) inv. 2998.

[244] Letter by Schlegel dated 17 October 1878, in V 7/11/1878 no. 15 inv. 3149. Lind did not receive any monthly allowance.

[245] V 7/11/1878 no. 15 inv. 3149.

[246] *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 793.

[247] *See* Chapter Nine, section on Schlegel's extraordinary students in the 1880s.

[248] Report of Groeneveldt in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. For other details *see* Chapter Thirteen, The interpreters' advisory functions, section "The Weak Position of the Interpreters as Advisors."

[249] V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. The problem of the 'redundancy' of the Chinese interpreters will be discussed in Chapter Thirteen, section "Reduction of the number of interpreters (1879)."

[250] "*Professor in het Chineesch* / Waarvoor was je, Hooggeleerde? / De Génestet" (*Almanak*, 1880, p. 166).

[251] This poem is entitled "Mihi constat" (To me it is certain), mocking a conceited professor. Its beginning and ending are: "Bravo, that's an oracle's language / That sounds really like a professor / … / What were you a learned professor for?" (Bravo! dat's orakeltaal! / Dat klinkt recht professoraal! … Waarvoor was je een hooggeleerde?) The poem is no. 19 of the series of "A Layman's Short Poems" (*Leekedichtjes*).

Notes to Chapter Nine

[1] 25 November 1878, *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 793.

[2] "Bij jullie ex-leermeester heb ik voor een paar dagen een uiterst gezellig avondje doorgebracht. … Oudergewoonte had hij weer een massa excentrieke stellingen, waaronder natuurlijk de behoorlijke portie nonsens liep, te verkondigen. Jullie kent z'n manier van redeneeren: altijd gezellig, maar logisch?!! Triomfantelijk hebben Mevrouw en ik (honey soit qui mal y pense) een zijner materialistische stellingen bestreden en hem eindelijk totaal in de engte gedreven. Eindelijk vooral door het bekijken van Fransche plaatwerken was het half twaalf geworden onder een goed glaasje wijn voor ik eraan dacht uit te rukken, zoo verdomd gezellig was 't er." Undated letter to Van der Spek received in Amoy on 9 April 1879.

[3] He was listed as a student of law in the Student Almanac of 1880, so he must have switched from the Faculty of Arts to that of Law before October 1879.

[4] The manuscripts are in inv. 1551–1559, AC3, Leiden University Archives, Special collections, Leiden University Library. The reports were (partially) published in the yearly *Verslag van den staat der hooge-, middelbare en lagere scholen in het Koningrijk der Nederlanden*.

[5] It seems that all four students were taught at the same time. Inventory no. 1553, AC3, Leiden University Library. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat der hooge-, middelbare en lagere scholen in het Koningrijk der Nederlanden* (1884–1885).

[6] Inventory no. 1553, AC3, Leiden University Archives, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1885–1887).

[7] Henri van der Hoeven (1843–1924) was professor in Leiden from 1879 to 1910. In 1884 he compiled the first Dutch military penal code.

[8] The chapter about markets (*shichan* 市廛) is *juan* 14 of the "civil law" (*hulü* 戶律) of the *Qing Code*, containing the five *lü* 律 ("sections") numbered 152-156. Lind also translated all *li* 例 ("clauses").

[9] The title of W. Vissering's dissertation was *On Chinese Currency* (1877); it was a translation of parts of Ma Duanlin's *Wenxian tongkao* concerning Chinese financial institutions in the Song dynasty.

[10] Preface, *A Chapter of the Chinese Penal Code*.

[11] Request dated 1 February 1877 (Exh. 1 February 1877, no. 47, 160 I/1, AC2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library). The Faculty of Law had no objection, the more so as Vissering wrote his dissertation without any obligation to do so. Opinion of the Faculty of Law dated 3 February, and reply from the Trustees to Vissering dated 13 February, in Exh. 3 February 1877, no. 54, 160 I/1 AC2 (the latter file contains Vissering's request as well).

[12] *Da Qing lüli huitong xinzuan* 大清律例會通新纂 dated 1879 (光緒五年) on which are written Van der Spek's Chinese name 薛伯 (Sih Peh) and the name "M. A. Lind". *Juan* 14 shows traces of intensive use (by Lind). Now kept in the East Asian Library of Leiden University Library (SINOL. 4885.8).

[13] The *Zhouli* or *Zhouguan* 周官, "Officials of the Zhou dynasty," is a systematic description of the officials and their functions in the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 B.C.). It was part of the Confucianist canon and at the time in China it was still considered a factual description. Lind did not mention the use of *Zhouli* by earlier sinologists.

[14] Actually the situation had not changed; it had always been as Lind described it (personal communication from Dr. Frederick D. Grant Jr. of Boston, 2011).

[15] Quotations are from Lind's chapter III, "On civil law and trade in China," 19-26.

[16] C.H. Peake, "Recent Studies on Chinese Law," *Political Science Quarterly* (1937) vol. 51 (1), pp. 117-38, p. 125. In 1977, Yang Lien-sheng warned that Lind's translation was not always reliable (Sybille van der Sprenkel, "Urban Social Control," 766 note 22, in Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China*), which is not surprising in the case of a pioneer translator.

[17] Request by Schaank dated Batavia, 29 August 1897. Decision IB 4/9/1883 no. 34 inv. 7829.

[18] R.H. van Gulik "Nécrologie, Simon Hartwich Schaank," *T'oung Pao* 33 (1937), 228-300. No confirmation of this could be found in the archives of the Ministry of Colonies.

[19] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister, 7 November 1893, V 8/11/1893 no. 14 (Exh.) inv. 4757. He first settled in Delft, then registered in Groningen in June 1885, and left Groningen for Batavia on 31 January 1886 (Burgerlijke stand, Gemeentarchief Groningen).

[20] *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 1561.

[21] "… vlijtig mijne colleges gevolgd heeft … gedurende zijn … verlof." Letter from Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies, 11 December 1896, in V 7/1/1897 no. 22/42 inv. 5119.

[22] Inventories nos. 1553, 1554, AC3, Leiden University Archives, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1885–1886).

[23] "De onlusten der Chineezen in Deli," *Het nieuws van den dag*, Amsterdam, 2 March 1885, signed "H;" later reprinted as "De Chineezen te Deli," *De Locomotief*, 14 April 1885. Written by a well-informed sinologist sympathising with the difficult position of the Chinese coolies.

[24] "De Chineesche stammen in Deli," *De Indische Gids* (1885), 1503-14. In this article, many other sources and data are given, and the result is not as sympathetic to the Chinese as the earlier version, but the basic content is remarkably similar.

[25] "voor eenvoudige liefhebbers bestemd." Letter from Schlegel to Minister of Colonies dated 13 January 1888, in V 19/1/1888 no. 10 inv. 4122.

[26] These books are mentioned on David Helliwell's list of Chinese books that arrived in Europe before 1700 in http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/users/djh/17thcent/17theu.htm.

[27] There is a list of his Chinese books in the auction catalogue: *Catalogue de la bibliothèque Orientale Chino–Japonaise de feu Gust. Schlegel …*, 27-9. Unfortunately, hardly any of his books and manuscripts were bought by the Leiden library.

[28] His name was spelled Li Fong-pao or Li Fang-pao. A short report on his visit to the factory of Le Poole at the Garenmarkt in Leiden and to the professors Schlegel and Veth appeared in *De Standaard*, 21 February 1881. Fifteen years later Schlegel claimed that scholarship therefore was an asset in diplomacy. Li Fengbao (1834–87) became Chinese minister to Germany in 1878, and later also to Austria, Italy, Holland, and France (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 312; Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 67).

[29] "Niets toch heeft destijds den vroegeren gezant Li Fang-pao zo geïnteresseerd en geïm-

poneerd als mijne chineesche bibliotheek en de werken over China die ik geschreven heb, zoo zelfs, dat hij in plaats van de verdere Musea in Leiden te bezoeken, op mijn studeerkamer bleef hangen om met mij over mijne boeken te spreken; en zich er in te verlustigen dat ik voor een houten beeldje van Confucius op mijn schoorsteenmantel chineesche wierookstokjes had aangestoken." Letter from Schlegel to Knobel, Leiden 14 June 1896, in no. 489, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90.

[30] "In de nalatenschap van de onlangs overleden Hoogleeraar voor de Japansche taal Dr. J.J. Hoffmann, bevindt zich eene zeer kostbare bibliotheek, zoowel van oorspronkelijke Chineesche en Japansche boeken, als ook van Europeesche werken over die talen en de landen door de sprekers dezer talen bewoond. Het zoude m.i. zeer te betreuren zijn zóó deze, met zooveel moeite, tijd en geldelijke opofferingen bijeengebrachte Bibliotheek door eene publieke verkoop verspreid werd en voor ons land verloren ging. / Op de Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit alhier bevinden zich geene, of nagenoeg geene Chineesche en Japansche werken, zoodat zij die zich met de studie dezer talen willen bezighouden, of het een en ander omtrent China en Japan willen weten, genoopt zijn zich zulke, uit der aard der zaak zeer kostbare, werken, òf zelve aan te schaffen, òf ze te ontbeeren." Letter dated 16 February 1878, in: Exh. 16 Feb. 1878 no. 151, inv. 4, AC3, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.

[31] Letters from the Minister of Home Affairs to the Trustees and to Serrurier, 14 June 1878, and to Schlegel 3 July 1878, no. 463, inv. 6, AC3.

[32] Now kept in: Bibliotheekarchief C 45*, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Letter from Schlegel to the Trustees of 10 August 1878, and from the Trustees to the Minister of Home Affairs of 14 August 1878, Exh. no. 578, inv. 6, AC3.

[33] A list of Hoffmann's Western books bought by the library is in Bibliotheekarchief J 39 (Lijst der nieuwe ingekomen boekwerken 1880–1881) in the period July–September 1880. Other books are on a list in BPL 2186 J no. 8; *see Catalogue* 2005, 166. A part of Hoffmann's Western library seems to have been auctioned; an auction catalogue is in BPL 2186 J no. 11, *see Catalogue* 2005, 167.

[34] Vissering's catalogue is now in Bibliotheekarchief C 45*.

[35] On his borrowing books *see* W. Vissering's *On Chinese Currency*, Introduction, pp. XIV-XV.

[36] Letter 15 September 1880 in V 25/10/1880 no. 53 inv. 3343.

[37] V 16/9/1880 no. 53 inv. 3331.

[38] Letter 21 September 1880 in V 25/10/1880 no. 53 inv. 3343.

[39] V 1/10/1880 no. 60 inv. 3336.

[40] Report by Van Goltstein to the King, in V 4/11/1880 no. 17 inv. 3347. On 20 October 1880 Brill was asked to deliver the books (V 25/10/1880 no. 53 inv. 3343).

[41] Letter 20 October 1880, in Exh. 30 October 1880 no. 616, inv. 17, AC3.

[42] "… zij is daardoor volgens onze Sinologen tot eene der voornaamste Chineesche boekerijen verheven." Exh. 27 January 1881, no. 40, inv. 20, AC3. An article about the new acquisition was published in the *Leidsch Dagblad* of 10 February 1881 (copy in Bibliotheekarchief C 45*).

[43] Serrurier succeeded Dr. C. Leemans (1809–93), who had been in charge of the Von Siebold Collection since 1839. Leemans had established the Ethnographical Museum in 1864 and was director until 15 November 1880.

[44] Serrurier first suggested this to Du Rieu during a conversation, after which Du Rieu wrote to the Trustees (Letter of 25 November 1880 to the Trustees of Leiden University. Exh. 27 November 1880 no. 665, inv. 18 AC3). When two months later there was still no answer, Serrurier repeated his request in another letter to Du Rieu (No. 46, 3 February 1881, M29, Bibliotheekarchief). Du Rieu then wrote again to the secretary of the Trustees (Exh. 4 February 1881 no. 59, inv. 20 AC3). *See also* Serrurier's preface to his *Bibliothèque Japonaise*.

[45] *Catalogus librorum et manuscriptorum Japonicorum a Ph. Fr. de Siebold collectorum, annexa enumeratione illorum, qui in museo regio Hagano servantur* (Leiden: with the author 1845).

[46] Letter of 25 November 1880 to the Trustees of Leiden University. Exh. 27 November 1880 no. 665, inv. 18 AC3.

[47] Exh. 15 February 1881 no. 68, inv. 20 AC3.

[48] Report by Dr. M.J. de Goeje, 20 September 1881, in *Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit Leiden*, 1880–1881, 41.

[49] In the 1920s. Ph. de Heer, "A.F.P. Hulsewé, a Biography," in Idema and Zürcher (eds.), *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China*, 3.

[50] There are many inconsistencies in the Southern Mandarin transcription (玉 is spelled *yu*, *you* or *youh*, 清 *Thsing* or *Ts'ing*, etc.) and also a lot of wrong characters. Some titles are not even in Chinese. The catalogue seems to have been made in a hurry, and Schlegel did not bother to make the transcriptions fully consistent.

[51] Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*.

[52] *Bulletin du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1883, Leiden. The conference was from 10 to 15 September. Schlegel and De Groot gave their lectures on 11 September.

[53] Serrurier, *Bibliothèque Japonaise: catalogue raisonné des livres et des manuscrits Japonais enrégistrés à la bibliothèque de l'Université de Leyde* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1896).

[54] This was the cost price. Paid by the Ministry of Home Affairs. It contained 1,273 *juan* in 425 vols. With descriptions by De Groot in: No. 429, 24 September 1885, M39, Bibliotheekarchief, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.

[55] *Supplément au Catalogue des livres chinois qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque de l'université de Leide* (Leiden: Brill, 1886).

[56] The total price was *f* 600, each Ministry paid *f* 300 (V 25/7/1893 no. 30 inv. 4724 and V 1/8/1893 no. 37 inv. 4727). Published mostly by Jinling shuju 金陵書局 (accession no. 830) between 1870 and 1882.

[57] The price was *f* 246.50, each Ministry paid half (V 28/11/1896 no. 8 inv. 5105). List of ten titles by De Groot in Bibliotheekarchief C 45**.

[58] *Da Qing huidian shili* 大清會典事例, *Da Qing huidian tu* 大清會典圖 (accession nos. 832, 831). In total 390 vols. for *f* 285 (V 9/12/1896 no. 33 inv. 5110).

[59] Jacob Theodoor Cremer (Zutphen, 1847 – Amsterdam, 1923) came to Batavia in 1868 to work at the office (*factorij*) of the Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij, and in 1870 he went to Medan (Deli, Sumatra) to work for the Deli Company (Deli-Maatschappij). In 1875 he went to China to try to arrange for the emigration of coolies. Later he asked Parliament to create a legal basis for labour contracts of coolies, which resulted in the first coolie ordonnance of 1880 for Sumatra's East Coast (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indiës* 1880, no. 133). He was at the time also active as an entrepreneur, establishing several important enterprises such as Werkspoor, and a railroad company in Deli (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indiës* vol. 1 [1896]). He was a member of Parliament until 1897. From 1897 to 1901 he was Minister of Colonies. In 1910 he took the initiative for the establishment of the Koloniaal Instituut in Amsterdam, now Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (KIT, Tropenmuseum) (Anrooij, *De koloniale staat*, 185-7). In 2013, the KIT library was abolished and the Colonial part was moved to Leiden.

[60] Cremer's name was not mentioned, but he would later expand on these questions, so it must have been he. Afd. IV, Voorloopig verslag (Provisional Report), Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indiës voor het dienstjaar 1885, *Handelingen der Tweede kamer* 1884–1885, Zittingen, vol. 7, no. 13, p. 6.

[61] Afd. IV, Memorie van Antwoord (Memorandum of Reply), Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indiës voor het dienstjaar 1885, *Handelingen der Tweede kamer* 1884–1885, Zittingen, vol. 7, no. 14, p. 23.

[62] IB 7/3/1883 no. 16, 7817 and De Groot, *Notizen*, 17.

[63] Request dated 18 November 1884, in V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819. *Nota* dated 16 November. The draft request must have been dated 10 November, since De Groot would later use this date in his diary which was based on this draft text (*Notizen*, 18).

[64] "Door aldaar burger met den burger, priester met den priester, landbouwer met den landbouwer te worden, vertrouwt hij ook verschillende gegevens te zullen kunnen verzamelen, die de gezegde Regeering in staat zullen stellen de voor haar gezag zoo gevaarlijke geheime genootschappen, waaromtrent Dr. Schlegel reeds veel, doch lang niet alles, tot klaarheid heeft gebracht, beter te kennen en dus gemakkelijker te bestrijden." *Nota* by De Groot dated 16 November 1884, in V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819.

[65] The latter would in fact become his major subject of study in China. It resulted in his magnum opus *The Religious System of China*, 6 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1892–1910).

[66] Note written in pencil on De Groot's second letter dated 18 December 1884, in V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819.

[67] Letter dated 18 December 1884, in V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819. In this letter he wrote that his earlier request was dated 10 November (not 18 November).

[68] Draft letter to Schlegel with comments in pencil, in V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819.

[69] V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819.

[70] Mr. L.A.P.F. Buijn (Indramaijoe, 1827 – Batavia, 1897) was Director of Justice from 22 March 1876 until 2 March 1892 (Stamboeken S 272).

[71] "… een man van bijzondere bekwaamheid en grote wetenschappelijke zin, die door zijn belangrijke werk 'de Jaarlijksche Feesten en Gebruiken van de Emoij-Chineezen' getoond heeft de voor grondige ethnologische studiën zoo noodigen gave van opmerken in hooge mate te bezitten." Advice by Groeneveldt, 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[72] "Andere dialecten dan deze twee komen mij voor Indië namelijk niet noodig voor, daar het Hok-lo zooveel overeenkomst met het Hokkiën heeft, dat iemand, die het laatste al kent, al spoedig ook met het eerste terecht komt. Ik weet dit uit eigen ervaring. Ik heb namelijk van het Hok-lo nooit meer dan wellicht een paar honderd afwijkende woorden geleerd en die in gewoon Hokkiën inlasschende, is het mij nooit moeilijk geweest met Hok-lo's te spreken, hen te verstaan en door hen verstaan te worden." Advice dated 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854. Hoklo 福佬, literally "man from Fujian," was used by outsiders to denote the Chinese population is Eastern Guangdong speaking a Fujianese dialect (similar to Hokkien). In Cantonese the name is sometimes written 學佬. In the Indies they were later also called Tjio-tjioes, in various spellings, meaning "people from Teochiu" (Chaozhou 潮州). *See also* Schaank, "Chineesche stammen in Deli," 1507. At present the name Hoklo is used in Southeast Asia and by some subgroups of speakers of Fujian dialects in Guangdong.

[73] "Zij die Hakka geleerd hadden, zouden dan hun leven lang op de Buitenbezittingen, met keuze tussen Pontianak, Banka en Deli moeten blijven, terwijl voor de anderen de begeerlijker groote hoofdplaatsen open zouden staan. Beter is het dat iedere tolk beide dialecten leere, daar ze hem op verschillende plaatsen gelijkelijk te pas komen; ik heb het zelf gedaan en mag dus beweren, dat het bezwaar niet groot is; het zijn namelijk slechts twee dialecten, en niet, zooals de Heer De Groot meent, talen, met een verschil als die van noord- en zuid-Europa—want de groote meerderheid der woorden is dezelfde, met grooter of kleiner maar steeds regelmatig verschil in vorm, en verder heeft men slechts de overige afwijkingen, die men elders tusschen verschillende dialecten van dezelfde taal waarneemt: wie het een kent, leert het ander spoedig." Advice by Groeneveldt dated 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854. It should be noted that Groeneveldt had an extraordinary gift for languages.

[74] "Bij voorkomende gevallen kan het echter zijn nut hebben, in China met dit dialect (Hakka) te beginnen, daar de zucht om naar eene grootere plaats te komen een voldoende spoorslag zal weezen om de studie van het Hokkiën, die in China kan begonnen worden, hier spoedig tot eene voldoende hoogte door te zetten." Advice by Groeneveldt dated 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[75] Advice by Groeneveldt dated 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[76] "dat de Chineesche tolken in de eerste plaats op het stuk der Chineesche wetgeving een vraagbaak voor de Regeering moeten zijn." Actually, De Groot only stated that the main and exclusive task of the Chinese interpreters was giving advice on Chinese affairs to the Government. This was a misquotation by Buijn.

[77] Letter from Buijn to Van Rees dated 24 February 1885 no. 1221, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[78] Advice dated 6 March 1885 no. XIII, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[79] Letter added to the Council's advice of 6 March 1885 no. XIII, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[80] Letter from Van Rees dated 23 March 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[81] V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[82] "dat de Regeering in Indië op mijn verzoekschrift van 10 November gunstig zal beschikken, doch mijn zending wenscht te doen strekken tot vermeerdering der taal- land- en volkenkunde van China in het algemeen. Men geeft mij dus meer dan ik heb gevraagd, hetgeen mij zeer welkom is." De Groot, *Notizen*, 19, 8 May 1885. In the Governor-General's final decision, two items were added: the investigation of the immigration of Chinese workers and the promotion of this immigration (IB 14/3/1886 no. 21 inv. 7889). *See* Chapter Fourteen, Studies and Missions.

[83] Again, Cremer's name was not mentioned. Afd. II (13), Voorloopig verslag, Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indiës voor het dienstjaar 1886, *Handelingen der Tweede kamer* 1885–1886, Zittingen, vol. 7, no. 37, p. 3.

[84] Afd. II (13), Memorie van Antwoord, Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indiës voor het dienstjaar 1886, *Handelingen der Tweede kamer* 1885–1886, Zittingen, vol. 7, no. 38, p. 17.

[85] Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indiës voor het dienstjaar 1886, *Handelingen der Tweede kamer* 1885–1886, Zittingen, vol. 2, pp. 443-444. Cremer's name was only mentioned here.

[86] In the minutes was written 'Hok Long's,' but Cremer certainly meant 'Hoklo's.' It was probably a contamination of Hoi-lok-hong's, people from Haifeng 海豐 and Lufeng 陸豐. Cremer intimated that the Chinese from Guangdong were not so quiet. Schaank also wrote that there were frequent gang fights (*kloppartijen*) among the Chinese from different regions (Schaank, "Chineesche stammen in Deli," 1508-9).

[87] As every Dutchman is taught, in the provinces of Zeeland and Drenthe dialects are spoken, while in Friesland another language is spoken. Frisian is closely related to English.

[88] De Groot, *Het kongsiwezen van Borneo: Een verhandeling over den grondslag en den aard der Chineesche politieke Vereenigingen in de koloniën, met eene Chineesche geschiedenis van de kongsi Lanfong*. Yuan, *Chinese Democracies*, 5-11 gives a good summary. The book was widely read and acclaimed as a just protest against the needlessly harsh Dutch policy towards the Chinese on Borneo.

[89] Those who had studied Javanese were preferably stationed on Java (and Madura), while those who had studied Malay were sent to the Outer Possessions. This was not based on any official decision, but it had become an established practice (Fasseur, *Indologen*, 205).

[90] In the minutes was written 'Fukkian' (Fujian) province, which was obviously a mistake for Guangdong province. The spelling of Chinese geographical names varied in these minutes: Guangdong was spelled Kuang-Tung and Kwang Tong.

[91] V 8/1/1886 no. 56, inv. 3921.

[92] V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. *See* Chapter Eight, section "A sudden anti-climax."

[93] Governor-General to the Minister of Colonies, 9 April 1886 no. 437/8, in V 29/5/1886 no. 8 (Exh.) inv. 3959.

[94] V 15/7/1886 no. 10/1201 inv. 3971.

[95] Advice 10/9/1886 no. II, in V 31/5/1887 no. 25 inv. 4056.

[96] Letter of 30 September 1886, in V 31/5/1887 no. 25, inv. 4056.

[97] There was only a budget for unforeseen expenses of *f* 1,000, and this course would cost *f* 3,000 per year.

[98] V 31/5/1887 no. 25, inv. 4056.

[99] Letter from Schlegel 3/6/1887, in V 10/1/1888 no. 24 inv. 4120.

[100] V 10/1/1888 no. 24 inv. 4120.

[101] Letter dated 13/1/1888 no. 1, in V 19/1/1888 no. 10, inv. 4122. Three of them had been members before: Dr. J. ten Brink (Dutch language and history; now professor in Leiden), L. Chatelain (French), and Dr. W.F. Koppeschaar (natural history, mineralogy and geology). The new members were J.J.A. Frantzen (German, teacher at a *gymnasium* in Amsterdam), N. van Eek (arithmetic and bookkeeping), Dr. L. Bleekrode (physics and cosmography), A. Brandes (geography; secretary of the committee). Later C. van Tiel (English) was added. Unless specified they were all teachers at the HBS in The Hague.

[102] There was only one announcement in the *Staatscourant* (21 January 1888, no. 18). V 19/1/1888 no. 10 inv. 4122.

[103] Two older applicants in V 30/1/1888 no. 27 inv. 4127 and V 1/2/1888 no. 20 inv. 4127. List of all candidates and their letters are in V 21/2/1888 no. 40 inv. 4132.

[104] Fasseur, *Indologen*, 269-71. For instance, B.Th.W. van Hasselt had passed the Higher Officials Examination. He later had a career in the Indies from 1889 in the General Secretariat and the Chamber of Audit (*Rekenkamer*) (Stamboeken D′ 289, D′ 627).

[105] Report in V 15/5/1888 no. 28 inv. 4154, excerpt in the *Staatscourant* of 25 May 1888 no. 122. Perhaps the economic crisis was another reason.

[106] The reason was his disrespectful, shoddy behaviour towards the new teacher of Dutch language B.J.F. Varenhorst. Borel would later write a short autobiographical novel, *Het jongetje* (The little boy), about his love for a girl which caused his misbehaviour and his dismissal from school (4th impr., ch. VII, pp. 90-94). His father then sent him to relatives in far-away Goes where he continued his school education (Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 9-10).

[107] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 10.

[108] E.R. Goteling Vinnis (Haarlem, 15 April 1868 – The Hague, 26 September 1894) was a son of Eduard Reinier Goteling Vinnis (Haarlem, 20 May 1823 – Haarlem, 21 July 1880) and L.S. Cluwen. He had studied at the Academy of Arts in The Hague from ca. 1885 to 1887, and registered as a student of law in Leiden on 14 September 1887 (no. 1988, *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, 66). He continued to study law until 1893 (*Almanak voor het Leidsch Studentencorps*, 1888–1893). He was also an artist, and is known as a painter of landscapes, animals (horses) and portraits. There was an exhibition of his works in Rotterdam in 1894 (Pieter A. Scheen, *Lexicon Nederlandse beeldende kunstenaars 1750–1950* (The Hague 1969), 390).

[109] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 10, quoting "Haagsche H.B.S. Herinneringen."

[110] V 15/5/1888 no. 28 inv. 4154.

[111] Other factors may have been that Schlegel suffered from diabetes which influenced his temper, and problems leading to the divorce from his wife C.E.G. Buddingh on 3 December 1890.

[112] "De reden, dat de opleiding dezer jongelieden langer duurt dan die van de vorige élèves, ligt daarin, dat zij met uitzondering van den heer Van Wettum, gedurende het eerste jaar slecht gewerkt hebben en niet schenen te beseffen dat zij, om in drie jaar met hunne studiën klaar te komen, *zeer hard* moesten werken. / Het gebrek aan strenge schooltucht, dat onze tegenwoordige Gymnasia en Hoogere Burgerschoolen kenschetst, is van zeer nadeeligen invloed op het karakter onzer hedendaagsche jongelieden. Zij worden in die inrichtingen niet als 'schooljongens' maar als 'studentjes' behandeld en gedoceerd, en zij zijn niet meer gewoon dat op hunne studiën en hun werk die nauwgezetten contrôle wordt uitgeoefend, die de leeraren onder het oude régime uitoefenden. / Als gevolg hiervan heeft het mij bijkans een jaar moeite gekost om hun de strenge tucht, die ik voor het onderwijs noodig acht, in te prenten, gelukkig met dit gevolg dat zij sindsdien ijverig … zijn." Letter of 13 July 1891, in V 14/7/1891 no. 35 (Exh.), inv. 4488.

[113] Goteling Vinnis moved from The Hague to Leiden on 17 June 1888, but he moved together with his widowed mother to Zoeterwoude (probably a part now belonging to Leiden) on 2 November 1888 and to The Hague on 21 April 1890 (*Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps*, 1888–1890; Bevolkingsregister 1880–1895, Gemeentearchief The Hague). Borel moved from Leiden to The Hague in September 1889 (letter to Van Eeden, 14 September 1889, fiche 859, Hs XXIV C 93, Special Collections, Amsterdam University Library). He moved from The Hague to Leiden on 1 May 1891 and again on 9 October 1891, and on 15 April 1892 from Leiden to The Hague (*Diary* 1890–1891; Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker,* 34, 47). Only during his last year did he live without interruption in Leiden. Van Wettum lived most of the time in Leiden, but he lived in The Hague from 26 July 1890 to 27 March 1891 (Bevolkingsregister 1880–1895, Gemeentearchief The Hague).

[114] "Het zoude wenschelijk zijn, met het oog op de ondervinding, die ik bij de drie vorige élèves heb opgedaan, dat aan de nieuwe élèves door Uwe Excellentie de stipte verplichting werd opgelegd zich gedurende den geheelen duur van hun studietijd metterwoon te Leiden te vestigen, daar het noodig is, dat de jongelieden zooveel mogelijk samen werken, en dit niet gaat, wanneer zij ieder in eene andere stad wonen, en alleen op de collegedagen naar Leiden komen; en tevens dat aan mij, evenals vroeger (men zie de Missive van den Minister van Koloniën dd. 27 September 1873, Lett. A P.Z. no. 28), officieel het toezicht op hun

zedelijk gedrag enz., worde opgedragen, met welke opdracht het mij wenschelijk voorkomt, dat de bedoelde jongelieden door Uwe Excellentie in kennis worden gesteld." Letter 23 August 1892. The Minister complied with this request by notifying the three students on 29 August 1892, in V 29/8/1892 no. 1 inv. 4610.

[115] Request of 14 March 1890 and reply of the Minister of 20 June 1890, in V 20/6/1890 no. 10 inv. 4379.

[116] Meeter, "Ingezonden" (letter to the editor), *Leidsch Dagblad*, 31 March 1892.

[117] Afterwards Goteling Vinnis probably continued studying law until 1893; at least in 1892 he was still active in Leiden: he took part in the 'Debating Society' of the Student Corps, defending some propositions "about Spiritism" ("Over Spiritisme," *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps* 1893, 248). He was a member of the Student Corps from 1888 to 1893. He passed away in 1894, only 26 years old.

[118] B.745, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[119] Hs XXIV C 93, Special Collections, Amsterdam University Library. About Frederik van Eeden (1860–1934), *see* p. 296-7.

[120] "Ik zou zelf gekomen zijn, maar ik *moet* naar het college. De verhouding is zoo heel gespannen, dat ik er mijn ontslag krijg als ik maar ééns mankeer." Letter from Borel to Van Eeden dated "Friday evening, April 1890" (fiche 860).

[121] "Ik ging eerst in Leiden Chineesch vossen," in "Henri Borel op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel van zaterdag 23 november 1929.

[122] Meaning: "children long for their mother." Borel mistakenly added the "woman" radical 女 to *nian* 念, and left it out in *mama*, resulting in 馬馬. He did not explain the meaning to Van Eeden, keeping it as a secret for himself. Borel perhaps chose this sentence from a textbook because it was meaningful to him personally. He felt deep love for his mother, who was suffering from melancholia (depression) and often stayed in a mental hospital.

[123] "Dan is er van al die mooie gevoelens dus niets, niets overgebleven! En dan twijfel ik zoo aan mijzelven, en vind mij zoo akelig en ongelukkig om mijne machteloosheid om moois te scheppen. In zulke momenten ga ik chineesch zitten doen, en dan denk ik: pas op! jongen, dat ge er komt! Al die gedachten deugen niet en brengen je niets verder. Maar dít 兒女念媽媽 ál die onmogelijke kriebeldekrabbels, daar moet je 't van hebben." Letter to Van Eeden dated 18 March 1890, fiche 859.

[124] In the 1870s, the *Sacred Edict* was part of the second-year curriculum. "Vanmiddag van 1-3 in de Bibliotheek Chineesch zitten repeteeren, het *Heilig Edict*, dat deden we in het begin van 't vorig jaar, er in Maart en April, en toen heb ik niet veel gedaan." *Diary*, Monday 21 December 1891.

[125] Probably inspired by Herman Gorter's famous cycle of poems "May" (*Mei*).

[126] "Ik ga 1 mei in Leiden wonen en mijn kamer weer in orde maken. Al mijn boeken worden in hun eer hersteld. Ik neem een mooie piano. Ik *moet* heel hard chineesch studeren, het *kan* nu eenmaal niet anders. Ik *moet* werken. Ik zal ná mijn uren van het studeeren nog ruim tijd hebben om te schrijven en te lezen. Ik moet mijn tooneelstuk voltooien dat in het volgend seizoen (September) kan opgevoerd worden en ik moet "kleine Mei" afmaken om het later uit te geven." *Diary*, 16 April 1891, B.745, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[127] Putam was Van Wettum's nickname. It is probably a Chinese name, but the characters are not mentioned in Borel's diary. In Amoy, Van Wettum used the Chinese name Bík-tam 墨湛. Borel also had a Chinese name which he used once in a letter to Van Eeden: 物利 (Bút Lī), meaning "to hit with advantage." (Post card of 11 March 1892, fiche 862). (物 should be written with the "hand" radical)

[128] This may refer to Schlegel's class, which usually lasted from 1 to 3 P.M.

[129] "Ik heb gisteren overveel chineesch gewerkt. Vandaag van 1-3 en van 7-8 met Putam. Nu mag ik vanavond eens dat alles wegdoen.—Dit klinkt heel tam en zoetjes in dit dagboek, maar dat is het niet. Want ieder nieuw karaktertje chineesch is een stapje dichter bij het Geluk. / Ik heb nu alle chineesch in de kast gedaan. Van mijn tafel weg. Ik wil het nergens zien." *Diary*, half past ten, Thursday 6 August 1891.

[130] Southern dialects, in particular Hokkien, have retained ancient Chinese sounds more accurately than Mandarin. Schlegel had used this argument when stressing the importance of these dialects (Schlegel's report, 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589).

[131] "Donderdag 3 Maart [1892], 's middags 2½ uur / De stem van de professor. Van Putam. Van Ezerman. Droog en hard. Winterig. Fossiele klanken van chineesch, ouder dan Sanskriet. / Buiten grijs weer, naakte takken voor de ruiten. De klok slaat half drie. / En ik droom van mijn episch gedicht …." This was followed by the poem itself. *Diary*, 3 March 1892.

[132] "Pseudo" and "sinister" were Ezerman's favourite pet phrases (Letter to Van Eeden, 10 June 1889, fiche 858).

[133] "Nu meen ik wel te weten in welke toestand, in welke 'Sturm und Drang' jou geest op 't oogenblik verkeert. Ik herinner mij iets dergelijks in mij zelven, maar dat is langer geleden dan tien jaren. Het is het Byronstijdvak, het Welschmerz-, het Werther-tijdvak, 'de zwarte tijd', zooals Beets het noemde. Het is geen wonder, dat je daar diep in zit, door het vele leed dat je gehad hebt, en door den niet heel gelukkigen invloed van cynische en zwakke geesten zooals Schlegel en E. Maar ik zie goddank dat je sterker bent dan die twee en dat je gezonde levenskracht toch weer boven alles uitgroeit. / Dit moet ik je daarom uitdrukkelijk zeggen: 'Laat je niets wijsmaken van al dat pseudo en siniester, laat je daardoor evenmin van de wijs brengen als door het cynisme van je domme hoogleeraar.' …" *Brieven van Frederik van Eeden aan Henri Borel*, 18.

[134] A literary and historical society founded in 1766 in Leiden, where it still has its seat. It is as such the oldest society in the Netherlands. Being nominated as a member of this venerated society was a great honour.

[135] Dr. Th. Swart Abrahamsz was a navy physician in Batavia. He and Van Eeden both became members on 20 June 1889, but Van Eeden's name did not appear on the membership lists published from December 1889 on, so he must have left the society within half a year (*Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, 1889 and later).

[136] "U bent tot lid van 'de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde' benoemd!!! Gelijk met Swart Abrahamsz! En weet u, *wie* er ook mee moest *stemmen*? Prof. Schlegel, mijn type Mooker! Dit kan ik niet 'op.'" PPS in a letter from Borel to Van Eeden dated 20 June 1889, fiche 859. Schlegel was a member since 1878. At the time, Prof. Jan ten Brink was president. The German word "Schlegel" means "sledge (hammer)," Dutch *slegge*.

[137] "Ik ondervind in den laatsten tijd heel veel onaangenaamheden van mijn vader, en van al die jongelui hier die ik heb moeten laten loopen omdat ze mij zoo vreselijk kwetsten, nog erger dan Schlegel, en ik er zelf mijn tijd en humeur bij inschoot. Zooiets toegeven ze nooit en nu 'judassen' ze mij. Erg hinderlijk, zulk gegrinnik en gespot om je heen, maar toch eigenlijk vrij onschadelijk, zelfs een beetje goedig." Letter to Van Eeden dated 19 May 1890, fiche 860, pp. 1-2.

[138] "Ten Brink is zijn woede over mij bij Schlegel gaan luchten. Tableau op het college. Het was om te gillen en Ezerman en ik 'groeiden' er hevig in." Letter to Van Eeden dated 19 May 1890, p. 2, fiche 860.

[139] "Van Wettum en Ezerman—aan wien ik héél veel te danken heb, o! zo veel—zijn bang en kruiperig en heel minnetjes tegen Schlegel, die een heel slecht mensch is." *Diary* 19 December 1891, quoted in Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 38.

[140] *T'oung Pao* A 2 (1891), 357-89. Two years later it was published as a monograph together with a similar list for Japan by Schlegel: *Alphabetical list of the Chinese and Japanese emperors.* I: *An alphabetical list of the emperors of China and of their year-titles or nien-hao, with the date of their reign and duration*, compiled by J.L.J.F. Ezerman and B.A.J. van Wettum - II: *Alphabetical list of the Mikados and Shoguns of Japan as also an alphabetical list of the year title or Nen-Go, adopted during their reign*, by G. Schlegel (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1893).

[141] Both articles were about documents of Chinese customary law. Borel published "Serment d'Amitié Chinois," in *T'oung Pao* A 4 (1893), 420-6, and Van Wettum "A Pair of Chinese Marriage Contracts," *T'oung Pao* A 5 (1894), 371-85.

[142] Schlegel was still living there. *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps*, 1888–1895. The days and hours are deduced from Borel's letters and diaries.

[143] Report of 1887–8, dated 29 July 1888, Inventory no. 1555, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1887–1888).

[144] 1890–1891, inv. 1556, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1890–1891).

[145] 1891–1892, inv. 1556, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1891–1892).

[146] Borel, "De nieuwe banen der Sinologie," *De Gids* 1911, IV, p. 309, note 1.

[147] Borel, *Lezingen over de Chineesche taal*, typoscript, 13, in Henri Borel, Ambtelijke zaken, etc. no. 232, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[148] Vol. I had appeared in 1886, vol. II in 1887, vol. III in 1884. Two of the three instalments of Vol. IV were published earlier, in 1888 and 1889. *See* Chapter Eleven, section "Publication history of Schlegel's dictionary."

[149] In this fairy tale the shrewd *Zaunkönig*, "King of the garden" (English *wren*, Dutch *winterkoninkje* or *winterkoning*), outwits the bear, proving that he is the King of the Birds. It must have been Schlegel's suggestion to translate *Zaunkönig* as *qiaofuniao* "tailor-bird," which is also a small and clever common bird which even lives in a "palace" (a woven nest). In his dictionary Schlegel gave several Chinese names of this bird and two short texts about it (Dutch *snijdervogel*. Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, vol. 3, pp. 915-916). Borel used the German title, so they must have translated the fairy tale from the German.

[150] Borel called the public that did not love art 'barbarians' (Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 52 note 25).

[151] "O ja, nu nog iets. Ik heb héusch, heusch zelfs met Putam nog wat chineesch gedaan ook. O, dat mooie sprookje van Grimm 'Der Zaunkönig und der Bär' vertaald in het chineesch. [vertically:] 熊與巧婦鳥 … Wat staat dat chineesch koddig in dit dagboek. Zie je, daar moet ik mijn vrouwtje nu mee 'koopen' van de barbaren en hun 'usages.' … Ik hoop dat het Putam een beetje goed gedaan heeft, hier te zijn, waar het zoo heerlijk is van mooi. We zaten heel gezellig, met een kopje koffie en onze lievelings cigaretten uit Algiers (Chebly)." The later text is his comment written later that day. *Diary*, 22 July 1891.

[152] Borel translated Plato's *Symposion* (a discussion about love) from the English into Dutch, consulting German and French translations. He did this for his girlfriend Christien Zurhaar, who had difficulty reading the French translation (Letter to Van Eeden, 19 January 1892, fiche 860).

[153] *De Amsterdammer, dagblad voor Nederland*, a daily newspaper published from 1882 to 1896. Later it became a weekly paper.

[154] This café-restaurant was located at Breestraat 107, Leiden (*Gids voor Leiden, 1905–1915*, http://www.hollebeek.nl/leiden/ gids/ldn1900r.html).

[155] "Zóó leef ik tegenwoordig: Het is niet goed zoo, ik moest vroeger opstaan en vroeger naar bed gaan, maar als ik mij er niet te veel meê waag, houd ik het zoo vol. Ik sta bij twaalven op, en ontbijt dan, lezende de courant of een roman even.—Om half twee ben ik in de academische bibliotheek aan het chineesch werken (聖諭 [*Shengyu*] –大清律例 [*Da Qing lüli*]) d.i. het Heilig edikt van Keizer K'ang Hi en het burgerlijk wetboek der Chineezen. Als ik er mede bézig ben ga ik er ook heelemaal in op; het is zo curieus om door al die streepjes heen te komen, ik heb er bepaald plezier in. Daar zit ik tot half vier.—Dán wandelen, en thuis pianospelen. Om half zes eten.—Soms éven de kranten en de Amsterdammer lezen in Café Neuf, maar héél zelden. Dadelijk weer thuis.—Theezetten.—Zitten werken aan Plato, en het chineesch van 's middags nog eens heelemaal over. Dán verder de tijd verdeeld tusschen pianospelen, het vertalen van Plato, en lezen (andere werken van Plato, Shelley en Milton tegenwoordig). Tegen drie uur, soms half vier, naar bed. —" *Diary*, 2 January 1892.

[156] "en het boek der liederen of de Si-king der Chineezen (詩經 [*Shijing*]) (slangenhuid met goud, mooi van kleur)." *Diary*, 7 January 1892.

[157] Legge, *The She King or the Book of Poetry* (1871), vol. 4 of *The Chinese Classics*. It also contains the Chinese text.

[158] Borel published his translations of Confucius and Mencius in 1896, and of Laozi in 1898. "Vanmiddag heb ik in de bibliotheek Plato verder vertaald, en verder Confucius en de chineesche klassieken bestudeerd. Ik begin daarin schatten te vinden.- Maar het is o'zoo moeilijk. Ik moet alles zélf vinden, want die vertalers—meest engelsche zendelingen of professors—kunnen wel naar den letter vertalen, maar begrijpen doen ze het niet. Hunne vertaling is meestal onzin, en het heel eigenaardige ervan is, dat zij zelf noten geven, waarin zij zeggen, dat ze er niet veel van begrijpen, en klagen 'dat de chineesche text zoo duister is.' —Maar die tekst is veel minder duister als hun ziel. —Ik ben nu bezig, die boeken te

doorgronden, maar ik ken nog geen chineesch genoeg. Ik ga over vijf jaren daar vertalingen—goede—van geven, dat is een groot, Goed werk." *Diary*, Monday 29 February 1892.

[159] 2 vols., B 745 H. 3 Vertalingen etc., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[160] "Op de bibliotheek, 's mid[dags]. / Ik zit nog eens een oud geschiedenisje te repeteeren, van de 今古奇觀 [*Jingu qiguan*].—Daar zijn heel mooie verhalen en legenden bij. Even opteekenen de volgende dingen, die zijn heel mooie poëzie: [vertical Chinese text, *see* main text] Het is een beschrijving van een heel mooi, Goed meisje, dat door een noodlottig toeval op den slechten weg was, en in een gemeen huis: 'Haar geheele lichaam was bevallig en schoon. / Haar geheele lichaam was lieflijk en geurig. / Haar gebogen wenkbrauwen waren als de verre omtrekken van blauwe bergen. / Hare oogen waren helder en zacht als het water in den herfst. / Hare wangen waren als de kelk van den lotus. / Hare lippen waren als roode kersen. / Hoe treurig dat zulk een vlekkelooze edelsteen bij toeval was gekomen in wind en stof!' Wat mooi dit!—Hoe rein.—" *Diary*, 23 March 1892, Cahier 1891–1892, B.745 H.3 Dagboek, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[161] "Het karakter voor 'lotus,' het zinnebeeld der chineesche Boeddhisten is: Liên. —(5e toon)." In Hokkien the fifth tone, in Mandarin the second tone (*yinping*).

[162] "Eigenaardig dat ook de chineezen zeggen van 'genomen,' d.i. een maagd tot vrouw gemaakt 破瓜 [*pogua*], d.i. den bloem breken!" *Diary*, 23 March 1892. *Pogua* literally means "to break the melon." Borel must have confused the character *gua* in the next sentence of the story with *hua* 花, 'flower.' The students often used badly printed Chinese texts (for examples of this *see* KNAG collection, East Asian Library, Leiden).

[163] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, Inleiding, 11. This was in agreement with Schlegel's official assignment.

[164] Schlegel's aversion to the Manchu government was often published in *T'oung Pao*. This was mentioned by Borel himself in his letter to the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of 23 January 1895 (*see* below). Borel wrote that his colleagues could testify that Schlegel also vented these opinions during his classes. Schlegel's aversion to missionaries is well documented, for instance in the diary of Van der Spek (p. 11), and also in his "De oorsprong van den vreemdenhaat der Chineezen," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, September 1901, speech of 13 April 1901.

[165] Borel's lack of historical knowledge is astonishing: he did not immediately know the Chinese character for the ruling Qing dynasty (Da Qing 大清), nor the year when its rule over China began (1644).

[166] On 14 July 1789 the French Revolution began with the storming of the Bastille.

[167] In 1891 the naval commander Jorge Montt revolted against the authoritarian president Balmaceda after the latter refused to accept a parliamentary system with ministerial responsibilities. Coming from the North of the country, Montt landed with his fleet in Valparaiso and took power; subsequently a European-style parliamentary system was established, which was exceptional in Latin America.

[168] In the diary "you" has been crossed out and dots "……" have been added, probably referring to Borel's girlfriend Christine Zurhaar.

[169] In the next paragraph Borel gave examples of Prussian atrocities involving persons and objects of art during the Franco–Prussian war of 1870–1.

[170] Entry of 2 to 5 December 1891. Borel's next note was: "All this I wrote at the Wittebrug [The Hague] in the Kippetje [nickname of his landlady]. Continue tomorrow or this evening in Leiden." He would later elaborate on the subject of European encroachment in China by missionaries and the import of opium in Indies newspapers in 1895, and in "De Chineesche kwestie" (The Chinese question) (*De Gids*, 64) in 1900.

[171] The Theosophical Society was established by Mrs. Blavatsky and others in New York in 1875. The first lodges in the Netherlands date from 1881 (The Hague) and 1890 (Amsterdam). This Society strove to form a nucleus of universal human brotherhood and encouraged the study of comparative religion and philosophy, etc. In the heyday of Social Darwinism it enhanced Western respect for Asian peoples and cultures (Richardus, *Johan van Manen*, 4-6.)

[172] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 42. This lecture was not mentioned in the student almanac.

[173] "Hij droeg voor een overzicht van de nieuwe wijsbegeerte, de Theosophie, of het

Neo-Boeddhisme. Heel, heel belangrijk. Over de ziel en het lichaam. Over het nu bijna bewezen feit, dat voor *alle* eeuwen heen enkele menschen *werkelijk* met God in gemeenschap stonden, en ingewijd waren in het hoogste mysteriën. Menschen die wisten *wat* en *hoe* de ziel was, en die hun ziel werkelijk *uit* hun lichaam konden doen gaan en verplaatsen op immense afstanden in een seconde. Deze ingewijden, adepten, waren o.a. Vischna, Bouddha, Jezus, Paulus, Mozes, Pythagoras, Plato enz." Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 42.

[174] *Diary*, 29 February 1892. Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 43. *A Manual of Buddhism, in its Modern Development, Translated from Singhalese Manuscripts by R. Spence Hardy* was first published in 1853.

[175] "Dat ik heel blij ben met dat ze zooveel houdt van dat verhaal van Buddha heb ik al bewezen door weer zoo'n heel groot stuk voor haar te vertalen.—Wij zullen in China veel meer van Buddha zien en hooren. Er zijn duizenden Buddhist[en] in China. In Amoy en Tsiangtsiu, waar wij komen, zijn vele Buddhistische kloosters en tempels—natuurlijk van subliemen bouw, met heerlijke schone beelden en allerlei voorwerpen. Ik ga met Buddhistische monniken spreken, en zal daar stellig heel veel moois en nieuws te weten komen." *Diary*, Thursday 17 March 1892.

[176] "Een antwoord aan prof. Schlegel. Chineesche waarheid." (An answer to Prof. Schlegel. Chinese truth.) In 1894 Japan had invaded Korea, which was a tributary state of China. When China supported Korea, a war followed in which China was soundly defeated by Japan and the Japanese for the first time invaded Manchuria. Schlegel had given a lecture at the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences and Arts on 12 November 1894 entitled "Het geschil tusschen China en Japan in Korea" (The conflict between China and Japan in Korea) (*Verslagen en mededeelingen, afd. letterkunde, 3e reeks, deel XI*, pp. 159-74). In this lecture he pleaded that the Europeans should support the Manchu government in the war against Japan, as otherwise Japan might become too powerful and even form a threat to Southeast Asia (that is, the Netherlands Indies). Borel, then stationed in Riau, reacted to letters about this lecture in the *NRC* of 15 and 18 November 1894. One of Borel's objections was that Schlegel had changed his opinion, since in the past he had always railed against the corrupt Manchu government, hoping it would be driven away soon. Borel also found a Japanese threat to the Indies implausible. In a reaction, Schlegel wrote the prophetic words: "If Japan's lust to conquer is not checked, we will perish. / As the saying goes: / Time will prove it." (Zoo aan de veroveringszucht van Japan geen paal en perk wordt gesteld, gaan wij te gronde. / Het spreekwoord zegt: / D e t ij d z a l 't l e e r e n. *NRC* 26 January 1895). Schlegel also stated that he considered it beneath his dignity to battle with a pupil such as Borel, who was too young and inexperienced. To this Borel reacted furiously. His reply was not published in the *NRC*, but in the Indies. ("Nog eens: Professor Schlegel, over den Chineesch–Japanschen Oorlog." *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 9 March 1895).

[177] "In China past het, dat de leerling eene veneratie toone voor zijnen leermeester, even groot als die voor zijnen vader. Professor Schlegel is mijn leermeester. Hij was het, die met zijn ongeëvenaarden tact en zijne innemende hartelijkheid, mij inwijdde in de mysteriën der Chineesche taal. Zijne college-uren waren geen droefmistige, benauwde dingen, maar stonden van lichtende wijsheid en intieme wisseling van gedachten. … en door hèm heb ik leeren begrijpen de sublieme schoonheid der Chineesche literatuur en philosophie." *NRC*, 23 January 1895.

[178] "… prof. Schlegel is bekend als een vurig bewonderaar van de Chineezen, die hij overal ophemelt, à tort et à travers. Ik weet nog de voorstelling, die ik mij door zijn warme ideëen [*sic*] had gemaakt van de Chineezen, eene voorstelling van een volmaakt volk, met oud-testamentische deugden."

[179] Borel, "De nieuwe banen der sinologie," *De Gids*, 1911, IV, p. 309 note 1.

[180] In 1888–92 Schlegel only had one "ribbon," that of Commandeur de l'ordre Royal de Cambodge. It had been given to him by the French government in 1885 for his assistance to the French Navy vessel that had stranded near Amoy in 1860 (*see* Chapter Three, section "Schlegel and Francken as interpreters in Amoy").

[181] "… mijn leermeester in Europa, in Leiden, was een heel deftige, geleerde professor, met een lintje in zijn knoopsgat, die in een groot huis op het Rapenburg woonde." Borel, "De eerstgeborene," in *Van leven en dood* (1925), 31.

[182] Willem Kloos (1859–1938) is famous for his poem: "I am a God in my deepest thoughts." (*Ik ben een God in 't diepst van mijn gedachten*).

[183] Albert Verwey (1865–1933) was a poet and critic.

[184] *Winkler Prins Encyclopaedie*, sixth edition, 1947–1955. Verwey also left the movement, characterising it as "the art of emotional fits and impressions" (*de kunst van gevoelsopwelling en indruk*).

[185] English translation published by William Heinemann, London 1895.

[186] Klaas Ruitenbeek, "Lu Xun und *Der kleine Johannes*," in Wolfgang Kubin (ed.), *Aus dem Garten der Wildnis, Studien zu Lu Xun (1881–1936)* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1989), 111-23. This article also appeared in English: "Lu Xun and Little John," in Lloyd Haft (ed.), *Words from the West. Western Texts in Chinese Literary Context. Essays to Honour Erik Zürcher on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (Leiden, CNWS Publications Vol. 16, 1993, pp. 48-60). A new Chinese translation (from the English) appeared in 2004.

[187] Later, in Bussum, he established the production-cooperative 'Walden' (named after Henry David Thoreau's *Walden, or Life in the Woods*, 1854), which existed from 1898 to 1907. He also helped the railroad workers during a strike in 1903, trying to realise communist ideas in a capitalist society. In his ambitions in literature and society, in philosophy and religion, Van Eeden's successive works evince the development of a restlessly searching mind. His life has been characterised as 'a tragedy of insecurity,' after the title of one of his plays. After a life full of trouble, disappointment and failure, he found 'a safe haven,' as he called it, in his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1923 (*Winkler Prins Encyclopaedie*, sixth edition, 1947–1955). *See also* Fontijn's two-volume biography of Van Eeden, *Tweespalt* and *Trots verbrijzeld*.

[188] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 7-14. Fontijn considers Borel just a fanatical admirer (*dweper*) of Van Eeden and does not take into account Borel's psychological and spiritual problems. Fontijn, *Tweespalt*, 139-40, 266-70.

[189] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 7, 13, 14. The accompanying letter was printed in Joosten, 13. The letter has no date and the beginning seems to be missing.

[190] In 1898 it was first published in *De Gids* (62), then as a book.

[191] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 14, quoting "Frederik van Eeden, Herinneringen," *Geschenk boeken week 1933*, 33-40.

[192] "Henri Borel, op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 November 1929.

[193] "Henri Borel, op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 November 1929.

[194] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 13.

[195] R.H. van Gulik, "In memoriam Henri Borel," *China, een driemaandelijksch tijdschrift*, 8 (1933), 167. Thanks are due to Dr. Ming Govaars for sharing some of her ideas about Henri Borel with me.

[196] Novel by Émile Zola published in 1887.

[197] Lodewijk van Deyssel (pseudonym of Karel Johan Lodewijk Alberdingk Thijm, 1864–1952) took part in the Eighties movement as a bitingly sharp literary critic.

[198] Van Deyssel's *Een Liefde* (1887) was one of the first successful Dutch naturalist novels.

[199] *Diary*, 23 September 1890, quoted in Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 23-4.

[200] Jan van Swieten (1807–88) had an impressive career in the military and in civil government from 1821 on; from 1835 to 1862 he was serving in the Indies. After his retirement and return to the Netherlands in 1862, he was a member of Parliament for two years and held other high posts. When the first Atjeh War (Achinese War) ended in disaster, he was made the government's civil commissioner and commander-in-chief during the second Atjeh War in 1873–4. He often published his views on various subjects, and also wrote a reply to G.F.W. Borel in 1882 (*Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*, vol. IV [1905]).

[201] Borel, "Henri Borel (Autobiografie en autocritiek)," *Het Vaderland*, 23 November 1929.

[202] This is the number of remaining letters in the Frederik van Eeden Collection in the Special Collections Department of the University Library in Amsterdam. Some letters are missing, and a few other short letters and postcards by Van Eeden are kept there as well. A large portion of Van Eeden's letters to Borel were published by Borel in 1933 in his *Brieven van Frederik van Eeden aan Henri Borel* (Uitgeverij Pax, The Hague and Brussels).

[203] Borel was then living on the Breestraat (Broad Street) in Leiden.

[204] "Ik ben boos op u geweest. In het begin van vorige week heb ik 4 dagen achtereen in een vreeselijke stemming thuis gezeten. … En ik ben zoo nietig, zoo ellendig, ik kan niets doen. Ik leer Chineesch! Dat is om woedend te worden … Dat is om uit te schreeuwen van angst, nu, door de heele lange, donkere Breestraat, waar de regen sienister in neervalt met een onguren rythmus, om het zóó ver uit te gillen, midden over de donkere nacht, dat de menschen ervan rillen en klappertanden in hun bed.—Ja, zullen ze mij haar wéér, wéér, wéér afnemen? …" Letter 23 April 1889, fiche 858.

[205] "Ik heb je tot nu toe niet geschreven omdat ik er tegen opzag. Ik heb ondervonden dat je mij dikwijls slecht begrijpt en ook gauw gegriefd bent door dingen waarin niets grievends bedoeld is. … om je inzicht helderder te maken, om meer orde in je denkbeelden te brengen, om de verwarring in je denken en gevoelen te doen eindigen, zou een lange reeks van brieven of gesprekken gedurende een lang tijdsverloop noodig zijn." Letter 20 May 1889, *Brieven aan Henri Borel*, 17.

[206] "Het is heel lief van je, maar gelukkig niet juist, te denken dat ik je alleen uit goedheid tegensprak en het eigenlijk geheel met je eens was. Zoo zou ik misschien met een patiënt doen, die ik te zwak vond om de waarheid te dragen, maar met jou niet. Je bent gevoelig, maar niet zwak. Je zult door je verdriet en je tobben niet breken, maar er steeds sterker door worden." Letter, 20 May 1889, *Brieven aan Henri Borel*, 19.

[207] "Ik hoop dat je niet weet hoe zeldzaam ze zijn, jongens als jij. Maar ze zijn zeldzaam. Je mist zelfbedwang en levenswijsheid, maar die kun je allebei nog krijgen. Voor de rest ben je een voortreffelijk broekje." Letter of 6 January 1892, *Brieven aan Henri Borel*, 23.

[208] "een lief zacht chanteusetje, maar niet voor geld," "dergelijke meisjes zijn dol op mij." Letter to Van Eeden, 10 June 1889, fiche 858.

[209] "Het is een geluk voor mij, dat ik voorgoed afkeer van mijn vroegere slechte gewoonten van cafés chantants en andere leelijke dingen af te loopen. Mijn materieele leven is heel, heel fatsoenlijk en mijn eenige uitspatting is een lekkere sigaar of een enkel glaasje bier. Ik heb een sterke afkeer gekregen van al die leelijke dingen die ik vroeger gebruikte als verdoovingsmiddel en de lui hier zien mij nooit meer en begrijpen niets meer van mij." Letter to Van Eeden, 18 March 1890, fiche 859.

[210] "Nu dan, toen ik vanmiddag op de 1e Vijver met van Wettum op het punt stond om naar huis te gaan, komt opeens het blauwe meisje met haar gouden haren en zegt: "Dag Henri!" (die naam had ze van Amaatje) / En toen ben ik bijna op het ijs moeten gaan huilen. Gelukkig dat Putam het niet merkte. Ik was alles vergeten, van haar omgeving. Ze was iets nieuws, iets blonds, iets meisje, iets engeltje. / Ik was zo tevreden. Ik heb haar een handje gegeven en even met haar gewandeld. Ik heb gezegd dat ze zoo lief was. Ik heb haar zoo aangezien dat ze me eigenlijk had moeten kussen als een zusje, maar ze deed het niet. Ik wil niet weten wat ze dacht, maar ze vond het heel prettig. [page cut out] Wat was ze zacht, zoo warmpjes, zoo heel blondjes, en wat was ze nog klein. Wat was ze ineens een lievelingetje van me. En zoo gaat het mij meer. Wat zou dat toch zijn. … Het kan me ook eigenlijk niet schelen waarom het is. Ik kan er toch niets aan doen." *Diary*, Sunday 14 December 1890.

[211] Letter 20 February 1891, fiche 860-861.

[212] Letter 4 March 1891, fiche 861.

[213] Letter 19 March 1891, fiche 861.

[214] Letter 26 March 1891, fiche 861.

[215] Fontijn, *Tweespalt*, 269-70.

[216] Letter from Van Eeden, 6 January 1892 (Borel, *Brieven van Van Eeden*, 23).

[217] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 47.

[218] Thorn Prikker's letters were published in Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*.

[219] Robert Stellwagen (1869–96) was a son of A.W. Stellwagen, a writer and Borel's former teacher of Dutch language at the HBS in The Hague (Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 9).

[220] G.J. Staal (1870–1936) had a career in the General Secretariat of the Indies Government, where he became Government Secretary in 1906. He was Governor of Suriname in 1916–20 (Stamboeken F' 57).

[221] Karel Textor (1870–1934) had studied in Berlin and worked as a pianist during the rest of his life. Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 13-17.

[222] *Diary*, 14 December 1890; Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 25.

[223] "Ezerman vind ik hoe langer hoe minder. Perfide zonder het zelf te weten, egoïst, klein, leelijk en juist door sommige mooiheden wordt het nog erger. Somtijds maakt hij den indruk op mij van een insect, of Uriah Heep. Somtijds vind ik hem echter opeens zóó arm, zóó arm—als hij goed speelt (al is dat maar zelden)—en dan heb ik een beetje medelijden met hem." *Diary*, Saturday 13 December 1890.

[224] "Alweer wat moois. En nu nog wel van de kant der familie Van Wettum. Dit spijt mij. Wie van de andere 'vrienden' mij ook al teleurstelde of verongelijkte, in blijdschap zowel als in droefenis is Bertus mij altijd trouw bij gebleven. Ik vind hem eenvoudig, pedant soms, en iemand die alles van anderen eerst moet zien, die niets van zichzelf heeft, maar hij is … een 'coeur d'or' …. Wat is het nu toch jammer, dat zijn familie toch maar altijd in haar domheid hem tegen mij zit op te zetten." *Diary*, 1 September 1890.

[225] "Ook Bertus v. W., de vroeger trouwe, nobele Putam, is voor mij achteruitgegaan. Hij is in den grooten nood van den laatsten tijd tot het laatste nog trouw geweest. Maar het werd al onzuiverder en minder en zwakker. Nog maar een paar maandjes had het moeten duren en ook hij was me ontvallen / Maar nu ben ik alles zoo rustig te boven gekomen. En ik heb hem nog. Ik houd nog veel van hem. Hij mag mijn vriend blijven." *Diary*, 15 July 1891, p. 4.

[226] Elizabeth Barret Browning (1806–61) was one of the most important poets of the Victorian age. Well-known for the lines "How I love thee? Let me count the ways. / I love thee to the depth and breadth and height / My soul can reach, …" She was married to the poet Robert Browning (1812–89).

[227] "Putam had de gedichten van Elizabeth Barret Browning gekocht. … Ik vind Putam i/d laatsten tijd héél ongelukkig. Hij zal zich nog veel, veel ongelukkiger voelen als hij zoo blijft met dat zotte idee van zoo dadelijk zoo'n Elizabeth Barret tegen te komen. … Hij laat me maar praten, verliest zich in Boeddha, Jezus, Johannes, enz." *Diary*, September 1891.

[228] "Die Goteling is een artiest, daar gaat niets meer vanaf." *Diary*, 4 September 1890.

[229] Undated letter from September or October 1890, fiche 860.

[230] "Het was dus indertijd een verkeerd enthousiasme van me, 'Jong.'" *Diary*, 10 December 1890.

[231] "Ezerman, Staal en Textor vonden het subliem. Maar wat zegt dat? Niet zo heel veel. / Ezerman vond het bij gedeelten 'immens' enz. enz. Maar zijn geheele leven is nog even onrustig en leelijk en hij doet alsof hij het in 't geheel niet meer gelezen heeft. Zoo ook van Wettum. Begrijpen die mannetjes dan niet dat zij mij na de lezing van mijn boek *door zóo klein te blijven leven* van zich af houden? Dat ik daarom gedwongen ben zo luidruchtig en pseudo-Sturm u. D.-achtig te zijn als ik bij hun ben. Ik voel dat ze langzaam uit mijn hart verdwijnen nu het er zoo heilig in wordt." *Diary*, 13 December 1890.

[232] "Even opschrijven dat degeen die dit later soms leest en ook ikzelf als ik het later nog eens opdiep, niet moet denken dat ik hard en wreed denk en schrijf over mijn vrienden. Ik vaar nogal eens uit tegen Ezerman,Van Wettum, Staal, en zelfs soms Van Eeden (tegen de laatste meestal onbillijk, niet altijd). Maar dat is maar in sommige, niet altijd mooie stemmingen." *Diary*, Sunday 14 December 1890.

[233] "Wat een drukte weer vandaag. Vanochtend Chineesch, vanmiddag Chineesch. Toen moest ik toch wat wandelen. Ik ga nu altijd den weg naar Warmond. Wat een heerlijke weg. Links, rechts, overal, wijd, het landschap, waar de koeien weien. …" *Diary*, Saturday 10 October 1891.

[234] "Vanmiddag heerlijk op het ijs gereden. Ik kan het nu al weer heel vlug, maar toch niet zooals in Roermond, geloof ik. Eerst met Bertus en Willem van Wettum. …" (*Diary*, 15 December 1890). Willem van Wettum (1872–1936) was a younger brother of Bertus. He studied to become an East Indies official, probably in Delft.

[235] "Vanmiddag met Putam van Leiden naar hier gekomen op schaatsen. Toen heb ik ook nog tot half zes op de Vijver gereden. Heerlijk, zoo in het donker over het zacht blauwe ijs, met hier en daar tinteling. …." *Diary*, 16 December 1890.

[236] "Tegenwoordig doet Ezerman aan wielrijden. Wij kunnen het echter maar heel zelden (voorloopig) doen, want het is te duur. Ik geloof dat het heel goed voor hem is." (Letter to Van Eeden, 1 April 1889, fiche 858).

[237] "Met het oog op de zomerhitte, die in China bijkans ondraaglijk is, zoude ik Uwe Excellentie in overweging willen geven, genoemde jongelieden niet vóór de maand Augus-

tus van hier te doen vertrekken. Tegen September is de grootste hitte in China geweken." Letter by Schlegel to the Minister dated 31 May, in: V 11/7/1892 no. 8 inv. 4593.

[238] In the report it was called "illness or disability no. 190," which was at the time one of the problems of the optic nerve often mentioned, in Dutch "190 a. ontsteking b. atrophie der gezigtszenuw." *Staatsblad* 1871, no. 9, from p. 5 on.

[239] "Is behept met bijziendheid op beide oogen." His myopia was serious: "-6 D visus after correction =1." Van Wettum's and Ezerman's letters were dated 25 June, Borel's letter was dated 21 June. Documents about military obligations and reports of physical examination are in V 11/7/1892 no. 8 inv. 4593. Borel may have been found psychologically unfit as well, but no record was made of this.

[240] *Staatscourant* 24 July 1892 no. 172; *T'oung Pao* A 3 (1892), 315.

[241] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 50.

[242] Letter to the acting Consul General in Amoy, Ch. K. Feindel, dated 5 October 1893, inv. no. 5, toegang 2.05.93 Consulate in Amoy.

[243] Request from Borel dated 5 June 1893, in V 12/9/1893 no. 40 inv. 4739. Request from Ezerman and Van Wettum dated 22 May 1893, in Mailrapport no. 228, 1893, Nationaal Archief.

[244] Jan Rhein (ca. 1856 – 1892), a primary school teacher, was a son of a naturalised Danish merchant who went to China in 1865. Jan Rhein studied Chinese and worked as a student-interpreter from 1875 on, and from 1876 on as an interpreter for Ferguson (Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 63).

[245] Letter from Ferguson to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated The Hague 26 February 1890, in: V 20/3/1890 no. 13/576 inv. 4353.

[246] Letter to Ferguson, 20 December 1890, in inv. 2, toegang 2.05.90, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nationaal Archief.

[247] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 127-37. He had suffered an apoplectic attack.

[248] Toegang 2.05.38 and inv. 5 toegang 2.05.93, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nationaal Archief.

[249] A second interpreter in Batavia, and interpreters in Padang, Mentok, Riau, Cirebon, Makassar, and Rembang. Schlegel considered that interpreters were also needed in Billiton (Belitung) and Kediri, which had Chinese populations of 11,255 and 22,700 (together with Surakarta and Bagelen). Letter of 2 November 1891, in V 19/11/1891 no. 12/2212 inv. 4520.

[250] His arguments were that in the period 1860–91 eighteen interpreters had been appointed, of whom five had passed away, four had left the service, and two were pensioned. In 30 years eleven interpreters had dropped out, leaving seven. In other words, on the average every three years one interpreter dropped out.

[251] *See* the graph of the number of active interpreters (1860–1917) in Appendix H.

[252] Pieter Brooshooft (1845–1923) worked for many years as a journalist in the Indies and paved the way for the later ethical policy favouring the native population and protecting them against oppression by the Dutch, and also by the Chinese (Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 167-9, 136-7, 391-401 etc.). Brooshooft's article had appeared in his "Indische Kroniek" in *De Locomotief* of Saturday 3 September 1891.

[253] Schlegel clipped the text from *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag* of 13 October 1891. De Grijs reacted to the same item by writing a letter to the editors, published on 3 November 1891 (BPL 1782.2, *Catalogue* 2005, 93). After De Grijs left in 1885, Stuart (28 July 1885 – 26 March 1889) and Meeter (17 April 1890 – 13 September 1890) had been interpreters in Semarang. Meanwhile, Semarang had already been without an interpreter for one year. On 22 March 1892 Young would be appointed.

[254] V 19/11/1891 no. 12/2212 inv. 4520.

[255] "Het is niet gebleken dat het gemis van tolken op die plaatsen tot stoornis in den dienst aanleiding heeft gegeven. Evenmin dat uitbreiding van het organiek aantal plaatsen noodig is." Advice dated 29 December 1891, in V 20/2/1892 no. 1 inv. 4547.

[256] V 20/2/1892 no. 1 inv. 4547.

[257] This implied that his present students would finish their studies before May.

[258] Letter dated 4 March 1892, in V 11/3/1892 no. 37 inv. 4554.

[259] Professor ten Brink was replaced by Dr. G.J. Dozy, and Dr. Koppeschaar by Dr.

E.J.G. Everts, both HBS teachers from The Hague. Everts (1849–1932) was a well-known entomologist.

[260] The argument was that it was not customary to ask for such a fee at examinations for the East Indies service, for which one had to pay only after passing. It would be a deterrent even for candidates who were well prepared. These comments were written with pencil on V 11/3/1892 no. 37 inv. 4554.

[261] In 1888 actually only 26 candidates took the entire examination, so the difference was not so great.

[262] Van de Stadt was "*buitengewoon ontwikkeld, schrander en helder van hoofd*," De Bruin "*goed ontwikkeld*" and Thijssen "*goed ontwikkeld, minder beschaafd*."

[263] Report dated 30 May 1892, in V 14/6/1892 no. 5 inv. 4584. No reference was made to publication in the *Staatscourant*, and no published report could be found.

[264] V 14/6/1892 no. 5 inv. 4584.

[265] V 29/8/1892 no. 1 inv. 4610.

[266] 1892–1893, inv. 1556, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1892–1893).

[267] 1893–1894, inv. 1557, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1893–1894).

[268] 1894–1895, inv. 1557, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1894–1895).

[269] Van de Stadt registered on 30 September 1892 (no. 2793), and De Bruin and Thijssen on 3 February 1894 (nos. 3013 and 3014) (*Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*).

[270] He would urge his student E. von Zach to register in September 1896 (*see* next section).

[271] Request of 25 May 1895 and Schlegel's answer of 27 May 1895 in V 28/5/1895 no. 1 (Exh.) inv. 4939.

[272] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister, 10 October 1895, in V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.

[273] *See* Chapter Ten, section "Financial problems of the third group."

[274] Letter from a *referendaris* at the Ministry, dated 14 October 1895, in V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.

[275] "Voor de verandering in het rangcijfer heb ik gegronde redenen. De Heer van de Stadt heeft niet beantwoord aan de verwachtingen, die ik, naar aanleiding van zijn toelatingsexamen, van hem koesterde, en zijn beide collegas De Bruin en Thijssen hebben hem ver vooruitgestreefd. / Of de omstandigheid, dat de heer van de Stadt zich als lid van het Leidsche Studentencorps had laten inschrijven (hetgeen de beide anderen niet deden) op zijne studiën invloed gehad heeft, daar het studenten leven hem te veel afleiding bezorgde, waag ik niet te beslissen. Aan aanleg toch ontbrak het hem niet, maar wel aan vlijt en volharding. / Wellicht kan hij het verzuimde nog in China inhalen, maar voor het oogenblik moet ik hem op nummer drie der ranglijst plaatsen. / De heer De Bruin is ontegenzeggelijk de knapste der drie candidaten." Confidential letter from Schlegel answering Mr. A.A. de Vries, *referendaris* at the Ministry, 17 October 1895, in V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.

[276] Letter from Schlegel to the Ministry, 20 December 1895, and draft answer in V 30/12/1895 no. 38 inv. 5005.

[277] V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.

[278] *Staatscourant* 14 November 1895 no. 268; *T'oung Pao* A 6 (1895), 515.

[279] V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.

[280] V 28/2/1896 no. 17/553 inv. 5022.

[281] V 24/1/1896 Kab. B1, inv. 6236.

[282] V 31/1/1896 Kab. U1, V 3/2/1896 Kab. W1, inv. 6236.

[283] The 39-year old Stuart passed the examination of June 1894 as number 33 of 34 successful candidates, while 23 others failed (V 12/7/1894 no. 62 inv. 4837). In a later article by this journalist Stuart's name was mentioned as another interpreter who had recently passed the examination (*Algemeen Handelsblad,* 5 May 1895).

[284] Such positions had existed since the beginning of the nineteenth century. For instance, A.B. Cohen Stuart and H.N. van der Tuuk were appointed as such. In 1878 the

position was formalised as "official for the study of the East Indies languages" (*ambtenaar voor de beoefening der Indische talen*; *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1878 no. 154). Those who had a doctorate in East Indies languages in Leiden or had passed an examination in Arabic, Sanskrit, Malay, and Javanese and some other subjects were eligible. Two well-known later incumbents were Ch. Snouck Hurgronje and J.C.G. Jonker. Teeuw, "Taalambtenaren." Fasseur, *Indologen*, 237, 190.

[285] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 23 May 1894; *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 28 May 1894; *De Indische Gids* 1894, no. XVI, pp. 912-3.

[286] *Regeeringsreglement* art. 35. This right was sometimes compared to the right of Parliament to propose a bill of law to the King, *Constitution* (*Grondwet*, 1887) art. 116 (now art. 82).

[287] Groeneveldt had been a member since 1889, Gallois since 1891, Mullemeister and Engelbrecht since 1893 when Groeneveldt became Vice-President, and Rovers also since 1893.

[288] Groeneveldt's *nota* and the Council's advice (12 October 1894), in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926. For another discussion of the reorganisation *see* Chapter Fifteen, "The reform of 1896," section "Officials for Chinese Affairs."

[289] Letter from S.W. Tromp to the Governor-General of 7 November 1894, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926. Van Wettum had been appointed on 24 October; he would stay in Pontianak and two years later marry Tromp's 17-year old daughter.

[290] Letter to the Minister of Colonies dated 20 January 1895, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[291] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1893 no. 291 (V 9/10/1893 no. 11/2083 inv. 4747).

[292] "Zoo vlug rijpen de vruchten niet altijd bij het bestuur over Indië!"

[293] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 May 1895, 3.

[294] V 4/5/1895 no. 29 inv. 4932.

[295] Von Zach asserted that there had been a government resolution discharging Schlegel from his duty of instructing interpreters (in Von Zach's view deserving a congratulation, *see* below), and that this task had been transferred to De Groot (E. von Zach, "Notes and Queries," *The China Review* 23 (1898–1899), 294). This was a misunderstanding: from 1896 on Schlegel was no longer required to teach students for the Ministry of Colonies, and in his report to the University of 1898, he complained that he was not asked to train a student for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while he considered this his task (report of 1897–8, inv. 1558, AC3). Actually that Ministry had previously always charged De Groot with training their interpreters, namely W.J. Oudendijk and W.J. van Duysberg, and now G.S.D. Hamel. Although Schlegel had hardly any students in 1897–1901, he continued to fill out the yearly teaching reports for the University. He taught his last extraordinary students in 1902. Reports to Leiden University, inv. 1558-1559, AC3, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.

[296] V 22/5/1895 no. 61 inv. 4937, V 25/5/1895 no. 21 inv. 4938.

[297] V 19/3/1896 no. 34/757 inv. 5028.

[298] IB 21/5/1896 no. 43. "Bepalingen tot aanwijzing der standplaatsen en regeling van den werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken." Published in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1896 no. 96. Translation fees etc. were promulgated in no. 97. Dutch text in Appendix S.

[299] Called Loeh Foeng (now *Lufeng*) in a Dutch transcription of Southern Mandarin, Liúk Fúng in Hakka and Liok Hong in Hoklo. In the northern part of Lufeng a Hakka dialect was spoken, the speakers of which called themselves *banshanfu* 半山福, while in the southern part of Lufeng Hoklo was spoken. This Hakka dialect was also spoken in the region of Huizhou 惠州 and in Huilai 惠來, Puning 普寧, Jieyang 揭陽 and Fengchun 豐春 in Guangdong.

[300] Department A[1] was reponsible for justice, education, religion and industry, and the navy in the Indies.

[301] V 5/12/1896 no. 17 inv. 5109.

[302] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister, 11 December 1896, in V 7/1/1897 no. 21/42 inv. 5119.

[303] V 22/12/1896 no. 15, inv. 5115; Royal Decree 24 December no. 80 in V 7/1/1897 no. 21/42 inv. 5119.

[304] It was crossed out in the draft letter to the Queen and not mentioned in the Royal Decree, probably since no Royal Approval was necessary for this part of the request.

[305] Hong Kong: 1881. Third reprint in 1912.

[306] In the 1860s, Schaalje had listed two types of Hakka pronunciation in his *Jiayingzhou baihua*.

[307] His first article in *T'oung Pao* was published before the monograph on the Lufeng dialect (note on p. 219). He needed this information for his phonological analyses of Hakka pronunciation.

[308] "Ancient Chinese Phonetics," *T'oung Pao* A 8 (1897), 361-77, 457-86. Continued in *T'oung Pao* A 9 (1898), 28-57. Supplementary note in *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902), 106-8.

[309] B. Karlgren, Études sur la phonologie chinoise, 1915 (part 1), pp. 9, 25-7, 43-4, 47-8, 50, etc. Karlgren would later write: "The first scientific endeavour to unveil this language [of the Sui and Tang dynasties, 581–907] was made in 1900 [*sic*] by Schaank in a short article in the T'oung Pao." (*Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino–Japanese* (Paris 1923), 4 note 3). In a recent appraisal, David Prager Branner wrote: "The basic appearance of modern reconstructions of Chinese, however, was not made by Karlgren, but by his little-known predecessor Simon Hartwich Schaank," in his article "Simon Schaank and the Evolution of Western Beliefs about Traditional Chinese Phonology," in D.P. Branner (ed.), *The Chinese Rime Tables: Linguistic Philosophy and Historical-comparative Phonology*, Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic sciences, Series 4, Current issues in linguistic theory, pp. 151-70 (Amsterdam 2006) (p. 151).

[310] Such as in Schlegel's *Sinico-Aryaca* (Batavia, 1872) and "The Secret of the Chinese Method of Transcribing Foreign Sounds," *T'oung Pao* 1 (1900), 1-32, 93-124, 219-53) (Karlgren, Études, 5, 7, 8).

[311] Schlegel's letter to the Minister of Colonies of 9 April 1873, pp. 21-23, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. Also in Schlegel, *Chineesche taalstudie* (1877), 23.

[312] The idea of doing fieldwork may have been inspired by his friend J.J.M. de Groot, whom Schaank knew from his first period of leave in 1883–6. In 1912, P.A. van de Stadt published a Hakka dictionary partly based on observations in the field.

[313] Report dated 4 July 1896, 1895–1896, inv. 1557, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections.

[314] Letter to the Minister of Colonies, 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083.

[315] Jacobus Henricus Kann had become a partner of Lissa & Kann's Bank in 1891, when his father passed away.

[316] *Album Studiosorum 1875-1925*, no. 3346.

[317] Letter to the Minister of Colonies, 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083. On Monday 6 July, Li Hongzhang had a meeting with several private persons (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 juli 1896).

[318] In 1896 he was inspired by Theodor Herzl's *Der Judenstaat*, and in 1897 he would represent the Netherlands at the first Zionist Congress in Basel. Afterwards he would always support the Zionist movement. As a banker, he was one of the co-founders of the Jewish Colonial Trust in 1899. After the German invasion of the Netherlands in 1940, he refused to flee. Most of his family died in German concentration camps. He died in Theresienstadt in 1944 (dossier Kann, CBG, The Hague; Dr. J. Charité (ed.), *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, vol. II, 1985).

[319] Franz Emanuel Kühnert (1852–1918) was originally a mathematician and scientist; he became an unsalaried university lecturer (*Privatdozent*) in Chinese at the University of Vienna in 1891, and professor in 1898 (*The China Review* 23 (1898), 229-30). *See also* Bernard Führer, *Vergessen und Verloren: Die Geschichte der österreichischen Chinastudien*, 73-90.

[320] Carl Kainz was an Armeniologist; he published a textbook of modern Chinese in 1900 (*Hua-wen-ch'u-chieh; Chinese language lessons*).

[321] Alfred Hoffmann, "Dr. Erwin Ritter von Zach (1872–1942), in memoriam. Verzeichnis seiner Veröffentlichungen," *Oriens Extremus* 10 (April 1963), opposite p. 1, Handschriftprobe von Ritter von Zach, two pages from a letter of Von Zach to Alfred Hoffmann dated 10 January 1937. On Von Zach *see also* Führer, *Vergessen und verloren*, 157-88.

[322] "… een jong Oostenrijker die speciaal naar Leiden gekomen is om mijne collegies te volgen, daar hij, noch in Oostenrijk, noch in Duitschland, gelegenheid vond, de Chineesche taal grondig te leeren." Letter to Minister of Colonies Bergsma dated 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083.

[323] Date from *Album Studiosorum 1875-1925*, no. 3478.

[324] Alfred Hoffmann, "Dr. Erwin Ritter von Zach," letter to Alfred Hoffmann dated 1937.

[325] 1896–1897, inv. 1558, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Partial printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1896–1897). The following year, Schlegel reported that of his three students from the previous year, two had now obtained positions, and the third was fulfilling his military service. He had advised the third against continuing his Chinese studies, since each time he returned from his military camp, he had forgotten everything. In Schlegel's experience, Chinese studies could not be combined with "playing soldier" (1897-1898, inv. 1558, AC3).

[326] "Zwei Mandschu-Chinesische Kaiserliche Diplome." Übersetzt und herausgegeben von Gustav Schlegel und Erwin Ritter von Zach, *T'oung Pao* A 8 (1897), 261-308.

[327] From 1920 he and several other German sinologists worked for the Netherlands Indies Tax Office, but he quit already in 1924. He remained in Batavia, where he published his well-known translations of Chinese poetry, and barbed but interesting reviews of the work of others. These were published by Hartmut Walravens in *Erwin Ritter von Zach (1872–1942), Gesammelte Rezensionen: Geschichte*, 2 vols. (2005-6). When the Germans invaded the Netherlands in 1940, he was detained in the Indies, since after the annexation of Austria by Germany he had become a German citizen. Together with thousands of prisoners, he was sent to British India, but the ship was by mistake torpedoed and Von Zach died at sea in 1942 (Alfred Forke, "Erwin Ritter von Zach in memoriam," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 97 (1943), 1-15).

[328] Von Zach, "Notes and Queries," *The China Review* 23-4 (1898–1899), 229-31 (with similar criticism of Kühnert, his other teacher), 23-5, pp. 293-5.

[329] Schlegel's response is in a letter to the editors published in *The China Review* 23-6 (1898–1899), 361.

[330] Two pamphlets by von Zach: *Einige Worte zu Prof. Gustav Schlegel's "La loi du parallélisme en style Chinois,"* (Peking 1902) (7 p.); *Weitere Beiträge zur richtigen Wuerdigung Prof. Schlegel's* (Peking 1902) (13 p.). *Also* "Schlegeliana" in his thesis: *Lexicographische Beiträge* (Peking 1902), 76-81.

[331] Paul Pelliot denounced Von Zach's sarcasm, but conceded that some of Schlegel's translations were non-sensical (BEFEO 2 (1902) p. 409, quoted by Führer, *Vergessen*, 160). In 1929 Pelliot decided that Von Zach should be banned from the pages of *T'oung Pao* because of his rudeness (*T'oung Pao* 26 (1929), 378).

[332] Report by Schlegel dated 1 July 1902, letter by De Groot dated 8 July 1902. 1901–1902, inv. 1559, AC3, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Schlegel was stricken with blindness in his left eye in 1899 and now also in his right eye.

[333] "… een eigenaardige man." Marinus Willem de Visser (1875–1930) first studied classical languages and obtained his doctorate in Leiden. He studied Chinese with De Groot in 1902–4, and subsequently worked as Japanese (student-)interpreter at the Dutch Legation in Japan in 1904–9. In 1917 he was made Professor of Japanese in Leiden. Obituaries by J.J.L. Duyvendak: "Levensbericht van Marinus Willem de Visser," *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1931), 164-73, 165) and in *T'oung Pao* 27 (1930), 451-4.

Notes to Chapter Ten

[1] The name was formerly pronounced in Mandarin as Gŭlàngxù, and spelled Koolangsu. The last character 嶼 used to be pronounced *xù*, but is now pronounced *yŭ*, according to the phonetic. In Hokkien the name is Kó͘ lōng sū, spelled Kolongsu.

[2] In this booklet (38 p.) no author is mentioned, but a note at the end makes clear that

it was compiled by Giles. Herbert Allen Giles (1845–1932) worked with the British consular service in various posts in China in 1867–92. From 1896 to 1932 he was professor of Chinese in Cambridge. He is famous for his *A Chinese–English Dictionary* (1892, second edition 1912) and many other sinological works. He also compiled a simple *Handbook of the Swatow Dialect* (1877).

[3] Giles, *A Short History of Koolangsu*, 15, 18, 26, 32-8. Van der Spek called him 'second consul' (*Diary*, 8 March 1880).

[4] Great Northern Telegraph Company 大北電報公司, established in 1869 and operating from 1874 (Hong Buren, *Old Photos of Xiamen*, 84).

[5] Van der Spek, "Brieven uit China," no. VIII, written 11 October 1879, published 21 January 1880; and *Diary*, 3 March 1879.

[6] Dates from De Groot, *Notizen*, 8, 10.

[7] Carl Junius (August) Pasedag was born on 1 May 1828 in Grimmen, Pommern, Prussia (*Dienststaat*, dated 13 August 1878, end of inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93).

[8] Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, August 1917, in inv. 1329, toegang 2.05.38, Nationaal Archief. Previously there had only been Vice-Consuls. When Pasedag was absent, the German Consul C. Bismarck or Pasedag's clerk August Piehl would serve as acting Netherlands Consul.

[9] Inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.

[10] The students had also requested (19 February 1877) restitution of the transport fees for overweight luggage in the train from Paris to Marseille, but this was refused. Letter from Director of Justice Buijn in Batavia to Pasedag, dated 9 May 1877, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.

[11] In Mandarin Zhao Shaoxun. Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 February 1879. Borel wrote his name as 趙小勳 (*Zhao Xiaoxun*, Letter to Van Eeden no. XXVII, 22 June 1893, p. 1, fiche 864, Amsterdam University Library).

[12] Borel, "De eerstgeborene," 32.

[13] Borel spelled his name Tio Siao Hoen in "De eerstgeborene," in *Van leven en dood* (p. 30).

[14] In his manuscript *Tuibeitu chen* 推背圖讖, Schlegel, *Catalogue* (1866) no. 137b, now SINOL. VGK 1741.17.

[15] In J. Hoffmann and H. Schultes, *Inlandsche namen eener reeks van Japansche en Chinesche planten*, KITLV.

[16] Schlegel, *Supplément au Catalogue des livres chinois qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque de l'université de Leide*.

[17] This small manuscript catalogue (10 cm) was simply named *Shumu* 書目 (Bibliography), "personally compiled by Hoetink" (Futing shouding 富亭手訂), [1877], SINOL. VGK 9598.8.

[18] These were in part donated in 1907, and some have a sticker "Schenking (Donation) B. Hoetink 1907." Many of these books must have been bought during Hoetink's later visits to China. His Western language books were donated to the Athenaeum Library in his birthplace Deventer. Some other books and manuscripts were donated to the KITLV.

[19] These names appear in Van der Spek's *Diary*: for references *see* section on Van der Spek below.

[20] Ludwig Anders Andersen was officially a German from Apenrade in Northern Sleswick (letter from Pasedag 15 January 1877, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93), which had been ceded by Denmark to Germany after the war of 1864. But by birth he was Danish. This region would be returned to Denmark after a plebiscite in 1920.

[21] "Kanselier bij het Consulaat der Nederlanden te Amoy en Griffier bij den Consulairen Rechter." All correspondence and the letter from Pasedag to Ferguson dated 10 April 1877 are in inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93. The Consular Jurisdiction was organised according to the law of 25 July 1871 (*Staatsblad* 91). Its jurisdiction was in Amoy, Foochow (Fuzhou), Swatow and the open harbours on Formosa.

[22] Ferguson's decision of 15 December 1877; the receipt of this decision was confirmed by signature by the other two members, but not by De Groot (inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93).

[23] Ferguson's decision of 19 March 1878 appointing Pasedag's 'mercantile assistants' August Piehl (23) as third assessor and Wilhelm Haalcke (22) as clerk and bailiff. Ferguson added: "J.J.M. de Groot's resignation is accepted and I have already, at his request, sent him a Resolution by which he is relieved of his function." (inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93).

[24] Probably Hoetink's Chinese friend told him: "Hoetink spoke Chinese very well, De Groot spoke it badly but he studied a lot, and Stuart was the Don Juan." (*Hoet.[Hoetink] sprak zeer goed Chineesch, de Gr. [de Groot] slecht maar studeerde veel en Stu [Stuart] was de Don Juan.*) Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 March 1879.

[25] "Dit jaar wordt hoofdzakelijk doorgebracht met het bijeenverzamelen van gegevens omtrent de geregeld terugkomende jaarfeesten der Emoy-Chineezen, welker viering ik, zooveel doenlijk, trouw in de stad ga bijwonen en gadeslaan." De Groot, *Notizen*, 8.

[26] In any case, he was one of De Groot's informants during his second stay in Amoy in 1886–9. Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, No. XXXIV, 16 May 1893, p. 20, fiche 864.

[27] De Groot, *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezen* (1881–1883), Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap, 42 (1882). Revised French translation: *Les Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui (Amoy): étude concernant la religion populaire des chinois* (1886).

[28] "Doorreis ook het stroomgebied van de Pak-khe, en dat van de Min vanaf hare zuidwestelijkste bronnen tot aan de hoofdstad Fuhchow, waar ik voor het eerst het Koe-sjan klooster bezoek, hetwelk mij gedurende mijn tweede verblijf in China zooveel dienst zou verleenen bij het bestudeeren van het Boeddhistische kloosterwezen. Verder doortrok ik het gebied van de zuidelijke nevenrivier der Min, alsmede dat van de Tsin-kiang, met het departement Tsuen-tsjoe." De Groot, *Notizen*, 8. The "Southern parallel river" of the Min and the Pak-khe (Beixi) could not be exactly identified.

[29] He used the plural first person form 'we,' but this could at the time also designate the singular form 'I.'

[30] "Op onze reizen door de provincie Fohkjen namen wij elken avond als het ons goeddacht zonder plichtplegingen den dorpstempel in beslag om er ons nachtverblijf te vestigen; want herbergen zijn niet overal aanwezig, en waar zij zijn doet men best ze te vermijden zooveel men kan, uithoofde van het vuil en het ongedierte. Wij spreidden onze matten op de offertafel uit, rolden ons in onze deken en sliepen als op een praalbed vlak onder het oog der goden en godinnen. Het toegestroomde volk sloeg natuurlijk al onze bewegingen met de grootste nieuwgierigheid en aandacht gade, maar niemand dacht er ooit aan ons ons nachtverblijf te betwisten, of ons de schending van het altaar kwalijk te nemen; integendeel: wij ondervonden in elk dorp eene hooge mate van voorkomendheid en hulpbetoon, al werden wij door de meerderheid stellig voor niets beters aangezien dan voor doelloze landloopers. Een honderd cash (± 25 cents), elken morgen vóór ons vertrek neergelegd in den aschpot: zoo het heette als geld voor wierook en offerkaarsen, doch in werkelijkheid als fooi voor den tempelbewaarder, dienden om een goeden indruk achter te laten en een dergelijke goede ontvangst te bereiden voor mogelijke opvolgers. Een Chinees die in Europa het platte land bereist, en het eens beproeven mocht zijn vermoeide leden uit te strekken op het altaar van de dorpskerk, zou een geheel andere behandeling ondervinden!" De Groot, *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken*, 43.

[31] "Mijn dagboek omtrent dat gansche jaar van zware inspanning, arbeid en levensgevaar heb ik vernietigd, nadat ik er alles wat ik wetenschappelijk zou kunnen benuttigen had uitgenomen. Wat toch hebben wereld en wetenschap aan al die bijzonderheden die, wel beschouwd, mij alleen maar raken? Reisbeschrijvingen te lezen heb ik altijd een vervelend werk gevonden, en het zou dus onbehoorlijk van mij wezen er te schrijven, en dus andern te slikken te geven wat ik zelf niet lust [added between the lines:] voor te zetten wat mijzelf niet smaakt. Die dingen dienen dan ook in den regel eenig en alleen om de schrijvers zelf, en hunne avonturen, interessant te maken. Gelukkig heb ik dan ook steeds weerstand weten te bieden aan de aanzoeken van tal van uitgevers en dagbladredacties, om voor hunne drukkerijen reisverhalen te leveren." De Groot, *Notizen*, 8.

[32] "Wat heeft Schlegel ons weer een slechten dienst bewezen door de Regeering te doen bepalen, dat wij slechts één jaar in China mogen blijven! Niet eens ons den tijd gegund om dáár weer goed te maken wat de door-en-door slechte opleiding te Leiden bedorven heeft! … in China, waar de gelegenheid om kundigheden op te doen, zoo onvergelijkelijk schooner en gunstiger was, werd ons slechts een minimum aan tijd met mondjesmaat toegemeten." De Groot, *Notizen*, 8.

[33] Groeneveldt as Vice-President of the Council of the Indies, in advice no. XXIII, 7 July 1893, in V 12/9/1893 no. 40, inv. 4739.

[34] "Hoetink sprak zeer goed Chineesch." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 March 1879.
[35] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 3 March 1879.
[36] All these names are known from Van der Spek's *Diary*; for references *see* section on Van der Spek below.
[37] V 20/11/1876 no. 18/2623 inv. 2923.
[38] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 April and 18 September 1879.
[39] Pasedag received Hoetink's letter on 18 November and wrote to Buijn in Batavia on 19 November. Inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.
[40] The students of the second group would write a similar collective letter from Zhangzhou (*see* below).
[41] "Stuart was de Don Juan." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 March 1879.
[42] De Groot, *Notizen*, 10. The students probably travelled together.
[43] *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 18 March 1878. Hoetink perhaps took partly a different route since he paid a lower price for the passage to Java. De Groot and Stuart both received an advance payment of $427 for travel to Batavia, while Hoetink received $394. Letter from Pasedag to Director of Justice Buijn in Batavia, 20 February 1878, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.
[44] Groeneveldt computed the number of interpreters needed quite differently from Schlegel! In 1875 Schlegel considered that there were ten prescribed positions (*nota* 15 March 1875). In 1891 as many as fourteen interpreters were needed, according to him (2 November 1891, in V 19/11/1891 no. 12/2212 inv. 4520).
[45] Report of Groeneveldt in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. *See* Chapter Eight, Schlegel's Students in Leiden (1873–1878), section "A Sudden Anti-climax: a Moratorium in the Training Course."
[46] IB 13/4/1878 no. 7, inv. 7699.
[47] "Hoetink schrijft dat er verandering bij het tolkencorps op til is en wij dus misschien geen tolk zullen worden." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 18 May 1879. Van der Spek received Hoetink's letter on that day.
[48] Now in Or. 26.922.
[49] Fourteen "Brieven uit China" (numbered I-X and XIII-XVI), dated from 17 August 1879 to 20 February 1880, were published in *Het Nieuws van den dag: kleine courant* (Amsterdam) from 11 October 1879 to 5 August 1880. Moll or De Jongh also published letters, one of which was quoted in *De Locomotief* of 30 December 1879. This letter had earlier been published in the weekly *Het Nieuws*, probably *Het Nieuws: week- en advertentieblad voor stad en land* from Utrecht. Since only one or two issues of this weekly from this period could be located in Dutch libraries, this could not be verified. Some information about Van der Spek's studies can also be found in his many articles published in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* in 1881–3.
[50] Request of 17 March 1879. Expenses for overweight luggage in France were again not restituted. Letter from Director of Justice Buijn to Pasedag dated 9 May 1879, inv. 3, toegang 2.05.95.
[51] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 3 and 6 March 1879.
[52] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 8 April 1879. The house can be seen on illustration 16.
[53] They immediately engaged Hoetink's 'sampanman' Ts'un-tsuí and their (house) 'coolie' Íng-ŏng *Yongwang* 永旺. They could not hire Hoetink's 'boy' P'iao, since he had become a servant of Pasedag, who did not wish to let him go (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 February, 1 March, 3 March 1879). The other names are from the back of the photograph.
[54] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 18 April, 30 April, 4 May, 1 December 1879. De Jongh "chartered" his maid for $20, which was a rather high salary. Van der Spek wrote on 4 May: "In the evening my girlie comes," but the status of this girl is unclear.
[55] Van der Spek, "Letters from China" no. V, written 13 September 1879, published 11 December 1879.
[56] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 31 March 1879. "Letters from China" no. IV, written 7 September 1879, published 3 December 1879. They also took along cushions and blankets.
[57] Van der Spek, "Letters from China" no. VII, on food, written 28 September 1879, published 16 January 1880.
[58] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 8 March 1879.

[59] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 17 March, 18 November 1879. John Van Nest Talmage (1819–92) worked as a missionary for the Dutch Reformed Church of America in Amoy in 1847–89. Together with E. Doty he developed the so-called Church Romanisation for the Amoy dialect. He published a manual for the Amoy dialect in 1852, Amoy dictionaries and translations of parts of the Bible. Surprisingly, to my knowledge he and his works were never mentioned by Schlegel or other Dutch sinologists.

[60] Tiō-lák-siā 趙六舍 would be in Mandarin *Zhao Liuye* 趙六爺 (Sixth Master Zhao). Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 February 1879.

[61] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 2 October 1879.

[62] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 16 March 1879. Fan cannot be the transcription of a name in Hokkien; it should probably be Hoan; perhaps Fan had lived in Guangdong before and adopted this spelling. These three teachers appear on the group photograph.

[63] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 17 November 1879.

[64] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 5 March. Van der Spek's copy is in KNAG 191. Next to Van der Spek's Chinese name, it has the text: 光緒乙卯花月上浣日訂 (bound in the first ten days of the flower [second] month of the year Guangxu *yimao* [1879], that is, between 21 February and 2 March 1879) and the seal 坐花醉月 ('sitting before the flowers, drunken with the moon,' after a poem by Li Bai).

[65] Nanjing is to the west of Zhangzhou. Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9 December 1879.

[66] The red ink was perhaps seal ink. Van der Spek, *Diary*, 15 March.

[67] "Vindt men zoo iets veel bij Hollanders?" Van der Spek, *Diary*, 11 March.

[68] Translation by Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 53 (Mandarin *Bo* has been changed to Hokkien *Péh*). Legge's translation is: "My noble husband is how martial like! / The hero of the country!" (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, "The She King," 105). The title of this song is "Bo xi," which is the first name of Van der Spek (Xue Bo).

[69] "Mijn naam is 薛伯, en mijn 字 is 邦傑 want 詩經云伯兮絜兮邦之傑也. / Moll's naam is 武珀, en zijn 字 is … / De Jongh's naam is 楊亞理 zijn 字 is …" (free translation after Van der Spek, *Diary*, note before 28 February 1879. These names should be pronounced in Hokkien. In Mandarin their names would be pronounced *Xue Bo*, *Wu Po,* and *Yang Yali*. Van der Spek did not mention the other students' styles; perhaps they did not have them. Perhaps Moll had the formerly common Dutch nickname 'Pik.'

[70] "Tenth Miss Du," full title: "Du Shiniang nu chen baibaoxiang" 杜十娘怒沉百寶箱 from *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀.

[71] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 11 March 1879. "The Oil Vender," full title: "Maiyou lang du zhan huakui," 賣油郎獨佔花魁. Translated and published with Chinese text by Schlegel as *Le vendeur-d'huile* in 1877.

[72] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 15 March 1879. Full title: "Nü xiucai yihua jiemu," 女秀才移花接木, "The female graduate plays a deceitful trick."

[73] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 March 1879.

[74] Literally *Precious Mirror for Clearing the Heart*. This is an elementary moral textbook combining Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, written by Fan Liben 範立本 about the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644).

[75] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 19 April 1879. Full title: *Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義. He had a copy of this book (KNAG 187).

[76] "Het is al vrij warm en ik heb niet bijster veel lust tot studie." (20 May). "Verder is elken dag evenals den vorigen. Weinig werken, maar me toch niet vervelen." (19 June).

[77] "Tiō beweert dat de Europeesche vrouwen k'ah kuì ([*jiao gui* 較]貴) zijn dan de mannen (want de mannen zijn altijd zoo uiterst hoffelijk en onderdanig)." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 27 March 1879.

[78] "Ong vertelt me dat de zendelingen de oogen der gestorven bekeerlingen uitsteken en sturen naar den iâ-so͘-ông [*Yesu wang* 耶穌王, 'King Jezus'] om een pluimpje te halen. Bovendien kan hij zich niet begrijpen dat wij proselieten trachten te maken terwijl het hen niets schelen kan; de Chineezen zijn uiterst boos op hen die tot den iâ-so͘-kaò [*Yesujiao* 耶穌教, 'Jesus' teachings, (Protestant) Christianity'] overloopen." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 April 1879.

[79] "De meesters zijn zoo schrikkelijk dom, dat Fan-sing meent dat Holland ver van China maar dicht bij Japan ligt enz." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 16 March 1879.

[80] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9 April 1879. An extensive description is in his letter from China no. III, written 31 August 1879, published 15 November 1879. A shorter description by Moll or De Jongh was reprinted in *De Locomotief* of 30 December 1879.

[81] "Ik feliciteer u. Uwe eerbiedwaardige echtgenoote is mooi en verstandig. De meester is boven de wolken dat zijn leerling toont reeds voor een goed deel verchineescht te zijn, en antwoordt: Khi kaam, mijn dom binnenvertrek (d.i. vrouw) is lelijk en dom; bovendien zijn hare gebonden voetjes zeer groot. Wij: Gij zijt te nederig, hare gouden leliën (poëtische naam voor kleine voetjes) zijn klein, slechts 2 duim lang. Dit zeggende, nemen we nogmaals die lichaamsdeelen in oogenschouw, wat in China niet kwalijk genomen wordt. Deze interessante en beleefde woordenwisseling duurt een kwartiertje en loopt over de groote zaal (kleine kamer), het prachtige (onooglijke) bed enz. Ik zal die woorden niet herhalen, uit vrees dat ze door den 'roodharigen barbaar' niet genoeg gewaardeerd zullen worden." Letter no. III, written 31 August 1879, published 15 November 1879. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch, and later the British, had been called 'Red-Haired Barbarians.'

[82] "Naar Ong-king tong, tsiáh p'ó̱ tō̱ [食普度]. Eerst thuis gegeten; Moll eet er nog eens gewoon op los. phó̱ tō̱ kong put tsí toā sien [普度公不止大仙], erg kout en komedie waarbij ook vele vrouwen zitten te kijken." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 5 September 1879.

[83] De Groot, *Jaarlijksche feesten*, described this festival (pp. 333-45). Borel described it in "De Chineesche Hel" (end of part I), in *Kwan Yin* (1897). However, it is not known what Van der Spek wrote in his letters to his family and others.

[84] Listed in Kuiper, *The KNAG Collection* (also in Chinese Special Collections, East Asian Library blog, Leiden).

[85] These books can be easily recognised by their Western hard-cover binding and the donation sticker inside. On some books his Chinese name is written. Now 26 of his books have been identified.

[86] Letter no. VIII, written 11 October 1879, published 21 January 1880.

[87] Van der Spek, "Letters from China," No. IX, written 19 October 1879, published 24 January 1880.

[88] "Dit was de eerste maal dat we in de stad gingen. Iemand, die nooit eene Chineesche plaats gezien heeft, kan er zich ternauwernood eene flauwe voorstelling van vormen. En het stadje Amoy is, volgens veler getuigenissen, plus Chinois que Chinois; d.w.z. dat het in nauwheid, morsigheid en onbeschrijflijke geuren bovenaan staat in de lijst der vuile en benauwde steden van waarschijnlijk het onzindelijkste volk der aarde. In de breedste straten kunnen hoogstens vier à vijf personen naast elkander staan, in de vooronderstelling, dat zij niet te breede schouders hebben. En ontmoet men elkander in een steegje, waarvan Amoy ruim voorzien is, dan moeten beiden zich met den rug tegen den muur drukken en zoo voorbij elkander schuiven. Voegt men hierbij, dat honden en varkens in menigte op straat loopen, zoodat men somtijds genoodzaakt is, zich met behulp van een stok een doortocht te banen; dat de reukzenuwen op eene allerzwaarste proef worden gesteld; dat men elk oogenblik gevaar loopt in botsing te komen met nooit gewasschen en walgelijk riekende koelies; dat hier en daar bedelaarsgezichten, akelig misvormd door melaatsheid en andere ziekten, u aangrijnzen; en wat al niet meer! dan is het licht te begrijpen, dat men zich driemaal bedenkt, alvorens eene tweede maal in Amoy te gaan wandelen." Van der Spek, Letter no. II, written on 23 August 1879, published on 31 October 1879. A similar description is in his "Bedelaars in huis," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 8 January 1883.

[89] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 12 March 1879. Description of this opera in "Letters from China," No. II, written 23 August, published 31 October 1879.

[90] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 24 March 1879. It must have been issued by the Consul. Later the Consulate in Swatow had a large printing block for such passports (printed copies, one dated 1902, in inv. 20, toegang 2.05.27.01).

[91] Van der Spek, Letter no. VI (written 21 September 1879, published 1 January 1880) and *Diary*, 2 April 1879.

[92] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 25 June – 12 July 1879, "Letters from China" Nos. XIII-XVI, written in Zhangzhou, published 29 March, 5 April, 17 May, 5 August 1880. "Een uitstapje in Formosa," Feuilleton, *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 May 1882.

[93] "Voor de grap spraken we Hollandsch en stoorden er ons niet aan dat de Chineezen

antwoordden: thia˜ boē hiaó tit [聽未曉得] (ik versta u niet, woordelijk 'luisteren, niet verstaan verkrijgen')." This sentence is from Van der Spek's *Diary* of 2 July 1879.

[94] "Onderweg rustten we een paar keeren uit. Wij gingen een Chineesch huis binnen en namen den schijn aan, alsof we geen woord Chineesch spreken of verstaan konden, waarover de lui zich natuurlijk niet verwonderden. Wij werden op thee onthaald en hielden met den gastheer een soort gesprek in gebaren-taal. Zooals in alle Chineesche huizen hingen ook hier aan den wand eenige rollen papier, beschreven met spreuken; evenals bij ons bijbelteksten aan de spoorwegstations. Eensklaps vangen we aan die spreuken hardop te lezen, en nu hadt ge de verbazing der omstaande Chineezen moeten zien! Als ik zeg dat ze ons stonden aan te gapen, zeg ik niets; want de lippen van een Chineesch zijn steeds op een eerbiedigen afstand van elkander, behalve wanneer hij een woord uitspreekt, waarin eene *m*, *b* of *p* voorkomt. (Andere lipletters bestaan niet in de Amoy-taal). Om kort te gaan, zij stootten een langgerekt hee! uit en hun gelaat verkreeg eene uitdrukking alsof zij hunne eigen ooren wantrouwden." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. XIV, written 10 January 1880, published 5 April 1880.

[95] *Haifang tongzhi* 海防同知 is the Coastal Defence Sub-Prefect, a sort of Chief of Police.

[96] "De heeren agenten werden boos en vroegen of wij ons niet schaamden. Beschaamd is een groot woord bij de Chineezen. Wij antwoordden: Beschaamd? Zijn jelui niet beschaamd, dat je om een cumshaw durft vragen? Wij zijn niet als de Chineezen, die zich laten plukken en villen door dienders; maar wij zijn goede onderdanen van het groote Hollandsche Rijk en volgen de wetten en gebruiken van ons land. Als jelui het nog eens waagt iets te vragen, dan zal ik het overbrengen aan mijn ouderen broeder, den hai fung, die je wel wat rottingolie zal laten toedienen. Zij dropen af, en de kapitein kwam weer terug." Van der Spek, "Letters from China," No. VIII, written 11 October 1879, published 21 January 1880. *Also* Van der Spek, *Diary,* 19 September 1879.

[97] For instance T'ien-k'it is most often spelled Thien-khit.

[98] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Linguistic Problems."

[99] "Letters from China" No. V, dated 13 September, published 11 December 1879.

[100] "Ik durf er mijn geringen kennis van het Chineesch (het is niet veel, maar behalve dat heb ik bitter weinig) op te verwedden …" "Letters from China" No. III, dated 31 August, published 15 November 1879.

[101] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 3 December 1879.

[102] Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. XVI, written 20 February, published 5 August 1880. The only conversations he seemed to have enjoyed were with a certain Bé̤ hia˜ 馬兄 (*Ma xiong*, 'elder brother Ma'), a Muslim in Zhangzhou (*Diary*, 4, 5 and 11 December 1879).

[103] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9 July 1879. "Letters from China" No. III, dated 31 August 1879, published 15 November 1879.

[104] "Inderdaad, men moet medelijden hebben met die slechtgevoede Chineezen, die een biefstuk etenden Europeaan voort moeten torsen, dikwijls terwijl de zon op hun ¾ naakte lichamen brandt. Indien zulke lieden tot communistische ideën overhelden, zou het licht te verklaren zijn. Het is waar, zij worden niet gedwongen hunnen evenmensch tot lastdier te dienen—dan door den honger; zij doen genoeg hun best om een «vrachtje» van menschenvleesch te krijgen en een paar onnoozele centen te verdienen: maar ik vind het geen arbeid voor een mensch. In het binnenland evenwel moet men er gebruik van maken, als men iets zien wil, en niet eenige zonnesteken, wil oploopen. Dat ook in de havensteden de gemakzieke vreemdelingen, zelfs voor belachelijk kleine afstanden, zich in een 'sedan' laten vervoeren is bespottelijk, neen ergerlijk." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. VI, written 21 September 1879, published 1 January 1880. He added that the days of the sedan chair were ending since they were being replaced by the Japanese rickshas.

[105] "Na weer een uur bereikten we, een dorp, en wij stapten uit om den dragers eenige rust te geven. Wij zagen ons dra omringd door een aantal landlieden. 't Was een lust hunne kinderlijke opgeruimdheid en nieuwsgierigheid waar te nemen. Onze sigaren, lorgnons, veldflesschen, alles maakte hunne verwondering gaande en verschillende vragen werden ons gedaan. … Veel ondervinding heb ik er niet van, maar ik heb meer op met de vlijtige, vroolijke, natuurlijke Chineesche landlieden, dan met de gekunstelde, eigenwijze, pedante

geleerden onder dit volk." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. VI, written 21 September 1879, published 1 January 1880.

[106] "Wat hebben zij van ons gehoord en gezien? Zij hebben weinig meer van ons gehoord dan kanonnen en geestelijken, die bijna even hard bulderen; en niet veel meer gezien dan hooghartige Engelsche kooplui, die het grooter zonde achten 's Zaterdagsavonds na twaalven gezellig een glaasje te drinken, dan John Chinaman als een hond te behandelen." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. I, written 17 August 1879, published 11 October 1879.

[107] "Op iemand, die vriendelijk is jegens John Chinaman, en zijne taal spreekt, is John echter niet zo erg gebeten. … Mijne twee Hollandsche vrienden en ik die hier zijn om onze studiën in het Amoy-Chineesch te voltooien en geen enkele reden zien om iemand met scheeve oogen en eenen staart als een beest te trappen, hebben meer dan eens, zooal geene vriendschap, dan toch welwillenheid en gastvrijheid van hen ontvangen." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. I, written 17 August 1879, published 11 October 1879.

[108] "Met zulke diep ingewortelde vooroordeelen wordt door vreemdelingen veel te weinig rekening gehouden." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. IV, written 31 August 1879, published 3 December 1879. *See also* his "Foeng-shoei," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 2 and 3 May 1882.

[109] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 2 September 1879.

[110] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 2-3, 29-31 October, 1, 13 and 17 November.

[111] Letter by the three 'Chinese Student Interpreters to H[is] N[etherlands] M[ajesty]'s Colonial Government' to Pasedag, dated Amoy 24 November 1879, in inv. 3, toegang 2.05.93.

[112] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 2 and 4 December 1879.

[113] Sir Patrick Manson (1844–1922) was styled "the father of tropical medicine."

[114] Five calling cards are still extant: Wei Feng 魏峰, Zheng Duiyang 鄭對揚, Li Zhuozhen 李卓真, Bashisi 八十四 (a Manchu official in Zhangzhou), Santai hao 三泰號 (a commercial company in Zhangzhou). Now kept in Van der Spek's *Diary*, Or. 26.922.

[115] "'s Morgens wandeling en gaan ook bij Tshien-lai[.] loopen van ½ 7 tot 9 in en buiten de stad. Changchow ligt in een kring van bergen, dichter of verder; dichtst bij heuvels zware kleigrond. Uit mijn raam zie ik vrij hooge bergen. Huis 10,5 meter lang, 5 meter breed met verandah 5,80 meter. / 's Middags komen een stuk of 8 gasten, enkele vrienden van Hoet. anderen van de meesters, meest toā k'angs [大空]. Eén ervan is Mohammedaan[,] een vrij interessante kerel. Na veel praten, waarbij we de meeste lui goed kunnen verstaan, gaan we wandelen met die snuiters. o.a. naar een tuin; klein maar mooi. Boomen, bloemen, twee trappen naar een kunstmatige rots, bruggetje etc. Een ngó im tsióh." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 4 December 1879. A *Wuyinshi* [五音石] is a rectangular stone which gives five different sounds when struck on the four corners and the centre.

[116] "Morgenwandeling. 's Morgens 2 bú-koa˝'s [武官] komen ons opzoeken. Sigaar presenteeren en na een tien trekjes wil hij hem zijn buurman laten rooken. Ze krijgen wat slechte roode wijn, waarvan ze een klein hapje nemen en wij volvoeren een plan om alle ge ɛ˝m tíh'de [唔挃] wijn in een flesch te bewaren en voortaan weer te presenteeren." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 10 December 1879. Dutch etiquette requires the emptying of one's glass, while Chinese etiquette requires the opposite.

[117] Some Manchus had names consisting of numbers only, such as Bashisi, literally 'eighty-four.' He was at some time *Haifang tongzhi* 海防同知 (Coastal Defence Sub-Prefect, a sort of Chief of Police) of Amoy. He is still remembered in Amoy for having planted trees along a road (Ba Gong shu 八公樹) (Hong Buren, *Old Photos of Xiamen*, 31).

[118] "'s Middags visite bij pat síp sù [*Bashisi* 八十四], in vier chairs met de boy. Hij staat bij de deur en wij groeten, gaan zitten en groeten, terwijl de boy zijn lichaam naar rechts en links laat zwenken, krijgen thee. 100 klabakken etc. om ons heen. boy tolk koa˝-oā [官話]–Engelsch. Oprijzen buiging, bij de deur dito, op het punt om in de chair te stappen dito. Visite bij Schlegel's meester." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 10 December 1879.

[119] Letter to Pasedag of 3 December 1879, inv. 3, toegang 2.05.93. Pasedag forwarded the letter to Buijn the next day. This letter is similar to Hoetink's letter from Zhangzhou.

[120] "Niets bijzonders, wandelen, in een p'aí˝ kiá˝ king [否囝間], waar ik de piaó [婊] op mijn k'a t'aô u [骰頭趺] neem en door haar ts'iú uí˝ [手捥] de lí ling [女奶] en tsi mô˝ [之毛] betast. Moll rookt opium." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 15 December 1879.

[121] "Nu begin ik sommige Chineesche mopjes vrij aardig te vinden; in 't begin vond ik ze onuitstaanbaar." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 17 December 1879.

[122] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 19 and 21 December 1879. Zealous missionaries would sometimes demolish 'idols' in temples, leading to uproar.

[123] "Ik heb verschrikkelijk het land aan alle Chineesch and Chineezen." (9 December) Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9, 23 and 25 December 1879.

[124] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 18 February 1880. They were visited by four friends.

[125] Later he wrote an article about Chinese New Year, but without explicit reference to his experiences in China, "Chineesch Nieuwjaar," 20 February 1882, *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*.

[126] "Wij leven nu bijna drie maanden in Chang-chow-foo, geheel en al afgezonderd van andere Europeanen. Een goed middel om den Chineeschen volksaard te leeren kennen, dat stem ik toe, maar verder.... "o, eenzaamheid, waar zijn de bekoorlijkheden, die wijzen in uw gelaat bespeurd hebben?" Men stoort zich weinig meer aan het bulderen en tieren van dien *mare magnum*, de wereld daar buiten; men wordt onverschillig omtrent *the bright tumuli* van het beschaafde leven, men verkeert in een toestand van eenzame opsluiting, men vegeteert, men is levend dood. Langzaam kruipen de dagen voort. Wanneer de mail aankomt, valt men op zijne brieven aan en leest ze nog eens en nog eens, twee, drie dagen lang, en daarna eet men, drinkt men, slaapt men, wandelt men langs denzelfden bekenden weg, ziet men dezelfde bekende, vervelende dingen en wordt men stom als een standbeeld, bij gebrek aan stof om over te praten." Letter XVI, written 20 February, published 5 August 1880.

[127] There were hardly any festivities. Van der Spek, "Het Chineesche lantaarnfeest," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 4 March 1882.

[128] "Adieu canaux, canards, canaille [literally: Goodbye canals, ducks, canaille; later added:] of liever au diable [literally: to the devil]. De grachten (weinig en smal stinken als de hel); eenden eet geen vreemdeling vanwege de [blank space] der Chineezen; canaille no question about that." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 25 February 1880.

[129] On 15 February 1880 they had requested Pasedag to pay for them the passage to the Indies of themselves and their teachers, inv. 3, toegang 2.05.93. That of the teacher had been granted in IB 7/1/1880 no. 16 (inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93). Van der Spek's contract with his teacher was finished on 28 February (*Diary*).

[130] "Wij komen in het Javahotel verzeild bij moeder en bemerken gauw dat het een minder fijne boel is, allen officieren, die in het bijzijn van dames zelfs niet nalaten te vloeken etc." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 27 March 1880. The Grand Hotel Java (1834–1940s) was one of the three large hotels in the centre of Batavia. The officers had probably fought in the Atjeh war.

[131] On 29 March, 14, 15, 28, 30 April and 1 May 1880 he met Groeneveldt, on 30 March and 16 April Albrecht, on 30 March and 21 April Von Faber, on 6, 7 and 21 April Roelofs, and on 25 and 28 April and 5 May De Groot (Van der Spek, *Diary*).

[132] "Weet je wat Schlegel had moeten worden, Kwakzalver[,] dan was hij wereldberoemd geworden." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 30 March 1880. De Jongh heard it on a private visit to Groeneveldt, but it is without context.

[133] "Groeneveldt's opinie over Schlegel's vertalingen zoo zoo. … Geeft me half den raad, bij gelegenheid den tolkendienst vaarwel te zeggen." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 29 March 1880.

[134] "De J. bij Pannenkoek, den algemeenen secretaris, die hem aanraadt niet dadelijk het tolkschap vaarwel te zeggen maar te wachten en uit te kijken." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 13 April 1880. J.H. Pannekoek was Government Secretary from 9 August 1879. He became a member of the Council of the Indies on 4 March 1884.

[135] IB 26/4/1880 no. 24, inv. 7748. The statutory (*organiek*) positions were all occupied.

[136] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9-14 May 1880.

[137] Letter in English by Feindel to Ferguson, Amoy 13 June 1892, and from the Consul General in Singapore to Ferguson, 6 July 1892, inv. 1328, toegang 2.05.38. German career Consuls would be acting from 1892 until 9 June 1897, when the German merchant August Piehl again became Consul. Piehl had earlier been Consul of the Netherlands from 26 November 1884 to 29 July 1890. Letter from Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 8 August 1917, in inv. 1329, toegang 2.05.38.

[138] Letter in English dated 11 October 1892, I.S. [Ingekomen Stukken (incoming letters)] 293, in inv. 5, toegang 2.05.93.

[139] Letter from Feindel to the Governor-General dated 10 October 1892, U.S. [Uitgaande Stukken (outgoing letters)] 256, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[140] "zoodat we met onze 125 dollars in de maand nu voor 125 × *f* 1,25 d.i. voor ongeveer *f* 150 in de maand gewoon opgelicht zijn. Het gouvernement is n.l. toch *blijven* betalen in zilver en niet in goud, zoodat we maar de helft hebben van onze voorgangers, daar … alle prijzen gestegen zijn. U begrijpt dat ik met mijn 125 dollars per maand die hier *f* 1,25 waard zijn hoogst bekrompen moet leven en alleen het noodige kan koopen. Het was een heel erge teleurstelling voor ons. We hadden zoo op de beloofde *f* 4.000 's jaars gerekend en het was ons stéllig verzekerd. … Wij zijn echter van plan, ons erdoor heen te werken, en ik denk in kranten te gaan schrijven over China, om wat bij te verdienen want anders *kan* ik niet toekomen. Het is nog maar één jaar, dan heb ik in Indië ruim tractement en evenveel particuliere verdienste." Borel's debt to Van Eeden was *f* 95. Letter to Van Eeden, 15 October 1892, no. XXII, pp. 8-9, fiche 861-862, Special Collections, Amsterdam University Library.

[141] Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-Kak-Sie" te Cheribon* (1920), 20-1.

[142] Draft of $100 and of $184 ($125 for January + 4×$15, minus $1 seal fee for the receipt of the decision of 24/12/1892 no. 39), in U.S. nos. 13 and 30, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[143] Letter from Schlegel to Minister dated 25 January 1893, and letter from Minister to Governor-General in V 28/1/1893 no. 34 inv. 4667.

[144] "… de daling dier munt zou dan niet langer voor hen een gevoelig verlies en voor het Gouvernement een gering voordeel wezen." Letter from Groeneveldt to Governor-General, 29 January 1893, V 30/5/1893 no. 8 inv. 4705.

[145] In 1856 the official value of the Spanish dollar (*Spaansche mat*) in the Indies was determined as *f* 2.50 and that of the Mexican dollar as *f* 2.55 (*Staatsblad van N.I.* 1856 no. 39). The Spanish dollar was no longer mentioned in Netherlands Indies ordinances as from 1873. The (Mexican) dollar was worth *f* 2.50 in 1873; in 1876 it was already devaluated to *f* 2.15 (*Staatsblad van N.I.* no. 184), but in 1877 it was *f* 2.33 on Sumatra (*Staatsblad van N.I.* no. 130). It would have a fluctuating value afterwards (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* [1905], Spaansche mat). The first and second groups may therefore also have received a smaller allowance than intended.

[146] On the same day he notified Minister of Colonies Van Dedem that on 24 December 1892 (no. 39) he had already decided to restitute the passage fees and pay the teachers' monthly salary of $15 and also about the new decision. V 30/5/1893 no. 8 inv. 4705.

[147] I.S. nos. 39, 60 and 72, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93.

[148] Letter from Borel to Van Eeden dated 15 May 1893, no. XXVI, p. 1, fiche 863.

[149] Letter of protest dated 2 June, draft letter on I.S. no. 89, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93.

[150] I.S. no. 135, letter from Director of Justice A. Stibbe dated 11 August 1893, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93. This better form of remission was not clear (to me) from the correspondence.

[151] Dr. Franz Grunenwald had been sent from Peking to replace Feindel during his sick leave from 28 March 1893 to 1 January 1894 (U.S. no. 1, 2 January 1894, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93).

[152] Letter from Grunenwald to the Director of Justice, in I.S. 135 inv. 9 toegang 2.05.93, answering a letter from the Director of Justice dated 11 August 1893.

[153] V 12/4/1894 no. 34 inv. 4807.

[154] "Het bevalt mij hier zoo goed, dat ik denkelijk langer denk te blijven dan het bepaalde ééne jaar, en ik eerst in Januari of Februari 1894 (in plaats van October) naar Indië denk te gaan. Op aanvrage wordt verlenging altijd toegestaan." Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, 26 February 1893, no. XXIV, p. 10. Borel also mentioned that he had received an answer from Groeneveldt two days earlier (p. 4).

[155] Letter from Borel to Van Eeden dated 15 May 1893, no. XXVI, p. 1, fiche 863.

[156] Letter of Ezerman and Van Wettum to the Governor-General dated 22 May 1893, and Advice of the Director of Justice, dated 17 June 1893, no. 4450, in Mailrapport no. 728 (1893), fiche no. 2210, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[157] "dat hij niet onvoorwaardelijk zeker is, om indien hem een langer verblijf wordt

toegestaan, …, eenige maanden in de Hakka districten door te brengen, aangezien de mogelijkheid bestaat, dat hij zijne geheele studie zal moeten wijden aan de Amoy en Tsiang-Tsioe dialecten; dat hij zich dus de vrijheid voorbehouden wenscht te zien, om eerst later te beschikken, of het hem wenschelijk voorkomt, tijdelijk naar de Hakka-districten te gaan, al dan niet, en hij, in het geval, dat hij daarheen niet kan gaan, en eventueel later mocht geplaatst worden in eene plaats, waar het Hakka dialect het heerschende is, wenscht gebruik te maken van het voorrecht, dat zijne voorgangers hebben genoten, om in die stad van Nederlandsch-Indië zelve eenige maanden dit Hakka-dialect te bestudeeren" Request by Borel, 5 June 1893, in V 12/9/1893 no. 40 inv. 4739.

[158] "Naar 's Raads Vice-President heeft medegedeeld, is één jaar voor studietijd in China zeer zeker te kort, hoeveel de jongelieden te Leiden mogen geleerd hebben, in de Chineesche spreektaal kunnen zij daar slechts weinig bedreven raken en zij hebben wel een jaar praktische oefening in China noodig, vóórdat zij in staat zijn, zich in die spreektaal enigszins te bewegen. / Eerst daarna zijn zij geschikt om door ongedwongen omgang met Chineezen de eigenaardigheden en de gebruiken van dat volk met vrucht te bestudeeren, en daar zij in Indië vaak geroepen worden daarvan mededeelingen te doen, mag dit deel hunner opleiding niet worden verwaarloosd." Advice of the Council dated 7 July 1893 (no. XXIII), V 12/9/1893 no. 40 inv. 4739.

[159] In China these would amount to 140 × *f* 2.50 = *f* 350 monthly, in the Indies to *f* 300 (salary) + *f* 63,75 (clerk) = *f* 363,75.

[160] V 12/9/1893 no. 40 inv. 4739.

[161] I.S. 143, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93. His decision (IB 15/9/1893 no. 50) was sent by mail (in I.S. 162).

[162] "Bij ijverige studie toch, kunnen de élèves gemakkelijk in vijf jaren hunne studiën voltooien; want dat de opleiding der laatste drie jongelieden iets langer in Nederland geduurd heeft dan die mijner vroegere leerlingen, is geheel aan hunnen eigen schuld te danken, daar zij in den eersten tijd volstrekt niet met denzelfden ijver en ernst gewerkt hebben als hunne voorgangers, en te veel misbruik gemaakt hebben van het vrije studentenleven. Van daar dat zij thans genoodzaakt zijn hunne schade in China in te halen." Letter from Schlegel to Minister dated 20 September 1893, V 9/10/1893 no. 11/2083 inv. 4747.

[163] V 9/10/1893 no. 11/2083 inv. 4747. The decision was published in *Staatsblad van Ned. Indië* 1893, no. 291 (IB 1/12/1893 no. 7).

[164] *Handelingen der Staten-Generaal*, 1888–1889, Bijlage B, no. 39, p. 12 (Voorloopig verslag) and no. 41, p. 32 (Memorie van Antwoord). This question was probably again raised by Cremer.

[165] The text in the minutes mistakenly says: "Royal Decree."

[166] Voorloopig verslag, onderafd. 13, IIde afdeeling, p. 34, Bijlage 2de Kamer bij Begrooting van Ned. Indië 1894, *Handelingen van de beide Kamers der Staten-Generaal 1893–1894*, part 5.

[167] V 31/10/1893 no. 14 inv. 4754.

[168] In his answer in 1884, Minister of Colonies Sprenger van Eijk also spoke of "the dialect of Guangdong" (*het dialect van Kuang-Tung*), but in 1885 he correctly said "the dialects of Guangdong province." *See* Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, sections on J.T. Cremer and J.J.M. de Groot.

[169] 'Canton' is the older transcription based on a local pronunciation, while 'Guangdong' (Kuangtung, Kwangtung) is the Mandarin transcription. *Guangdonghua* 廣東話 (language of Guangdong) is still the common name for 'Cantonese' as a language in Hong Kong, while the more precise *Guangzhouhua* 廣州話 (language of Guangzhou = Canton) is used in Mainland China and in scholarly works in Hong Kong. *Guangfuhua* 廣府話 (language of Guangzhou city) is sometimes used in South East Asia. In the twentieth century, 'Kwangtung' (Guangdong) became the common Western name for the province, while 'Canton' was reserved for the capital.

[170] "De oudere tolken (waartoe ik ook behoorde) hebben zelf dit dialect op last der regeering moeten leeren, met het verdrietig gevolg, dat zij een nutteloozen arbeid verricht en hun' tijd verbeuzeld hadden." Letter from Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies, 1 November 1893, V 4/11/1893 no. 32 inv. 4756. Schlegel also used the spelling "Kuantung."

[171] For instance De Breuk, who had studied Hakka, was stationed in Cirebon on Java.

[172] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies, 1 November 1893, V 4/11/1893 no. 32 inv. 4756.

[173] V 4/11/1893 no. 32 inv. 4756.

[174] Nota of 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. *See* Chapter Eight, Schlegel and His Students in Leiden (1873–1878), section on Schlegel's and Hoffmann's advice.

[175] Schaank, "De Chineesche stammen in Deli," *De Indische Gids*, jrg. 7, II (1885), 1503-14. *See* Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students (1888–1895), section "Schlegel's Extraordinary Students in the 1880s."

[176] Actually, most coolies would still come from Guangdong province (Hakka, Hoklo, Hainan).

[177] V 8/11/1893 no. 14 (Exh.) inv. 4757.

[178] "Het Kuantung-dialect wordt nergens in onze koloniën gesproken, zoodat opleiding daarin nutteloos zou zijn. De Chineezen in onze Buitenbezittingen spreken òf het ook op Java gebruikelijke Tsiangtsiu (Emoi) dan wel een daarmede verwant dialect, òf het Hakka-dialect, en de thans in China vertoevende adspirant-tolken oefenen zich in dat dialect." in: Memorie van antwoord, Onderafdeeling 13, IIde afdeeling, p. 36, Bijlage 2de Kamer bij Begrooting van Ned. Indië 1894, *Handelingen van de beide Kamers der Staten-Generaal 1893–1894*, part 5.

[179] Letter from Feindel to the Governor-General dated 10 October 1892, U.S. 256, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[180] Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, no. XXIII, p. 15, fiche 862.

[181] In the month of October 1893 Borel again lived in the hotel after his wife gave birth to a baby (between I.S. 172-175, dossier with correspondence about Borel's refusal to pay the full hotel bills, for which the Consul mediated, November 1893, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93).

[182] A description and photograph of this house can be found in Borel's "Het huis op de rots," *Het schoone eiland, een tweede boek van wijsheid en schoonheid uit China*, frontispiece and pp. 137-44.

[183] Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, p. 11, fiche 864.

[184] Ezerman later had a 'boy,' so he must have had his own household (I.S. 162, letter from Ezerman to Grunenwald, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93).

[185] The Minister stated in Parliament that the students were learning Hakka, but this could not be confirmed in the Colonial archives. Many years later, Borel stated that he had only studied Hokkien and Hoklo while in China (Letter to the Director of Justice, Pontianak 15 June 1909, p. 3, in Mailrapport 1909 no. 1465; in this typed copy of his letter "Hokkiensch" was misspelled as "Hakjensch"). He never referred to any Hakka or Hoklo studies in his letters to Van Eeden and his diary, nor are these mentioned in Thorn Prikker's answers to his letters. Hoklo is closely related to Hokkien and he may have studied it a little. When Ezerman was appointed in Mentok, where Hakka was the most common dialect, he was allowed a special teacher for Hakka (No. 654, 12 July 1897, Letter from Government Secretary C.B. Nederburgh to Consul General Droeze in Hong Kong, dated Buitenzorg 25 June 1897, No. 1500a, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01).

[186] Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, no. XXVI, 15 May 1893, p. 2, fiche 863.

[187] In September there was a conflict between Borel and the Amah when Borel refused to pay her salary during her illness and she then threatened to beat Borel's wife with a broom. The case was solved by mediation of the Consul (I.S. 145, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93). The Amah was not punished, but Borel was not at all happy with this result: in this way servants would become even more disrespectful to their masters (Letter from Borel to Grunenwald, 20 October 1893, I.S. 155, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93).

[188] Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, p. 12.

[189] "Het is een raar slag van volk. Vroeger, toen ik aardig deed, praatjes maakte enz. werd ik bedrogen en bestolen. *Nu* snauw ik mijn bedienden af, en laat me nooit met hen in, en als er het minste niet goed is scheld ik ze uit. En alles gaat van een leien dakje. Nu vinden ze me een groot mandarijn. – Is dat nu eigenlijk niet beroerd van die lui? En er hangt zoveel van hen af. Als je slecht bediend wordt, vuil eten krijgt, en je boel is vuil, dat is van meer invloed op je dan je wel weet. – Om die lui eerbied te doen krijgen moet je bepaald absoluut tusschenbeide eens een consul, haí koàn, ten eten vragen, dat is de grootste buitenlandsche

mandarijn. Dat vinden ze heerlijk om zulke deftige lui te bedienen die bij hun Tao Tai en Onderkoning eten. Een mandarijn is nu eenmaal een ander wezen als een gewone chinees. Door een toeval wist mijn meester dat mijn vader een groot militair mandarijn is. Nu noemen *alle* chineezen me voortaan Taï Dzîn (大人) d.i. groot (grandioos) mensch, de titel der mandarijnen." Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, No. XXX, p. 10, fiche 864.

[190] "Ezerman en vWettum zie ik weinig. Ik ben in het laatste jaar heelemaal van hun af gegaan. Vooral Ezerman kan ik niet meer lijden. Ik heb geprobeerd tóch wat goed met hem te zijn maar het gaat niet. Ik voel een *physieke* akeligheid als hij bij mij is." Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, no. XXVI, pp. 5-6, fiche 863.

[191] Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November – 6 December 1893, no. XXX, pp. 18-19, fiche 864.

[192] "Ik ben daarom in den laatsten tijd wat gezelliger. Ik inviteer b.v. Zaterdagavonds Ezerman en v. Wettum, (waar ik niet erg mee wegloop) en we spelen een spelletje en drinken iets lekkers, heel gewoon. – Ook wend ik lust voor in allerlei kleinigheidjes, en doe alsof ik van geen kunst of philosophie wist. – Als ik zoo heel gewoon ben komt Stien juist altijd los met heel wonderlijke liefheid, die mij veel verder brengt dan lang denken." Letter to Van Eeden, 18 December 1893, no. XXXI, p. 10, fiche 865.

[193] Letter to Van Eeden, 9 April 1893, no. XXV, p. 22, fiche 863.

[194] In the same letter he wrote about the Chinese: "a debauched race, pederasts and cheats." (p. 2) Letter to Van Eeden, 21 December 1893, pp. 6 and 4, no. XXXII, fiche 865. *See also* full quotation below.

[195] "Gisteren avond had ik iets heel moois. Ik had gedineerd bij een zekeren meneer Hughes, de 'Piet' van het eiland. Ik ga namelijk expres tusschenbeide eens naar menschen toe hier, om gewoon te zijn, engelsch te spreken, en zoo'n beetje op de hoogte te blijven. Het is anders een héële corvée. – Die engelschen zijn nogal stomme lui zoo. De dames (er zijn er hier ongeveer 30) vreeselijk gekleed, en altijd flirtend. Het is erg walgelijk dat leelijk doen van getrouwde vrouwen. – Na het diner en de traditioneele door de heeren gerookte sigaar, verscheen ik weer in de drawingroom waar ze muziek maakten. Erg slecht, veel minder dan in Holland al die songs. Caféchantant-achtig. – Er was onder de dames een nieuw aangekomene, een vrouw met een heel zacht gezicht, nog jong maar met op 't voorhoofd *grijze* haren. Dat stond droef bij haar lichte oogen en haar andere haar dat lichtgoud was. – Ze was de eenige met wie je wat praten kon, ze hield zoo van muziek, zei ze. Ik moest absoluut spelen, maar waarschuwde sinjeur Hughes dat het heelemaal niet 'vallen' zou. Nu moet u weten, dat ik wàt graag speel want ik speel zoo zelden, ik heb geen piano. En ik speelde dat (ik meen Adagio) uit de Mondschein-Sonate. Aardig, dat ze zoo heel stil werden, al die leelijke menschen, alsof ze een vaag voorgevoel hadden dat er iets gebeurde. – Ik was zo heelemaal vergeten wat er om me zat, en ik speelde het heel goed en eenvoudig door. Toen ik opstond waren ze allemaal wat beteuterd, maar entameerden kort daarop weer een 'song.'" Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, No. XXVI, 15 May 1893, pp. 10-11, fiche 863.

[196] Letter from Van Eeden to Borel, 14 September 1893, No. XI, *Brieven van Frederik van Eeden aan Henri Borel*, 33. Letter from Thorn Prikker to Borel, 5 August 1893, no. 16, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 145.

[197] B.A.J. van Wettum's granddaughter Annabert (in New York) remembered that her father Jan van Wettum's house in The Hague was full of scrolls and statuettes (*rolschilderingen en beeldjes*). These had belonged to her grandfather, but they were lost during World War II (telephone communication, 5 January 2006).

[198] "Ik vond bij hun niets geen lompheid, logheid, of zoo, maar ik vond ze zoo mooi en gracieus van beweging en gebaar, dat ik van hun hield. Ze hebben een eigenaardige gang, een manier om de handen op te lichten, als ze iets willen krijgen, een manier van buigen, zóó heel gevoelig, dat je zou denken, met beter menschen te doen te hebben dan bij ons. Ik woû vooréérst niet die menschen van bínnen probeeren te zien, maar woû alleenig het mooie in mij doen komen van hun uiterlijk, van hun gewaden, hun gang en gebaar, zooals ze in kleur en lijn en beweging voor mijn oogen leven. –" Letter to Van Eeden, Amoy 15 October 1892, No. XXII, fiche 861-2, pp. 3-4, Special Collections, Amsterdam University.

[199] "De chineezen zijn heel ongelukkig, en arm, en verwaarloosd, maar een goed volk. Een heel slim volk, maar een zoo héél naïef. U hebt geen idee hoe primitief. / Ik ben doorgedrongen tot heel ver in Amoy zelf.- Héél zelden komen daar vreemdelingen, wel in de

voorsteden. – Er wonen een millioen menschen in vunzige krotten, in nauwe steegjes met vuil en bakken fecale stoffen, en modder, en er komen vochtige dampen uit den bodem. Heel, veel erger om te zien dan wat ik van achterbuurt in Parijs zag. – Een mooie stad voor je oogen, die nauwe straatjes vol goud, overal goud, goud, goud op zwarte winkels en uithangborden, overal rood, en in de schemering is er mist en gouddamp met glorie van licht uit lampen, en in den goudnevel de gewaden der chineezen, zacht bewegende kleur. Maar te vreeselijk om mooi te vinden, zóó dat je blij bent en gelukkig. – Een misère waar je je pijn van voelt hebben, alsof je persoonlijk iets heel ergs wordt aangedaan. – Duizenden koelies zwoegen onder enorme lasten, erger dan beesten, en zij zijn mager, en beroerd van ellende. Bedelaars gaan met lijven die geen lichamen zijn maar stukken verrotting, bedorven beenen waar etter en zweren goud-groen op zijn, soms gezwollen als olifantspooten. Ook lijven zonder beenen, die voortspringen over den grond. En schreeuwen, brullen als van beesten want de koelies draven met hun last onder de kreten van "k'ap tióh. oa-á. oá", (pas op voor stooten! wijk uit!) onafgebroken. / Maar in die misère een vlugheid, een behendigheid van belang. Zég iets tegen zoo'n beest-koelie en hij lacht als een kind, vráág iets aan die stakkerts, en ze beginnen te praten als kinderen, en lachen, lachen van pure pret dat zoo'n leelijke vreemdeling met al dat zwarte goed aan hun verstaat. Onder mekaâr ook een schik van belang, als ze éven tijd hebben. Niet het bruute smerige van de Jordaan-man. Maar het bewégelijke, gracieuse van gebaar en lach, het heelemaal zóó bewegen en geluiden dat je direct ziet dat het een beter volk is. Ja, die blije vroolijkheid van die chineezen in hun ellende is een heel ding, een emotie om te zien, en je begint van hun te houden als massa. – " Letter to Van Eeden, Amoy 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, fiche 862, pp. 10-12, Special Collections, Amsterdam University Library.

[200] "Jammer, dat de chineezen van nu zulke lui niet meer hebben, en zoo'n enorm slecht, gemeen volk zijn. Ik geloof dat ik u vroeger wel eens nogal enthousiast over de chineezen geschreven heb, maar ik was er ingeloopen, meneer de artiest namelijk. … Maar "pas op!". – Het is een liederlijk ras. Laffe slaven, bedriegers, en pederasten zijn het. Dat is zóó erg, dat b.v. onanie, pederastie enz. niet eens ondeugden zijn hier, en openlijk bekend worden. De lui hebben in 't geheel geen gevoel van goed of kwaad, recht of onrecht. Zóó heb ik gisteren twee uur lang gepraat met mijn meester over het feit als b.v. iemand wat 5 cent waard is voor mij voor 100 dollar verkoopen zou, zeggende dat het dit waard was. Dit vindt een chinees *geen* oplichting. Het zijn zulke doortrapte dieven, dat ze diefstal tot een deugd hebben gemaakt. Ze bedriegen de vreemdelingen, en ze bedriegen elkaar. Dankbaarheid kennen ze niet. Ik had een koelie, die zeide pijn aan zijn borst te hebben van het waterhalen uit de put. Tot groote pret van mijn engelsche kennissen huurde ik toen apart nog een koelie voor dat werk. Een week later bestal de eerste mij." Letter to Van Eeden, 21 December 1893, No. XXXII, pp. 2-3, fiche 865.

[201] A notebook by Borel has this date on the first page, B 745 H 3 Vertalingen, woordenlijsten e.a. uit het Chinees II, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[202] Borel had the teacher write the characters of his given name in his first notebook in Amoy, a small hard-cover notebook beginning with the date 19 October 1892. Above the characters is written "sì˗ ts'î =" [姓徐] 'surname Ts'î,' so his surname was Ts'î and his full name Ts'î Pik Kang 徐伯江 (in Mandarin *Xu Bojiang*). Under this name his teacher wrote another name: 汪延淮, to which Borel added "Ang Iên Hoaî" (in Mandarin *Wang Yanhuai*). This was perhaps the name of another teacher (B 745 H.3 Vertalingen etc., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).

[203] "En dan mijn leermeester Pik-Kang, met z'n spitse neus, en z'n Apache-gezicht, net een Indiaan met een staart. Dat mensch daar begrijp ik niets van. – Hij verklaart me die ìn-wijze boeken van Confucius en Lao-Tsze zóó, dat hij 't allemaal begrijpen moet om 't zoo te kunnen zeggen. … dat mij verklarende en commenteerende als iets dood-gewoons, een A.B.C.-tje, zeggende, en gebarende. Zijn gebaren zijn goud waard. ... Hij gebaart bijna alles als ik zijn woorden niet heelemaal versta." Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, pp. 12-13, fiche 862.

[204] "Vroeger wisselde ik af met de 2 anderen van Ezerman en vWettum, maar die zijn te verslaafd aan opium om ooit weer goed te worden. Ik heb er veel aan gedaan, maar tegen opiumziekte helpt niets als je de patiënt niet altijd door observeeren kunt." Letter to Van Eeden, 16 May 1893, No. XXVI, p. 22, fiche 863.

[205] "Ik heb een heleboel van mijn vooruitgang in het chineesch te danken aan mijn ouden meester Tio Siao Hoen. – Enorm knap is die man, en toch weer verbazend onwetend. … Wat zit er een 'spirits' in een chineesch! U moest hem eens zien, als hij aan het vertellen is van toneelstukken! Hij is zelf een heele acteur. Zijn gebaren zijn heerlijk om te zien. Al de dingen die hij vertelt zie je voor je gebeuren. Bovendien is hij een heel knap teekenaar. … Tio heeft nooit kunnen studeeren, en was een arme schoolmeester, die geen tijd had om veel met zijn kunst alleen te zijn. … Hij maakt van die eenvoudige landschapjes, waar je een echt artiest uit proeft." Letter to Van Eeden, 16 May 1893, No. XXVI, pp. 20-1, fiche 864.

[206] "Hij verfoeit het vuile Amoy, met al de ellende, en is al heel blij dat hij in juni in mijn nogal groote huis een kamer van mij krijgt om in te wonen. Ik houd hem van den zomer uit Amoy, want met die felle hitte is daar cholera, koorts enz. enz. en ik zou een heel verlies lijden en het ook niet te boven zijn als hij eens stierf." Letter to Van Eeden, 16 May 1893, No. XXVI, p. 21, fiche 863.

[207] Sometimes he also paid him other sums of $3 or $4. In three small notebooks from Amoy in B 745 H.3 Vertalingen enz., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. Perhaps for antiques that Tio sometimes bought for Borel.

[208] "Hij was een oude man, van diep in de vijftig, die altijd in een lang, zijden kleed liep, op dik vilten pantoffelschoenen, met zijn langen staart plechtstatig op zijn rug, en een bril met enorme groote glazen op. Als hij op een stoel ging zitten, deed hij dat langzaam, eerwaardig, of hij op een troon terecht kwam, en hij bleef er gezeten, met zijn zijden gewaad in superbe plooien, en zijn kolossale mouwen wijd afhangend, of hij een beeld was, in roerlooze rust. Het duurde niet lang—net zoo lang als ik noodig had om hem te verstaan—of ik bemerkte, dat hij eigenlijk mijn geestelijke vader was, en ik, die hem in dienst had, zijn kind." Borel, "De eerstgeborene," *Van leven en dood*, 32.

[209] Borel, "De eerstgeborene," *Van leven en dood*, 33.

[210] "Ik heb tegenwoordig een anderen meester, een Tsiang Tsiu chinees, en nog wel een Siù Tsaî [秀才] (dokter in de letteren) een hele piet, die er nog heel veel meer van weet dan de oude Tiao [趙]. (Deze Tiao had me opgelicht en had ik moeten verwijderen.)" Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, No. XXX, p. 9. The character 趙 has the colloquial reading Tiō and the literary reading Tiaō. This is the only place where Borel used the literary reading of the name. Perhaps he did so because he felt embarrassed towards Van Eeden and possible later readers on account of Tio's discharge (he stated several times that he expected later readers).

[211] "Een Siù Tsaî is een heele piet, daar de literati de hoogste stand zijn. Een eenvoudige Siù Tsai is hier *werkelijk* meer gezien dan een millionnair. Zijn vader is een Kí Dzîn [舉人] (nog een graad hooger). Die heeft een groot plakkaat en houten bord voor zijn deurpost, waarin hij ten voorbeeld wordt gesteld, en kan bij de hoogste mandarijnen komen." Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, p. 11.

[212] "Hij was een slecht mensch, een schobber, een bedrieger, als de anderen." Borel, "De schijn der Chineezen," in *Wijsheid en schoonheid uit China* (first edition 1897), 17.

[213] "Laat ik nu maar niet gaan uitpluizen hoe heel veel naars er allemaal voor me geweest is. Want als ik me goed rekenschap geef ben ik heel erg ongelukkig geweest. Meestal door mijn eigen schuld. Ik heb me niet genoeg ingedacht in dingen en menschen. Ik heb veel te veel willen hebben van het leven. En nú ben ik er eerst zoo'n beetje achter […] dat ik—hoe weet ik niet en waarom—een heel slecht mensch ben, en heel goed ook, maar alles betrekkelijk. … Mijn eerste plicht moet zijn: Vergeven, Medelijden hebben, Liefhebben." *Diary* 1893–1896, pp. 1-2, B 745 H 3, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. Borel was probably also thinking of the conflicts over money with the Amah and the hotelier.

[214] "Opgedragen aan de Nagedachtenis van mijn' eenvoudigen, ouden Chineeschen leermeester TIO SIAO HOEN die mij het eerst inwijdde in de Chineesche filosofie, en den Geest van China over mij deed komen, in de jaren 1892–1894." in *De geest van China* (1917), p. IV. It was probably too embarrassing for Borel to disclose that he had fired Tio in the autumn of 1893 and never engaged him again.

[215] Borel, "De eerstgeborene," *Van leven en dood*, 37.

[216] Borel and his fellow students received copies of De Groot's *Religious System of China* Vol. 1 upon their arrival in Amoy (signed for receipt by the students on 8 October 1892,

I.[S.] No. 270, letter from Governor-General to Consul 10 August 1892, inv. 5, toegang 2.05.93).

[217] Tio Siao Hun would later say to Borel that all those details (*al die bizonderheden*) in De Groot's *Religious System of China* (Vol. 1) had been provided by him. He also said De Groot had promised him a large reward if he did his utmost best. But when De Groot left, he did not give Tio anything, nor did he mention his name in the General Preface. Moreover, much information given by De Groot was wrong, according to Tio. Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, No. XXXIV, 16 May 1893, p. 20, fiche 864. Clearly Tio felt a grudge about De Groot, but from the outset Borel, too, would miss no opportunity to criticise De Groot (and other sinologists).

[218] "Weet u hoe we hier leven? Heel eenvoudig, en iederen dag bijna hetzelfde. – 's Ochtends van 9½-12 u. met mijn chineeschen meester chineesch studeeren, boeken lezen, dingen bepraten enz. 's Middags van 2-4 hetzelfde. Van 4-8½ wandelen, en eten. – Van 8½ - onbepaald, soms 1½ u. 's nachts óverstudeeren en repeteeren, alleen afgebroken door een uur engelsche les aan Stien." Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, p. 4, fiche 862.

[219] In the Borel Archives there is a copy of the Chinese text, transcription and Dutch translation by Van Wettum (2 vols., B 745 H. 3 Vertalingen etc., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).

[220] Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, pp. 12-13, fiche 862.

[221] Letter to Van Eeden, 26 February 1893, No. XXIV, pp. 5-8, fiche 862. There is a copy of this book in the East Asian Library in Leiden that probably belonged to Van Wettum (publisher Xiamen Baohuazhai 廈門寶華齋 1864, SINOL. KNAG 40).

[222] B 745 H 3 Vertalingen, woordenlijsten e.a. uit het Chinees II, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. Borel's translation was published in his "Kwan Yin" and "De Chineesche hel," *Kwan Yin* (1897) (*see also* Dudbridge, *The Legend of Miaoshan* (revised edition, 2004), 83-7).

[223] On the other hand, he also believed that he could obtain wisdom by himself, without studying any books. Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, pp. 14-15, 17-18.

[224] "De beroemdste Sinoloog, James Legge, heeft *al* de 5 King [經] en 4 Boeken (de z.g. klassieken, géén boeddhisme) vertaald, maar jammerlijk. Er is één boek bij, de Tiong Iong, van Confucius, de Leer v/h reine midden, dat hij vreeselijk verknoeid heeft door er allemaal dingen achter te zoeken die er in 't geheel niet staan. Het is een heel eenvoudig boek, en alles staat er heel eenvoudig en klaar, het is juist subliem van eenvoud. … Ik ben dat aan 't vertalen, mondeling in 't colloquial, de spreektaal." Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, pp. 15, 16, fiche 863.

[225] "Dan is er nog een boek, van Lao-Tsze, de Tao-Tik-King, dat prachtig is, en waar de sinologen van bibberen als ze het hooren noemen. Schlegel schreef mij daar toch niet aan te beginnen, want hij begreep er zelf ook niets van, zei hij. Ik ben er aan begonnen. – Het is heel eenvoudig, en dáárom geloof ik dat ze het niet begrepen hebben. ze zoeken overal veel te veel achter." Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, pp. 15, 16.

[226] "Ik mag *nu* niet àl te veel aan zulke boeken werken. Ik ben niet voor sinoloog maar voor chineesch tolk in dienst. Ik moet allerlei miserabel werk doen als koopmansbrieven lezen, chineesche koopmansboeken studeeren, chineesche wetten, chineesch boekhouden, enz. enz. Dat doe je niet voor je plezier." Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, pp. 16-17, fiche 863.

[227] "… ik moet heel, heel hard werken. Zoo vreemd is dat, ik was het heelemaal niet gewoon, maar nu moét het wel. Het is zoo vermoeiend, vooral voor je oogen, dat chineesch. – En télkens en télkens komen er weêr karakters die je nooit van je leven gezien hebt … Al die streepjes, o ze zijn zoo lastig. – Maar als je ze goed weet vind je ze eigenlijk wel mooi. De karakters zelve léven zoo, als 't ware." Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, pp. 4-5, fiche 862.

[228] "Het is zoo'n mooie manier van lezen, het chineesch, maar vreemd in 't begin. Je leest n.l. niet de 'geluiden' van elk woord, maar elk woord is een symbool, dat de beteekenis grapheert. Het zou echter een brief van belang worden als ik daarover in bizonderheden moest treden nu." Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, p. 5, fiche 862.

[229] Borel was writing a great Book entitled *The Light of Love* (*Het Licht van Liefde*, *Diary*

1893–1896, 13 December 1893). This would become his autobiographical novel *Het jongetje* (*The little boy*), published in 1898.

[230] "Het is lang niet gemakkelijk. U hebt geen idee van de beroerde saaie afmatting mijner Chineesche studie. Niet het lezen van klassieken. Maar het uitpluizen van snelschrift, van handelsboeken, en chineesche konkelarijen. Dat brengt me er telkens uit. Soms schrijf ik in geen vier dagen aan mijn boek vanwege de lammigheid. Daarbij komt nog dat ik weer een piano heb en mij een waar feest geef van Bach's Präludien en Fugas." Letter to Van Eeden, 18 December 1893, No. XXXI, p. 6, fiche 865.

[231] "Jammer dat ik nog altijd erg tob in mijn verzen. Dat komt omdat ik niet genoeg tijd heb om erin op te gaan. Ik moet zulk afmattend Chineesch werk doen. Dat moet u niet vergeten. Ik heb zoo heel weinig tijd en leef als in een gevangenis." Short letter to Van Eeden, 10 January 1894, No. XXXIII, p. 2, fiche 865.

[232] "Ik gaf héél wat om dit te hebben: … een eenvoudige kamer met witte muren. een gewone tafel met papier, inkt en penhouder. Geen boeken. Zóo alleen zijn van 10-12 's morgens en 2-4 's middags. Niemand binnen komen. En dit kan ik maar niet krijgen … Is het geen héél erge misère?" *Diary*, 5 January 1894, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[233] Letter to Van Eeden, 26 February 1893, No. XXIV, p. 8, fiche 862. In Peking Borel ordered ten Buddhist sutras. Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, p. 15, fiche 863.

[234] Printed catalogue (E.J. Brill, Cat. No. 87) in B 745 P Catalogus bibl. H. Borel, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[235] Auction catalogue *Catalogue des bibliothèques de feu M.M. B.A.J van Wettum, Conseiller pour les affaires du Japon et de la Chine aux Indes-Néerlandaises* …, Burgersdijk & Niermans, Leiden, 16-26 April 1917.

[236] Listed in Kuiper, *The KNAG Collection*. His books in Japanese and Malay are now in other collections. Books without his seal that he bought later include Republican law books and a large book on Chinese medicine; from both of these he later translated one or more chapters. There are also a few rare books in his library.

[237] U.S. 68, Letter of 12 April 1893, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[238] "Ik ga daar op de jacht naar een of twee Pik Ting stukken, die ik voor weinig krijg in vergelijking met de waarde in Europa. In Tsoân Tsiu is nog wat oud brons. Het zal een interessante tocht zijn. Er komt daar nooit een Europeaan, de zendelingen komen niet verder dan Tsiang Tsiu." Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, p. 5, fiche 863.

[239] Thorn Prikker referred to it, but apparently only as a plan (Letter of 6-18 July 1893, p. 142). In December 1893 Borel wrote that he had not yet been in Dehua but planned to go there before leaving China (Letter to Van Eeden, 18 December 1893, No. XXXI, p. 7, fiche 865.

[240] Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, No. XXX, p. 8, fiche 864.

[241] Perhaps they were also laughing at his foreign and therefore queer accent. De Bruin would later write several times that Chinese coolies in the Indies would mock the foreigner's accent (and try to cheat him).

[242] "Tsiang Tsiu is een heel groote stad. Wat je er ook leert is geduld. Je bent daar omspoeld door duizenden chineezen (er wonen op een millioen inwoners maar 2 of 3 zendelingen, dus het meerendeel heeft nooit een europeaan gezien). Al je je leuk houdt doen ze je niets. Een chinees in Amsterdam staat aan honderdmaal zoveel gevaar bloot als ik in Tsiang Tsiu. De innige lol van die lui als ze hooren dat je hun taal spreekt is kostelijk. Er is er geeneen die je kwaad wil doen, en—het merkwaardigste—geeneen straatjongen. Nooit gooien ze je met vuil of zoo. Dat komt omdat de kinderen hier zoo'n eerbied hebben voor groote menschen. / Ik heb opgemerkt dat de chineezen in 't binnenland, *beter* zijn dan die hier in Kolongsu en de voorstad van Amoy, die meer met Europeanen in aanraking komen. – De Tsiang Tsiu chineezen schijnen me veel meer de echte landsdeugden (en ondeugden) maar *geen* europeesche slechtheden te hebben." Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, No. XXX, p. 9, fiche 864.

[243] I.S. 181, Letter dated 29 November 1893, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93.

[244] Borel, *Diary*, 2 and 6 January 1894. *See also* his letter to Van Eeden 18 December 1893, No. XXXI, added page, fiche 865.

[245] "In Tsiang-tsioe was de groote tempel Lâm-ī˝ [南院? Nanyuan, probably Nanshansi 南山寺] de eerste chineesch-boeddhistische tempel, die ik een waar Godshuis vond. …

Tsiangtsioe zelf, van buiten gezien, is een wereldstad uit de oudheid, waar nu nog de grandeur over glanst der vervlogen immense pracht van vóór eeuwen." Borel, *Diary*, 6 January 1894.

[246] Borel, *Diary*, 16 February 1894, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[247] "Ik had moeite om me voor te stellen dat ik in China was. Het lijkt Parijs wat het leven aangaat." Letter to Van Eeden, Hong Kong 20 February 1894, No. XXXV, pp. 6-7, fiche 865.

[248] "De Chineezen hier verstaan geen woord van mij noch ik van hen. Het is Cantondialect wat ze spreken. B.v. Amoy koopen, bé, is in Canton 'maí' enz. In de grote winkels spreken de Chineezen engelsch, maar niet overal. – Ik heb me bij een antiquair verstaanbaar gemaakt door met een penseel op papier karakters te schrijven. – Heel mooie, oude kunst is hier niet. Enorme japansche vazen enz. maar alles nieuw. En een hoop imitatie." Letter to Van Eeden, Hong Kong 20 February 1894, No. XXXV, pp. 6-7, fiche 865.

[249] "Wie er voor het eerst komt wordt er geslagen van walging, zoo sterk dat hij niet meer in staat is, het mooie overal te zien. Maar reeds kende ik dien schijn van benauwing en verrotting, van vroeger, uit zooveel andere chineesche steden / En er is een zeer schoone ziel in die sombere donkere chineesche steden vol vuil en stanken." Borel, "Uit Canton, een reisimpressie," *Kwan Yin* (2nd printing), 99-100. First published in *De Gid*s 1896, vol. III, pp. 79-195.

[250] Description in "Uit Canton," 103-7.

[251] "Ik boog zoowat en mompelde iets van het weinige *mandarijn* dialect dat ik kende en dat een hooggeplaatst chinees door het geheele rijk verstaan moet." Borel, "Uit Canton," 113.

[252] "Zoo als je weet heb ik je stuk over China aan de redactie van de Rotterdammer gestuurd. T zit niet erg meê. Ze zouden je wel als correspondent uit China willen hebben, maar dan moet je ook over andere dingen en *vooral* Hollandsch schrijven. Je moet weten volgens de Redactie Rotterdammer bestaat er Hollandsch en Nieuwe Gids taal. De Nieuwe Gids taal willen ze niet hebben, ergo blijft over te werken in zuiver Hollandsch. Ze correspondeeren zelf met je verder. Ik zal nu trachten je stuk ergens anders geplaatst te krijgen voor de noodige contanten. … De redacteur schreef me letterlijk… 'Wij blijven een correspondent in China behoeven. Mocht den heer B. dus ons (hier staat een woord dat onleesbaar is) of andere redenen lust hebben *gewoon* te schrijven van feiten en dingen hoofdzaak te maken enfin krantenwerk te leveren, dan zou daarover gecorrespondeerd kunnen worden.'" Letter No. 7 from Thorn Prikker to Borel, dated 22-28 January 1893, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 98-9. For information on the *Nieuwe Gids*, *see* Chapter Nine, section "Borel's Life in Art and Literature."

[253] "Serment d'Amitié Chinois," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1893), 420-6.

[254] Letter from Thorn Prikker No. 22, 20 March 1894, p. 175, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*. Borel sent the whole issue of *T'oung Pao*, asking to return it afterwards, and would later send an offprint. Letter to Van Eeden, No. XXXIII, 10 January 1894, p. 1, fiche 865. The Chinese oath was a subject often treated by Dutch sinologists.

[255] "Vreemd genoeg voor zoo iemand, heeft onze Professor Schlegel dat wèl, en hij is de *eenige* op wie je gerust kunt vertrouwen, en die in chineesch een orakel is. Ik heb voor hem als Sinoloog een heel *hooge* achting, voor zoover zooiets gaat." Letter to Van Eeden, 26 February 1893, No. XXIV, p. 8, fiche 862.

[256] "A pair of Chinese marriage contracts," *T'oung Pao* A 5 (1894), 371-85, signed "Dutch Chinese student-interpreter, Amoy, January 1894."

[257] Borel, *Diary*, 26 January 1894.

[258] Letter to Van Eeden, 7 May 1894, No. XXXVII, pp. 3-4, fiche 866. After corresponding with Schlegel about poetry, Borel "gave him up for the future." (*Ik heb hem voor den toekomst opgegeven*). It seems that the article's contents were (in part) incorporated in section 2 of his essay "Wu wei."

[259] Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, p. 12, fiche 863.

[260] Jacob Nikolaas van Hall (1840–1918), writer and drama critic, published lavishly in *De Gids*.

[261] For a fee of *f* 40 for 16 pages, possibly on Borel's request. Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, pp. 15-16, fiche 862.

[262] Letter to Van Eeden, 31 July 1893, No. XXIX, p. 13, fiche 864.

[263] Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, No. XXX, p. 15, fiche 864. Letter from Van Eeden to Borel, 15 January 1894, *Brieven van Frederik van Eeden aan Henri Borel*, 37.

[264] Reprinted in Borel's first collection of essays *Wijsheid en schoonheid uit China*, 1896.

[265] Only a long, half-page quotation from Borel's article, entitled "Het tooneel in China," could be found in the *Haagsche Courant* (Monday 11 June 1894), not the comments. These were perhaps published in another newspaper.

[266] "Kerel, Kerel, Kerel, je stuk over de Chineesche tooneelspelers, weet je wel dat bijna elke krant uittreksels heeft gegeven van je stuk in de oude Gids? … Je weet nooit wat de Haagsche Courant … je zoo even beweerde. Ongeveer dit. Het stuk was geschreven door iemand die voor 2 jaar van hier vertrok met veel dichterlijk talent. Niet gering hé. Dat had je nooit durven denken hé. … als ik jou was stuurde ik meer dergelijke dingen naar de Gids. … we moeten in deze maatschappij politiek wezen hoe erger, hoe beter." Letter from Thorn Prikker, No. 26, 3 July 1894, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 187.

[267] *De Gids*, 1894 no. III, pp. 531-8. Reprinted in *Wijsheid en schoonheid uit China*, 1896. Other articles about China appeared after he had left for the Indies. These were reprinted in *Kwan Yin*.

[268] Letter to Van Eeden, 9 April 1893, No. XXV, p. 9, fiche 863.

[269] Borel, *Diary*, 2 July 1894.

[270] The name "Amoy" (in Mandarin Xiamen) is derived from the Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou) colloquial pronunciation Emuí 廈門, which characters have the literary pronunciation Hā bûn, meaning "The Gate of Hā (Xia)." Hā dó̍ possibly represents the characters 廈堵, "The blocking of Hā (Xia)." Hā (Xia) 廈 itself has been explained as meaning *xia* 下, "under," being the lower entrance than the one to the older harbour Quanzhou, or as meaning *xia* 夏, "summer."

[271] There appeared two English translations, one by Meredith Ianson as *Wu Wei, A Phantasy Based on the Philosophy of Lao-tsz* (London, 1903), and one by M.E. Reynolds as "Interpretive Essays by Henri Borel," in *Tao and Wu-wei / Laotzŭ* (Santa Barbara CA, 1919, reprinted in 1935). German, French, and Italian translations appeared in 1924 (reprints 1933, 2001), 1931 and 1947.

[272] "Korea," Private Correspondence (*Particuliere Correspondentie*) dated Amoy 7 Augustus, Tandjoeng Pinang (Riouw) 1 November 1894, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 16 September 1894, and 11 December 1894; there may have been more issues; the first issue was reprinted in: *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 3 November 1894.

[273] Signed "X," "Nog eens de Chineesche consulaats-quaestie," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 15 December 1894, reprinted in *Java-bode*, 19 January 1895. Borel was the only student known to have published regularly in the *NRC* in 1894. From his article "Onze voorvaderen in China," *Deli-Courant*, 24 February 1897, it becomes clear he was writing about himself.

[274] "Nog eens de Chineesche consulaats-quaestie," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 15 December 1894, reprinted in *Java-bode*, 19 January 1895.

[275] "Nog eens de Chineesche consulaats-quaestie," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 15 December 1894, reprinted in *Java-bode*, 19 January 1895.

[276] For Germans, the more relaxed and less formal and stressful attitude towards life and work of Dutchmen in general is sometimes difficult to understand. The Dutch Ministry of Colonies always paid better salaries than other Ministries.

[277] U.S. 135, Letter of 3 October 1893, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[278] I.S. 191, Letter of 23 November 1893, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93.

[279] V 9/9/1896 no. 9, inv. 5080 and Letter from Schlegel to Minister of Colonies, 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51, inv. 5083.

[280] Correspondence of 1898–9 in No. 598, inv. 1327, and in inv. 1324, toegang 2.05.38. Also in No. 338, inv. 67, toegang 2.05.90.

[281] "Besluit van den 4den Juni 1910, tot vaststelling van een reglement voor den tolkendienst bij de Gezantschappen en Consulaten in China en Japan," *Staatsblad* 1910, No. 156. From 1892 on, a few Dutch aspirant diplomats had been taught Chinese by De Groot.

[282] And in the Indies it did not get much better. Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-Kak-Sie" te Cheribon* (1920), 7.

[283] I.S. no. 100, Letter of 27 July 1894, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93.

[284] Despite all measures in Hong Kong—in China the seriousness of the situation was at first not recognised by the government—the plague spread all over the world, causing a great epidemic in India in 1896. From then on, the plague also became an endemic disease in the Netherlands Indies. On this epidemic in China, *see* Nos. 180-191, inv. 6, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[285] U.S. no. 79, Letter from the Consul to the Director of Justice of 21 August 1894, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[286] Borel, *Diary*, Riau 22 November 1894.

[287] Letter to Van Eeden, Singapore 22 September 1894, No. XXXIX, fiche 866.

[288] "Ik ben hier in Batavia om allerlei Pieten mijn opwachting te maken." Postcard to Van Eeden, 2 October 1894, fiche 866.

[289] "Dat moet bijna net Kolangsu zijn." Borel had therefore requested to be stationed in Riau. Letter to Van Eeden, 6 April 1894, No. XXXIV, p. 8, fiche 866.

[290] IB 24/10/1894 no. 4, inv. 8096.

[291] Inv. 1337, toegang 2.05.38. Frederik Jan Haver Droeze (Vlaardingen, 17 July 1847 – Dordrecht, 5 January 1909) had a remarkable career as a military engineer in the Netherlands and in the Indies (1876–91), where he took part in the Atjeh War and other expeditions. He published an account of an expedition in Algeria in *De Gids* (1876). After 1893, when he retired as a major in the Netherlands Indies Army, he was appointed Consul in Jeddah in 1894. From 1895 until 1908 he was Consul General of the Netherlands in Hong Kong. Biography in P.L. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 3, pp. 301-5 (also in www.dbnl.org).

[292] Letter from the Consul General to the Governor-General, No. 1053, 25 Nov. 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[293] IB 22/12/1895 no. 4, in No. 36/16, 9 January 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01, a decision based on V 12/11/1895 no. 21 inv. 4991.

[294] On 5 February 1895 a Consul General was appointed in Hong Kong, and as from 20 May 1895 Amoy had a Consulate instead of a Consulate General for the Netherlands (No. 77, 20 May 1895 and No. 179, 16 July 1895, inv. 6, toegang 2.05.27.01).

[295] Fridolin Marinus Knobel (Amsterdam, 31 May 1857 – Berlin, 16 October 1933) was trained for the Consular Service from 1875 and was stationed in Berlin, Sint Petersburg, Teheran (1889–95), Peking (1895–1902), again Teheran (1902–5), and Pretoria. From 1913 he was a member of Parliament. In 1923–33 he was again Consul in Leipzig. He was struck by a heart attack and passed away while he was the official Dutch observer at the trial of Marinus van der Lubbe. He often gave on his own initiative his opinions to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and published widely in newspapers and journals. Originally he was convinced of Western superiority, but later he tended to take the side of the victims of oppression. Biography in *Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland* 6 (www.historici.nl).

[296] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 217.

[297] At that time the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was considering the possibility of appointing one student as acting Secretary-Interpreter in the Dutch Legation in Peking. V 15/10/1896 no. 14 inv. 5093, V 4/11/1896 no. 32/2595 inv. 5099, V 24/4/1897 no. 32, inv. 5155. The name Röell is pronounced Roo-WELL.

[298] Perhaps implying that De Bruin had not left a favourable impression on him. Letter from Knobel to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 14 April 1897, inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.

[299] He was in function from 9 June 1897 to 30 July 1904.

[300] The Dutchman G.C. Bouman was considered unsuitable. He had been working with the Imperial Maritime Customs in Swatow, but had been discharged. Letter from Haver Droeze to Knobel, 22 February 1897, inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.

[301] No. 118, 29 January 1896, and nos. 141 and 143, 6 and 10 February 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[302] Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Amoy 15 April 1897, No. 344, 20 April 1897.

[303] V 28/2/1896 no. 17/553 inv. 5022.

[304] No. 719 B 23, 16 December 1895, inv. 79, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[305] No. 39, 9 January 1896, inv. 79, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[306] No. 97, 11 February 1897; No. 146, 24 February 1897; No. 260, 29 March 1897,

inv. 79, toegang 2.05.27.01. However, during this year Thijssen would reside outside Amoy most of the time. *See also:* Nos. 258, 260 dated 29 March [1897], inv. 30, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[307] A.G. de Bruin, "Het jongste artikel van den heer Borel," *De Sumatra Post*, 10 September 1912 (footnote).

[308] Schlegel, "Voorspellingen en uitkomsten," *Dagblad van 's Gravenhage*, 29 September 1896.

[309] In China De Bruin seems to have used the more international name Anton instead of Annes.

[310] In a letter signed by all three students dated 16 July 1897, in No. 684/284, 19 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[311] "Ruim veertien dagen na mijne aankomst alhier, ontmoette ik den heer von Varchmin, die, naar het mij toescheen, op eenigszins scherpen toon zeide: 'Studieren Sie denn nicht. Sie müssen viel arbeiten.' / Overtuigd op studiegebied steeds mijn' plicht te doen, was dit aanleiding tot het voorgevallen incident." Letter from De Bruin to Droeze, Amoy 3 May 1896, No. 463/197, 7 May 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[312] Letter from Von Varchmin to the Governor-General, 27 February 1896, in No. 416, 25 April 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[313] Letter dated Buitenzorg, 15 April 1896, no. 735, in No. 411/175, 24 April 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[314] "Zelfs den rang en meerderen leeftijd buiten beschouwing gelaten, erken ik echter mij oneerbiedig gedragen te hebben, en heb derhalve den heer von Varchmin mijn verontschuldigingen aangeboden, waarmede deze volkomen genoegen genomen heeft." Letter from De Bruin to Droeze, Amoy 3 May 1896, No. 463/197, 7 May 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[315] Letter 8 May 1896, No. 468, 8 May 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[316] Belated permission to investigate the matter in writing instead of in person was given in a letter from Government Secretary Nederburgh of 13 May 1896, no. 967, in No. 503/214, 23 May 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[317] No. 191, 27 February 1896, No. 84/4, inv. 71 toegang 2.05.27.01.

[318] Secret letter to Minister of Foreign Affairs De Beaufort, 20 January 1898, inv. 15, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[319] "om vóór het verstrijken van hun studietijd zich voor eenige maanden te begeven naar *Swatow* en het binnenland ten einde de aldaar gesproken wordende talen te bestudeeren." IB 29/4/1896 no. 38 inv. 8132. Also in No. 479/204, 12 May 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[320] "Nu reeds hebben de drie bovengenoemde candidaten van den Gouverneur Generaal van Nederlandsch Indië last bekomen ook eenige maanden in Swatow en in de Hakkalanden door te brengen, ten einde ook de daar gesproken dialekten te bestuderen. De candidaat *Thijssen*, die mij dit mededeelde, voegt er bij: 'Of het mogelijk zal zijn om in een paar maanden die dialekten te leeren spreken, geloof ik niet.'" Letter from Schlegel to Minister of Colonies of 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083.

[321] Letter dated Amoy 15 December 1896, in No. 1051/479, 18 December 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[322] Nos. 1052 (to Streich) and 1053 (to Director of Justice), 19 December 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[323] Letter from Thijssen to Droeze dated Amoy 16 January 1897, in No. 50/24 19 January 1897; letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze dated Amoy 16 January 1897, not numbered, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[324] Letter from Van de Stadt dated Amoy 16 January 1897, (not numbered), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[325] "Ik vind het lastig en vreemd dat er altijd betrekkelijk nog zoo weinig regeling bestaat in de opleiding der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken. De heer Hoetink schreef me laatst dat kennis van Hakka-Chineesch het meest noodzakelijk is, althans voor de eerste jaren en gaf me dientengevolge den raad zoo spoedig mogelijk Amoy voorgoed vaarwel te zeggen. Indien ik echter bedenk hoeveel onderwerpen er ondanks onze opleiding in Leiden en den moeite, die ik me hier gegeven heb, nog zijn, waarvoor het onmogelijk is een gesprek te

voeren, dan vraag ik me af, hoe bitter weinig Hakka-Chineesch valt er dan in korten tijd op te pikken, te meer daar hulpmiddelen als woordenboeken niet bestaan. Indien het klimaat in Indië mij zulks veroorlooft, zou ik gaarne doorgaan met Sinologische studiën, doch wat de ware weg is, zie ik nog niet duidelijk in. Enfin, dit zal de tijd moeten leeren." Letter dated Amoy 16 January 1897, No. 51/25, 19 January 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[326] Letter from Van de Stadt dated Amoy 24 April 1897, with No. 210, 16 March 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[327] Letters from Reinsdorf and Van de Stadt dated Amoy 23 and 24 April 1897, with No. 210, 16 March 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[328] No. 210, 16 March 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[329] No. 53, 19 January 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[330] *De boekhoudingen van Chineezen*, 6.

[331] Thijssen and De Bruin wrote their declarations of travel costs on 8 April in Amoy. Perhaps Van de Stadt arrived a little later; his declaration is dated Amoy 15 April. In: No. 210, 16 March 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[332] Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Amoy 15 April 1897, No. 344, 20 April 1897. And decision of Director of Justice J.C. Mullock Houwer, 13 May 1897, No. 512/216, 31 May 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[333] Quoted in a letter from Government Secretary Nederburgh to Droeze, in No. 283/123, 3 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01. No copy of Van de Stadt's request could be found.

[334] "Het verblijf in Peking zou gelegenheid bieden om verschillende zaken te bestudeeren, waarvan men zich te Amoy niet of althans niet even goed op de hoogte kan stellen. / En daar de heer Van de Stadt blijkbaar een schrander man is twijfel ik niet of hij zou er een nuttig gebruik van weten te maken, indien Uwe Excellentie mocht goedvinden zijn verzoek toe te staan." No. 864, 30 September 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[335] V 9/9/1896 no. 9 inv. 5080, V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083.

[336] His wish would be fulfilled two years later. In 1898, he was at his request allowed to study and work in (Northern) China for two years.

[337] Van de Stadt probably stated in his request that he wished to acquire skills for the consular service.

[338] Letter from Hoetink to the Director of Justice, Batavia 16 November 1896, no. 38, typed copy in No. 397, 29 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[339] V 4/11/1896 no. 32 inv. 5099. This announcement did not mention Schlegel's advice and the Minister's previous decision not to have the students learn Mandarin!

[340] Letter from Nederburgh to Droeze, Buitenzorg, 21 March 1897, No. 649c, in No. 283/123, 3 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[341] Letter from Nederburgh to Droeze, Buitenzorg, 25 June 1897, No. 1500a, in: No. 654, 12 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[342] This is the capital of the heartland of the Hakkas in Guangdong. In *pinyin*: Jiayingzhou 嘉應州. From the tenth century on, this place was called Meizhou 梅州, after the local river now called Meijiang 梅江, and the plum trees (*mei*) growing there. From 1733 until 1911, the official name was 嘉應州, on English maps transcribed as Kia Ying Chow according to the Southern Mandarin pronunciation. In Hakka pronunciation it would be spelled Ka Yin Tsu or Ka Yin Tsoe. In 1911 the old name Meizhou was restored, and in 1912 the name was changed to Meixian 梅縣. Nowadays Meixian is the capital of Meizhou City (Meizhou Shi 梅州市).

[343] Letter from Hoetink to the Director of Justice, Batavia 16 November 1896, no. 38, typed copy in No. 397, 29 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[344] Letter from Nederburgh to Droeze, Buitenzorg 21 March 1897, No. 649c, in No. 283/123, 3 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[345] No. 284, 5 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01. On the same day Droeze notified Knobel (No. 285/46).

[346] The requested date of the beginning of their service was "1 January 1896," but on the basis of Droeze's later letter to the Governor-General, this is here corrected to "1 January 1898." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Amoy 15 April 1897, in No. 338/144, 19 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[347] Sam Ho Pa (三河壩 Sanheba) and Ko Pi (高陂 Gaobei) are situated on the Han Jiang in Dabu, while Tsja Hang (畬杭 Shehang) is near Hing-ning (興寧 Xingning) to the West of Meixian. Letter in English from Droeze to Streich, No. 359, 23 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[348] "Voor slechte bejegeningen te Kia Ying Chow behoeft, naar ik verneem, geene vrees te bestaan. De Amerikaansche, Engelsche en Duitsche zendelingen in de Hakka districten hadden althans tot nu toe weinig of geen overlast van de bevolking." Letter from Droeze to Governor-General, No. 397, 29 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[349] IB 25/6/1897 no. 28 inv. 8160.

[350] Letter from Government Secretary Nederburgh to Consul General Droeze in Hongkong, dated Buitenzorg 25 June 1897, No. 1500a, in No. 654, 12 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[351] No. 655, 12 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[352] Letter from Van de Stadt, also signed by the other two, Amoy, 16 July 1897, in No. 684/284, 19 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[353] Letter from Van de Stadt, Amoy, 23 July 1897 (not numbered), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[354] Han Yu was demoted to Chaozhou, where he wrote his famous essay about the crocodiles in the river, a metaphor for greedy mandarins ("Ji eyu wen" 祭鱷魚文). The upper part of this river is called Mei Jiang 梅江.

[355] Letter from Van de Stadt, Swatow, 10 August 1897 (not numbered), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[356] "De indruk, die ik van Kia Ying en de Hakka's heb, is voorloopig zeer gunstig; ik vind de menschen oneindig aangenamer dan de Ch'aochowfu-ers. Ik geloof, dat de tijd gauw voorbij zal gaan en volstrekt niet zoo onaangenaam zal zijn, als we ons oorspronkelijk hadden voorgesteld." Letter from Van de Stadt, Kia Ying Chow, 5 September 1897 (not numbered), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[357] This is a quotation from "one of our Sinologists," probably Thijssen or Van de Stadt, and not De Bruin, since the latter was one of the compilers of Vleming's book (*see* next note) and De Bruin's name is often mentioned. They were the only group of Dutch students who first studied for three months in Swatow and later in the Hakka districts.

[358] "Wie daar reist, … we weten het bij ervaring,—want we hebben drie maanden in Swatow gewoond en zijn toen naar Hakka-landen vertrokken—ondervindt, al is de taal nauw verwant, toch nog groote moeilijkheden. / Het éénlettergrepig karakter der Chineesche talen en de toonvariaties maken elke geringe afwijking dadelijk tot een puzzle. / Men krijgt ten slotte zooveel klanken in het hoofd, dat een zachtaardige vorm van krankzinnigheid het tragische, maar onvermijdelijke lot is van iederen ernstigen sinoloog. Naast het werken in loodwit-fabrieken, is de studie der Zuid-Chineesche talen en dialecten wel de gevaarlijkste en verraderlijkste arbeid, waaraan men zich wijden kan. / Bovendien moet men over een onuitputtelijk geduld beschikken, daar men telkens weer het geleerde kwijt raakt." Vleming, *Het Chineesche zakenleven*, 44.

[359] "Het was mij voornamelijk te doen om de geleidelijke overgang der dialecten in deze streken op te merken en te zien in hoeverre ik met mijne kennis van Amoy, Chiangchew, Ch'aochowfu en Hakka mij op deze reis zou kunnen verstaanbaar maken. Bij Thaipu was ik weer geheel in de Hakkalanden, maar het bleek me toch, dat deze taal van Kiayingchow nog aanmerkelijk verschilt." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 31 October 1897, in No. 998/425, 8 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[360] "Onze verhouding tot de bevolking is … uitstekend. We worden hoogst zelden gescholden en zelfs verwonderlijk weinig aangegaapt." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow 31 October 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[361] "Op eene wandeling door de stad werd de Heer de Bruin voordurend door een drietal opgeschoten kerels voor 'vreemden duivel', 'vreemden hond' enz. uitgescholden. Op een gegeven oogenblik begon dit mijn collega te vervelen—hij draaide zich om en vatte een der kerels bij de kraag. Deze beweerde toen, niet gescholden te hebben en de Heer de Bruin liet hem los." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 31 October 1897, in No. 998/425, 8 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[362] "… dat wij Hollandsche ambtenaren waren, die volkomen goed recht hadden hier

te wonen en dat ons geen overlast mocht worden aangedaan." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 31 October 1897, in No. 998/425, 8 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[363] "一則緝拿番鬼之頭者, 懸賞花紅貳佰大元。該花紅到公議局內領給, 決不食言。" (punctuation added) Chinese text and English translation (not quoted here) by Kwan Han Chang, interpreter from Peking at the Dutch Consulate General in Hong Kong (no number), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[364] "Het was mij uit den aard der zaak moeilijk de conversatie te voeren aangezien mijne kennis van het mandarijnsch zowel als van het Hakka hoogst onvolkomen is." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 31 October 1897, in No. 998/425, 8 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[365] "有在此學習土音之和國繙譯官名施達闢者來署求見, 備言匿名揭帖之事。卑職當即告以洋人在內地遊歷, 地方有司自當照約隨時保護, 斷無他虞, 一時無稽讕語, 原不足憑, 屬其不必滋疑, 好言撫慰。" (punctuation added) Chinese text and English translation (not quoted here) by Kwan Han Chang, (no number), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[366] George Campbell and his wife Jennie Wortman Campbell, missionaries of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, served in South China in 1887–1916 (Connecticut Archives online).

[367] Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 31 October 1897, in No. 998/425, 8 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[368] "卑職一面出示曉喻居民務各要安分守法, 嚴禁毋向洋人尋衅滋事混造謠言, 以期中外相安, 並飭差訪拿匿名揭帖棍徒, 務獲究辦在案。… 派撥兵役將各洋人並教堂隨時保護。" (punctuation added) inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[369] "Dat de Chineesche misdadigers niet vergeleken kunnen worden met Europeesche, blijkt uit de veiligheid, waarmede men, uitgezonderd in tijden van vreemdelingen-haat, als men de taal van de streek kent, in de binnenlanden reizen kan. / We hebben verschillende malen geslapen in herbergen, tien, twaalf dagreizen van de kust, met honderd à honderd-vijftig van de meest laagstaande individuen om ons heen, zonder geleide en zonder wapenen, en toch hebben we nooit eenigen last ondervonden." De Bruin, "De raadselachtige Chinees," *De Sumatra Post*, 30 September 1910.

[370] "Eene sobere levenswijze, gepaard aan stoere kracht en eene zeldzame volharding, vormen juist het kenmerk van dit hoogst sympathieke volk. / De maanden, doorgebracht te midden van de Hakka's, behooren tot de aangenaamste van m'n leven." De Bruin protested against the view of some Dutch officials that the Hakkas were "weak and often smoke opium." De Bruin, *De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra*), 45.

[371] Letter from Van de Stadt, Swatow, 10 August 1897 (not numbered), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[372] "*Verschillen met de Hoklo.* Hakka beteekent vreemdeling, en wèl verdienen de Hakka's hunnen naam. Wie onder de Hakka's zou gaan woonen, zonder eerst in andere streken van China vertoefd te hebben, zou een geheel verkeerde indruk van den aard en de gewoonten der Chineezen krijgen.

Toestand der vrouw. Er is één factor, tot welke alle eigenaardigheden terug te brengen zijn, welke de Hakka's van de hun omringende Chineezen onderscheiden. Deze factor is, dat bij de Hakka's het geene gewoonte is, dat de vrouwen hare voeten kunstmatig verkleinen. Het is ongelooflijk welk een verschil deze omstandigheid veroorzaakt. De vrouw der Hoklo's (Ch'ao chow fu) is een opgeverfde pop, die slechts in zooverre nut heeft, als ze het middel is om een nageslacht te vormen. Zij kan zich niet anders bewegen dan met den gang van iemand die, met schaatsen onder de voeten, over land moet loopen. Tot werk van eenige beteekenis is zij ten eenenmale ongeschikt. Men ziet haar zelden op straat, en met de schuwheid van een ree slaat zij van achter haar rieten gordijntje, dat voor de deur hangt, nieuwgierig den vreemdeling gade. Heel anders is de Hakka vrouw. Fier als een Koningin, met eene houding waard in marmer gebeeld houwd te worden, schrijdt zij daarheen. Zij is een levend en denkend wezen en heeft haar aandeel in het dagelijksch werk. Op haar steunt haar huisgezin minstens evenzeer als op haar echtgenoot. Het gevolg van hare geschiktheid tot arbeid buitenshuis is vanzelf een meer ongedwongen en natuurlijken omgang met de andere sexe. Wanneer men met een Chineesche passagiersboot te Kia-ying-chow aankomt,

wordt de schuit onmiddellijk als het ware bestormd door eene zwerm van vrouwen, die begeerig zijn de bagage der nieuw aangekomen[en] te dragen. En men behoeft niet angstvallig te zijn haar zware lasten toe te vertrouwen; zij zijn over het algemeen sterker of althans meer geoefend in het dragen, dan de mannen. Een groot aantal vrouwen verdient haar brood, door van den morgen tot den avond zware emmers met water van de rivier naar de verschillende hoeken der stad te dragen; voor een bepaalde afstand is een vast tarief van enkele cash. Kleerenwasschen geschiedt ook hoofdzakelijk door vrouwen en zelfs de vrouwen der meest gegoede ingezetenen gaan zelf aan den oever der rivier hare eigene kleeren reinigen. Aan vroolijkheid en scherts ontbreekt het nooit als de schippers der omliggende schuiten haar onschuldige aardigheden toeroepen, hebben ze altijd een bijdehand antwoord gereed. Men moet onder andere Chineezen geleefd hebben om te kunnen beseffen hoe on-Chineesch dit gedrag is. Onze Chaochowfu meester en ook onze Amoy-koelie ergerden zich dood over de brutaliteit der Kiayingchowsche schoonen. …

Zindelijkheid. Wat de Hakka's voorts nog gunstig onderscheidt is hunne zindelijkheid. Wie door de straten van de stad Amoy wandelt en daarna door die van Kiaying, zal het hemelsbreed verschil onmiddellijk opmerken. Ook op hun lichaam zijn de Hakka's rein, zij baden zich iederen avond geheel met warm water.

Taal. Veel belangrijker dan de verschillen in gewoonten, gebruiken en kleederdrachten, is het verschil in taal met de omringende bewoners. Een Hoklo kan van het Hakka dialect absoluut geen woord verstaan, terwijl een Nanking of Peking-Chinees zich zonder veel bezwaar zou kunnen doen begrijpen. … / De Hakka's zijn er trots op tot de Noordelijke stammen te behooren en beschouwen de Hoklo's en de Cantonneezen veelal als overwonnelingen, die eigenlijk geen recht op den naam van Chineezen hebben, 'de taal der Hoklo's is geen taal, het is slechts een soort stamelen,' beweerde onze meester in Kiayingchow. / Deze drang om tot de Noordelijke Chineezen gerekend te worden brengt vele Hakka's ertoe Mandarijnsch te leeren, en bijna iedere Kia-ying-er van eenige ontwikkeling kan Mandarijnsch vrij zuiver spreken. / We hebben er dikwijls last mee gehad, dat onze meesters uit pedanterie mandarijnsche uitdrukkingen gebruikten, die onder het lage volk niet verstaan worden."

"Nota van den candidaat-ambtenaar voor Chineesche Zaken P.A. van de Stadt," with the title: "Eenige opmerkingen betreffende de Hakka-Chineezen" (Some remarks about the Hakka Chinese), in: "Nota betreffende de mogelijkheid eener verdeeling van Zuid-China in verband met de emigratie van Chineezen naar Nederlandsch Indië" (Memorandum concerning the possibility of a partition of Southern China in connection with Chinese emigration to the Netherlands Indies), Geheim (secret), 20 January 1898, inv. 15, toegang 2.05.27.01. Also in inv. 1343, toegang 2.05.38 (originally B-146).

[373] Letter from Haver Droeze to the Minister of Foreign Affairs accompanying his report about the possible annexation, 20 January 1898, secret, inv. 15, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[374] For instance, by way of preparation, land surveyors should be sent posing as language students! After annexation, free schools were to be set up for teaching the Malay language. Report (*nota*) dated 20 January 1898, inv. 15, toegang 2.05.27.01. The report sent to The Hague is in inv. 1343, toegang 2.05.38 (B-146 dossier). Not all appendices could be found, for instance the Basler Mission's map of the Hakka districts.

[375] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 208-16.

[376] Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 18 November 1897, in No. 1052/447, 25 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[377] Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Swatow, 22 December 1897, in No. 1110/471, 24 December 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[378] IB 21/12/1897 no. 15 in No. 12/8, 4 January 1898, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[379] Letter from Droeze to the Governor-General, No. 43, 12 January 1898, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[380] They received half pay (*wachtgeld*) as from that date. IB 28/1/1898, no. 7 inv. 8174.

[381] IB 20/2/1898, no. 10 inv. 8176.

[382] Five Officials for Chinese Affairs were transferred in a row. Hoetink left for China, Stuart was 'promoted' to Batavia, Borel to Surabaya, Van Wettum to Makassar, and Thijssen began at the 'bottom' in Pontianak. IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.

Notes to Chapter Eleven

[1] Earlier manuscript dictionaries such as the Dutch–Chinese dictionary by Justus Heurnius (1628, *see Catalogue* 2005, 69-70 and Kuiper, "Earliest Monument") and the Chinese–Latin word list of J.Th. Royer (eighteenth century, *see Catalogue* 2005, 12-13) were known to Hoffmann, but seem to have had no influence on him.

[2] The lithographic reprint by Von Siebold and Ko Tsching-dschang was published as *Wa Kan won seki sio gen zi ko = Thesaurus Linguae Japonicae*. The margin (*banxin* 版心) title of the original book was *Shogen jikō*. Title on title-page: *Wakan onshaku shogen jikō* 和漢音釋書言字考. Official title: *Zōho-Gōrui daisetsuyōshū* 增補合類大節用集 (Ser. 38, Kerlen no. 462). In this dictionary the words are arranged in *iroha* order according to subject.

[3] Kern, "Levensbericht," 5. Hoffmann, *Japanese–English dictionary* (1881), Preface.

[4] Until 1862 Japanese and Chinese affairs were the responsibility of the Minister of Colonies and the Governor-General of the Indies.

[5] Report by Hoffmann 2 March 1856, in V 14/3/1856 VA no. 147 Geheim (secret) inv. 5876. First request from the Minister 28 April 1855 and first report by Hoffmann 30 August 1855 in V 8/5/1856 VA no. 252/13 Geheim inv. 5879.

[6] *Proeve eener Japansche spraakkunst* (A tentative grammar of Japanese), van J.H. Donker Curtius, toegelicht, verbeterd en met uitgebreide bijvoegselen vermeerderd door J. Hoffmann (Leiden: Sythoff 1857).

[7] Hoffmann, *Mededeeling*, 1860. The matrices had been made from a set of 5,375 type bought from the London Missionary Society in Hong Kong. *See also:* Lehner, *Der Druck chinesischer Zeichen in Europa*, 191-208. In 1862 another set of type was dispatched to the Government Press (*Landsdrukkerij*) in Batavia (V 17/2/1864 no. 17 inv. 1440; *see* Chapter Twelve, Working as Interpreters and Translators, section "The Establishment of a Chinese Printing Facility in Batavia (1862)").

[8] Sijthoff could print 800 or 600 copies for lower prices. Budget in Hoffmann's letter to the Minister dated 6 May 1861, in V 19/8/1861 no. 20 inv. 1089.

[9] Upon receipt of 300 copies. Letter from Napier to the Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 9 April 1861, in V 4/2/1861 no. 10 inv. 1027.

[10] "Mijn woordenboek zou zijn doel niet bereiken, indien er bij de Nederlandsche verklaring niet tevens een Engelsche gevoegd werd. Ook andere natiën zien naar de verschijning van dit werk uit. Bepaal ik mij tot de uitgave van een Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek, dan zal men spoedig in Engeland en Amerika een Japansch–Engelsch ervan maken en dit namaaksel zal buitenslands het oorspronkelijke werk verdringen." Letter from Hoffmann 24 May 1861, in V 19/8/1861 no. 20 inv. 1089.

[11] V 19/8/1861 no. 20 inv. 1089.

[12] The budget was published in *Staatsblad* no. 13, law of 5 January 1862 (V 1/2/1862 no. 7 inv. 1147).

[13] Royal Decree of 20 July 1862 no. 35, in V 25/7/1862 no. 66 (Exh.) inv. 1221.

[14] *See* Chapter Two, Hoffmann's Students, section "Competition for the Last Chance: Meeter."

[15] Both books have on the title page the year 1867, but the prefaces are dated May 1868. Of each edition 500 copies were printed; 250 copies of the Dutch edition were presented to Japan, and 45 complementary copies were distributed to institutions and scholars by the Ministry of Colonies. Of the English edition only 50 copies were sent to Japan and 30 complementary copies were distributed by the Ministry. One copy was offered to the King (V 25/7/1868 no. 15 inv. 2111).

[16] A German edition appeared as *Japanische Sprachlehre* in 1877. The English reprint and the German edition were published without government support by E.J. Brill in Leiden.

[17] *The Saturday Review* (London), 7 November 1868, pp. 630-1.

[18] 30 November 1868 (Serampore). Quoted in V 18/1/1869 no. E1 Kabinet inv. 6003.

[19] Quoted in V 18/1/1869 no. E1 Kabinet inv. 6003.

[20] Hepburn, *A Japanese and English Dictionary* (1867). Second edition *A Japanese–English and English–Japanese Dictionary* (Shanghai, 1872).

[21] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister in V 3/3/1870 no. 4 (Exh.) inv. 2300.

[22] This 'scientific' word order originated from Sanskrit; words are ordered according to

Japanese *kana* sequence as is still commonly done in Japan today (*a-i-u-e-o*, *ka-ki-ku-ke-ko*, etc.). This word order can be seen on a proof of four pages of the dictionary that Hoffmann had made in 1864. For instance, the first words on this proof were: *Káva, Káva-ávi, Káva-úso, Káva-óso, Káva-kákŭré*, etc. (proof in V 4/5/1875 no. 7 inv. 2782).

[23] For instance, Hoffmann distinguished *oho* オホ and *ou* オウ, although he was aware that both had the same pronunciation; therefore both were phonetically spelt ô by Hepburn. Hoffmann had maintained this traditional spelling and considered that the English and French had no right to complain about his Japanese orthography, as French and English also lacked a phonetic spelling. Japanese spelling itself was simplified in 1945.

[24] He would receive a remuneration of *f* 3,000 to be paid in three years and another *f* 2,000 upon completion. V 6/4/1875 no. 35 inv. 2775, V 9/4/1875 no. 26 inv. 2776. Royal Decree 11/4/1875 no. 15, in V 21/4/1875 no. 30 inv. 2779.

[25] Notarial act of 19 April 1875 passed at Hoffmann's house, in V 4/5/1875 no. 7 inv. 2782. *See also* V 9/4/1875 no. 26 inv. 2776.

[26] Proposal from the Minister of Colonies to the King in V 21/1/1875 Litt. TI Geheim inv. 6060. Royal Decree of 30 January 1875 no. 22 in V 5/2/1875 no. 24 inv. 2757. Short letter of thanks from Hoffmann in V 23/2/1875 no. 24 (Exh.) inv. 2762.

[27] *See also* Serrurier's preface to volume 1 of the *Japanese–English Dictionary* (1881).

[28] Report by Kern and Schlegel of 15 April 1878 in V 23/4/1878 no. 1 inv. 3089. Letter from the Minister to Serrurier in V 7/5/1878 no. 1 inv. 3095.

[29] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister dated 26 March 1879 in V 8/4/1879 no. 40 inv. 3188.

[30] According to plan 1,500 copies of the Japanese–English edition and 500 copies of the Japanese–Dutch one were printed (V 2/7/1879 no. 26 inv. 3208; V 5/5/1880 no. 60 (Exh.) inv. 3297).

[31] G. Schlegel: "Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek van wijlen Prof. Dr. J.J. Hoffmann," *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, 10 December 1881 no. 5, pp. 435-6.

[32] G. Schlegel, "Bulletin critique," *T'oung Pao* A 3 (1892), 521-7. Another version in Dutch: "Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI* (1893), 33-40.

[33] "Prof. Schlegel's zoogenaamde kritiek … beantwoord" and "Repliek op Mr. L. Serrurier's beantwoording …," both in 1893. Serrurier was known to be querulous, but Schlegel could also be pugnacious. *See also* Schlegel's "Desultory Notes on Japanese Lexicography," *T'oung Pao* A 4 (1893), 174-218.

[34] William George Aston (1841–1911) worked with the British consular service in Japan and Korea from 1864 to 1889 and was one of the major British Japanologists of the nineteenth century.

[35] Published in "Correspondance. Messrs Hoffmann and Serrurier's Japanese Dictionary," *T'oung Pao* A 4 (1893), 317-22. Aston also said that Hoffmann's complicated literal transcription system "will not commend itself to English readers."

[36] Letter from Serrurier dated October 1894, in V 1/11/1894 no. 21 (Exh.) inv. 4872.

[37] V 1/11/1894 no. 21 (Exh.) inv. 4872. V 29/4/1896 no. 30 inv. 5041.

[38] Letter from Serrurier dated 13/6/1896, in V 22/6/1896 no. 1 inv. 5056. Another argument was that the European interpreters of Chinese also all had a Chinese teacher/clerk.

[39] Letter from Serrurier 22/10/1897, letter from the Governor-General 29/11/1897, in V 3/3/1898 no. 2 inv. 5250.

[40] V 30/7/1898 no. 3 inv. 5287. This file has been destroyed, but it is quoted in V 21/1/1899 no. 49 inv. 5344.

[41] Letter from Serrurier 31/7/1898, letter from Governor-General 8/11/1898, in V 21/1/1899 no. 49 inv. 5344.

[42] Original letters of De Groot and Kern of 24 and 25 January 1899, letter to the Governor-General in V 4/2/1899 no. 14 inv. 5348. Typed versions of the letters in Bibliotheek Archief, M 86, 1921, letter no. 412, Leiden University Library.

[43] By Royal Decree of 28 February 1899 no. 25 of Queen Wilhelmina, the printed and unprinted sheets at Brill's, as well as the earlier instalments of the dictionary and the remaining 156 copies of the Dutch version of the Japanese grammar were allotted to Brill (V 14/3/1899 no. 29 inv. 5362). The remaining copies of both were sold for knockdown prices by Brill around 1977.

[44] A sympathetic obituary was published by A.A.W. Hubrecht in *De Gids* 65 (1901), 539-47.

[45] After Serrurier's widow passed away in 1920, the manuscripts were sent to the Ministry of Colonies and then to Leiden University Library. They are now kept in BPL 2180, BPL 2186:A (Special Collections Department). Vol. 24 has parts of both the Japanese–Dutch and the Japanese–German dictionary and is therefore counted twice (*Catalogue* 2005, 154-8).

[46] Hoffmann's and St. Aulaire's copies are now kept in the Hoffmann collection (III, IV), Special Collections, Utrecht University Library. St. Aulaire's copy has the title: "*Wên tszé yáo-liŏ [Wenzi yaolüe]* 文字要略, *Chineesch handwoordenboek bewerkt door Dr. J. Hoffmann*, Leiden 1849–1859." Both copies once belonged to Willem Vissering. Francken's copy was donated after his death to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences; it is probably still kept in the National Library in Jakarta (*Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 28 August 1866, pp. 209-11; 25 September 1866, pp. 230-1). (*See also* Chapter Two, Hoffmann's Students, section "Grammars and dictionaries").

[47] Schlegel and other Dutch sinologists never mentioned John van Nest Talmage's studies on Hokkien, probably because they only contained Amoy transcriptions and no Chinese characters. John van Nest Talmage was a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church of America.

[48] W.H. Medhurst, *A Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dialect of the Chinese Language, According to the Reading and Colloquial Idioms: Containing about 12,000 Characters, the Sounds of Tones of Which are Accurately Marked; and Various Examples of Their Use, Taken Generally from Approved Chinese Authors* (Batavia & Macau 1932).

[49] Full title: *Huiji Yasu tong Shiwu yin* 彙集雅俗通十五音. *See* Chapter Three, section "Learning to Speak Hokkien."

[50] Schlegel 1882–91, Introduction, pp. 1-3; De Grijs, *Woordenboek*, preface (*voorbericht*).

[51] "… daar elke uitdrukking, elk woord, uit den mond van Chineezen moest worden opgeteekend." (De Grijs, *Woordenboek*, voorbericht).

[52] *Emoisch Hollandsch woordenboek* (Amoy–Dutch dictionary), now in BPL 2104 I, *Catalogue*, 2005, 119-21.

[53] *Handboek bij het beoefenen van het Emoi dialect* (Handbook for studying the Amoy dialect) in three volumes, now in BPL 2104 II; *Catalogue* 2005, 121-2. Many words and translations are the same as in Francken's dictionary. Its scope is different from Schlegel's dictionary, since Schaalje only gave the colloquial language of Amoy, while Schlegel gave the written language in Tsiangtsiu dialect, sometimes adding the colloquial.

[54] André Henri Jacob Bloys van Treslong Prins (Batavia, 24 February 1848 – The Hague, 29 December 1888), worked in the sugar trade in Pasuruan from 1867 and later became director of a coffee company. He probably learned Chinese from his girlfriend Tan Pan Nio. She bore him two daughters in 1875 and 1877, who were acknowledged by him in 1882 (*De Indische Navorser* (1992), 50; *Nederland's Patriciaat* 8 (1917), 360). On 9 April 1875 he was at his request appointed unsalaried Chinese interpreter (*tolk voor de Chinesche taal buiten bezwaar van den lande*) in Pasoeroean, and he stayed in function until 1879 (IB 1/1/1875 no. 33 inv. 7619; IB 9/4/1875 no. 8 inv. 7625; *Regeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[55] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 3 March 1874, pp. 19-20. Since Francken's dictionary was still being printed, there was no opportunity to print another one.

[56] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* and *De Locomotief*, 29 November 1898.

[57] Dated Amoy 1860, written on slips of paper with character text in normal and cursive script, Amoy transcription, literal translation and free translation. About 250 have transcriptions and translations, 38 only have the Chinese text. Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.038; original shelf number SINOL. 5160.4 (*Catalogue* 2005, 138).

[58] Dated Canton 23 October 1862, revised Amoy 13 April 1863. BPL 2106 II: 11; *Catalogue* 2005, 138, 141. A manuscript copy by Hoetink without Chinese character text is kept in the Athenaeum Bibliotheek, Deventer (Van Slee, *Catalogus Hoetink*, 10).

[59] As this was to be published also, its contents were possibly incorporated in the dictionary. *See* below.

[60] "*Hollandsch–Chinesche & Chineesch–Hollandsche Woordenlijst der Familiebetrekkingen. Alphabetisch gerangschikt*. G. Schlegel. Kolongsu (Emoi) 1860" (Dutch–Chinese and Chinese–Dutch vocabulary of family relations, alphabetically arranged. G. Schlegel. Gulangyu (Amoy) 1860). Small manuscript booklet (8 ff., 9.6×6.6 cm). Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.036. *Catalogue* 2005, p. 136.

[61] *Benamingen der familiebetrekkingen onder de Chinezen* (Names of family relationships among the Chinese), BPL 2106 II 4 B. *Catalogue* 2005, 136. Schaalje also made a list of 48 Amoy riddles, BPL 2106 II.7; *Catalogue* 2005, 138.

[62] In his dictionary Schlegel mentioned that the interpreters had agreed about the standard translations which he used (*[Hoog]gerechtshof* (High Court),Vol. I, p. 1328; *secretaris* (secretary) Vol. III, p. 830).

[63] *See* Chapter Twelve, section "The Techniques of Translation."

[64] BPL 2106 II: 35 (*Catalogue* 2005, 150, 151 ill. no. 48). This is followed by a list of geographical names in the Indies. A list with the same title is in BPL 2106 II: 12 C (*Catalogue* 2005, 140). This list must date from before 1863, since the word *Koning* (King) is still translated as *Huangdi* 皇帝 (Emperor). *See* Chapter Five, section "Preparing for the Embassy."

[65] Schlegel made additions such as the names of some fruits, vices, sexual organs and so on.

[66] Hoetink's copy is kept in the Athenaeum Bibliotheek (Deventer) (but could not be located), Stuart's copy is in a private collection, and De Jongh's is in the East Asian Library, Leiden. The last two copies are kept in Archiefkast 3C, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.042 and 27.043. The last copy was owned by J.J.L. Duyvendak, but seems not to have been written in his hand.

[67] BPL 2106 II 23; *Catalogue* 2005, 146-7.

[68] In Dutch: "gebrek aan de daartoe noodige lettertijpen." *Notulen*, 27 November 1866, pp. 255-6; 27 December 1866, pp. 274-5; 26 March 1871, p. 23. For Schaank's work on a Hakka dialect (1897), *see* Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, second section about Schaank.

[69] Hou Jingyi 侯精一主编, Zhou Changji 周长楫编写, *Xiamenhua yindang* 厦门话音档, 48.

[70] The importance of Tsiangtsiu pronunciation can be seen from the fact that the name "Amoy" (Dutch Emoi) seems derived from the Tsiangtsiu pronunciation Ē muî˘ rather than from the Amoy pronunciation Ē mɛˆng.

[71] It was based on his colleague J. Pohlman's manuscript vocabulary of the Amoy dialect. Pohlman was a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church of America, who came to Singapore in 1838, then went together with Doty to Pontianak and in 1844 to Amoy. On 5 January 1849, Pohlman drowned on the way from Hong Kong to Amoy (Wylie, *Memorials*, 111-2).

[72] Medhurst writes in his preface that he consulted Walker's and Sheridan's pronouncing dictionaries.

[73] Doty, *Manual*, p. I.

[74] From the English introduction. The Dutch text is: "Zooals men ziet, verschilt onze schrijfwijze in sommige opzichten van die van *Douglas*, hoewel wij, in China zijnde, en ons systeem van transcriptie vastgesteld hebbende, ons veel moeite gegeven hebben, hem tot ons systeem over te halen, hetgeen ons echter slechts gedeeltelijk gelukte." (p. 23).

[75] Schlegel chose to write the tone marks on the last vowel. Douglas used hyphens consistently. In Francken's dictionary, no hyphens are used in compounds (with some exceptions, for instance pp. 569, 570, 572), while Schlegel's dictionary sometimes used hyphens (*see* the table of Schlegel's transcription system compared with other systems in Appendix letter I).

[76] Klöter, *Written Taiwanese*, Chapter 3. Xu Chang'an 许长安, Li Leyi 李乐毅, *Minnan baihuazi* 闽南白话字, 32-6.

[77] *Hanyu fangyin zihui* 汉语方音字汇 (1989, second edition) has pronunciation lists of Chinese characters in twenty dialects. In these lists the Amoy dialect has twice as much space as the others, because it includes the literary pronunciations.

[78] Klöter, *Written Taiwanese*, 18-19 (1.3.1), quoting others.

[79] Yuan Jiahua 袁家骅 [et al.], *Hanyu fangyan gaiyao* 汉语方言概要, 第二版，北京：文字改革出版社, 1989, 249.

[80] Francken and De Grijs, *Woordenboek*, 379, 22. The pronunciation *má˘* is based on *Shiwu yin*.

[81] In Chinese linguistics, *xunzi* 訓字, gloss characters or characters that are used for their meaning only (Klöter: semantic loan characters), are contrasted with *benzi* 本字, original characters (Klöter: etymological characters). In Cantonese, characters are also often used for their pronunciation only or as phonological loan characters (Klöter, *Written Taiwanese*, 321-35 (1.5.2-3)), but these *baizi* 白字 are seldom used in nineteenth-century Southern Min.

[82] In Francken and De Grijs' dictionary, 558, 286 (misprint) and 200.

[83] In Northern China, the same problem can occur when one wishes to write the colloquial language (Mullie, *Chineesch taaleigen*, Voorwoord, p. VI).

[84] In the twentieth century again attempts have been made to write Taiwanese (Southern Min) in characters. Klöter, *Written Taiwanese,* 193-213 (5.4). Modern dialect dictionaries from China also use characters to represent dialect words as far as possible, for instance Li Rong zhubian 李榮主編, *Xiamen fangyan cidian* 廈門方言詞典, Nanjing 2002.

[85] Used for foreign names and words, for instance *Catalogue* 2005, 77, 78, 84; also in Hakka dialect, pp. 179 (no. 8), 183 (no. 23).

[86] *Lan* in *Hôlan* has another tone than the original character in 蘭 *lân*, "orchid" (Francken, *Woordenboek*, 331, probably quoting *Zengbu huiyin* 增補彙音, *juan* 2, p. 1). In this case the mouth radical may indicate a change in tone. Also written 啉嚩.

[87] Klöter, *Written Taiwanese*, 58 (2.2.1). *Cf.* list in Cheung, Bauer, *Representation of Cantonese*, 346-94.

[88] These characters are called dialect characters (*fangyanzi* 方言字). The word *pak* is probably an early Taiwanese loanword from Dutch *pachten*, "to rent, to farm (out)" (*Cf.* Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, vol. III, p. 147 "onverpacht").

[89] Douglas, *Dictionary*, Preface, p. ix.

[90] In the introduction to his own dictionary, Schlegel put the blame on the "administrative restrictions" of the Government Press (p. 3).

[91] *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directie-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1862–1922*, Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, vol. 1 (1862/1863) – vol. 59 (1921), Batavia: Lange & Co. [etc.].

[92] Decision of 14 January 1866 no. 42. *Notulen*, 28 June 1866, pp. 170-1. IB 14/1/1866 no. 42 inv. 7407. Books bought with the government allowance for books remained government property.

[93] *Notulen* IV, 28 June 1866, pp. 170-1.

[94] Albrecht's nota was published in the *Notulen* IV of 28 August 1866, pp. 209-10.

[95] *Notulen* IV, 28 August 1866, p. 211.

[96] Schlegel certainly meant the printing of Chinese translations of Netherlands-Indies laws and regulations applicable to the Chinese. The Society's "own" printer (De Lange & Co, later Bruining & Co.) did not have Chinese type. Before, when the Society had books printed with Chinese characters, they had had to borrow type from the Government Press, which was very inconvenient (*Notulen*, 30 October 1871, pp. 69-70). In 1870, the Government Press also printed for the Society's journal *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* some articles by Schlegel and Schaalje with Chinese characters (*Notulen*, 26 March 1871, p. 22).

[97] A set of Chinese matrices had been produced by Tetterode in Amsterdam in 1860, from which type had been cast for Sijthoff in 1860 and for the Government Press in Batavia in 1862.

[98] *Notulen* IV, 25 September 1866, pp. 229-32.

[99] IB 5/2/1867 no. 44, inv. 7433. *Notulen*, 26 February 1867, p. 16. There are two misprints in the minutes. The allowance of "*f* 26" should be "*f* 16," and the "6 pages" per sheet should be "8 pages."

[100] *Notulen*, 20 December 1870, p. 92.

[101] *Notulen*, 26 March 1871, pp. 22-3.

[102] *Notulen* 1872, 3 October 1871, pp. 69-71.
[103] *Notulen* 1872, 13 February 1872, p. 9. They printed 250 copies, of which 50 were given to Schlegel.
[104] *Notulen* 1872, 2 April 1872, no. 35; 14 May 1872, p. 54; 4 June 1872, p. 69. At first Schlegel needed 300-400 new characters, to be carved by Lim Toa Long, but later he needed more and the price of carving had more than doubled.
[105] He left Batavia on 20 June (*Notulen* 1872, 4 June 1872, p. 72).
[106] Letter to Schlegel dated 27 February 1873 quoted in Schlegel's and Hoffmann's report of 9 April 1873 (p. 25), in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.
[107] *Notulen*, 1872, 19 November 1872, p. 159.
[108] *Notulen*, 17 December 1872, p. 171.
[109] Letter from De Grijs of 8 January 1873, mentioned in *Notulen*, 1873, 4 February 1873, p. 13.
[110] Schlegel's and Hoffmann's report of 9 April 1873 (p. 25), in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589; *Nota* dated 15 June 1875, dossier 144, inv. 180, toegang 2.04.26.02, Ministry of Home Affairs, Cabinet Archives.
[111] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, pp. 2-3.
[112] Letter from De Grijs dated 27 December 1873, *Notulen*, 20 January 1874, p. 8. In the preface to the dictionary, De Grijs wrote that he had made sparing use of his right to make additions, and omitted or changed very little. One of the things that he probably added were the Latin names of plants.
[113] Letter from De Grijs dated 27 March 18 74, *Notulen*, 14 April 1874, p. 41.
[114] *Notulen* 1875, 13 July 1875, pp. 99-100.
[115] The directors would also contact the Government Press. *Notulen* 1875, 7 September 1875, p. 13.
[116] Page 407 has survived as the back cover of one of the books in his library, one volume of *Jinghuayuan* 鏡花緣 (SINOL. KNAG 199). About 2.5 cm of the right margin of the text was cut off.
[117] This proof page contains 53 characters, of which 31 were printed in the proof and 22 were added by De Grijs. He also made 10 corrections in the Dutch text and 6 in the transcription, mainly tones.
[118] Douglas, *Chinese–English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (1873).
[119] Douglas much regretted that he had to leave out the Chinese characters. One reason was the difficulty of finding the correct characters for many colloquial words and expressions, but the main problem was that the printer in England did not have Chinese type and it was inconvenient to have the dictionary printed in Canton. In the *Supplement* to this dictionary by Thomas Barclay, published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai in 1923, characters were added to each main entry in the margin.
[120] *Notulen* 1879, 1 April 1879, pp. 59-61.
[121] The printing of each sheet cost *f* 16, the paper about *f* 8: in total *f* 24 per sheet. The 20 sheets would cost a total of *f* 480.
[122] In his preface to the dictionary, De Grijs stated that Francken was too modest and prudent to hurry the publication of his work; Francken was well aware of its shortcomings, and knew how many years of experience, study and criticism were necessary to compile a complete dictionary.
[123] *Notulen* 1879, 5 August 1879, pp. 127-128.
[124] The proofs of the preface were to be corrected by Groeneveldt. *Notulen* 1882, 7 March 1882, p. 50.
[125] Characters were left out except in the main entries from p. 520 (*Sien* 仙) onwards.
[126] The estimation of the number of sheets to be printed was evidently incorrect, as pages 1-520 consist of 65 sheets, and pages 521 to 774 consist of 32 sheets (in total 97 sheets). In the the years 1879 to 1882, the printing costs for the Batavian Society amounted to *f* 900 (*Notulen*, 6 January 1880, p. 13, *f* 100; 4 January 1881, p. 6, *f* 400; 7 February 1882, p. 23, *f* 400). This *f* 900 corresponds to the printing costs of about 30 sheets.
[127] *Notulen*, 10 October 1882, p. 160. There were 277 members in December 1882.

Although published by the Batavian Society, the dictionary was not a volume of the *Verhandelingen*.

[128] Matthijs Siegenbeek (1774–1854) was appointed as the first professor of Dutch language and literature in the Netherlands at Leiden University in 1797. At the request of the government he devised a new spelling in 1804 that became the standard for government use.

[129] In 1883 the spelling devised by De Vries and Te Winkel became obligatory in the Netherlands, and it remained in use until the 1940s.

[130] Respectively on pp. 443, 108, 124, 330, 18 and pp. 460, 515, 761, 696, 590. *Blaauw* also appears in the second half.

[131] An interpreter in Batavia, J.J. Roelofs, sent a letter to the editor of the *Java-bode* (dated 3 November, published 4 November 1882) stating that to his great surprise he (as a member of the Batavian Society) had received the dictionary the day before. He only knew that 150 pages had been printed in 1872, and assumed that the publication had been cancelled. Actually he should have known better, since as a member of the Batavian Society since 1877 he should have received the minutes of the Board meetings. He hoped that Schlegel's dictionary would appear sooner and concluded: "Such standard works supply an urgent need, which is felt incessantly and deeply when exercising our profession."

[132] This notice also announced the publication of Schlegel's dictionary. "Berichten en mededeelingen," *De Indische Gids* (1883), 287-8.

[133] Schaalje, *Handboek bij het beoefenen van het Emoi dialect*, preface, BPL 2104 II.

[134] Douglas' dictionary explicitly presents pronunciations in Tsiangtsiu and Tsintsiu (Quanzhou) dialects, but sometimes also in seven other dialects. He also mentions reading (literary) and colloquial pronunciations. All these different pronunciations can be searched as entries in his dictionary.

[135] For instance *ang á* 㤇仔 (p. 8), *hién ê lâng* (p. 105), *hin* 興 (p. 109). These appear mainly in the part edited by Schlegel. In a few cases, only a pronunciation between brackets is given, indicating that a certain word or saying only exists in Tsiangtsiu, for instance four sayings on p. 211, and one on p. 229. For a short appraisal of Francken's and Schlegel's dictionaries, *see* Sybesma, "A History of Chinese Linguistics in the Netherlands," 131-3.

[136] The addition of the sayings could not be confirmed, and Schlegel once even wrote that the sayings were not added (Schlegel's *nota* of 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589).

[137] There are a few mistakes, for instance *kiep* and *kiet* are between *kiaoh* and *kiem* (pp. 246-8); and *tsap* is between *tsang* and *tsao* (p. 672).

[138] In the minutes, two names of carvers are mentioned: Lim Toa Long (Chinese characters, *Notulen*, 2 April 1872, p. 35) and Lim Thao Long (wood-engraving, *Notulen*, 19 August 1873, p. 116). These names probably refer to the same person.

[139] "vischkorf," p. 191, in modern Mandarin *zhuó*, so it is a gloss character. Schlegel was fond of queer characters.

[140] Of course, types 2 and 3 can also be found in Mandarin, but not on such a large scale.

[141] The former character also has the cognate literary reading *tò* and the cognate colloquial reading *taò*; the latter also has the literary reading *tsì*.

[142] These are: *tîng ham, ē ham*, 頂睭, 下睭 bovenste en onderste ooglid (upper and lower eyelid); *gû bák ham*, 牛目銜oogkleppen van eene koe (blinders of a cow); *si˘ bák ham (se˘* bák ham) 生目疔 een strontje op het oog hebben (to have a sty in the eye); *bák tsiu ham ham*, 目珠蛉蛉 gezwollen oogen, door weenen of slapen (swollen eyes, from crying or sleeping).

[143] "dat is de gewoonte niet, dat is niet gebruikelijk," p. 340. Perhaps ū should be left out.

[144] "jongetje," in Tsiangtsiu pronunciation, p. 67. This word is listed under the main entry *gín* 嬰, with first entry *gín á* "child" (*kind*).

[145] "waarzegster, heks," p. 153.

[146] "een boosaardige vrouw, vrouw die de broek aan heeft," p. 238. *Pò̱* is Quanzhou pronunciation of Amoy *pò* (Douglas, p. 376). *Tsa bó̱*, "woman," is never written with the characters representing the sounds that are used in *Shiwu yin* (查厶).

[147] "door gaauw te willen eten de kom breken, *d.i.* door te veel overhaasting eene zaak bederven," p. 23.

[148] *Cf.* pp. 258, 306; 打, cognate reading *tá*, usually represents *p'ah*, "to hit." 欲 and 食 are glosses of *beh* and *tsiáh*.

[149] "een bijtende hond schreeuwt niet," p. 209.

[150] The cognate character of the third morpheme would be 酒 (p. 514).

[151] "veer, (van horologien, springmatrassen, enz.)," p. 89.

[152] Confusion by these mistakes can sometimes be avoided by looking at the preceding and following entries.

[153] The symbol for nasalisation ˜ is in Schlegel's system placed under the vowel, but for technical reasons it is placed here high after the vowel.

[154] Semarang was almost 600 km East of Batavia. When Medhurst, who was living in Batavia, had his Hokkien dictionary printed in Canton, almost 2,000 miles away, he was perhaps helped by a local proofreader.

[155] In the introduction to his dictionary (p. 3).

[156] "god die gezegd wordt alles te onderzoeken wat op aarde geschiedt" (p. 411).

[157] "naauw steegje, lett. 'Borsten-voel steegje'," Note: "Naam van een zeer naauw en donker steegje in Emoi, waar men de handen moet uitsteken om niet tegen elkander aan te loopen, en daardoor dikwijls de vrouwen die men ontmoet aan de borsten grijpt (Schl.)" (p. 85).

[158] "vleeschoogen, (tegen iemand die oneerbiedigelijk geen onderscheid tusschen ouderen en jongeren maakt)" (p. 48). This is an expression from the literary language not mentioned by Douglas.

[159] "een groote holle krab; een dik maar zwak mensch, iemand die den schijn van rijk heeft zonder het te zijn," p. 414. Not in Douglas.

[160] "aan de deur van *Pan*, (god der timmerlieden) met de bijl manoeuvreren, *d.i.* zijne kennis tegenover knapperen willen toonen" (p. 374).

[161] "compagnie, vereeniging. In Nederlandsch-Indië den gewonen titel voor Chinesche officieren" (p. 304). Douglas only has: "a firm, a trading company" (p. 245).

[162] "vendutie," p. 372. Note the mouth radical in *lê*. Probably a loanword from Portuguese *leilaõ* (Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Vol. III, p. 187). Other examples are in Schlegel, "Chinese Loanwords" (1890, pp. 39-40).

[163] Schlegel gives the characters 咖啡茶 and translates this as "brewed coffee" (*gezette koffie*, *Woordenboek*, Vol. II, p. 506).

[164] *Catalogue* 2005, frontispiece, pp. 97-8.

[165] Probably from Portuguese *capitaõ*, in Dutch *kapitein* (Hoetink, *So Bing Kong*, 355). This became all too clear to the editors of the minutes of the Chinese Council (Kong Koan) of Batavia when they were preparing the original eighteenth- and nineteenth-century minutes of the council meetings for publication. The reasons for these "omissions" were probably that this dictionary was in the first place compiled in Amoy and not in the Indies, and that the Dutch interpreters did not approve of the Kong Koan type of "translation" by transcribing the sounds of Dutch words (*see* Chapter Twelve, section "The Techniques of Translation.") and preferred to use authentic Chinese terminology.

[166] There is a reprint by 教會公報出版社 (臺灣教會公報社, Taiwan Church Press), Tainan 2008.

[167] *Nota* from Schlegel for the Minister of Colonies dated 9 April 1873, p. 26, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. He had earlier referred to the need of a good English–Chinese or Dutch–Chinese dictionary in letters to the editor in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 10 and 24 December 1866.

[168] *Nota* for the Secretary General of Home Affairs, dated 15 July 1875, in dossier 144 (1875), inv. 180, Kabinetsarchief, toegang 2.04.26.02.

[169] Report by Schlegel dated 5 July 1875, in V 6/7/1875 no. 22 (Exh.) inv. 2798.

[170] Schlegel, *Chineesche Taalstudie* (1877), 11.

[171] "… eene behoefte waarin, naar ik vrees, later wellicht nooit zal kunnen worden voorzien, daar het geduld, om den reuzenarbeid aan dit woordenboek besteed voort te zetten en te voltooien, bij mij alleen geschraagd werd door liefde tot de wetenschap en het verlangen mijn vroegere collega's, de tolken in Ned. Indië, de hun door de regeering opgedragen werkzaamheden te vergemakkelijken." Letter by Schlegel 12 June 1881, p. 8, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430.

[172] Appendix to Schlegel's letter of 12 June 1881, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430.

[173] "Ambtenaren van het binnenl. bestuur of van de regterlijke macht zullen wel zoo verstandig zijn om niet te trachten met de Chineezen Chineesch te spreken, maar hen te dwingen Maleisch te spreken." V 22/6/1881 no. 17 inv. 3417.

[174] Bureau A[1]'s advice of 16/6/1881 and H. van der Wijck's comments in V 22/6/1881 no. 17 inv. 3417.

[175] The first instalment had appeared in 1864. Volume 1 containing A to Aluin would be completed in 1882, the last volume 43 in 1998. It is the largest dictionary in the world (3 m). *See* note 158 in Chapter Eight on Matthias de Vries.

[176] Letter of 29 June 1881 in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430.

[177] The list was probably made by Duprat in Paris, since the prices were in francs. It included the dictionary of De Guignes (1813, 1829), two dictionaries by W.H. Medhurst (1842 and 1847), Robert Morrison's dictionary (1815) and reprint (1865), and J.A. Gonçalvez's Portuguese and Chinese dictionary (1831–3).

[178] Comprising *f* 8,448.15 for the grammar, *f* 1,999.06 for the dictionary and twice *f* 3,000 remuneration for Hoffmann and Serrurier each.

[179] Probably as a translation of the Dutch text, not as a separate English–Chinese version since that would amount to writing a second dictionary

[180] "Uit hetgeen Dr. Schlegel mij mededeelde heb ik moeten afleiden dat een Engelsche tekst aan het werk weinig groter debiet zou verschaffen, omdat de Engelschen, voor zoover zij Chineesch schrift moeten schrijven, of lezen, hunne tolken hebben, en het woordenboek voor de spreektaal niet baat." Comments in the left margin, V 22/7/1881 no. 29 inv. 3426.

[181] "Inderdaad een verschrikkelijk denkbeeld voor den auteur, dat al dat werk ten eeuwigen dage slechts manuscript blijven zou!" Comments in the left margin, V 22/7/1881 no. 29 inv. 3426.

[182] "Wanneer de uitgave thans niet tot stand kwam, zou willicht nimmer in de bestaande behoefte aan een Nederlandsch–Chineesch woordenboek kunnen worden voorzien, ten gevolge van de bijna onoverkomelijke bezwaren aan de bewerking verbonden, waardoor slechts zeer zelden een geleerde den moed zou bezitten die taak op zich te nemen, en tot een goed einde te brengen." V 22/7/1881 no. 29 inv. 3426.

[183] Royal Decree no. 29, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430.

[184] The publication plan was announced in *De Indische Gids* (1881), 812-3.

[185] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister dated 13 June 1887, in V 10/1/1888 no. 33 inv. 4120.

[186] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister 5 May 1882 and answer, in V 9/5/1882 no. 27 inv. 3516.

[187] Letter from Schlegel to Minister 15 May 1882, in V 26/5/1882 no. 21 inv. 3521.

[188] No provisional title-page could be found, because it was probably always replaced by the definitive page, but its contents are mentioned in a review of the dictionary in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of 13 May 1883. *See* next section, "The Reception of the Dictionary."

[189] V 26/5/1882 no. 21 inv. 3521.

[190] Letter from Governor-General 14 September 1882, in V 10/11/1882 no. 21 inv. 3580.

[191] V 28/10/1882 no. 16 inv. 3577.

[192] Draft list in V 10/11/1882 no. 21 inv. 3580.

[193] Schlegel's list with comments in V 30/11/1882 no. 38 inv. 3585. Final list in V 12/5/1884 no. 13 inv. 3753.

[194] Schlegel here mentioned the number of type, not the number of new matrices, which was only 389; probably of each new matrix ten new type were made for Brill. There were 223 new matrices in 1882–3 (V 26/6/1883 no. 15 inv. 3648, V 26/2/1884 no. 16 inv. 3728, with list), 71 new matrices in 1884 (V 21/3/1885 no. 6 inv. 3841), and 95 new matrices in 1885–6 (V 11/5/1886 no. 11 inv. 3953, with list). Later it was stated that usually 20 type were sent to Brill, and 50 type to Batavia (V 17/11/1888 no. 54 inv. 4210). The typesetter first made new type by cutting up and piecing together existing type; then the type foundry Tetterode in Amsterdam made new matrices from these.

[195] Price mentioned in "Het Chineesch–Nederlandsche woordenboek van Prof. Schle-

gel," review of the dictionary in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of 13 May 1883 (derde blad).

[196] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, (Dutch and English) Preface.

[197] He must have meant the large number of new Chinese books that came to the library in the years 1878–81; these books had become even more accessible after the publication of his catalogue in 1883. *See* Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, section "The Expansion of the Chinese Library."

[198] "… eene verkeerde vertaling der verordeningen, publicaties, wetten enz. voor de in onze Koloniën zoo talrijke bevolking Chineezen, eene slechte interpretatie bij rechtspraak, kunnen tot schromelijke onbillijkheden niet alleen, maar ook tot groote schade, zoowel voor het Gouvernement als voor de onderdanen aanleiding geven, zooals ik dit, tijdens mijn verblijf in Indië maar al te dikwerf ondervonden heb." Letter by Schlegel 13 June 1887, in V 10/1/1888 no. 33 inv. 4120.

[199] Letter by Schlegel 13 June 1887, in V 10/1/1888 no. 33 inv. 4120.

[200] "Bij uitgave van wetenschappelijke ondernemingen schijnt men nooit vrij te kunnen blijven van achteraankomende hinkelende paarden." In V 20/6/1887 no. 28 inv. 4063.

[201] V 20/6/1887 no. 28 inv. 4063.

[202] Request for Royal Approval in V 2/1/1888 no. 37 inv. 4118. Royal Decree of 6 January 1888 no. 27 in V 10/1/1888 no. 33 inv. 4120.

[203] The completion with Supplement was announced in *T'oung Pao* A 2 (no. 1, February 1891), 99. Shorter lists of errata and additions had previously been appended to completed volumes. The Supplement also contained a list of geographical names.

[204] Dates of distribution by the Ministry of Colonies are in V 28/10/1882 no. 16 inv. 3577, V 3/11/1883 no. 64 inv. 3691, V 12/5/1884 no. 13 inv. 3753, V 12/11/1884 no. 20 inv. 3808, V 12/12/1885 no. 53 inv. 3913, V 24/12/1886 no. 69 inv. 4016, V 7/6/1887 no. 13 inv. 4059, V 12/12/1887 no. 20 inv. 4112, V 27/7/1888 no. 8 inv. 4176, V 4/6/1889 no. 11 inv. 4265, V 11/2/1890 no. 11 inv. 4342, V 27/4/1891 no. 16 inv. 4467. Dates of dispatch by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of receipt by Ferguson are in inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90.

[205] Half-sheets of 8 pages were used, not full sheets of 16 pages, so the actual number of sheets was 674.

[206] Exclusive of Preface (vii p.), Introduction (27 p.) and Supplement (61 p.).

[207] *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel*, 8 December 1882, quoted in "Berichten en Mededeelingen," "Twee Nederl.–Chineesche woordenboeken" in *De Indische Gids* (1883), 287.

[208] "Toch zal het woordenboek in de toekomst van veel nut kunnen zijn, daar de steeds in aantal, rijkdom en invloed toenemende chineesche bevolking in deze gewesten ondanks de bevolen inkrimping een aantal met de chineesche taal en zeden bekende Europesche ambtenaren zal noodig maken tot uitoefening eener controle en beteugeling van invloed der Chinezen …." "Alweer een Chineesch woordenboek," signed by 'U', *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 12 December 1882. Uilkens was a century later characterised as a "narrow-minded but calculating colonialist." Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 252.

[209] *The London and China Express* (weekly), 19 January 1883, pp. 65-6. Thanks are due to Mr. Graham Hutt of the British Library for providing copies of two articles from this journal.

[210] Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929) and Ishibashi Masakata, *An English–Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language*, 1875, 1st impression. In the reedition of 1905 the styles were no longer indicated.

[211] At the time this objection was already inappropriate, since such tone-marks were used in all Amoy transcription systems. Nowadays it has become irrelevant because similar marks are used in *pinyin*, the official Chinese transcription system.

[212] *The London and China Express,* 23 May 1884, p. 551. In later instalments Schlegel added more references to the source of quotations (*see* below).

[213] Published as "Feuilleton": "Het Nederlandsch–Chineesch Woordenboek van Prof. Schlegel," in *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 13 May 1883 (Derde blad).

[214] Giles, *A Chinese–English Dictionary*, Preface, p. IX. For the main entries in this edition a still larger type was used.

[215] Published in *Travaux de la 6e Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leide* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1884), Vol. II, pp. 123-42.

[216] Unfortunately Schlegel's examples in his lecture are not very convincing, but the dictionary includes better ones. Perhaps he just felt that Dutch was more suitable because it was his native tongue. On the other hand, there are some remarkable grammatical similarities between Mandarin and Dutch in resultative constructions and aspect particles (Sybesma, *Het Chinees en het Nederlands zijn eigenlijk hetzelfde*).

[217] The so-called *Petersburger Sanskrit Wörterbuch* was published in 1852–75 in 7 volumes, edited by Rudolf Roth (1821–95) and O. Böhtlingk (1815–1904). Schlegel had used the same argument in his inaugural lecture in 1877 (*Chineesche Taalstudie*, 11).

[218] After his appeal had been accepted, he wrote a *Note concerning the urgency of a complete Chinese and English and English and Chinese Dictionary*, which was presented to the Council of the Congress (*Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leide*, Première partie (Leiden: Brill, 1884) 231-5). He voiced a similar appeal in the English Introduction to his dictionary (note on p. 7).

[219] *6e Bulletin du Congrès International des Orientalistes, 1883, 10-15 Septembre, Leiden*, p. 4.

[220] Schlegel, always eager for recognition, wrote in 1880 in his "Réponse aux critiques de l'*Uranographie Chinoise*," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI* (1880) that his *Uranographie Chinoise* should have been awarded the prize in 1875, since Legge's *Chinese Classics*, though an outstanding work, had been published too early, the last volume appearing in 1872, and were therefore not eligible, while his *Uranographie* was the only suitable publication of the year 1875. Schlegel complained that the next year also, he did not get the award. Yet he did receive the gold medal for this book at the Geography Congress in Paris in 1875 (Van Zijderveld, *Duitse familie*, 233-4).

[221] *See* complete list of laureates in the English Wikipedia under "Prix Stanislas Julien" with digital versions of *Comptes rendues des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres.* Later Dutch laureates were: M.W. de Visser (1914, *The Dragon in China and Japan*), Tjan Tjoe Som (1951, *Po Hu T'ung*), and Kristofer Schipper (1985, *Le Corps Taoïste*).

[222] The information on these reviews was supplied by Schlegel, mostly in his bibliography (*Liste chronologique*, 1902), except for the reviews by Uilkens, Meeter and of course Schmeltz.

[223] Notes of the Quarter, Excerpta Orientalia, p. 542. The receipt of instalments was also mentioned in the JRAS in the Proceedings of the anniversary meetings of 1883–6, but not afterwards.

[224] Quoted by Schlegel in his review of De Groot's *The Religious System of China* in *De Indische Gids* (1892), 1133 note 1. Schlegel gave no reference to the name or date of the German newspaper.

[225] *T'oung Pao* A 3 (1892), 532-63, p. 558. "Read at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London (1891)."

[226] "Anthropological work in Europe," in *The Popular Science Monthly* 41 (1892), 54-72, p. 56. A partial translation was published in a letter to the editor (*ingezonden*) as "Een Amerikaansch oordeel over de beoefening der Ethnographie in Nederland" (An American assessment of ethnograpical studies in the Netherlands) in *Het Vaderland*, 19 May 1892, no. 118 (eerste blad). Starr's "word-book" was doubtless a loan translation of Dutch *woordenboek* (dictionary).

[227] On shell-money, *see* Schlegel's dictionary, *kaurie* (cowrie, Vol. II, pp. 408-9) and *betaalmiddel* (currency, Vol I, p. 470). No reference to shell-money could be found in the first instalments (Vol. III).

[228] "Toen wij, in 1882 tot conservator benoemd, hierheen kwamen, was even te voren de eerste aflevering verschenen van zijn boven reeds aangehaald woordenboek. Daarin bladerende viel ons oog op eene mededeeling over schelpgeld, die in verband met een arbeid door een onzer Hamburgsche vrienden kort te voren uitgegeven onze aandacht trok. Wij bladerden verder; van dat tijdstip af hebben wij elke aflevering van dit werk onmiddellijk als het ware verslonden en wij hebben daaruit in hoofdzaak geput onze kennis der ethnographie van het Chineesche rijk. Betreffende het een of ander onderwerp ons willende onderrichten, hebben wij steeds baat gevonden bij dit werk dat … voor den overledene steeds een 'monumentum perennium' zal zijn." Dr. J.D.E. Schmeltz, "Prof. dr. G. Schlegel. †" *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 October 1903.

[229] Schlegel, "Het Godsdienststelsel in China," *De Indische Gids* (1892), 1132-8.
[230] "Subsidie voor een Engelsch boek," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 April 1892.
[231] This "enormous treasure" was, however, meagre (and unsystematic) compared to the real treasure trove in De Groot's *Religious System*.
[232] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister dated 8 June 1892, in V 11/6/1892 K8 inv. 6211.
[233] Cordier added that it not only contained all normal vocabulary, but also proper names such as Jupiter and Apollo. "Nécrologie," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 413-4.
[234] Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, under "Lexicography," p. 303, right below.
[235] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Vol. I, Preface, p. vi.
[236] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, "Aanhangsel," pp. 41-61. The wrong characters are typically a typesetter's mistakes. There is approximately one error every four pages, but unfortunately the list is far from complete. Moll also provided extra words that were added in the Supplement together with his name.
[237] This article mainly concerns Schlegel's and Douglas' opinions about the Sino–Japanese War of 1894–5, and it is a sequel to the discussions between Schlegel, Borel and others in Dutch newspapers about that war earlier that year. Meeter criticised Schlegel's support of the Chinese and his wariness about possible later Japanese aggression towards Southeast Asia, agreeing with Douglas that the arrogant Chinese had been justly taught a lesson by the Japanese and seeing no danger from Japan for Asia.
[238] "Dit woordenboek door zijn grooten omvang, vooral als het met wit papier doorschoten is en dan in vele deelen gebonden een geheele plank in een boekenkast vult, maakt ontegenzeggelijk een overweldigenden indruk op den leek in de Chineesche taalwetenschap. Het is dan ook een woordenboek van de *geschrevene* of zoogenaamde *boekentaal* der Chineezen, zoodat een beoefenaar der practische Chineesche taalstudie het allicht óf telkens te vergeefs zal opslaan, óf door de neiging van den samensteller om toch voor elk Nederlandsch woord een aequivalent in het Chineesch te vinden of..... te maken—hetgeen natuurlijk door het verschil in zeden en gewoonten eene onmogelijkheid is—dikwijls op een dwaalspoor gebracht zal worden. Het is alzoo een boek voor den Europeeschen kamergeleerde, die, zonder zelf ooit in China geweest te zijn, uit liefhebberij de Chineesche taal wil bestudeeren, en deze zal bij het gebruik van dat woordenboek de vele leemten daarin niet opmerken, doch op bijna elke bladzijde van den inhoud ontwaren, dat de bouwstoffen voor die uitgebreidheid hoofdzakelijk geleverd werden door de zooeven bedoelde obsceene Chineesche romannetjes. Maar de tolken voor de Chineesche taal in N.I., ten behoeve van wie het blijkens den titel 'hoofdzakelijk' is samengesteld, zullen het waarschijnlijk wel als onbruikbaar netjes in hunne boekenkasten laten staan." P.M. [Pieter Meeter], Geneva, March '95, "Twee professoren over China en Japan," *Java-bode*, 25 (and 26) April 1895.
[239] Surprisingly, Borel did not identify the author, the sinologist "P.M." Meeter had lived in Leiden and worked with Schlegel during Borel's studies there, and had even had contact with the students. Borel also knew Meeter's daughter, whom he called "Meetertje" in his *Diary* (14 December 1890). On the other hand, Meeter had also not identified Borel as the author of the article criticising Schlegel for his opinions on Japan. Possibly both did not wish to disclose the other's identity.
[240] "Professor Schlegel had wel eens zooiets noodig voor zijn pedant en ridicuul optreden tegen andersdenkenden dan hij." Borel, "Ingezonden stukken" (Letters to the editor), *Java-bode*, 21 May 1895.
[241] "Jammer, dat hij, zooals de heer P. M. terecht zegt, juist de obscene stukjes uit die literatuur overal in zijn woordenboek heeft gezet, zoodat dit wel tevens een woordenboek voor chineesche pornografie is." The word 'pornography' should here probably be taken in its original, literal sense of 'illustrations of prostitution.'
[242] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister dated 8 June 1892, in V 11/6/1892 K8 inv. 6211.
[243] Personal communication (emails 17-19 October 2011) from Dr. L. Blussé. *Cf.* Blussé, "Early Sinologists," 341. The last copies were sold for *f* 35 in May and June 1977.
[244] There is a reprint by 教會公報出版社 (臺灣教會公報社, Taiwan Church Press), Tainan 2008.
[245] Schlegel's list in V 30/11/1882 no. 38 inv. 3585. In 1891, at the request of P.S.

Hamel, the newly appointed Consul General for Southern China, a complete copy was also sent to the Consulate in Amoy. V 8/5/1891 no. 46 inv. 4470.

[246] Letter from Ferguson to Governor-General, dated 15 March 1892, and letter from Governor-General to Minister dated 6 May 1892, in V 20/8/1892 K12 inv. 6212.

[247] The characters for his name could not be found. His surname was perhaps Xie 謝 or Xue 薛.

[248] "den Keizerlijke Regeering en alle de dynastie getrouwe Chineezen hoogst kwetsend en oproerig moeten luiden," in Bureau A[1]'s report about Ferguson's letter of 15 February, in V 31/5/1892 no. 23 inv. 4579.

[249] In Dutch: *de Tataren en Mandschoes verdelgen* and *de Tataarsche dynastie verdelgen*. In vol. IV, p. 505. The other examples were in vol. IV, pp. 516, 517, 629 and the latter repeated on p. 650, and in vol. III, pp. 260 and 774. Letter of 15 February no. 120 from Ferguson to the Minister of Foreign Affairs (not found, but here quoted from Ferguson's letter to the Governor-General of 15 March). Another example not mentioned is in vol. IV, p. 324 (*uitroeiing*, "extermination").

[250] A list of these can be found in Wylie, *Notes on Chinese literature*, Introduction, pp. xxii-xxiii (1902 edition).

[251] Bureau A[1]'s report about Ferguson's letter of 13 March, dated 18 May, in V 31/5/1892 no. 23 inv. 4579.

[252] Pages with quotations from proscribed books were underlined. Vol. I, pp. 51, 93, 223, 248, 296, 307, 308, 347, 358, 390, 455, 457, 472, 500, 549, 562, 605, 624, 651, 656, 833, 906, 1021, 1229, 1242, 1244, 1272, 1379; Vol. II, pp. 122, 153, 154, 231, 308, 348, 351, 366, 448, 786, 817, 838, 845, 849, 858, 897, 919, 925, 937, 944, 945, 946, 947, 951, 983, 1039, 1079; Vol. III, pp. 34, 47, 62, 81, 113, 117, 128, 279, 316, 376, 402, 422, 440, 468, 647, 649, 713, 748, 754, 778, 833, 861, 1102, 1166. Vol. IV, pp. 32, 44, 59, 207, 354, 429, 512, 592, 720, [underlined twice:] *832*, 949, 958, 999, 1017, 1150, 1159, 1253, 1259, 1333. Supplement, p. 40 (the word *vastzitten*, "get stuck"). Letter from Ferguson to Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk of 15 March 1892, in V 20/8/1892 K12 inv. 6212.

[253] "Zij scheten en pisten van den angst." Vol. III, p. 440. English translations are mainly from Dutch, not from Chinese.

[254] "Hij stak zijne hand uit, en betastte haar onderlijf." Vol. I, p. 472. A quotation from the novel *Wufengyin* 五鳳吟.

[255] "*Wen-sin* liet toen *Tchin-koung* los, duwde *Han-jou* op een' stoel, en begon met haar een' grooten minnestrijd." Vol. II, p. 946. Quotation from the Qing novel *Yu Lou Chun* 玉樓春. In an edition in 24回, 4 卷 (SINOL. Go 273), this line is in chapter 18, p. 13r; this edition has 乒々乓々 instead of 兵兵乓乓; it should of course be 乒々乓々 or 乒乒乓乓. The reprint in *Guben Xiaoshuo jicheng* 古本小说集成 (上海古籍出版社) has (unclear) 乒乓 (p. 111, chapter 8). A slightly different shorter quotation is translated as "then there was a formidable roll in the hay" ("toen ging het, heb ik jou daar, aan een stoeien"), under *gaan* 7), Vol. I, p. 1213.

[256] "Ik heb vernomen, dat gij, nadat gij gebroekt waart, geen enkele gast meer hebt willen ontvangen." Vol. II, p. 1242. *Gebroekt* is an old-fashioned vulgar word meaning "deflowered." Quotation from "The Oil-Vendor."

[257] "Zijn penis stond met een wip overeind." Vol. III, p. 316.

[258] *Cf. Sexual Life in Ancient China* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), 287-90 about these stories.

[259] On 25 April 1892 he forwarded the general letter of 5 February (no. 119) (of which no trace could be found in the Colonial archives), on 30 April the letter of 15 February (no. 120) and on 12 May the letter of 13 March (no. 123), V 31/5/1892 no. 23 inv. 4579.

[260] "Het schijnt mij al zeer dwaas toe, dat in een Ned. Chineesch woordenboek geene obscene woorden zouden mogen voorkomen. Het bevestigt mij in de meening dat de heer Ferguson een man is van zonderlinge opvattingen en ik zou het wel wenschelijk vinden de heer Schlegel met zijne brieven bekend te maken om te vragen tot welke opmerkingen die hem aanleiding geven. Van belang is, dunkt mij, ook uit een Indisch oogpunt te weten of wij in China door een verstandig man worden vertegenwoordigd."

[261] V 31/5/1892 no. 23 inv. 4579.

[262] "met de meeste bevreemding, om niet te zeggen verontwaardiging."

[263] *See also* Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit,* 56-8.

[264] Accusations of such vices against a *kapitein* can be found in a Chinese diatribe from 1866, that Schlegel translated into German and published with the Chinese text, but with fictitious names of all persons concerned ("Philippica des Chinesen Tan-Iok-po gegen den Kapitän der Chinesen Li-Ki-thai," *T'oung Pao* A 1 (1890), 29-41).

[265] In a footnote to his letter, Schlegel added that when Professor Kern, who was one of the collaborators on the Sanskrit dictionary, heard of Ferguson's letter he exclaimed: "Is that fellow mad? A dictionary should contain everything." (*Is die kerel gek? In een woordenboek hoort alles thuis.*).

[266] "dat de ooren der Chineezen niet zoo *ziekelijk kieschkeuring* zijn als *onze tegenwoordige* ooren."

[267] Luc. 18:16. *See also* Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, vol. II, p. 443, "kindeke / kindje," note 1.

[268] This list was probably also incorporated in Schlegel's article about Chinese prostitution ("Iets over de prostitutie in China," Batavia 1866). In that article, published almost thirty years earlier in Batavia, expressions about subjects considered offensive (onanism, homosexual acts) only have Latin or French translations (pp. 21-2). When they appear in the dictionary, Dutch translations are of course provided.

[269] One quotation dated from the Tang dynasty (618–907) (vol. IV, pp. 629, 650) and the meaning of the word *duo* 奪 was not only "to rob" (vol. IV, p. 517) but also "to win" (vol. III, p. 512 etc.). These were wrongly interpreted by Ferguson, who was not a sinologist, and by Rhein, a very weak sinologist; according to Schlegel both were not qualified to judge the meanings of Chinese words.

[270] "daar hij alles slechts door de bril der Chineesche ambtenaarskliek ziet."

[271] "dat de aanbieding van mijn woordenboek den schijn zou kunnen hebben eener uittarting (sic!!) der Chineesche regeering."

[272] According to a report (of a Chinese mission in 1886) quoted in the *Indische Tolk* of May 1891, the 70,000 Chinese in Batavia were excessively taxed, gambling was rampant and the Chinese "were forced to take on Dutch citizenship" (迫令入彼國籍). Until 1910, all ethnic Chinese (in the Indies) were implicitly considered Chinese subjects by the Chinese government (*jus sanguinis*), while the Dutch considered them Dutch subjects (*jus soli*). The Dutch government allegedly oppressed the Chinese merchants so unreasonably and cruelly that many of them complained to the Chinese commission visiting the Indies. Schlegel did not mention the exact dates (20 and 26 May, 2 June 1891), nor the name of the author J.J.M. de Groot. The question of Dutch citizenship for Chinese in the Indies became apparent in 1881, when a certain Ma Ch'ien requested a Dutch consular passport for travel in the interior of China, to obtain Dutch consular protection. The Chinese authorities refused to accept his Dutch passport and citizenship unless Ma Ch'ien would dress as a European, which was forbidden for Chinese in the Indies. As a result of this dilemma, Chinese from the Indies only had consular protection in the treaty ports, not in the interior of China, where they counted as Chinese citizens. Only from 1887 on were some Chinese put on the same footing (*gelijkgesteld*) with Europeans and given full Dutch citizenship, but this was highly exceptional (Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 450-4, 466-567). Chinese text of the report in *Zhang Wenxiang gong wenji* 張文襄公全集, in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中國史料叢刊, vol. 454, pp. 1820-33, p. 1825.

[273] Ferguson was at his request of December 1894 honourably discharged in January 1895. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 193-5; Molhuysen, *Biografisch woordenboek*, part VI (1924), 514. On De Groot's conflicts with Ferguson, *see* Chapter Fourteen, section "Arranging the emigration of coolies."

[274] According to a letter from Ferguson to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 29 August 1892, in V 18/11/1892 no. 3 inv. 4642.

[275] Letter from Ferguson to Governor-General of 15 March 1892, Letter from Governor-General to Minister of 6 May 1892, in V 20/8/1892 K12 inv. 6212.

[276] "Zij zullen het Chineesche Rijk in een hap opslokken," illustrating *opslokken* (to swallow up), Vol. III p. 260. The literal translation of "the Chinese empire" is "the Great Country of the Qing [the Manchu dynasty]." At the time of the most rampant imperialism, when Western countries and Japan were "nibbling away" at China, this expression could of course be offensive to the Chinese.

[277] "de Tsing-dynastie … omverwerpen en de Ming-dynastie herstellen." Illustrating *schietgebed* (a short prayer) by quoting such a prayer of the Hung-League, Vol. III, p. 774.

[278] The original letter of Ferguson could not be found in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was numbered 4/6/1878 La A (2nd series) no. 76; it is mentioned in Ferguson's letter of 29 August 1892, in V 18/11/1892 no. 3 inv. 4642.

[279] V 18/11/1892 no. 3 inv. 4642.

[280] Letter from Van Tienhoven dated 24 November 1892, in V 8/12/1892 no. 8 inv. 4649.

[281] The other two copies did not need to be bound; they could be stitched. Letter from Schlegel dated 17 December 1892, in V 27/12/1892 no. 9 inv. 4656.

[282] Letter from Van Tienhoven to Ferguson of 26 April 1893, in inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Foreign Affairs, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[283] From a letter by Ferguson to Minister Röell of 29 December 1893, it becomes clear that he was always concerned that the Chinese authorities, who were surprisingly well informed about political statements made in the Netherlands, might use any such statement about China as trump cards in their negotiations with the Dutch. He had earlier protested against J.T. Cremer's speech in Parliament and De Groot's inaugural address in 1892. Inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.

[284] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 193-5.

[285] Knobel's letter (with unreadable date) and Schlegel's letter are in no. 489, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Foreign Affairs, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[286] "Wij Nederlanders kunnen niet door *militair* vertoon op het Chineesche Gouvernement indruk maken, want daarin worden wij door alle grootere naties overtroffen, maar wel kunnen wij indruk maken door onze wetenschappelijk vredelievende pogingen ten opzichte der studie der Chineesche taal." Letter from Schlegel dated 14 June 1896, no. 489, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Foreign Affairs, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[287] "Indien B.Z. hier niet op mocht antwoorden, is het het best de zaak op haar beloop te laten. Peking Nov '96 Kn." Letter dated 17 June 1896, in no. 489, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[288] Many Dutch newspaper clippings on this visit can be found in "Bezoek aan Nederland van Li Hung-tschang" (Li Hongzhang's visit to the Netherlands) inv. 67, toegang 2.05.90. Most documents are in inv. 9, toegang 2.05.18, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[289] It was to be presented by Knobel on Tuesday 7 July or later, since the binding was not yet finished. Groeneveldt wrote this in a letter to Minister Röell dated 3 July 1896, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.18.

[290] Letter by Groeneveldt to Röell, 5 July 1896, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.18.

[291] Schlegel had at first not been invited for the dinner, because he had stated that he did not wish to be assigned to Li Hongzhang during the whole programme of five days. Groeneveldt pointed out this misunderstanding to Röell (Letter of 3 July, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.18). Professor De Groot had been invited but was absent for unknown reasons (Invitations of 11 June and letters of thanks for their presence of 8 July, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.18).

[292] Thomas T.H. Ferguson (1871–1946) worked at the Chinese Maritime Customs and happened to be on leave in the Netherlands, living in Wageningen. He was made official interpreter for the Netherlands government during Li's visit, but he did not interpret at important meetings. After his retirement he was professor of Chinese at Utrecht University in 1932–8.

[293] *Le Courrier de Schéveningue* is kept in the library of the Gemeentearchief Den Haag. The Chinese text of the words of welcome was printed in the issue of Saturday 4 July 1896.

[294] Schlegel, "La visite de Li Houng-tchang à Schéveningue," *T'oung Pao* A 7 (1896), 407-13.

[295] Letter from Schlegel to Minister Bergsma dated 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083. These were Schlegel and Groeneveldt, and possibly Ferguson Jr., Schlegel's student J.H. Kann and perhaps Willem Vissering.

[296] Facsimile of the full text in Hans Pars, Karel Wagemans, *Kurhaus A Royal Residence*, 87.

[297] Groeneveldt had a Chinese decoration, but it could not be ascertained when he received it.

[298] The text in the article still has three misprints in characters that had also appeared in the original text: 瀛州 should be 瀛洲, 遨倖 should be 儌倖, and 弊堂 should be 敝堂.

[299] "Het heeft mij wel eenigszins bevreemd dat Li, die zoo kwistig Chineesche decoraties in Nederland heeft uitgedeeld, mij over het hoofd gezien heeft. Mij dunkt, en dit is ook de meening van den heer Groeneveldt en anderen, dat hij den vertegenwoordiger der Chineesche wetenschap in Nederland toch ook wel had kunnen bedenken. / Het publiek hier ten minste verwonderde zich er sterk over. / Wellicht vindt U naar aanleiding daarvan wel een gelegenheid Z.E. Li op dit verzuim te wijzen. Ik geloof toch, dat mijn hem aangeboden Nederl.–Chineesche Woordenboek alleen mij daarop voldoende aanspraak geeft." Letter of 8 November 1896, in no. 589, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[300] Letter of 9 January 1897, in no. 527, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[301] Li Hongzao 李鴻藻 (1820-1897), Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 471-2. Schlegel wrote Hoeng Tshao (*Cao*), but the second name should be Tsao (*Zao*). In some Dutch newspapers the name was spelled Li Hoeng Tshau.

[302] "De meest belangrijkste daarvan was stellig die van *Li Hoeng-tschang* zelf. Zooals ik hem heb leren kennen, als een 'eingefleischte Chinese' is zijn uitspraak dat ik daarin 'display much ability as a sinologue' van bijzondere waarde, te meer daar ik het chineesche stuk in zes uren tijds moest redigeeren en laten drukken, omdat de heer Goldbeck zoo laat met zijn aanvraag kwam opdoemen. / Dit is ook de reden geweest der drukfout in den naam op het programma. Daar uit de europeesche couranten niet te vinden was hoe of Li Hoeng-tschang's naam in Chineesche karakters moest geschreven worden, want, behalve den familienaam Li, kon zijn voornaam Hoeng-tschang wel op twintigerlei wijzen geschreven worden, telegrafeerde ik naar Parijs en kreeg de valsche opgave Hoeng *Thsao*, die nu toevallig juist ook bestaat en de naam van een vijand van Hoeng-tschang blijkt te zijn. Ik kan mij zeer goed begrijpen, dat Z.E. daarover ontstemd was—maar het was mijn schuld niet, maar die van professor Cordier in Parijs, die mij de verkeerde opgaaf gaf, en de tijd was te kort om een nader onderzoek naar de chineesche karakters 李鴻章 in te stellen. Zooals Z.E. ontwaren zal is die fout in het gedrukte stuk nu verbeterd, en dat zal langer blijven bestaan, dan de ephemere programmas van het Kurhaus te Scheveningen." Letter of 11 March 1897, in no. 527, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[303] *Die Chinesische Inschrift auf dem Uigurischen Denkmal in Kara Balgassun.* Übersetzt und erläutert (Helsingfors: Société Finno-Ougrienne; printed in Leiden by Brill, 1896). This book had probably also been offered to Li Hongzhang.

[304] Letter dated 25 April 1897, in no. 527, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[305] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 February 1898. He received permission to accept the Order by Royal Decree of 11 July 1898 no. 40 (*Nederlandsche Staatscourant* no. 170, 23 July 1898). In Chinese: 雙龍寶星第三等第三品. This order was specially created in 1882 for foreigners. Schlegels's rank (the 3rd class of the 3rd grade) was not high: the mayors of Amsterdam and Rotterdam had received the 3rd class of the 2nd grade, and Knobel even the 1st class of the 2nd grade. Schlegel received the same rank as J.C. Arnoldy, Train Station Chief of the Dutch Iron Railway Company (Hollandsche IJzeren Spoorweg Maatschappij), The Hague.

[306] To my knowledge there is only one English–Chinese dictionary which fulfills the needs of a foreign translator as expressed by Schlegel. This is Karl Hemeling's *English–Chinese Dictionary of the Standard Chinese Spoken Language* (官話) *and Handbook for Translators, Including Scientific, Technical, Modern and Documentary Terms* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1916). The German Dr. K. Hemeling (1878–1925), who could probably read some Dutch, did not mention Schlegel's dictionary in his introduction—by then it was outdated as a technical dictionary—but he used the same manner of presenting the different meanings of a word.

[307] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, p. 12.

[308] Schlegel went on to say that he even added many French and Latin expressions in current use that one never finds in European dictionaries, as well as the names of gods and persons from Greek mythology, and some quotations from Western and Chinese poets.

[309] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, p. 20. Schlegel found support for his plea for

idiomatic translation and his belief in finding equivalents in the article "Of Translation from and into Chinese" (*Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, May 20, 1870, pp. 42-6, by "R.L.").

[310] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, pp. 17-18. Medhurst's English–Chinese dictionary (1847–8) was a reverse version of his Chinese–English dictionary (1842–3); the latter was based on the Kangxi Dictionary.

[311] Gram, "Bezoek aan Schlegel," *Het leeskabinet* (1902-2), 86.

[312] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, p. 2.

[313] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies of 12 June 1881, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430. Some translations in the dictionary are descriptions, for instance "republic" (*see* below), not idiomatic equivalents. *See also* Chapter Twelve, section "Working as Translators."

[314] Johan Hendrik van Dale (1828–72) edited with Jan Manhave the dictionary of the brothers Calisch (1864). It was in part posthumously published in 1872–4. This dictionary would become the standard dictionary of modern Dutch, and it has often been reprinted. In 2005 the 14th edition appeared in three volumes, now entitled *Van Dale: Groot woordenboek der Nederlandse taal* (Van Dale: Large dictionary of the Dutch language), and in 2015 the 15th edition.

[315] Serrurier no. 65, 65*, 65**; Kerlen no. 1275. This was the printed edition of Hendrik Doeff's manuscript dictionary, the *Doeff Halma* (1816–33). In his quotations Schlegel usually left out the *katakana*. He also made use of *Yakken* 譯鍵 (1810, reprint 1857; Serrurier 61 and 61*; Kerlen nos. 1836, 1913).

[316] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, pp. 10-11.

[317] For example the word *laadpan* (loading pan, a part of a gun) 炮銃火皿 (Vol. II, p. 621).

[318] Vol. I, pp. 736-9. The word *Burgerachtig* (bourgeois-like, in small type) is placed between the compound *Burgerzoon* and the next main entry *Burgerij*. Perhaps it should be in large type. In Van Dale's dictionary, this manner of ordering is only used on the first two pages (the compounds of *aal*), probably by mistake, while the rest of the dictionary is in strict alphabetical order.

[319] Francken and De Grijs, *Woordenboek*, 698.

[320] *Huiji yasu tong Shiwu yin* 彙集雅俗通十五音, 8 vols., Wendetang 文德堂, 1861; title page: *Zengzhu zhuzi shiwu yin* 增註硃字拾伍音, SINOL. KNAG 160 (East Asian Library, Leiden). Schlegel must also have used its supplement *Zengbu huiyin* 增補彙音.

[321] Vol. II, p. 451. The colloquial expression could be written in characters as 捽馬鞭.

[322] Vol. II, p. 771, at the entry *Logarithme*. Other examples are *Frank* (Vol. I, p. 1204), *Jonas* (Vol. II, p. 348) and *los* (lynx) (Vol. II, p. 787).

[323] Hakka pronunciation of *Kapitein* as *Kap-thai*, Vol. II, p. 392.

[324] This is a translation of 花箋記 *Huajian ji*. Full title: *Hoa Tsien Ki. De geschiedenis van het gebloemde briefpapier*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 32 (1866). Preface dated Batavia, 1865. Unfortunately Schlegel's Mandarin transcriptions are often erroneous due to confusion with Hokkien.

[325] Schlegel was probably referring to C.R. Lepsius' general alphabet.

[326] An asterisk was said to be added also to colloquial expressions not admitted in 'classical' literature, but no examples of this could be found in the dictionary.

[327] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Vol. IV, pp. 231-2. This list (except *turfkist* and the meaning of *turfboer*) could have been copied from Van Dale's Dutch dictionary of 1872. The modern word *nitan* 泥炭 appears on p. 1014 in Hemeling's English–Chinese dictionary (1916) as a term selected by the Chinese Minister of Education.

[328] These would also be useful for checking the numerous misprints and abbreviated quotations.

[329] Letter from Schlegel to Minister (about Ferguson) of 8 June 1892, in V 11/6/1892 K8 inv. 6211.

[330] G.Th. Staunton, *Ta Tsing Leu Lee* (London, 1810). In one copy of the *Qing Code* in the East Asian Library in Leiden, Schlegel added these paragraph numbers with a pencil: *Da Qing lüli xing'an huizuan* 大清律例刑案彙纂, 1843 (Schlegel, *Catalogue*, no. 102; SINOL. 4885.2).

[331] Surprisingly, Schlegel always misspelled the first word as *Notitiae* adding an extra *e*. Only in 1892 did he use the correct spelling in his "La stèle funéraire du Teghin Giogh."

[332] This was one of the books that the library acquired from Brill in 1880.

[333] For example *bate* (benefit, Vol. I, p. 291), *betrekking* (position, p. 483 no. 4), *straf* (punishment, Vol. III, pp. 1152-3), *tekst* (text, Vol. IV, p. 50), *tonnengeld* (tonnage fee, Vol. IV, p. 151), *uitklaren, uitklaring* (customs clearance, Vol. IV, pp. 301-2), *voorrecht* (prerogative, Vol. IV, p. 921).

[334] Translated as *Tan tian* 談天 (18 *juan*) by Alexander Wylie and Li Shanlan 李善蘭 (1811–82) in 1859. For instance Leda (planet, Vol. II, p. 666).

[335] For instance, *saluut* (salute, Vol. III, p. 709), *tijdelijk* (temporary, Vol. IV, p. 99). A phrase with *gelijkstellen* (make equal, put on equal footing with) includes the additional remark that it is always translated in that way in the *Ind. Staatsbladen* (Vol. I, p. 1295, note).

[336] Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 77-110, in particular p. 102. It was superseded by the Union version of 1919. The Dutch version was the *Statenvertaling* (1637).

[337] W.H. Medhurst, W.C. Milne, W.J. Boone (Shanghai), J. Stronach (Amoy), and E.C. Bridgman (Canton, Hong Kong).

[338] Matth. 7:7, Luc. 11:9; Vol. IV, p. 1337 (*zoeken*, note). Similar examples with Schlegel's comments are in Vol. I, p. 280 (*balk*), p. 287 (*baren*), p. 486 (*beuk*, note), p. 595 (*bliksem*), p. 867 (*dienen*), p. 903 (*doen*), Vol. II, pp. 687-8 (*legio*), p. 947 (*minst*), p. 1006 (*mug*). Not all of Schlegel's examples are convincing.

[339] Respectively translated as: *heden hebben mijne meisjes altemaal gasten* (today all my girls have guests); *hedenavond zijn al mijne meisjes besproken* (tonight all my girls are reserved); *mijne deerns hebben heden allen een' gast* (my girls today all have a guest); *heden hebben mijne meisjes allen een' gast* (today all my girls have a guest).

[340] Some other full texts are: *belasting* (taxes on horses and carriages, Vol. I, p. 374); *bronwater* (advertisement for mineral water imported from the Netherlands, Vol. I, pp. 707-8); *gegadigde* (public sale of household furniture, 1866, Vol. I, pp. 1262-3); *lommerdhuis* (pawn shop, Vol. II, p. 776); *toetreden* (notice of someone joining a company, 1866, Vol. IV, p. 138); *verificatie* (verification, about bankruptcy, 1866, Vol. IV, pp. 569-70); *verponding* (land tax, 1863, Vol. IV, p. 655); *vervalschen* (to counterfeit, Vol. IV, p. 714).

[341] Some other original Chinese texts are: *echtscheidingsbrief* (divorce letter, quoted from "Zhenzhu shan" 珍珠衫, *Gujin xiaoshuo* 古今小說, Vol. I, pp. 1053-4); *lommerdbriefje* (pawn ticket, Vol. II, p. 775-6); *schuldbekentenis* (confession of guilt, dating from 1552; and acknowledgement of debt, Vol. III, p. 824-6); *tandpoeder* (advertisement for tooth powder from Japan, Vol. IV, pp. 17-18); *theekoopman*, advertisement for tea, Vol. IV, p. 85); *vennootschap* (company, 1866, Vol. IV, pp. 461-4); *verkoopcontract* (sale contract, Vol. IV, pp. 566-8); *wissel* (model of a bill of exchange from Amoy, Vol. IV, pp. 1218-9).

[342] For example *tooneelvoorstelling* (theatre in Hong Kong, Vol. IV, pp. 162-3), *verificatie* (verification, Vol. IV, pp. 569-70).

[343] Other examples are *haar* (her, Vol. II, p. 4), *het* (it, Vol. II, p. 132), *ik* (I, Vol. II, pp. 248-9), *op* (*op heden*, today, Vol. III, p. 185), *opbrengst* (proceeds, Vol. III, p. 189), *uw* (your, Vol. IV, pp. 390-3), *verkleinwoord* (diminutive, Vol. IV, pp. 584-5), *worden* ('to be' as sign of the passive, Vol. IV, p. 1240, no. 2).

[344] Also *directeur, directie* (director, direction) Vol. I, p. 890-1. Some of these also appear in Schaalje's lists titled *Namen van Ambtenaren en Collegien in Nederlandsch Indië* (Names of officials and boards in the Netherlands Indies) 燕地官銜 dating from 1859 to 1863 (BPL 2106 II: 12C and 35). All words on these lists were incorporated into the dictionary. *See* word list in Appendix K.

[345] Other examples are *notarieel[e akte]* (notarial certificate, 梁礁契 *niû˜-ta k'è* (Coll.), Vol. II, p. 1126); *Luitenant-Chinees*, for which both the 'official name' 理正 and transcription 雷珍蘭 *Luî-tin-lân* are given (Vol. II, p. 810); *bank* (*Javasche Bank* 爪亞大當, Java Central Bank, Vol. I, p. 285). These were mostly words from Schaalje's list.

[346] Curiously, Schlegel explained *toā kaó* as "Hondenslager" (dog chaser, runner, policeman); cf. Vol. II p. 165; also mentioned in the entry *bandhond*, but without the warning (dog on a leash, Vol. I, p. 283). Van de Stadt suggested the origin *toean skout* in his *Hakka-woordenboek* (1912, p. 215). In the Malay–Chinese dictionary *Tongyu jinliang bianlan* 通語津梁便覽 (Singapore 1889) 'toeakauw' is written with the characters 大交 and translated as 'sekaoet' (卷下,

p. 17a). The word also appears in Pernitzsch and Tittel's *Chinesische Buchhaltung*, where it is written 大狗 and 大九 (1927, p. 67). In Singapore this word was already heard in the 1870s (Jackson, *Pickering*, 19). Nowadays it is still used in Malaysian Hokkien for 'Chief of Police.'

[347] Schlegel did not give the source. "Arbre généalogique en Chinois," Perny, *Dictionnaire*, Appendix no. X.

[348] Actually many modern Chinese translations of Western concepts were created in this way. For instance, *gonghe* 共和, literally "communal harmony," nowadays with the addition *guo* 國 for "republic," was originally the name of a reign period of the Zhou dynasty from 841–28 B.C., when the Duke of Zhou left the rule of his state to his two ministers. This translation was created in Japan, then borrowed into Chinese, and later superseded the native creations *minzhuguo* 民主國 and *minguo* 民國.

[349] Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 82-90.

[350] For example *aftrekken* (onanism, Vol. I, p. 188, no. 6); *besmetster* (contagious prostitute, Vol. I, p. 449); *broeken* (to copulate, Vol. I, p. 705); *doodneuken* (to copulate someone to death, Vol. I, p. 927). In a footnote Schlegel apologised for this vulgar word, with the argument that the Chinese word could only be translated in this forceful way, thereby showing that he was actually translating Chinese into Dutch. Other examples are *godmiché* (dildo, Vol. I, p. 1407), *klaarkomen* (to ejaculate, Vol. II, p. 448, no. 2) and *ring* (Vol. III, p. 642).

[351] For instance the saying 做一日和尚, 撞一日鐘 which is translated as *den eenen dag priester, den anderen dag klokluider*, "to be a priest for one day and a bell-ringer the next day" (*klokluider*, bell-ringer, Vol. II, p. 476), while it actually means "to act as a monk for one day and ring the bells" that is "to do one's work in a perfunctory manner."

[352] He typically ended with a saying about a gentleman's frequency of coïtus, which to him was the true mark of a gentleman (Vol. I, pp. 1323-4). Other examples are *China* and *Chinaasappel* (orange) (Vol. I, p. 758). For 'China' Schlegel favoured the spelling *Tsina* (*see* illustration 21), which would be consistent with Southern Mandarin transcriptions such as Tsinghua 清華.

[353] Legge, *The Chinese Classics, The Shoo King*, V, XVI, 2. Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Vol. II, p. 102, *eed*. As often, Schlegel did not agree with Legge's translation. This formula would only be of use for Christian Chinese and not for non-Christians, who had other oath formulas and ceremonies in the Indies.

[354] *See* Chapter Twelve, Working as Interpreters and Translators, sections on translation.

[355] Email from Dr. Chen Menghong 陳萌紅 dated 27-2-2012. *See also* Chen Menghong, *De Chinese gemeenschap van Batavia*, 9.

[356] Kuiper, "Dutch Loan-words and Loan-translations in Modern Chinese"; Masini, "The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon"; *An Etymological Glossary of Selected Modern Chinese Words = Jin-xiandai Hanyu xinci ciyuan cidian* 近现代汉语新词词源词典 (Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2001).

[357] Vol. I, p. 877; Vol. III, p. 615; Vol. III, p. 4. He explained the reason for this term in Vol. II, p. 942.

[358] Personal communication (1990s) from Dr. R.P. Kramers, who studied Chinese in Leiden from 1938 to 1947.

[359] "Ons dunkt dat met de uitgave van dit boek aan een werkelijk gevoelde behoefte wordt voldaan. … is het voor den billijken prijs van *f* 5 bij de firma G. Kolff & Co. verkrijgbaar gesteld." *Bataviaasch Nieuwblad*, 3 October 1912.

[360] "Een zeer practisch woordenboek dat van heel veel nut kan zijn voor allen die met Chineezen moeten omgaan, speciaal voor de Europeesche beambten bij de tinwinning op Banka en Billiton." Advertisements in the same newspaper on 3 and 23 October 1912.

[361] MacIver, *A Chinese–English Dictionary in the Vernacular of the Hakka People in the Canton Province*. A revised second edition by M.C. MacKenzie appeared in 1926.

[362] The only differences between Van de Stadt's and MacIver's system are: *sj-sh*, *tsj-ch* and *w-v*, for instance *sja-sha*, *tsja-cha*, *wa-va*. In these cases Van de Stadt followed Schaank's system, but for the rest he followed MacIver's system.

[363] These were in *Songti* or *kaiti*, for instance *brutaal, brij, buis*, p. 40; *smoren*, p. 223; *zoo*, p. 319.

[364] 傣 has the 'mouth' radical instead of the 'man' radical.

[365] "Men moge zich als sinoloog ergeren aan bastaard uitdrukkingen als *min-thap* (*minta*) en *tó-lông* (*toeloeng*), het is nu eenmaal een feit, dat dit op Banka en Billiton de meest gebruikte woorden zijn voor "verzoeken" en "helpen" en als zoodanig behooren ze m.i. in dit spreektaal-woordenboek thuis." Van de Stadt, *Hakka-woordenboek*, "Voorrede."

[366] On pp. 200, 86, 16 and 44. Schlegel's translations for these officials in the Indies are: *resident* 知府正堂, *gouverneur* 道臺, *assistent-resident* 知州正堂, *controleur* 知縣.

[367] The more common Hokkien transcription for this title was 雷珍蘭.

[368] Similar to modern Cantonese *sihk lóuhsai* 食老細 and Mandarin *chī lǎobǎn* 吃老板 as used in Chinese restaurants in the Netherlands.

[369] 薨 has the 'corpse' 尸 radical.

[370] Besides the two above-mentioned works by MacIver and Schaank, these are: D. MacIver, *A Hakka Index to the Chinese–English Dictionary of Herbert A. Giles and to the Syllabic Dictionary of Chinese of S. Wells Williams* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Press, 1904); Ch. Rey, *Dictionnaire Chinois–Français, dialecte Hac-ka: précédé de quelques notions et exercices sur les tons* (Hong Kong: Imprimerie de la Societé des Missions Etrangères, 1901) (also contains a French–Chinese vocabulary); J. Dyer Ball, *Hakka Made Easy* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, 1896) (a new edition appeared in 1913); and several works written in romanised Hakka and published by the English Presbyterian Mission. Manuscript Hakka–German dictionary of the Basel Mission.

Notes to Chapter Twelve

[1] Hoetink in his *nota* for the Director of Justice, Soekaboemi, 19 September 1900, typed copy in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04.

[2] Letter from Governor-General Duymaer van Twist to Minister Pahud, 18 September 1853, in V 17/1/1853 no. 19 inv. 311. Quoted in full in Chapter One, The Origins of Dutch Sinology, section "The Banka Case and Other Arguments."

[3] This correspondence is mentioned in IB 15/4/1863 no. 12 inv. 7347.

[4] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1819, no. 79 (IB 25/11/1819 no. 3). These fees remained unchanged until 1942.

[5] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1837, no. 59, 1857 no. 42.

[6] Mentioned in IB 15/9/1859 no. 49 inv. 7267.

[7] The text of the oath was published in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1859, no. 69. Most of these are nowadays still normal rules for translators.

[8] At least, only this letter and no such *nota* is mentioned in IB 15/4/1863 no. 12 inv. 7347.

[9] Dated Montrado, 24 May 1861. This correspondence is mentioned in IB 15/4/1863 no. 12 inv. 7347.

[10] E. Netscher, Resident of Riau, had written a letter about the urgent need for a European interpreter for lawsuits in which the Chinese officers, who usually acted as interpreters, were themselves involved. He also needed a European official who was trusted by the Chinese to whom they could report plans for robbery and murder, and for other intelligence duties (IB 27/8/1861 no. 8 inv. 7313). The reliability of the Chinese officers had been tainted in 1858 when the *kapitein* of the "Emoyer" Chinese was murdered on instigation of his counterpart for the "Kanton" Chinese, for which the latter had been banned to Menado (*Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*, first edition, vol. 3, p. 448).

[11] Letter from Schlegel and Hoffmann to the Secretary General of Colonies, 9 April 1873, p. 5, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. In an interview in 1902, Schlegel mentioned another reason for their stationing on Java. They reminded the government that they had been offered well-paid jobs with the Chinese Imperial Customs, which they had refused out of loyalty to the Dutch government (Gram, "Een bezoek aan Schlegel," 88).

[12] Report by G.H.G. Harloff, 24 April 1912, in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04. Harloff based himself on other letters than those mentioned in IB 15/4/1863 no. 12 inv. 7347. Efforts by colleagues to find this and other correspondence in the Arsip Nasional in Jakarta were unsuccessful.

[13] Harloff's report has a footnote: "Therefore the 'protectorate of the Chinese' in Singapore, established in 1877, was not something new, but was created after the example of an institution that had existed in Hong Kong for a long time."

[14] They are similar to Schlegel's in his letter of 9 April 1873, V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[15] Advice of 13 March 1863 no. XLV, in the report by Harloff, pp. 2-4.

[16] Erkelens, *Decline of the Chinese Council of Batavia*, 63-71.

[17] "Het is toch steeds de wijze politiek der Nederlanders, om de verschillende volksstammen in dezen archipel door middel hunner eigene hoofden te regeren; dezen moeten daarom het volle vertrouwen van het Europeesch bestuur genieten; doch draagt men aan den Europeschen ambtenaar, die geen gezag uitoefent, dienst verrichtingen op, die tot den eigenlijken werkkring der hoofden behooren, of bezigt men hem, om de gangen dier hoofden na te gaan en te contrôleren, dan wordt aan hun prestige een geduchte knak toegebracht, en het kwaad, daaruit gebooren, weegt niet op tegen de ontdekking van enkele verkeerdheden." *Nota* by Albrecht, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[18] "Instructie en tarief voor de Europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1863, no. 39. IB 15/4/1863 no. 12, inv. 7347.

[19] *See* the section "Private Translation and Interpreting" at the end of this chapter.

[20] *Java-bode*, 1 January 1862.

[21] *Java-bode*, 18, 21 and 28 June 1862.

[22] *Reglement op de regterlijke organisatie en het beleid der justitie in Nederlandsch-Indië.*

[23] In a letter to the editor in the *Java-bode*, a lawyer who signed as "Q.N." (Quod novum?) protested against this decision, arguing that there was no need to consult Chinese advisors in cases of piracy, since such cases were to be tried according to Dutch and International Law, not local law. *Java-bode*, 30 August 1862.

[24] *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 11 October 1862.

[25] Gram, "Een bezoek aan professor G. Schlegel," 87. Jan van Gennep (1830–1911) worked as a lawyer in Batavia in 1857–70. After his return to the Netherlands in 1873 he became a member of Parliament (1878–97, *Tweede Kamer, Eerste Kamer*) and of the State Council (1897–1911, *Raad van State*) (www.parlement.com/id; *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*).

[26] "Natuurlijk verzuimde de jonge tolk niets, om zich zoo goed mogelijk van zijne taak te kunnen kwijten. Hij bezocht vooraf de zeeroovers in de gevangenis en sprak met hen, om zich te overtuigen, of de beklaagden hém verstonden, en omgekeerd, of hij hén verstond. Dat ging best. Toen de eerste zitting was afgeloopen, deelde de Voorzitter van den Raad van Justitie hem mede, dat de twee Chineesche officieren zich beklaagd hadden, dat zij den tolk niet konden verstaan. / 'De hoofdzaak is, president, dat de beschuldigden mij verstaan,' antwoordde de tolk. 'En laat u dat eens aan hen vragen.' Aan de houding en gelaatsuitdrukking der beschuldigden behoefde men dan ook niet te twijfelen, dat zij den tolk uitmuntend verstonden." Gram, "Een bezoek aan professor G. Schlegel," *Het leeskabinet* (1902), 86-7.

[27] *Java-bode*, 18 October 1862.

[28] The last cries of one of them were T'i˝ tē, T'i˝ tē 天地 (Heaven and Earth). Schlegel considered this comparable to "Oh God!"—at that time a Dutch Christian's cry in such circumstances. He used this as an argument for the translation of "God" as *Tian gong* 天公 (the Lord of Heaven) or *Tian* 天 (Heaven) (Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Vol. I, p. 1403).

[29] "Ik was nog geen maand te Batavia als tolk voor de Chineesche taal opgetreden, of ik mocht het genoegen smaken twee, van medeplichtigheid van zeeroof en moord beschuldigde Chineezen aan het over hen bij een vroeger vonnis uitgeproken doodvonnis, niet alleen te onttrekken, maar voor hen zelfs volkomen invrijheidsstelling te verkrijgen. Hunne veroordeeling in de eerste instantie was, zooals bleek, alleen toe te schrijven geweest aan de verregaand slordige wijze waarop zich de vroegere tolk, een Chinees, van zijne ernstige taak had gekweten; en wiens schuld het dus geweest zou zijn, indien het doodvonnis door den rechter uitgesproken, was ten uitvoer gelegd." Although Schlegel said *volkomen invrijheidsstelling* (complete release), he must have also meant *volkomen vrijspraak* (complete acquittal). Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 22. Schlegel's disapproval of the previous interpreter, probably a Chinese officer (Schlegel was never parsimonous with

criticism of others), and the two Chinese officers' censure of his Chinese, do not encourage an optimistic view of the relationship between the European interpreter and the Chinese officers.

[30] Schlegel, [Curriculum vitae], 2 March 1873, p. 16, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. Also Gram, "Een bezoek aan professor G. Schlegel," 87.

[31] "Het nut hetwelk van Europesche translateurs voor de Chinesche taal steeds te verwachten zal wezen, heeft zich, zoo ergens, in deze zaak het allerbest doen kennen en gevoelen." *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 18 October 1862.

[32] *Java-bode*, 25 October 1862. Also *De Oostpost*, 30 October 1862; *Sumatra-Courant*, 15 November 1862.

[33] "… gelukkig het land waar zich zulke regters en zulke verdedigers bevinden!" *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 25 October 1862. This case was not mentioned in *Het regt in Ned.-Indië* (1862–5), nor in contemporary or later accounts of piracy.

[34] Gram, "Een bezoek aan professor G. Schlegel," 87.

[35] "Die tolken hebben thans niet veel te doen—Hunne diensten worden volgender voege geregeld. De tolk Von Faber vervaardigt de vertalingen en Schlegel assisteert voor het doen van vertolkingen bij de policierol, den landraad en wanneer nu en dan zijne diensten ook dáár gevorderd worden, bij den Raad van Justitie en de beide Hoog Gerechtshoven.—/ Zijn hulp bij de policierol is ten enenmale overbodig, omdat er altijd een Chinesche officier bij tegenwoordig is, die de vertolkingen, zo nodig, kan doen—" Letter from De Kock van Leeuwen to the Government Secretary, 15 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[36] The new Resident, F.M.G. van Cattenburgh, had just succeeded C. Bosscher on 22 July 1865, and would not be able to answer these questions.

[37] "Voor het vertolken dier verschillende uitspraken van Chinezen welke voor de landraad verschijnen, worden tot dusverre gebruikt de Chinesche officieren en soms ook met behulp van andere personen wanneer geen dier officieren de gesproken Chinesche taal verstaat, terwijl de Europeesche tolk er bij zit om de vertolking van den Chineschen officier, die zich beter en verstaanbaar voor den Europeschen tolk kan uitdrukken aan den Raad over te brengen. / De vragen welke de regtbank den getuigen of beklaagden wenscht voor te houden, worden in het Nederduitsch den Europeschen tolk en in het Maleisch den Chineschen officier kennelijk gemaakt;—deze laatste ten voorkonding aan de betrokkene getuigen of beklaagden; den Europeschen tolk wordt de verpligting opgelegd aan den Raad op te merken, wanneer hem, voor zoover hij de door getuigen of beklaagden uitgesproken woorden verstaat of hunnen bedoeling kent, blijkt, dat de vertolking van den Chineschen officier niet zoo juist mogt zijn. / … / Het bijwonen van teregtzittingen van den landraad verschaft den Europeschen tolk gelegenheid om zich in praktijk te oefenen in de op verschillende wijzen uitgesproken Chinesche woorden." Letter from Gijsbers to the Government Secretary, 30 August 1865, in V no. 7 inv. 1757.

[38] Letter from Schlegel to the Secretary General of Colonies, 9 April 1873, p. 8, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. Chonglok (Tjonglok 長樂) was the name of a district in the western part of Kia Ying Chow prefecture.

[39] Letter from Schlegel to Secretary General of Colonies, 9 April 1873, p. 6, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[40] For a complete account of the *politierol*, cause of many injustices and humiliations (for the Chinese), *see* Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 383-423.

[41] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën II," *Java-bode*, 8 December 1896. Meeter wrote that this happened in his first place of stationing, which was Riau (1867–8).

[42] Meeter gave no names, mentioning only that a new Resident was appointed in the Outer Possessions. This must have been Van der Schalk in Pontianak, the only new Resident he encountered outside Java.

[43] Van der Schalk (1830–) had been Assistant Resident of Police in Batavia in 1862–7 (Stamboeken L 152).

[44] "Nu is er voor een onbevooroordeeld toehoorder en dus ook voor een onbevoordeeld tolk geen grappiger en te gelijker tijd treuriger wijze van rechtspleging denkbaar, dan die van de zoogenaamde politierol. Alle zaken zijn vooraf door den djaksa, adjunct-djaksa of diens klerken voorbereid en beklaagden en getuigen gehoord, zoodat de politierechter meestal na een zeer summier onderzoek uitspraak doet en die uitspraak veelal doet den-

ken aan het *ut aliquid fiat* der medici." Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën X," *Java-bode*, 19 February 1897. By the end of the nineteenth century, many Chinese protested against the humiliations of the police court. The *politierol* was gradually abolished in the 1910s.

[45] Such youthful mediums are common in Hokkien-speaking regions, such as Taiwan, and are now called *tangki* 童乩, in Mandarin *jitong* 乩童. Adults and the elderly can also act as such mediums.

[46] Meeter wrote that he several times considered writing this into a comical play (*farce*) entitled "The Police-Judge in Love or the Power of a Chinese Woman" (*de verliefde politierechter of de macht eener Chineezin*). "Indische Chinoiserieën X-XI," *Java-bode*, 19 and 26 February 1897.

[47] "Aangezien geen van beiden de maleische taal voldoende machtig was, zoo viel aan Prosantes bij uitzondering het genoegen,—want ditmaal was het werkelijk een genoegen,—ten deel, beider verklaringen in het nederlandsch en omgekeerd de vragen van dezen in het chineesch over te brengen." Meeter used for himself the nickname Prosantes (Greek προσ-άντης, "steep; troublesome, recalcitrant") (Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën II," *Java-bode*, 8 December 1896 and "XII" *Java-bode*, 2 April 1897.) It is probably a translation of *opponent*, a characterisation of Meeter mentioned by Van der Spek (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 30 March 1880). Some of Meeter's criticism was aimed at Groeneveldt, for whom he used the nickname Kolaks (Greek κόλαξ, "flatterer, sycophant").

[48] When the Resident stated at the end that "all women are whores," Meeter asked if this included the Resident's mother. "Indische Chinoiserieën XII," *Java-bode*, 2 April 1897.

[49] "Ook zoude daarmede voorgoed een einde gemaakt zijn aan de dwaasheid, dat een europeesch ambtenaar ten aanhoore van rechters en een niet altijd gedistingueerd publiek uren lang genoodzaakt is de bêtises van chineesche beklaagden en verklaringen van leugenachtige getuigen te vertolken uit eene taal, die voor alle aanwezigen onverstaanbaar is, zoodat dikwijls de indruk verkregen wordt, dat de tolk de spreektaal niet voldoende machtig is, terwijl feitelijk de onwil en de ontwijkende antwoorden van beklaagden en getuigen het voor elken tolk onmogelijk maken den rechter een pertinent antwoord op de door hem gedane vraag uit den mond van den ondervraagden Chinees over te brengen." Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1897. Perhaps Meeter was thinking of the case of Van der Spek in Padang (1884) described below.

[50] Le A Heung was in Morrison's transcription of Southern Mandarin, which was also used in Medhurst's dictionary, and by other English-speaking missionaries. In that transcription, 'e' should be pronounced as in the English words 'he,' 'to be' etc. Li A Sjong appears to be a pronunciation in Northern Mandarin according to Dutch spelling. Therefore it is assumed that the visitors spoke Mandarin. The characters of this name may have been 李阿雄, but the name may also be fictitious.

[51] Meeter, "Een Chineesch lesje in wellevendheid," *Java-bode*, 25 and 26 October 1894. Perhaps the *majoor* also had a point. De Groot complained that if Chinese Consuls were allowed to be stationed in the Indies, their main function would be to collect money from the rich Chinese in the Indies. ("Nogmaals China's consulaire politiek II," *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag*, 26 May 1891).

[52] Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1897. Meeter did not mention De Grijs' name and only designated his place of stationing as 'S.' De Grijs was the only sinologist who stayed about four times as long in China as Meeter. Meeter had studied Hakka in China for two years, while De Grijs had lived there for seven years, studying Hokkien. It may seem surprising that Meeter did not specify the dialect, but that seems to have been common practice in newspapers.

[53] *Sumatra-Courant*, 9, 11 and 13 December 1884. Justus, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 31 December 1884; Meeter, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 19 January 1885.

[54] Spaarpot, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 26 January 1885; *Sumatra-Courant*, 5 February 1885. Soon afterwards the *Sumatra-Courant* made known that Van der Spek was nominated for dismissal, and would either go on sick leave or resign, leave sinology and study medicine (*Sumatra-Courant*, 17 February 1885, fully quoted in *Java-bode*, 2 March 1885). A week later he requested sick leave (IB 13/3/1885 no. 4/c inv. 7865.). He left the Indies on 4 March (*Het nieuws van den dag*, 11 April 1885). After his

return to the Netherlands, he studied medicine in Amsterdam and became a doctor. He never returned to the Indies.

[55] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, p. 3. Translated from the Dutch.

[56] Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-Kak-Sie" te Cheribon* (1920), 7.

[57] De Bruin, "Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?," *De Sumatra Post*, 29 October 1910.

[58] G. Schlegel: "Nécrologie. J.W. Young," *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899), 225.

[59] "Met een' Europeaan, die Chineesch spreekt, mogen ze graag een loopje nemen, door zooveel mogelijk dubbelzinnige uitdrukkingen te bezigen. Omgekeerd kan een Europeaan, die de tonen nog niet voldoende in z'n macht heeft, in z'n onschuld de zotste vergissingen begaan. Het is een terrein vol voetangels en klemmen." De Bruin, *De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra*, 118.

[60] "Juist door het eigenaardig eenlettergrepig karakter van alle dialecten, leent het Chineesch zich bij uitstek tot het maken van woordspelingen en het zeggen van dubbelzinnige aardigheden. Elke Chinees heeft een sterk ontwikkeld gevoel voor humor, en ze vinden niets zoo prettig als een Europeaan er even tusschen te nemen. / Zoodra ze echter merken dat iemand hen doorziet, beginnen ze te grinniken en werken kalm door." De Bruin, "Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?," *De Sumatra Post*, 29 October 1910.

[61] Schlegel's report to the Secretary of Colonies, 9 April 1873, pp. 8-9, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[62] *See* Chapter Seven, Studying in Batavia, section about Roelofs, and Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section about Li Hongzhang.

[63] After 1896, the Officials for Chinese Affairs were asked to act as interpreters only in important cases. The disadvantage of this measure was that they had even fewer opportunities than before to acquire the necessary experience as interpreters.

[64] "Naar mijn overtuiging is de studie van Chineesch in sommige opzichten de meest ontmoedigende studie, die er bestaat—niet wanneer men als zendeling in China zit in een bepaalde streek en alleen met Chineezen van die streek te maken heeft—, maar wel hier in Indië, waar de groote verscheidenheid van Chineezen oorzaak is dat men zich na tien jaren studie nog ongeveer even ver voelt als bij 't begin." De Bruin, "Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?," *De Sumatra Post*, 29 October 1910. Of course, by the time De Bruin was in function (1898–1908), sinologists rarely acted as interpreters.

[65] "Verder zijn deze talen weer verdeeld in dialecten, welke soms zeer lastig te volgen zijn, hetgeen Sinologen, die in Nederlandsch-Indië met Chineezen in aanraking komen, voortdurend ondervinden." Vleming, *Het Chineesche zakenleven*, 42.

[66] Rhemrev mentioned this at the end of his report, p. 535 in Breman's reprint of 1992. De Bruin's critic was A.E. der Kinderen, who was later dismissed and went to Singapore where he continued to publish his invectives in newspapers. He passed away suddenly in The Hague on 30 December 1903, 45 years old (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 31 December 1903). The planters later also complained a lot about the Chinese and Javanese interpreters during inspections, who were at first doing the interrogations themselves (Modderman, *Gedenkboek Deli Planters Vereeniging*, 126).

[67] "Naar wij vernemen is de heer A. G. de Bruin, thans met verlof in Nederland, aldaar geopereerd van galsteenen. Hij zal wel afgekeurd worden voor den Indischen dienst. Bizonder veel verliest deze daaraan niet. Want datgene waarvoor de Heer De Bruin werd bezoldigd, namelijk het spreken en verstaan van Chineesch, was maar dunnetjes, gelijk bleek bij de inspectie van Mr. Rhemrev in Deli, toen de ondertolk van den Heer De Bruin—hemzelf konden de koelies heelemaal niet verstaan, noch hij hèn—toen die Chineesche ondertolk de zotste dingen aan de contractkoelies vertelde, terwijl Sinjeur de Bruin er niets van snapte en er met een potsierlijk plechtstatig gezicht en een prachtige gouden pet op zijn hoofd bijstond. Ernstige misverstanden en verlies van menschenlevens zijn van die onkunde helaas het gevolg geweest." "Ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken," *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Ned.-Indië*, 22 March 1906.

[68] "Voor dit vertalen nu, dat hoofdzakelijk bestaat in mondelinge vertolking bij policierol en landraad, heeft men waarlijk geene personen noodig, die zulke studiën gemaakt hebben en betrekkelijk zo hoog worden betaald; dit werk kan ongeveer evengoed geschieden door Chinezen, die Maleisch spreken en op de meeste plaatsen gebeurt dit dan ook zonder eenig

bezwaar." Letter from Groeneveldt to Director of Justice Buijn, dated 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[69] From 1874 to 1878, Lie Alim worked as ethnic Chinese interpreter in Batavia (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[70] In 1865 the function of Chinese translator in Surabaya was abolished since there was now a European interpreter for Chinese. "Tolken en taalmeesters," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24 April 1894. This fact could not be confirmed.

[71] "Wat het mondeling tolken aangaat, hebben de inlandsche rechtbanken, ook daar waar een Europeesche tolk is gevestigd, de gewoonte behouden om het in de weinige gevallen dat het noodig is, te doen verrichten door den in die rechtbanken zitting hebbende Chineeschen adviseur. Van de Europeesche rechtbanken heeft zelfs de raad van justitie te Batavia een eigen Chineeschen tolk en ik geloof dat het Hooggerechtshof en de raad van justitie te Soerabaja de eenige rechtbanken zijn, die de diensten van den Europeeschen tolk geregeld inroepen. / Nu bestaat tegen het bezigen van een Chinees als tolk in den regel geen bezwaar, want het kan zich niet anders dan tot enkele gevallen bepalen, dat de tolk belang heeft in de zaak, waarin hij als zoodanig fungeert, terwijl wanneer zulks mocht blijken, licht aan een anderen Chinees de vertolking kan worden opgedragen. Daarbij zal hij dikwerf met meer vrucht dan de Europesche translateur kunnen vertolken, omdat hij met de lokale toestanden bekend is, en het gehoorde beter in het Maleisch, de taal waarin de gedingen [in de landraad] gevoerd worden, overbrengt. / Ziet men evenwel in de vertolking door een Europeeschen ambtenaar een grootere waarborg voor een onvertogen rechtsbedeeling, wat beteekent dat voordeel, door een paar landraden genoten, terwijl honderd andere rechtbanken van zijne diensten verstoken zijn." *Nota* by Albrecht for Director of Justice Buijn, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[72] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1858, no. 15 (*f* 1 to 3 per day), 1866, no. 108 (*f* 1 to 3 per case).

[73] The same fee was set for government officials when acting as interpreters (like Chinese officers). This ordinance had no effect on existing regulations for ethnic Chinese interpreters of the same status as natives. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1898, no. 196. IB 22/6/1898 no. 27 inv. 8184.

[74] Sie Taij San served in 1864–7, Sie Tjing Liong from 1867 to 1883, Tjoa King Liang from 5 July 1883, and Sie King Tjaij from 22 September 1887 until at least 1900 (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[75] Lim Soeng Kon from 30 March 1869, Tan Hian Gie from 25 March 1872, Bong Tjaij Liong from 1876 to 1883, and Boen Lian Kie from 16 June 1882, So Sien Keng and Ho Nam Tjong from 2 October 1892, So Kien Kong from 30 September 1893, Sho Sin Kong and Koe Joen Siong from 6 August 1895 (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[76] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1876, no. 109 (IB 21/4/1876 no. 48). In Medan Tan Ahong was first appointed; he was on 15 September 1885 succeeded by Tan Sioe Khie until 1887; in Bengkalis Tan King Liem was in function from 31 July 1876 until 1887 (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[77] Reports of lawsuits in the legal journals show that ethnic Chinese interpreters were active even earlier and in greater numbers.

[78] *Bijblad bij het Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië,* no. 3560, IB 19/12/1879 no. 22. From 31 December 1879 until 1882 Poeij Kiong Tjauw was in function (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[79] On 13 December 1894, he was succeeded by Tjioe Goan Lok (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[80] He was in function until 1895. He was replaced by Lie Joe Kiat from 14 May 1895 until 1897, and again from 20 March 1899 onwards (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[81] In Medan, Tan was replaced by Hie Foeng Tjong from 30 September 1893. In Bindjeh, Lau was succeeded by Tjoa Eng Ho from 1895, and by Tjoen Nijan Khun from 25 March 1899 (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[82] There was a second interpreter, Tjioe Sioe Poh, as of 18 August 1892. Both were replaced by Lim Pek Hok from 10 October 1898 on (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1893).

[83] IB 1/1/1875 no. 33 inv. 7619; IB 9/4/1875 no. 8 inv. 7625; *Regeringsalmanak voor*

Ned.-Indië, 1876–1880. *See also* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Manuscript Dictionaries."

[84] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 196, 1898. IB 22/6/1898, no. 27 inv. 8184. Also containing some articles about ethnic Chinese interpreters.

[85] De Bruin, "Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?," *De Sumatra Post*, 29 October 1910. On 8 June 1880, Hoetink submitted a request to the Resident for a subsidy of *f* 25 per year to engage teachers for Hakka and Hoklo (Tië-tsioe) (H 421 A, p. 7, KITLV Collection). The result of this request could not be found.

[86] "Mondelinge vertolkingen toch, uit en in het Chineesch, zullen in Nederlandsch-Indië waar de overgroote meerderheid der uitsluitend Chineesch sprekende bevolking tot de lagere klasse behoort, over het algemeen beter door Chineezen dan door Europeanen kunnen geschieden. Zoo worden ook in de Strait Settlements en te Hongkong voor mondelinge vertolkingen in zaken welke ter kennis komen van Europeesche magistraten en rechterlijke colleges, uitsluitend Chineezen gebruikt. / Europeanen, die eerst op lateren leeftijd het Chineesch als een vreemde taal aanleeren, zullen slechts bij uitzondering deze moeilijke taal zoo machtig worden dat zij zich daarin even vlot weten uit te drukken als geboren Chineezen. Het is waar dat ook met minder kan worden volstaan, maar een feit blijft het dan toch dat in den regel Europeanen in gemakkelijkheid van uitdrukking en in vaardigheid om Chineezen te verstaan en zich aan hen verstaanbaar te maken, bij Chineezen zullen achterstaan, met wie degenen wier woorden moeten worden overgebracht, zich ook beter op hun gemak voelen." Hoetink "Nota voor den Directeur van Justitie omtrent de wijze waarop de werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken zal kunnen worden uitgebreid," dated 19 September 1900, pp. 2-4, typed copy in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04.

[87] "Toegegeven wordt dat een ontwikkeld Europeaan beter dan een Chinees de portee zal begrijpen van de soms ingewikkelde vragen welke door een Europeesch ambtenaar worden gesteld, doch dit voordeel schijnt niet hoog te moeten worden aangeslagen. In den beginne toch, toen de Europeesche [tolken voor de Chineesche] taal nog eene nieuwigheid waren, gold bij landraden en raden van justitie meer of min de regel hun ministerie in te roepen, maar gaandeweg is de bevoegdheid om over hunne diensten te beschikken ongebruikt gelaten niet, naar ik verneem, omdat zij voor die diensten ongeschikt bleken, maar omdat men het met Chineezen even goed kon stellen, al moest eene vraag dan soms worden herhaald of verduidelijkt, terwijl om velerlei redenen van practischen aard, het bezigen van de diensten van Chineezen als tolken, eenvoudiger en gemakkelijker was dan daarvoor Europeesche ambtenaren van het gehalte der tolken voor de Chineesche taal, op te roepen." Hoetink, *nota* (1900), 5-6.

[88] "Ik geloof echter dat men nog wel eens op andere wijze zou kunnen beproeven de speciale kennis dezer ambtenaren meer en zelfs in ruimeren kring tot [p. 29] haar recht te doen komen. Men behoort aan de hierbedoelde ambtenaren het karakter van tolken geheel te ontnemen en hen ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken te maken," *Nota* of the Vice-President of the Council of the Indies Groeneveldt, 12 October 1894, pp. 5-6, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[89] Article VI, "Bepalingen tot aanwijzing de standplaatsen en regeling van de werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken," *Staatsblad voor Ned.-Indië*, 1896, no. 96. The criteria for this were not defined in the directive.

[90] "[Daarentegen] zullen Chineezen gewoonlijk zonder bezwaar kunnen worden belast met het doen van mondelinge vertolkingen. Hunne kennis der spreektaal reikt meestal verder dan die van de schrijftaal en aangezien zij in ontwikkeling hunne rasgenooten die geen voldoende maleisch kennen, nader staan dan europeesche ambtenaren, zal in de meeste gevallen hun ministerie reeds daarom de voorkeur verdienen, omdat Chineezen zich tegenover hen meer op hun gemak gevoelen." Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1897.

[91] Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1897. In that case art. 7 of the *Regulations on the Judiciary System and Judicial Policy* (*Staatsblad* 1847, no. 23) should have been changed, but no evidence that this ever happened could be found.

[92] The sinologist James Dyer Ball (Canton, 1847 – Enfield, 1919) was the son of a missionary. He worked in the Hong Kong civil service for 35 years, in functions such as

security officer and chief interpreter. He published textbooks for Cantonese and Hakka, and other works such as the encyclopaedia *Things Chinese*.

[93] "Voor tolken bij landraden etc. bedient men zich meestal van Chineezen, die in Indië of in de Straits geboren zijn en als kinderen verschillende dialecten hebben geleerd. Toch komt het ook hierbij nog wel eens voor, dat vertaald wordt volgens het systeem: God zegene de greep, of: als het niet raak is, is het mis. / Een voordeel van Chineesche tolken boven Europeanen is bovendien dat ze den gedachtengang van een' Chinees veel beter volgen en begrijpen. Ze stellen de vragen idiomatischer en vatten sneller het antwoord. / Een aardig staaltje hiervan geeft de heer Dyer Ball in één zijner artikelen in de *China Review*. / Een' Chinees werd gevraagd of hij den vorigen dag daar en daar geweest was. Het antwoord luidde: 'mijn voet deed pijn'. De gedachtengang van den man bleek te zijn: 'ik had er heen willen gaan, maar omdat ik niet loopen kon, ben ik tehuis gebleven, en ik ben er dus niet geweest.' Zoo iets voelt een Chineesche tolk dadelijk. Ook al ondervindt een Chineesche tolk moeilijkheden met een dialect, in denken en voelen staat hij veel dichter bij den beklaagde of den getuige dan een Europeaan. Wat hij niet begrijpt, kan hij aanvullen. Zaak is het echter, dat de heeren gecontroleerd worden, en dat is hoofdzakelijk het werk van de European interpreters in Hongkong. Ze moeten één dialect goed kennen en in een paar andere dialecten kunnen nagaan of de Chineezen de waarheid zeggen bij hunne vertaling of niet. Verder houden ze zich bezig met de beoefening van het schrift." De Bruin, "Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?," *De Sumatra Post*, 29 October 1910.

[94] These *notas* are collected with Harloff's *nota* of 1912 in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04. The only known cases of checking an ethnic Chinese interpreter were that of Buddingh in 1865 and probably of De Bruin in 1903 (when working for Rhemrev).

[95] "En opdat niemand hiervan onwetendheid voorwende, zal deze alom, zoowel in de nederduitsche als in de inlandsche en chinesche talen, worden afgekondigd en aangeplakt, ter plaatse waar zulks gebruikelijk is … ." *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie*, 1851, no. 65 (prohibition of harmful secret societies). The last sentence was: "en voorts worden opgenomen in het staatsblad van *Nederlandsch-Indie* en in de javasche courant" (and it will also be published in the *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* and in the *Javasche Courant*).

[96] *Meisegan* 美色甘 is a transcription of Dutch *Weeskamer* (Orphans Chamber). Translation of "Reglement voor het Collegie van Boedelmeesteren te Batavia," *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1828, no. 46. A manuscript copy that belonged to Hoetink is now kept in the East Asian Library, Leiden University library.

[97] *See* Chapter Six, Chinese Teachers/Clerks in the Indies and section "The Techniques of Translation" below. The creation of standard names for officials and institutions would be a major innovation by the Dutch interpreters.

[98] *Regeeringsreglement* (1854), art. 32 and 33 also specified the standard text to be used in each law and ordinance announcing this obligation. Albrecht, "Nota omtrent den staatsrechtelijken toestand der Chineezen in Ned.-Indië" (1884), 20.

[99] Hoetink, "Nota voor den Directeur van Justitie omtrent de wijze waarop de werkkring van de Ambtenaren voor Chineesche Zaken zal kunnen worden worden uitgebreid," Soekaboemi, 19 September 1900, p. 10, typed copy in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04.

[100] Several references to this can be found in V 6/12/1912 no. 54, inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04.

[101] "Wat schriftelijke vertalingen betreft, zoo vonden de tolken te Batavia voldoende bezigheid in het overzetten van de door den Regering uitgevaardigde verordeningen, benevens van de zoowel door den resident van Batavia, als door andere hoofden van gewestelijk bestuur gepubliceerde reglementen en keuren van politie. De tolken buiten Batavia hebben slechts de enkele verordeningen te vertalen, die in het gewest, waarin zij geplaatst zijn, worden uitgevaardigd." *Nota* by Albrecht dated 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[102] "Zij hebben hoofdzakelijk *uit* de Nederlandsche *in* de Chineesche taal te vertalen, nl. de door de regeering gepubliceerde Ordonnantiën, Wetten en Staatsbladen; de voorwaarden der verpachtingen van 's Lands middelen; plaatselijke keuren en verordeningen, enz.; terwijl het slechts zeldzaam voorkomt dat zij uit het Chineesch in het Hollandsch te vertalen hebben." Schlegel's letter 12 June 1881, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430. These arguments were repeated in the Introduction to the dictionary.

[103] "De moeilijkheden die de tolken in de eerste jaren hunner aanstelling te overwinnen hadden, waren bij gebrek aan zulk een woordenboek bijkans onoverkoombaar en veroorzaakten een ontzettend tijdverlies. Werd bv. aan de tolken door de Regeering de vertaling van eene ordonnantie bv. betreffende den houtaankap, de onteigening ten algemeenen nutte, ontginning van Aard-olie bronnen, enz. opgedragen—stukken door speciale ingenieurs geredigeerd, die van technische en juridische uitdrukkingen wemelden—dan gingen dagen verloren met het zoeken naar geschikte equivalenten in het Chineesch. Volumineuse Chin. werken over Boschcultuur en Mijn-ontginningen, talrijke juridische documenten moesten doorgeslagen en bestudeerd worden om, na ettelijke dagen zoekens, eindelijk een Chineesch equivalent voor de Nederlandsche technische en juridische termen te vinden. Somtijds vondt men ze zelfs niet, en dan was alle gedane moeite te vergeefs geweest. Dan moest er met behulp van een Chineesch schrijver of klerk een term voor gefabriceerd worden, die niet altijd even gelukkig en verstaanbaar was. Kortom, kostbare tijd en moeite gingen verloren om dikwijls tot een negatief resultaat te geraken." Schlegel's letter 12 June 1881, pp. 3-4, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430.

[104] "Een Chineesch opstel van welken aard ook bestaat meestal uit een tal van geijkte uitdrukkingen die men op allerlei manieren weet zamen te voegen en de volledige kennis en het gebruik van welke uitdrukkingen eene voor Europeanen bijna hopelooze taak is." Report on the need of Chinese teachers/clerks from De Grijs to the Resident of Semarang, A.A.M.V. Keuchenius, 9 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[105] Report from De Grijs to Keuchenius, 9 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[106] "[Daarentegen] heeft, behoudens misschien enkele uitzonderingen, zelfs geen westersch *sinoloog* het zoover gebracht dat hij, zonder hulp van een Chineeschen lettré, eene getrouwe en idiomatische vertaling kan bezorgen van een willekeurigen Europeeschen tekst en de daarvoor vereischte bedrevenheid in de Chineesche geschreven taal, zal in elk geval eerste na jarenlange oefening en studie kunnen worden bereikt. De practijk is dan ook dat de tolk den inhoud van een westersch stuk waarvan hem de vertaling is opgedragen, in het *spreektaal* opgeeft aan zijn schrijver, wiens taak dan bestaat in het stellen in den vereischten vorm." Hoetink's *nota* for Knobel, dated Tientsin 15 September 1898, inv. 1327, toegang 2.05.38, NA.

[107] H 421 A (Dutch texts and correspondence, 48 p.) and B (Chinese texts, 95 p., beginning on p. 10); the latter were typed out in Chinese and translated in English by Li Wen 李雯 (now in B2, online available; names and titles of European officials are not translated).

[108] Pp. 11-22 are from Makassar, pp. 22-87 are from Medan. The last part of the copy book contains correspondence with Chinese officials in 1889–90, when Hoetink was in China on a study tour. He was also charged to facilitate the emigration of Chinese workers (pp. 87-105). There are also copies of original Chinese texts, such as an Imperial honorific decree dating from 1877, temple regulations from Surabaya and the Chinese Edict of Toleration of Christianity from Shaoxing (1848).

[109] "De Chineezen die voor mondelinge vertolkingen worden gebruikt, zijn bijna altijd hier te lande geboren en—ook al zijn zij uit China afkomstig—weinig geschikt om een officieel stuk in de Chineesche geschreven taal behoorlijk over te brengen of van een in het Chineesch gesteld document eene juiste vertaling te bezorgen." Hoetink, *nota* (1900), 7.

[110] "Zij hebben namelijk geen besef van stiptheid, geen eerbied voor de letter en zien daarom ook niet de noodzakelijkheid in te streven naar het bereiken van den hoogsten graad van nauwkeurigheid." Hoetink, *nota* (1900), 8.

[111] "Van nauwgezetheid en stiptheid in de mate als die bij de vertaling van gewichtige stukken wordt vereischt, hebben Chineezen over het algemeen geen begrip. De westersche eerbied voor de letter is hun vreemd; zij stellen zich tevreden met een à peu près." Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1897.

[112] Hoetink's *nota* for Knobel, 15 September 1898, inv. 1327, toegang 2.05.38, NA. However, for the modern uninitiated sinologist, nineteenth-century documentary Chinese is still relatively difficult. At least at Leiden University, A. Vissière's series of textbooks *Recueil de textes chinois à l'usage des élèves de l'école nationale des langues orientales vivantes* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, etc., 1907–22) were reputed to be extremely hard.

[113] Schlegel, *The Hung-League*, Preface, p. V.

[114] "Die documenten maakten zich zoo despotisch van den sinoloog meester, dat zij hem

rust noch duur lieten, hem tijd en alles deden vergeten, ja hem de nachtrust ontnamen. Na een paar weken peinzen en vorschen waarin die geschriften al zijn denken in beslag namen, krijgt hij op een nacht slapeloos op zijn legerstede woelend, plotseling eene ingeving, een vlammend visioen. Is het niet de tweede helft van een aantal Chineesche karakters, waaruit het tooverstuk is samengesteld, zoodat als men de wederhelft dier teekens daaraan toevoegt, de eigenlijke betekenis van het geheel eerst voor den dag komt? In een omzien springt hij het bed uit en teekent ijlings zijne gissing op een stuk papier aan, uit vreze dat anders misschien den volgenden morgen het visioen verneveld zal zijn. Daarop legt hij zich gerust neer, om den slaap des rechtvaardigen sinoloogs te slapen. Reeds in den vroegen morgen ontwaakt hij, grijpt eene der circulaires en bevestigt tot zijn állergrootste blijdschap, dat zijn vermoeden bewaarheid wordt! Met dien tooversleutel gewapend ontcijfert hij geleidelijk het geheele geschrift." Gram, "Bezoek aan Schlegel" (1900), 89. Some examples can be found in *The Hung-League*, 40, 51, 53, for instance 川大丁首 = 順天行道.

[115] Young, "Versterfrecht, adoptie en pleegkinderen bij de Chineezen" (1886), "Het huwelijk en de wetgeving hierop in China" (1894). Stuart, "Over verdeeling van het familiegoed en stamvoortzetting bij de Chineezen" (1900). For the sinologists' work for the courts, *see* Chapter Thirteen, section "Acting as Experts on Chinese Law and Customs for the Courts."

[116] Dutch translation only, no Chinese text. BPL 1782 23. *Catalogue* 2005, 108-9. Another example from 1875 is the letter from a Chinese in Atjeh about the defense of the town (BPL 1782 8 E 5, *Catalogue* 2005, 100).

[117] H 421 A, no. 4 (with copies of translations and Chinese texts) and no. 12 (without Chinese text), KITLV.

[118] *Indisch Weekblad van het Recht* no. 1205 (2 August 1886), 122.

[119] Albrecht stated that translation from Chinese of private contracts and account books was only required in lawsuits. *Nota* by Albrecht dated 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[120] Letter from Daendels to Governor-General, dated 23 March 1861, in V 11/9/1861 no. 22/1101 inv. 1098.

[121] IB 20/5/1861 no. 14 inv. 7307.

[122] Request for Royal Approval in V 24/8/1861 no. 22 inv. 1092. Letter from Loudon to Hoffmann in V 11/9/1861 no. 22/1101 inv. 1098.

[123] Hoffmann's letter dated 15 September 1861, V 16/10/1861 no. 17 inv. 1109.

[124] V 17/2/1864 no. 17 inv. 1440. Number of copies in V 17/11/1888 no. 54 inv. 4210.

[125] V 17/2/1864 no. 17 inv. 1440.

[126] The first set was sent in 1864. V 17/2/1864 no. 17 inv. 1440. Later in V 26/6/1883 no. 15 inv. 3648; V 11/5/1886 no. 11 inv. 3953, etc.

[127] "Verslag van het beheer en den staat der Oost-Indische bezittingen in 1862," 1111, *Handelingen der Staten Generaal 1864–1865*. "Begrooting voor Nederlandsch-Indië voor 1863," 1291, *Handelingen der Staten Generaal 1862–1863*. Also in www.statengeneraaldigitaal.nl, search "Chinesche typen" in 1861–5. The compositor's monthly salary was *f* 100; the pupils' salary was *f* 25 (V 24/8/1861 no. 22 inv. 1092).

[128] 20 September 1862, *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directie-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* (1862–1863), 13.

[129] Hoffmann, *Catalogus van Chinesche matrijzen en drukletters* (first edition), 1860. Enlarged editions appeared in 1864 and 1876.

[130] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* (1862–1863), 13 and 149-59.

[131] *Almanak en Naamregister van Nederlandsch-Indië* (later: *Rege(e)ringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*). The characters were printed on pp. 6 and 27-31. The article on pp. 27-31 also appeared in the almanacs of 1865–1869, but from 1870 on, only one page with characters (p. 6) remained.

[132] For instance in Vleming, *Het Chineesche zakenleven in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1927.

[133] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Publication History of Francken and De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch Dictionary (1864–1882)."

[134] For instance Schaalje's *Reglement op het rechtswezen in Riouw* and De Jongh's *Reglement op de brandweer in Batavia* (the latter is accessible online in KITLV).

[135] Von Faber, "Chinesche vertaling van staatsblad 1871 no. 78." It was not yet in Chi-

nese style, but the pages were printed in a rectangular frame. Translations of the same into Javanese, Malay, Madurese, and Sundanese were also available. Mentioned in the *Catalogus van boekwerken, kaarten enz. ter Landsdrukkerij verkrijgbaar* (Extra bijvoegsel der *Javasche Courant* 1882 no. 66), 11, and in regular advertisements in the *Javasche Courant* from the late 1870s to the early 1900s. Also mentioned in *Catalogus der boeken … verkrijgbaar bij het depot van leermiddelen te Weltevreden* (Batavia: Kolff, 1897–1914).

[136] "Stel U nu het aangename gevoel voor van iemand, die, al begrijpt hij zulk een stuk in zijne *moedertaal* niet volkomen, toch door zijne betrekking verplicht is het in eene *andere* taal, b. v. de Chineesche over te brengen. / Men *doet* het natuurlijk, maar … het kost enorme moeite. Gelukkig kan men met behulp van andere uitdrukkingen of door omschrijving de zaak toch wel in orde brengen,—na zich echter eerst behoorlijk te hebben geïnformeerd, wat nu eigenlijk de bedoeling is." Roelofs, "Ingezonden stukken," *Java-bode*, 19 October 1882.

[137] On the other hand, his request may have in the first place been motivated by his wish to see more of China, perhaps inspired by Van de Stadt's request of 1896.

[138] "Bepalingen betreffende het Burgerlijk- en Handelsrecht en enkele onderwerpen van Strafrecht voor de Chineezen op Java en Madoera." (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1892, no. 238).

[139] "Ik heb toen aan die opdracht zoo goed mogelijk voldaan, ofschoon ik mij bewust was dat met de mij ten dienste staande middelen geene behoorlijke vertaling was te maken en dat zelfs de beste vertaling van de ordonnantie voor de Chineezen waardeloos zou wezen." *Nota* for the Director of Justice, dated Weltevreden, 10 February 1898, Mailrapport 1898 no. 206.

[140] In the ordinance of 1855 no. 79, which must at the time also have been translated into Chinese, the manner of referring to the Civil Code was even more enigmatic: there was only a list of subjects *not* applicable to the Chinese.

[141] "Het genot en verlies der burgerlijke rechten, wettelijke gemeenschap [van goederen], huwelijksche voorwaarden."

[142] All interpreters had received a copy of Schlegel's dictionary (in instalments) from the Ministry of Colonies. Hoetink's copy is now kept in the Athenaeum Library in Deventer.

[143] Published in Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, 129-56. For an overview *see* Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 204-10.

[144] Groeneveldt, De Groot, Young, and Borel gave comments. Fromberg's version was also never proclaimed. In 1917 (*Staatsblad* no. 129) all civil and commercial law for Europeans was made applicable to the Chinese as from 1 May 1919. The only exception was that there were special provisions for the Chinese regarding adoption (essential for the continuation of the family line when there was no son).

[145] "Een Chineesche overzetting of bewerking van een tekst als de door mij bedoelde, zal noodzakelijkerwijs eene paraphrase moeten zijn. Hierbij te werk gaan als bij de vertaling van den Bijbel of andere gewijde teksten zou geen zin hebben; op den voorgrond staat de eisch dat de inhoud begrijpelijk is voor iederen Chinees die zijne eigen schrijftaal machtig is." *Nota* by Hoetink, 21 December 1897, pp. 2-3, in Mailrapport 1898 no. 206.

[146] "In China bestaat geene burgerlijke of handelswetgeving en geen rechtsstudie, zoodat ook eene rechtstaal daar nog niet is geboren. Trouwens voor de overzetting of bewerking van een tekst als die van westersche wetboeken zou men de Chineesche rechtstermen, gesteld dat zij bestonden, wel niet kunnen bezigen, omdat zij de uitdrukking zouden zijn van geheel andere begrippen dan in een westersch wetboek voorkomen. / Hij die zulk eene westersche wetgeving aan Chineezen moet duidelijk maken, zal derhalve ten deele eene nieuwe taal moeten scheppen door het smeden van nieuwe uitdrukkingen of door aan bestaande uitdrukkingen eene uitbreiding van beteekenis te geven. / Dit nu is alleen mogelijk in het land zelf, waar hij zich zal kunnen verzekeren van de medewerking van Chineezen van hoogere letterkundige ontwikkeling dan de schrijvers waarmede hier te lande wordt gewerkt, en waar bovendien andere hulpmiddelen worden gevonden welke hier te lande worden gemist, zoo treft men in verschillende deelen van China enkele Chineezen aan die zich in Europa hebben toegelegd op de rechtsstudie en de veronderstelling is geoorloofd dat de vertaler of verklaarder in China zijnde, er in zal slagen bij zoo iemand belangstelling voor zijn arbeid te wekken en zijne medewerking te verkrijgen. Buiten China, zonder den

bijstand van geletterde Chineezen en van eene uitgebreide bibliotheek zal eene bevredigende vertaling of een verstaanbaar overzicht van een zoo eigenaardigen en moeilijken tekst als een westersche burgerlijke en handelswetgeving, door geen ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken[,] door geen enkel sinoloog, kunnen worden geleverd." *Nota* by Hoetink, 21 December 1897, pp. 3-4, in Mailrapport 1898 no. 206.

[147] Extraterritorial rights in China were finally abolished in Sino–Western treaties in the 1940s.

[148] At his request, he was also to devise a list of standard transcriptions of Chinese names in four dialects (Hokkien, Hoklo, Hakka, Cantonese), for the expected implementation of Civil Registration (*burgerlijke stand*) for the Chinese. Such a Hakka list is mentioned in a list of his books and manuscripts donated to Leiden University Library in 1907. Just before he left he was also charged to make arrangements for the emigration of workers in Swatow. For the latter two assignments Hoetink had of course to stay for some time in Southern China. Other arguments for this mission by Hoetink were that there were ten Officials for Chinese Affairs at the time, while only five were officially needed, and his expenses in China would not be higher than in the Indies. He would certainly not overstay his two-year period, since life in China would be full of hardship.

[149] In 1866 there already appeared an anonymous letter to the editors of the *Nieuw Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, stating that the Chinese on Java preferred Malay translations, not because the Chinese translations were not good, but because the Chinese understood Malay better than Chinese (*Nieuw Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 19 December 1866). This letter was a reaction to an article by Schlegel about the importance of sinology and sinologists, and it provoked more comments by Schlegel (*see* Schlegel's bibliography). This debate did not have any consequences.

[150] "Die arbeid zelf, dit zult ge nu wel reeds weten, is even als het in het Chineesch vertalen der zoogenaamde staatsbladen een even nutteloos als noodeloos tijd en papier verknoeien, om de eenvoudige reden dat de meeste Chineezen die vertalingen niet lezen kunnen en de enkelen onder hen, die het wel kunnen, ze niet lezen willen. Die met zorg op de landsdrukkerij gedrukte vertalingen worden dan ook gewoonlijk op de verschillende residentiebureaux gebruikt tot omslagpapier voor officieele missives en daartoe zijn ze zonder twijfel wel geschikt, doch eigenlijk te duur. Als ge dus ooit daartoe in de gelegenheid mocht komen en een werkelijk goed werk wilt doen, stel dan eens als bezuinigingsmaatregel voor, om die nuttelooze tijd- en geldverspilling te staken." Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën II," *Java-bode*, 8 December 1896. Of course, only the large-sheet, ephemeral ordinances would be suitable as letter covers.

[151] The ordinance (*politiekeur*) prescribed the minimum wheel width of a *grobak*, a kind of ox-cart not used by Chinese. Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXVIII," *Java-bode*, 26 July 1898.

[152] "Zoowel door den aard van den oorspronkelijken tekst als wegens hunne gebrekkige kennis van de Chineesche schrijftaal, zullen vooral onder de op Java gevestigde Chineezen, betrekkelijk weinige worden gevonden aan wie zulk eene vertaling of overzicht wel besteed zal wezen, maar wanneer voor een onderdeel der bevolking eene specifieke wetgeving wordt in het leven geroepen, zal moeilijk kunnen worden nagelaten hun de gelegenheid te geven zich daarvan op de hoogte te stellen door eene overzetting of bewerking in de nationale taal dier ingezetenen. En bij toepasselijkverklaring van die wetgeving op Chineezen buiten Java, zal de billijkheid ongetwijfeld vorderen dat eene vertaling of bewerking worde verstrekt, daar onder de Chineezen op de zoogenaamde buitenbezittingen de kennis van het maleisch veel geringer is dan bij hunne rasgenooten op Java en bij gebreke van een Chineezen [Chineesche] tekst hun de pas zal zijn afgesneden om te weten te komen wat de voor hen geldende wetgeving inhoudt." Hoetink's first *nota* for the Director of Justice, Batavia, 1 December 1897, pp. 1-2, in Mailrapport 1898 no. 206. However, two years later, in 1900, Hoetink only expressed doubt about the benefit derived from the translations of the *Staatsbladen*, which were then still being made in Batavia. In his view, these translations did not justify the appointment of special officials, nor that of a special professor in Leiden (Schlegel). Hoetink, *nota* (1900), 10.

[153] Albrecht had been born and raised in the Indies and must have been fluent in Malay.

[154] Of course, in Modern Chinese *cóng* can function as a preposition, but not in this

sense. And in spoken Chinese *shéi* can also be used in the sense of "he, who; whoever" in the construction *shéi… shéi*…, for instance 誰先到, 誰買票, "Whoever arrives first, buys the tickets."

[155] "Over den vorm wil ik geene aanmerkingen maken, de Maleische vertaling is voet voor voet gevolgd. Dit is wel het gemakkelijkst, daar het te omslagtig is om van elk stuk den aanhef en het slot naar een Chineschen leest te schoeijen. Een menigte Hollandsche woorden heeft men zonder vertaling gelaten. Zoo vindt men Commissie, Justitie, Collegie, Residentie, Gouverneur-Generaal, enz. enz. met dezelfde klanken behouden en heeft men zich vergenoegd die klanken zoo goed mogelijk door Chinesche karakters weêr te geven. Dit kan ik mij alles nog begrijpen, want het is waarlijk moeilijk voor Chinezen om van alle ambtenaren en technische termen den omvang der beteekenis te weten, en dan daarvoor overeenkomstige Chinesche uitdrukkingen te vinden. De stijl echter is waarlijk erbarmelijk, is geen Chineesch, zeker geheel en al Maleijsch. De Chineezen op *Java* zijn er aan gewend en zullen de bedoeling begrijpen kunnen, en doen het ook, omdat zij ter goeder trouw het willen. Eenige uitdrukkingen zal ik als voorbeelden aanhalen, om te doen zien hoe onverstaanbaar het voor een oningewijden Chinees moet wezen. Zinnen die met betrekkelijke voornaamwoorden beginnen, als "hij, die", "zij, die", of eenvoudig "wie", beginnen in deze vertaling alle met 誰. Nee, dit woord is en blijft altijd een *vragend* voornaamwoord, en beteekent "wie?" Zeker heeft men dan slechts den Maleischen syntaxis gevolgd. In Chinesche stukken vertaalt men het gewoonlijk met "凡" alle, en dergelijke telwoorden, sluitende dan met het betrekkelijk voornaamwoord 者: en men kan dat in onze taal wedergeven door "*alle die*". Verder vertaalt men b.v. het woord *volgens* door "從" dat wel *volgen* beteekent, maar nooit als voorzetsel kan voorkomen. Men heeft daar andere karakters voor. Eindelijk zijn er vele wonderlijke verwisselingen van karakters die ik in dit kort bestek moeilijk aantoonen kan." Albrecht also wrote that the choice of documents was rather unfortunate, as there were only three different documents, of which very similar translations had been made in three different years. But still it was enough to serve as a basis for judgement. Letter from the Consul Van der Hoeven to Governor-General Pahud, 10 December 1859, quoting Albrecht's letter of 21 October 1859 from Amoy, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005.

[156] In Tsiangtsiu pronunciation: Tsò lô-tî kun-lî-si, literally "make *roti* conditions." Kong Koan Archives no. 23008, original Dutch text (*Reglement van de broodbakkers te Batavia*) in IB 4/11/1823 no. 21, inv. 2780, toegang 2.10.01. Another example is Kong Koan Archives (Minutes 1853-1-25) no. 21013, pp. 331-9, original Dutch text in IB 18/12/1851 no. 8 inv. 7128. One example from 1823 with unknown Dutch original text is shown in *Catalogue* 2005, 7 (Or. 2233:2).

[157] This list was certainly made between 1859 and 1863, since the word "King" (*Koning*) was still translated as "Emperor" (皇帝 *Huangdi*). Schaalje, *Namen van Ambtenaren en Collegien in Nederlandsch Indië* (Names of officials and boards in the Netherlands Indies) 燕地官衙 (BPL 2106 II: 12C and 35).

[158] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, *[Hoog]gerechtshof* (High Court, Vol. I, p. 1328); *secretaris* (secretary, Vol. III, p. 830.

[159] Schaalje also used this name on a panel indicating his office or house with the text: 翻譯漢字官寓此 (The Chinese translator resides here) (*Catalogue* 2005, 148, BPL 2106 II 31C). It is a clumsy translation, literally meaning "translator of Chinese characters;" a more idiomatic form would be 漢字翻譯官. In his dictionary Schlegel used the colloquial expression 傳唐話譯官, literally "interpreter/translator rendering the Chinese spoken language." De Groot and Hoetink would later use 翻譯官 (繙繹官) "translator/interpreter," which is now still used. In the Kong Koan archives, the title of a Dutch interpreter of Chinese, was once translated as 和蘭翻譯官 (Dutch interpreter) (*Kong tong Notulen* (*Gongtang anbu* 公堂案簿), no. 21021 (19/1/1881 – 19/9/1884), 11 August 1884 (p. 247), Kong Koan Archives, East Asian Library, Leiden).

[160] This title contains some strange words: 調理, 獄犯 and 調停, etc., blurring the meaning.

[161] The original text has the obvious misprint 母 (mother) for 毋 (do not). Part of the Dutch formula was incorporated at the beginning in: 曉爾各色軍民人等知悉.

[162] Article 2 contains details about the applicability of some provisions in the Regulations

on the Judiciary System and Judicial *Policy in the Neth. Indies*. This article was not translated into Chinese.

[163] Punctuation marks, underlinings of geographical names and (below) brackets for text printed at the side of the column are here added to the Chinese text (see illustration). Again awkward words are used, such as 料理 and perhaps 規例, but the meaning is clear enough. The word 回 "chapter" is normally used only in novels, not in legal texts.

[164] The word "cancelled" was more elegantly translated by De Grijs in 1875 as 除 "to do away with" (art. 3), and by De Jongh in 1891 as 革除免用 "to abolish and exempt from use" (art. 47; the original Dutch text could not be found, but it should have this meaning).

[165] The three geographical names Benkulen, Borneo and Ambon are transcribed as 望龜哈 Bāng-ku-ap, 木梁 Bók-niû´ and 安文 An-bûn. In Schlegel's Woordenboek (Vol. II, p. 174) z*haoshenpiao* 照身票is the translation of hoofdbriefje, a pass confirming one's payment of poll tax (*hoofdgeld*).

[166] *Catalogue* 2005, frontispiece and pp. 97-8.

[167] The original place-name was Sunda Kalapa, which after the conquest by the Bantam Moslems in 1527 was changed to Jayakerta or Surakerta (De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, 1). On 30 May 1619 the Dutch established their commercial centre in that place and named it Batavia. Kalapa is derived from from Malay *kelapa*, "coconut tree" (loaned into Dutch as *klapper*). *Pa* in *Pa*-town is short for Kalapa, just as *Lang* 壟 is short for Semarang 三寶壟. By coincidence, Pa also tallies with the first syllable of Batavia.

[168] The character 蚋 (Mandarin *ruì*) was pronounced in Hokkien, on the basis of its phonetic, as *na* or *la*.

[169] J. Deen in *De Locomotief*, 25 October 1895. *See* quotation in Chapter Fifteen, section "Other Administrative Functions."

[170] 賭 (pák) is a loanword from Dutch pacht(en), Malay pak, "to farm out; tax-farming"; 傌仔, Hokkien bé-á, is from Malay bea, "tax." 粒 is a measure word in Hokkien for grains and all round objects, including larger ones.

[171] One rare exception in the Minutes is the Malay word *bicara* 嘮喳勞 (meeting, discussion, judgement), which from the 1880s on was replaced by Chinese words such as *huiyi* 會議 (meeting). Blussé, *Gong'anbu* 公案簿. *See also* Kong Koan Archives, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[172] In Imperial China (before 1912), *dalisi* 大理寺 was the name of the High Court. It was changed to 大理院 *daliyuan* from 1912 until 1928. These translations, however, are not necessarily derived from the ones by the Dutch interpreters or taken from Schlegel's dictionary; they could well have been newly created.

[173] *See also* Von Zach's interesting review in Walravens, *Gesammelte Rezensionen, chinesische Geschichte*, 70-2.

[174] "Except for the written translation work in Batavia, which at times is rather voluminous, most of them find their only serious activity in their function at the Orphans and Estate Chamber and in advising the *Raden van Justitie* in cases of bankruptcy of Chinese." (Met uitzondering van het schriftelijk vertaalwek te Batavia, dat soms nogal omvangrijk is, vinden de meesten hunne eenige serieuze bezigheid in hun functiën bij wees- en boedelkamer en in het voorlichten der Raden van Justitie bij faillissementen van Chinezen.) Groeneveldt, letter 30 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[175] Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[176] "Alléén de *Regterlijke autoriteiten* grepen met warmte de gelegenheid aan gebruik te maken van de diensten van de Europesche tolken v/d Chinesche taal, ten einde achter de eeuwigdurende *knoeijerijen* der Chinezen te komen." Schlegel's *nota*, 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[177] Meeter gave numerous examples of fraud in his many newspaper articles about this subject. One was that Chinese could apply for their own bankruptcy, and used this as a means to evade their creditors, by reaching an agreement on repayment of only 30-40% of their debts. Meeter showed convincingly how account books could be manipulated for this purpose. Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige in zake boekhouding en faillissementen van Chineezen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 21-31 December 1881; "Eene idée fixe," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 2-16 February 1884; "Misbruiken," *Java-bode*, 1 June – 13 July 1892. But after his return to Holland he learned from two Dutch lawyers in Leiden that

bankruptcy fraud was just as common and even more sophisticated in Holland than in the Indies; only illegal agreements with Chinese on repayment (*sluipakkoorden*) were more common in the Indies, because European merchants expected a higher degree of secrecy from the Chinese (Meeter, "Misbruiken," 12 July 1892).

[178] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 21 December 1881.

[179] Bagelen: IB 25/10/1864 no. 12 inv. 7378. Kedu: IB 3/11/1864 no. 15 inv. 7379.

[180] Meeter, "Eene idée fixe," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 February 1884.

[181] Meeter, "De onbedrevenheid van Chinezen," *Indisch Weekblad van het Regt*, no. 733, 16 July 1877. This was his first article. For detailed later descriptions of Chinese accounting *see* Vleming, *Zakenleven* and Pernitzsch and Tittel, *Buchhaltung*.

[182] In Dutch "deftig, thee, tand." Meeter, "Misbruiken, II," *Java-bode*, 2 June 1892. An analysis and a long list of such words can be found in Pernitzsch and Tittel, *Buchhaltung*, 6-15 and 65-84. *Mentega* is derived from Portuguese *manteiga*. *See also* Vleming, *Het Chineesche zakenleven*, 47.

[183] Meeter, "Eene idée fixe," (*slot*), *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 16 February 1884.

[184] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 29 December 1881.

[185] At this point Meeter advised his younger colleagues always to carefully choose a few educated and trustworthy Chinese acquaintances as informants.

[186] "Aanmerking: Deze boeken zijn niet de eigenlijke pachtboeken van arak- en speelpacht." "Voor de vertaling, / op den eed aan den lande gedaan, / De tolk voor de Chineesche taal te …," Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën VII," *Java-bode*, 26 January 1897.

[187] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën VI-VIII," *Java-bode*, 12 and 26 January, 9 February 1897. By modern standards, the doctor had a better understanding of an interpreter's professional ethics than Meeter. The latter often described himself as unfit for an official career, and indeed, he was not good at keeping professional distance. But the double function of interpreter and advisor must also have been confusing. And all sinologists considered themselves rather advisors than interpreters.

[188] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 27 December 1881.

[189] In this case Meeter was commissioned by private creditors and paid *f* 3,000 to investigate the books, *see* below. Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XVIII," *Java-bode*, 3 January 1898.

[190] Malay was traditionally written in Arabic characters.

[191] As a result there would be no more business for the interpreters in checking their books. Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 27 December 1881, and "Eene idée fixe," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 8 February 1884, and "Misbruiken," *Java-bode*, 16 June 1894.

[192] Meeter, "Advies," 30 December 1881, and "Idée fixe," February 1884.

[193] Meeter, "Misbruiken," 8 June 1892.

[194] Meeter, "Advies," 28 December 1881.

[195] Another aspect, not mentioned by Meeter, is of course that one name can represent different characters, for instance the name Ng can represent 吳 (*Wu*) in Cantonese and 黃 (*Huang*) in Hokkien (Amoy). According to Young, however, such misuse of names was non-existent among the Chinese in the Indies ("Eenige aanteekeningen betreffende de Chineezen in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië" 1890).

[196] Actually, these characters could have been analysed and described by any person knowing Chinese. Or the telegraph code of characters (Chinese Commercial Code) could have been used, if it had been known.

[197] In Hokkien, the sound *b-* is pronounced as *mb-*, almost the same as *m-*. In *Shiwu yin* no distinction is made between the sounds *b-* and *m-*.

[198] Meeter, "Eene idée fixe," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 8 February 1884.

[199] Albrecht's *nota* of 1878, Groeneveldt's *nota* of 1894, Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen I," *Java-bode*, 20 November 1894, "Misbruiken," 16 June 1892.

[200] V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005. *See* Chapter Three, section "Graduation and Appointment of the First Interpreters."

[201] "Te oordeelen naar hetgeen ik hoor en begrijp uit Uwe brieven en die van Schlegel hebt Gij niets te doen daar voor 't gouvernement en alleen maar te zorgen om zoveel mogelijk privé-pān-ery te hebben als mogelijk is;" Letter from De Grijs in Amoy to Francken

in Surabaya, 3 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 10. The hybrid word pān-ery (translated as "business") is half Chinese (pān 辦, "to do, to handle") and half Dutch (-ery).

[202] "De handelstand, die zich toen der tijde bitter beklaagde, dat de regering er niet voor zorgde, dat er tolken voor de Chinesche taal waren, om contrôle op frauduleuse handelingen der Chinezen te houden, diezelfde handelstand maakt thans, nu de regering sedert een vijftal jaren dusdanige tolken heeft aangesteld, geen gebruik van deze lieden." "X" (Schlegel, in his list of publications), "Chinesche faillissementen," *Java-bode*, 3 July 1867. Also a newspaper clipping in Schlegel's book containing his off-prints, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[203] "De hulp der tolken wordt slechts gevorderd voor het vertalen dier onderhandsche geschriften, wanneer zij in rechten moeten dienen, voor het nazien van en het maken van extracten uit in rechten overlegde boeken en voor het geven van adviezen omtrent Chineesche gewoonten en instellingen, met name het versterfrecht." Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[204] "Dat het maken van weinig particuliere verdiensten niet aan de persoon ligt bewijst de eenstemmige verklaring der tolken dat hunne emolumenten weinig bedragen en dat met uitzondering van een enkel buitenkansje er eigenlijk niet op te rekenen valt." Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[205] "Eens slechts werd hij door eenige handelsfirma's uitgenoodigd een minutieus onderzoek van de boeken eens gefailleerden te bewerkstelligen, opdat er termen mochten gevonden worden dien handelaar in rechten te betrekken. Twee maanden heeft hij al zijn vrijen tijd aan het onderzoek besteed en de uitkomsten daarvan in een uitvoerig proces-verbaal nedergelegd, welke werkelijk tot eene strafvervolging hebben geleid, maar hij kan verzekeren zeer veel moeite gehad te hebben met de inning van het hem toegezegd salaris van slechts *f* 500, door een achttal crediteuren te dragen." Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[206] This kind of business tax (*patentbelasting*) was mostly applicable to Europeans. It was introduced in 1879. De Groot wrote that another kind of business tax (*bedrijfsbelasting*, introduced in 1878) was generally hated by the Chinese (*Kongsiwezen*, 168).

[207] De Grijs, letter to the editor, "Boekhouding van Chineezen." *De Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van den Dag*, 3 November 1891, also in BPL 1782.2. This punishment seemed more important to him than his own lost fee. All the interpreters felt a great aversion to fraudulent Chinese and did not hesitate to express it.

[208] Meeter, "Wees- en Boedelkamerherinneringen I, IV," *Java-bode*, 20 November 1894, 19 March 1895, and "Misbruiken," *Java-bode*, 16 June 1892.

[209] "… in het algemeen zijn de emolumenten van geene beteekenis; ik heb 10 jaren als tolk gediend en in dien tijd niet meer dan ongeveer *f* 1200 aan emolumenten genoten, daaronder was nog *f* 1000 voor een uitvoerig en grootendeels nutteloos onderzoek van handelsboeken, dat in een sensatieproces door een opgewonden advokaat werd verlangd." *Nota* by Groeneveldt dated 12 October 1894, pp. 33-4, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[210] These figures are from *Staatsblad* 1885, no. 237, 1888, no. 180, 1891, no. 226 and 1894, no. 242; no other data could be found in the *Staatsblad*. Stuart had just been appointed in Semarang in 1885, and Moll in Surabaya in 1888, so these figure are probably just a continuation of the previous period. Moll, Schaalje, and Stuart (Pontianak) left soon after this amount was reported, so they could not be taxed for this. The contribution was in those years 4% to 6% of the annual income (Van der Kemp, *Het weduwen- en weezenfonds van 's lands Europeesche ambtenaren*, Vol. III, Bijlage D). Income tax was only levied in the Indies from 1908 on (in the Netherlands from 1894 on).

[211] "Ik weet niet zeker waaraan het hooge cijfer voor *Soerabaja* te danken is, vroeger weet ik dat men den tolk liet assisteren bij de overschrijvingen van vaste goederen van en op Chineezen, zoo het heette om de namen en handteekeningen te controleeren, een geheel overtollige formaliteit, die tot eene noodelooze heffing leidde, ik meende dat zij reeds lang afgeschaft was, maar uit het zooeven vermelde cijfer maak ik op dat zij nog bestaat, anders is het niet te verklaren. Op den duur mag dus ook hierop niet gerekend worden." *Nota* by Groeneveldt dated 12 October 1894, pp. 35-6, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926. The number may have included Meeter's contributions as a journalist. He published 33 articles in *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* in 1881–4, for most of which a fee of *f* 7.50 could have been

paid (Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 110), on the average yearly about *f* 80. At the time, in the Indies real estate was not transferred by a notary.

[212] "Worden verder zijn diensten ten behoeve van particulieren op eene buitenbezitting slechts bij hooge uitzondering gevraagd, op Java wordt door europeesche handelaren, advocaten en notarissen zijne hulp dikwijls ingeroepen en is hij als het ware een tusschenpersoon tusschen Europeanen en Chineezen. Een en ander zijn oorzaken dat zijn werkkring op Java veel uitgebreider en drukker en uit een financieel oogpunt voordeeliger kan zijn dan op een buitenpost." Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XVI," *Java-bode*, 1 November 1897.

[213] "Advocaten en andere particulieren hadden wel van tijd tot tijd zijne diensten buiten de hoofdplaats en buiten de residentie noodig, in welke gevallen hij dan voor een of twee dagen binnenlandsch verlof vroeg." Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken V," *Java-bode*, 26 March 1897.

[214] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 28 December 1881, and "Indische Chinoiserieën IXX-XX," *Java-bode*, 4 January, 15 February 1898. Since Grobée was appointed at the High Court, it was at the same time also a promotion.

[215] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 22 December 1881; "Misbruiken," *Java-bode*, 2 June 1892.

[216] Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. Meeter wrote: "dan zou hij schatten kunnen verdienen, … de Chinezen betalen goed." Meeter, "Eene idée fixe," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 14 February 1884.

[217] Meeter, "Misbruiken," *Java-bode*, 28 June 1892.

[218] Meeter, "Aangeboden." *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 August 1884; another person's comment appeared on 8 August 1884.

[219] About the case of Kho Swie Siang, *see De Locomotief*, 5 and 12 June 1894.

[220] IB 28/5/1895 no. 9 inv. 8110.

[221] Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken V," *Java-bode*, 26 March 1897. For the sake of the interpreters' impartiality, it was even more fortunate that they did not succeed in obtaining such an extra fee.

[222] "De Europeesche tolken voor de Chineesche taal verleenen hunnen dienst, zoo dikwijls die door rechterlijke of administratieve autoriteiten wordt gevorderd, tot het doen van schriftelijke of mondelinge vertolkingen uit de Nederlandsche in de Chineesche taal en omgekeerd, *tot het nazien en onderzoeken van in de Chineesche taal gestelde boeken en geschriften, en tot het vervaardigen van afschriften of extracten van zoodanige boeken en geschriften. / Zij hebben voor deze diensten geen aanspraak op salaris*." (italics added for new text) IB 28/5/1895 no. 9 inv. 8110. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië,* 1895, no. 110.

[223] Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chinese Zaken V," *Java-bode*, 26 March 1897.

[224] Albrecht told him that Meeter had "*veel bijverdiensten*." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 30 March 1880.

[225] Letter dated 15 October 1892, No. XXIV, fiche 861-862, Special Collections, Amsterdam University Library.

[226] Meeter and Van der Spek, "Ingezonden," *Leidsch Dagblad*, 29 March 1892. *See also* Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën I," *Java-bode*, 1 December 1896, where he presents this series of articles as a warning for his beginning colleagues.

[227] "Bovendien hebben die tolken het recht voor particulieren te werken en dus bijverdiensten te maken; en met het oog hierop hebben wel de hh. Meeter en Van der Spek het allerminst oorzaak die betrekking in diskrediet te brengen. / Eerstgenoemde heeft er toch zooveel bijverdiend, dat hij thans, met zijn pensioen, met vrouw en zes kinderen daarvan onbezorgd kan leven, terwijl de heer Van der Spek in de vijf jaren, gedurende welke hij tolk was, zooveel had overgelegd, dat hij, na zijn ontslag uit 's lands dienst genomen te hebben, vijf jaren lang te *Amsterdam*, *Hamburg*, *Berlijn* en *Weenen* in de medicijnen heeft kunnen studeeren. Het komt mij dus voor dat de waarschuwing van beide heeren ongemotiveerd en 'hors de saison' is." Schlegel, "Ingezonden," *Leidsch Dagblad*, 30 March 1892.

[228] *Leidsch Dagblad*, 31 March 1892.

[229] "… de heer Meeter weet veel te goed, dat ik nooit een 'money-making-man' ben geweest; hij heeft mij dit herhaaldelijk genoeg schertsenderwijze verweten, als ik klaagde dat *ik* bij mijn tolkschap geen garen gesponnen had." *Leidsch Dagblad*, 1 April 1892.

[230] "Men had dan veilig het zoogenaamde tarief voor particuliere diensten kunnen schrap-

pen en daarmede voorgoed het lastige en onaangename tweeslachtige karakter, ambtelijk en particulier, aan de betrekking van ambtenaar voor chineesche zaken kunnen ontnemen. Ik houd mij overtuigd, dat, zoo niet alle, dan toch verreweg de meeste der betrokken ambtenaren met zulk eene regeling zeer zouden zijn ingenomen, want, op zeer enkele uitzonderingen na, zijn die inkomsten wegens particuliere diensten zóó gering en geven zóó dikwijls tot moeilijkheden en onaangenaamheden aanleiding, dat zij tegen eene betrekkelijk geringe vergoeding gaarne daarvan afstand zouden doen." Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche Zaken II," *Java-bode*, 12 March 1897.

[231] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1916, no. 378 (IB 16/5/1916 no. 16). In 1925 this ordinance was cancelled and fees were to be decided on later (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1925, no. 194). The Bureau could still be charged with making translations by the administrative and judiciary authorities (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1916, no. 377, art. 4).

Notes to Chapter Thirteen

[1] The reasons for this were, already then, problems concerning the credit of Chinese merchants and the handling of a bankrupt estate. Blussé, *Strange Company*, 69-72.

[2] "Instruktie voor de Weeskamers in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1872, no. 166.

[3] *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, [1905] IV, p. 741; (1917), IV, pp. 735-8.

[4] Advice of the meeting of 20 October 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[5] IB 23/9/1866 no. 21, inv. 7424. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1866, no. 103.

[6] *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, no. 1937; IB 6/12/1866 no. 21, inv. 7429; and letter from the Government Secretary, 7 December 1866, *Bijblad* no. 2481c.

[7] IB 31/1/1867 no. 18 inv. 7432.

[8] IB 3/9/1867 no. 3, inv. 7447. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1867, no. 117. Meeter stated he had heard that the function of extraordinary member had been created in the first place in order to avoid the high fees. Meeter, "Wees- en Boedelkamerherinneringen I," *Java-bode*, 20 November 1894. "Misbruiken bij faillissementen van Vreemde Oosterlingen," *Java-bode*, 16 June 1892.

[9] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1870, no. 137. IB 22/9/1870 no. 17. Groeneveldt later argued that the extraordinary member's work in Padang was so little that it could be handled in writing by an interpreter in Batavia (*nota* 12 October 1894, p. 5, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926).

[10] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1894, no. 252, IB 28/11/1894 no. 8. The interpreters remained extraordinary members. The allowances on Java were abolished in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1916, no. 377 (IB 16/5/1916 no. 16).

[11] *Bijblad*, no. 1990, IB 24/5/1867 no. 48.

[12] *Bijblad*, no. 2379, IB 9/8/1870 no. 22. The claim on commission fees was never mentioned by Meeter. He must have considered this of no consequence, or they may have become obsolete when he was working in the Orphans Chambers in the 1870s and 1880s. No information about these commission fees (*provisie-penningen*) could be found.

[13] Letter from the Government Secretary, 22 November 1870 no. 2207, *Bijblad* no. 2531.

[14] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1872, no. 166, art. 11 and 12. According to art. 2, the number, jurisdiction and composition of the Chambers would be regulated in other ordinances. But the functions of the other members were defined in later articles.

[15] "Houdt men zich aan het laatste besluit, dan is het buitengewoon lid behalve in de zeldzame gevallen, dat er quaestiën omtrent chineesche zeden en instellingen geopperd worden, niets anders dan een stroopop, die alleen de vergaderingen bijwoont, om er zijnen mond te houden. / De ondergeteekende heeft te Soerabaja zijnde, zich aan die opvatting niet gehouden. Van stonde af aan heeft hij, daar zijne overige werkzaamheden hem daartoe al den tijd lieten, deelgenomen aan alle werkzaamheden der wees- en boedelkamers, voornamelijk ten aanzien der Chinesche boedels. Hij werd daartoe geleid door de zucht om kennis, zoowel van wetten als van zaken, op te doen, waarvoor zeker geen beter leerschool

is dan die colleges, hoe slecht bezet ze in den regel ook zijn, niettegenstaande kundige ambtenaren daar zeer op hunne plaatsen zouden zijn." Albrecht's *nota* about the interpreters' work for Director of Justice Buijn, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[16] "Gedurende de 12 jaren dat hij in Soerabaja geplaatst is geweest, heeft hij het tijdvak bijgewoond, waarin zoovele en zoo belangrijke faillissementen onder de Chineesche handelaren voorvielen. Als buitengewoon lid der Wees- en boedelkamers aldaar uit eigen beweging deelnemende aan de dagelijksche werkzaamheden van dat college heeft hij de meeste dier failliete boedels zelf behandeld en alzoo stremming voorkoomen in den gang van zaken, die zonder buitengewone hulp noodwendig het gevolg had moeten zijn van de ontzaggelijke vermeerdering van werk, door die faillissementen teweeggebracht. Terwijl vóór zijne komst aan de kamer herhaaldelijk klachten waren aangeheven over den langzamen gang in de behandeling der faillissementen, kan hij met genoegen constateeren, dat gedurende zijn buitengewoon lidmaatschap geene enkele klacht daaromtrent bij de Regeering is ingekomen." Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[17] "Maakte hij voor zijne medeleden het werk lichter en werd zulks door hen gewaardeerd, aan den anderen kant vroeg hij zich wel eens af, of hij recht deed, daar hij zelf geene verantwoordelijkheid dragende, de gevolgen zijner handelingen op zijne comptabele medeleden moesten wederkomen. / Men kan het dus een tolk niet euvel duiden, als hij zich aan de verklaring der Regering houdende, als buitengewoon lid zich bepaalt tot het geven van de hoogst zeldzaam voorkomende adviezen, te meer omdat hij als andere administratieve ambtenaren de satisfactie niet kan smaken, dat de daar gepresenteerde buitengewone diensten door promotie worden beloond." Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[18] IB 27/8/1879 no. 28 inv. 7732. He remained President for almost six years.

[19] "Wees- en Boedelkamerherinneringen I-V," *Java-bode*, 5 parts: 20 November 1894, 8 January, 5 February, 19 March, 4 April 1895.

[20] "Ik heb onder deze gewone leden menig goed, werkzaam en eerlijk ambtenaar aangetroffen en in de dagelijksche aanraking met hen gelukkig al spoedig het wantrouwen en de geringschatting kunnen afleggen, waarmede bijna ieder Europeaan bij zijne komst in Indië schijnt behept te moeten zijn." Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen I," *Java-bode*, 20 November 1894; about a blundering President, *idem* V, 4 April 1895.

[21] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen II," *Java-bode*, 8 January 1895.

[22] Meeter, "De regtspositie der Chinesche vrouw," *Het regt in Ned.-Indië*, no. 32 (1879), 345-73, 372-3.

[23] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen II," *Java-bode*, 8 January 1895.

[24] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen III," *Java-bode*, 5 February 1895.

[25] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1895. Meeter did not mention Van der Spek's name, but gave enough details to indicate it must have been he: on Meeter's advice he left the interpreter corps, pursued other studies and was successful in another career in the Netherlands. Van der Spek was transferred from Makassar to Banka in March 1883, switching places with Stuart.

[26] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1895.

[27] Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche Zaken V," *Java-bode*, 26 March 1897.

[28] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen V," *Java-bode*, 4 April 1895. He may well have been referring to himself, since he was first stationed in Riau and Borneo, and then transferred to Padang. On the way from Borneo to Padang, he would certainly pass through Batavia. In Padang there was an Orphans and Estate Chamber, but not in Riau or Borneo.

[29] Dated 14 November 1875 and 4 April 1976 from Padang, and 25 May 1877 from Surabaya in inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93 and 7 September 1879 from Surabaya in inv. 3, toegang 2.05.93.

[30] Referred to by Fromberg in his *Verspreide geschriften*, 230 note, dating from 1888–90.

[31] Groeneveldt's *nota*, 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. In 1894, he stated that their importance should not be exaggerated (*Nota* 12 October 1894, p. 6, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926).

[32] "En van dit voor Indië zoo belangrijk element weten de Indische ambtenaren *niets af*. Omtrent hun zijn de waanzinnigste denkbeelden in omloop; men heeft noch begrip van

hunnen godsdienst, noch van hunne eigenaardige zeden en gebruiken, noch van hunne huishouding, en het allerminst van hunne taal. En dientengevolge worden grove misslagen ten hunnen opzigte begaan en levert de regering over de Chinezen op vele plaatsen moeilijkheden op, terwijl toch anders de Chinees een het makkelijkst te regeren volk is." Schlegel's *nota* for Secretary General of Colonies G.Th.H. Henny, 9 April 1873, p. 23, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[33] This question was asked previous to the Minister of Colonies' resolution of 1870 on the training of interpreters in Batavia. However, no reference to this could be found in V 15/8/1870 no. 21 inv. 2339. According to Schlegel, the interpreters themselves were *not* consulted at the time. Schlegel's *nota* of 9 April 1873, p. 11, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[34] "Het is hier de plaats niet in eene beschouwing te treden omtrent de redenen die deze gewestelijke bestuurders er toe hebben geleid zulk een noodzakelijk tusschenpersoon als een tolk v/d Chinesche taal te weigeren, maar wanneer ik de ondervinding, die ik en mijne andere collegas heb opgedaan, raadpleeg, dan blijkt het dat de meeste administratieve autoriteiten ons liever *niet* dan *wel hadden*, ons zooveel mogelijk uit alle Chinesche kwestiën hielden, en ons, om een japanschen term te gebruiken, als lastige *dwarskijkers* beschouwden, die door hunne kennis der Chinesche taal, en het vertrouwen wat *dien ten gevolge* de Chinesche bevolking in hun stelde, met menig omstandigheid bekend raakten, die men liever onbekend wenschte te laten." Schlegel's *nota* of 9 April 1873, pp. 11-12, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. The word *dwarskijker* (snooper) had become popular in the Netherlands after the first Japanese delegation visited Holland in 1862. This was a translation (by Japanese) of the Japanese *metsuke* 目付け, the name of the Japanese spies who had been checking the Dutch on Deshima in Nagasaki (1640–1850s).

[35] Letter from De Grijs in Amoy to Francken in Surabaya, 3 May 1863, "Hij raadt mij sterk af naar Java te komen en zegt dat wij slechts het ambt van chineschen jongen bij de mandarijnen in Batavia bekleden," BPL 1782:28, p. 10.

[36] "… ik bemerk, dat de betrekking onder het Hollandsch publiek al bijster weinig in tel is. Alles in de omgeving is 'ambtenaar' en kan als zoodanig tot de hoogste rangen opklimmen, maar de tolk is gedoemd zijn leven lang te blijven wat hij is; hij is dus iemand die niets beteekent, en nooit iets beteekenen zal. Nog meer staat hij in discrediet, doordien hij, dank het vertrouwen hetwelk hij al vrij spoedig bij de Chineesche bevolking geniet, een beter inzicht in de knoeierijen en kwalijke practijken tegenover deze krijgt dan iemand, en men van hem niet verwachten kan, dat hij, hetgeen hij dus te hooren krijgt altijd met den mantel der liefde bedekt." De Groot, *Notizen*, 11.

[37] Borel, "De Chineesche Kwestie en de Ambtenaren van 't Binnenlandsch Bestuur," *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* (1913-1), 41-54, in particular 44-7.

[38] In the nineteenth century, opium was not a forbidden drug, but the sale of opium was regulated. The right to sell opium was sold by auction to the highest bidder, who became opium tax-farmer. He had the monopoly on the sale of opium for a certain period of time in a certain region, and smuggling was not allowed.

[39] Opium smuggling was directly damaging to the opium tax-farmer, who lost income thereby (unless he smuggled himself), and indirectly to the government, but it was not considered damaging to public health.

[40] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën IV," *Java-bode*, 23 December 1896.

[41] In Chinese: Tuan Oa ti si tat.

[42] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XIII," *Java-bode*, 9 April 1897.

[43] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1878, no. 12. Many later revisions.

[44] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXV-XXXII," *Java-bode*, 10, 16 June; 4, 26 July; 12, 15 August; 22, 30 September 1898. Meeter did not mention the names of Beyerinck and Groeneveldt, but their identities can be deduced from the date of the incident.

[45] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën IV," *Java-bode*, 15 December 1896.

[46] Meeter, "Opiumverpachtingen en Chineesche officieren," *Java-bode*, 21 August 1889.

[47] The decision was printed as *Extract uit het register der besluiten van den gouverneur-generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië [met] memorie van J. Faes* (Batavia, ca. 1871). Johannes Faes (Utrecht, 12 October 1828 – Buitenzorg, 25 April 1904) started working as a clerk in a commercial company in Batavia; from 1853 on he worked as a clerk and *commies* for the

government, from 1865 on as Assistant Resident in the Outer Possessions and later on Java, and from 1877 to 1880 he was Resident in Sumatra's East Coast. After his retirement in 1883 he stayed in the Indies, and in the 1890s he was charged by Governor-General Van der Wijck with devising new land regulations (Stamboeken Oost-Indische ambtenaren, K 201. Short obituary in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 26 April 1904). Faes published several articles and treatises: *De heropening van de drukkerij der firma G.C.T. van Dorp & Co. te Semarang* (from *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*; 1885; on the need for holding to strict regulations for the press for the sake of the prestige of the government). *De Siak Tin en Landbouw Maatschappij: Protest gericht tegen de Directie der Maatschappij in Nederland* (Batavia: Ogilvie, 1888). *Geschiedenis particulier landbezit op West Java* (Batavia: Ogilvie & Co., 1893). *Ontwerp nieuw reglement op de particuliere landerijen bewesten de Tjimanoek* [ca. 1899].

[48] The Tjauw Tjaij had been *luitenant* since 3 October 1874, and he would become *kapitein* on 6 April 1884 (until 1888). It should be noted that he was at first not willing to take over the opium tax-farming from his (failed) predecessor, but agreed on certain conditions under pressure from the previous Resident Wegener.

[49] For instance, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 16 and 26 November 1881, by 'Waarheid en Regt.'

[50] "De zaak van den opiumpachter te Cheribon," *Het Indisch Vaderland*, 12 December 1881.

[51] Only one could be found, *Het Indisch Vaderland*, 1 March 1882, signed "H."

[52] *Java-bode*, 25 September 1882.

[53] "Aan den tijdelijken tolk voor de Chinesche taal te Cheribon A.E. Moll het ernstig ongenoegen der Regering te betuigen over de hoogst ongepaste handeling, waaraan hij zich schuldig heeft gemaakt door als ambtenaar tegen het gewestelijk bestuur in Cheribon gerigte artikelen in dagbladen te schrijven." IB 1 Nov. 1882 no. 18 inv. 7809.

[54] For instance, "Het Cheribonsch conflict," *De Locomotief*, 28 March 1883 (neutral); "Ingezonden stuk, Uit Cheribon over het conflict," *De Locomotief*, 4 April 1883, by 'Waarheid' (contra Faes); Fd. Wessels, "Een ander getuige uit Cheribon," *De Locomotief*, 11 April 1883 (pro Faes); B. Schüller, "Een rekest uit Cheribon," (to the Governor-General; contra Faes), *De Locomotief*, 24 April and 1 May 1883 (contra Faes); "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 1 May 1883, by 'Een vriend van recht en billijkheid' (contra Faes); "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 16 May 1883, by 'A.' (pro Faes).

[55] It was also published: B. Schüller, "Een rekest uit Cheribon," *De Locomotief*, 24 April and 1 May 1883.

[56] J. Faes, *Memorie aangeboden aan Zijne Excellentie den Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië, den heer Otto van Rees* (Batavia: Van Dorp, 1886). Dated Bengkalis (Sumatra), 25 March 1886.

[57] *Java-bode*, 4 September 1883.

[58] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 64.

[59] "Ten andere, moet de karaktertrek van den tolk,—als het omgaan van zijn chef—zijn bescheidenheid. Veel geleerde jonge lieden gevoelen den natuurlijken aandrang om boven den bescheiden, bijna werktuiglijken werkkring van den tolk uit te blinken, en verzuimen zij daardoor de appreciatie van het practische alledaaghsche van hun vak, nergens is eigenwaan meer belemmerend voor de dienst dan bij een tolk van wien men practische bekwaamheid, geene geleerdheid, verwacht." Other things he advised were: the Chinese interpreter only has to know English, not French or other languages, and he should begin being trained in China by Chinese teachers in order to obtain a good pronunciation. He should not start learning Chinese from a European teacher. Extract of Ferguson's letter dated 22 May 1875, V 15/9/1875 no. 46 inv. 2818.

[60] *See* Chapter Fifteen, section "Other Administrative Functions."

[61] For Ferguson, his contacts with these two sinologists may have triggered his lifelong aversion to Indies sinologists.

[62] *See also* Chapter Eight, Schlegel and his Students in Leiden (1873–1878), section "A Sudden Anti-climax: a Moratorium in the Training Course."

[63] "De ervaring heeft geleerd dat … de residenten zoo naijverig op hun gezag zijn, dat zij er niet toe kunnen besluiten te erkennen dat de Chinesche tolk sommige toestanden

beter kent dan hij." Groeneveldt's letter to Buijn, dated 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[64] "Anders zou het kunnen zijn als men wilde goedvinden de Chinesche tolken meer te beschouwen als ambtenaren voor Chinesche zaken aan de hoofden van gewestelijk bestuur toegevoegd, maar dit ligt niet in hunne tegenwoordige instructie, en, zooals gezegd, de hoofden van gewestelijk bestuur schijnen weinig neiging te gevoelen uit eigen beweging daartoe over te gaan." Groeneveldt's letter to Buijn, dated 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[65] It would be another 16 years before he, as Vice-President of the Council of the Indies, submitted his detailed reorganisation plan in 1894.

[66] This law index was first published in 1879, and new editions appeared until 1937. It later became known as *Albrecht's klapper*.

[67] "De betrekking van tolk voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië zooals diens werkkring in Staatsblad 1863 no. 39 is afgebakend, is op de meeste plaatsen eene sinecure." *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[68] "Adviezen worden door de hoofden van gewestelijk bestuur schier nooit, door de Regering slechts zelden gevraagd." *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[69] "Velen zullen beweren, dat een ambtenaar, bekend met de Chinesche taal en Chinesche toestanden aan het bestuur groote diensten moet bewijzen. Dat zoude hij ook met vrucht kunnen doen, indien hij niet geheel buiten het administratief raderwerk was geplaatst en de behandeling der bestuursaangelegenheden hem alzoo vreemd blijft. Zooals de toestand thans is, neemt de tolk een geïsoleerde positie [in]; het hangt van de *zinnelijkheid* van het hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur af, om hem te raadplegen al dan niet. … Om billijk te oordeelen, diene men evenwel in het oog te houden, dat de verhouding van den tolk tot de andere ambtenaren niet omschreven is, zoodat als men hem dienst verrichtingen opdraagt, die niet in betrekking tot de vertolking staan, daaruit licht conflicten met de bestuursambtenaren en de hoofden der Chinezen geboren worden. … De meeste hoofden van gewestelijk bestuur schijnen dat ook in te zien en laten de tolken buiten elke bemoeijenis met het bestuur over de Chinezen. …" *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. *See also* the quotation from Albrecht's *nota* at the beginning of Chapter Twelve.

[70] "Eene wijze staatkunde gebiedt, dat de Indische Regering ambtenaren tot haar beschikking heeft, bekend met de taal en het letterschrift van zulk een belangrijk element der bevolking als de Chinezen vormen. Voor eene behoorlijke vertaling van de voor hen verbindende verordeningen kan men de tolken evenmin missen. Ook kunnen zij met vrucht werkzaam zijn bij het onderzoek van belangrijke zaken en het geven van adviezen omtrent Chinesche gewoonten en instellingen. Voor die werkzaamheden zouden strikt genomen niet meer noodig zijn dan twee tolken, beiden te Batavia geplaatst, waarvan één beschikbaar konde zijn voor commissiën elders in Nederlandsch-Indië. Al het werk buiten Batavia, waarop men prijs stelt, dat door een Europeschen tolk geschiedt, dus alleen belangrijke zaken betreffende, zoude ook door hen verricht kunnen worden. Hoogstens zoude nog één te Samarang en één te Soerabaja bescheiden kunnen worden, maar daar moest het bij blijven." *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[71] "Dagelijks in aanraking komende met Chineezen, zullen zij beter dan in hunne tegenwoordige geïsoleerde positie in de gelegenheid zijn om het geleerde te onderhouden en in toepassing te brengen en bekend met de taal des volks, zullen zij kennis en ondervinding opdoen in het besturen over dien landaard, die de andere ambtenaren bij het binnenlandsch bestuur hun zullen benijden." *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[72] Described in Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, sections about Schaank.

[73] "… dat de europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal, op een gering aantal na, zeer goed en zonder het minste bezwaar kunnen worden gemist, ook al wordt meer dan vroeger van hen partij getrokken." Advice dated 24 December 1878 no. XX, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[74] *See* graph in Appendix H. But when it was finally realised and interpreters were lacking for some time in Surabaya (1889) and Semarang (1891), protests were published in newspapers in both places (*Soerabaia Courant*, quoted in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* 24 December 1889; P. Brooshooft in *De Locomotief*, 3 September 1891, quoted in *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag*, 13 October 1891).

[75] V 19/4/1879 no. 7/845 inv. 3191.

[76] "Die aanschrijving heeft in de zaak geene verandering gebracht; de oude opvatting dat men hier slechts met tolken te doen heeft is blijven bovendrijven." Groeneveldt's *nota*, in Advice of the Council of the Indies, 12 October 1894, p. 27, no. XX, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[77] A general description can be found in Willmott, *The Chinese of Semarang*.

[78] The system of the Chinese officers and its history are described in Erkelens, *The Decline of the Chinese Council of Batavia*, and Chen, *De Chinese gemeenschap van Batavia (1843–1865)*. *See also* Lohanda, *The Kapitan Cina of Batavia 1837–1942*. A short general description can be found in Blussé, "Introduction," *The Archives of the Kong Koan in Batavia* (2003).

[79] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 24 December 1881, and "Indische Chinoiserieën XVII," *Java-bode*, 25 December 1897.

[80] De Groot, *Notizen*, 12. [De Groot], "Iets over bals bij Chineezen," *Java-bode*, 24 December 1878, reprinted from *Samarangsche Courant*. Meeter, *see* previous note. Borel, "Maar een Chinees…," *De laatste incarnatie*, second printing, 165-6.

[81] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën II," *Java-bode* 8 December 1896, and XXIII, 5 May 1898.

[82] Meeter, "Chineesche Officieren nuttig of schadelijk?," *Java-bode*, 18 September 1889.

[83] Borel, "Chineesch recht in Indië," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 92-104.

[84] *See* above. Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXV-XXXII," *Java-bode*, 10, 16 June; 4, 26 July; 12, 15 August; 22, 30 September 1898.

[85] Letter from Groeneveldt to Der Kinderen, 28 February 1886, in V 19/4/1892 no. 33 inv. 4567. *See also* the section below "Acting as Experts on Chinese Law and Customs for the Courts."

[86] "Het doet mij genoegen te hooren dat Gij die Chinezen eens duchtig teregt zet, maar ik vrees met U dat zij het op U zullen trachten te verhalen. De aard van de Chinezen mogen al niet *down-right murder* zijn, de invloed van eene javaanschen omgeving zou hen willigt er toe verleiden, maar juist de mogelijkheid van zooiets, kan U tot een argument dienen om als zelfstandig ambtenaar te moeten fungeren, om de Chinezen bang te maken is juist niet de meest vereerende taak, maar om hen te doen begrijpen dat eerlijkheid bij U een tolk vindt die niet hoeft te vreezen voor rijken [*sic*] baba's, is zeker eene vereerende taak en als Chinezen zien dat het gouvernement U niet vertrouwd [*sic*] eene zelfstandige positie, dan zullen zij ook geen vertrouwen hebben. / Naar het mij voorkomt verwacht 't gouvernement van de tolken niets anders dan dat zij er in tijd van nood dienst kunnen doen zonder evenwel hen alle dagen te gebruiken, dus dat zij meer als adviseurs dienen, maar mijn hemel hoe kan iemand adviseur zijn over dingen waar hij geene ondervinding van heeft, en hoe zal hij ondervinding krijgen als hij niet onafhankelijk oordeelen en handelen kan." Letter from De Grijs to Francken, Amoy 10 April 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, p. 15.

[87] Schlegel wrote that he could give many examples of this. Secretary General G.Th.H. Henny, who had worked for ten years as a lawyer in Batavia, commented in the margin: "So could I, and if the Resident agrees with the President, the sham is even greater." ("ik ook H en als de Pres. 't dan eens is met de Resident is de wassen neus slechts te grooter H.") Schlegel's *nota* of 9 April 1873, p. 14, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[88] "Al draagt een aap een gouden ring / Hij is en blijft een leelijk ding." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 16 April 1880.

[89] *Nota* dated Laboean 10 February 1880, secret, Manuscripts Hoetink H 421a, 4-6, KITLV Collection.

[90] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën III," *Java-bode*, 15 December 1896.

[91] "'*tinggie?! boleh djoega; djadie mahal sedikit, tetapi saia kira dia soeka makan tee djoega!*' (Hoog? dat kan wel zijn en dus wat duur; maar ik houd het er voor, dat hij ook wel thee zal lusten!)." Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën III," *Java-bode*, 15 December 1896.

[92] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën III," *Java-bode*, 15 December 1896. About the bribes in disguise at auctions of departing officials, *see* Meeter, "Chineezen op boedelvendutiën van Europeesche ambtenaren in N.-Indië," *Java-bode*, 15 September 1893. This phenomenon was also noticed by J. van den Brand in *De millioenen uit Deli*, 15-19, reprinted in Breman, *Koelies, planters.*

[93] Erkelens, *Decline of the Chinese Council*, 159.

[94] Schlegel, "Chinesche eed," *Het regt in Ned.-Indië* (1865), 257. Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXII," *Java-bode*, 14 March 1898, and XXVII, 4 July 1898. Meeter always designated the *peranakan* as *babas*. Borel, "Chineesche ontaarding," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 80-91.

[95] Schlegel in Kong Koan Minutes No. 21016, pp. 1250-1252, Minutes of 2 February 1865.

[96] The name of the Dutch interpreter (Roelofs) was not mentioned in the Kong Koan Minutes. *Kong tong Notulen* (*Gongtang anbu* 公堂案簿), no. 21021 (19/1/1881 – 19/9/1884), 11 August 1884 (p. 247), Kong Koan Archief, East Asian Library, Leiden. Thanks are due to Dr. Chen Menghong for finding these references.

[97] "Wie in onze koloniën den groei en de ontwikkeling van eene jonge Chineesche vestiging heeft medegemaakt, de Hoofden van de Chineesche natie alsdan van nabij heeft leeren kennen, hen heeft gadegeslagen bij het verrichten van hunne veelvuldige ambtelijke en particuliere bezigheden, zal begrijpen van hoe groot nut, zoowel voor zijn landgenooten als voor de overheid, een flink en trouw 'overste der Chinesen' in de eerste helft der 17e eeuw te Batavia zal zijn geweest." Hoetink, "So Bing Kong," 362-3.

[98] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XVI," *Java-bode*, 1 November 1898.

[99] Borel, "Maar een Chinees …," *De laatste incarnatie*, 165-208. This story was first published under the title "Chineesch gevaar II, een eindvonnis," *Deli-Courant*, 11 and 14 September 1895, with a shorter introduction.

[100] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën VI," *Java-bode*, 12 January 1897.

[101] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën VII," *Java-bode*, 26 January 1897.

[102] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën VII," *Java-bode*, 20 January 1897; "De ambtenaren voor Chineesche Zaken II," *Java-bode*, 12 March 1897.

[103] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XVI," *Java-bode*, 1 November 1897.

[104] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 18 September 1886. A similar example is the case of Jo Hoae Giok in Makassar, described in Chapter Six.

[105] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XVII," *Java-bode*, 3 December 1897.

[106] "De heer A.C. Wertheim contra de tolken voor de Chineesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië," *De Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van den dag*, 9 February 1892. Also published in *Java-bode*, 17 March 1892. Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën II," and XI, *Java-bode*, 8 December 1896, 26 February 1897. Of course, the sinologist's contacts could also work the other way round: he could be misled or even used by Chinese to influence his compatriots or superiors.

[107] Groeneveldt's *nota*, in Advice of the Council of the Indies, 12 October 1894, pp. 12-13, no. XX, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[108] "Op Batavia kwam nog onlangst de geheele Chinesche bevolking van *Passer Senin* van *woede snuivende* bij schrijver dezes, en gaf hem haar voornemen te kennen, den eigenaar van Passer Senin, *Kegel*, die eene nieuwe belasting had ingevoerd, benevens den Adsistent Resident *Taets van Amerongen* en den Hoofdschout *Oosterweeghel*, die den Heer Kegel in het heffen dezer belasting hadden gesteund, te *vermoorden*. Het gelukte den schrijver dezes, deze heethoofden tot bedaren te brengen, en hen door kracht van redenen te bewegen de beslissing der Hooge Regering aan welke ik onmiddellijk een rekwest zond, af te wachten." Schlegel's *nota* of 9 April 1873, pp. 23-24, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2598.

[109] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën I-II," *Java-bode*, 1 and 8 December 1896.

[110] "… je trekt partij voor de Chineezen." But however much he felt for this people and its many good properties, he did not like "to praise them unto the skies" (as Borel did). De Bruin, "Het wezen van den Chinees" (1920), 609-10.

[111] "… groot is het prestige dat op hen [de Chineezen] wordt uitgeoefend door een Europeaan die hunne taal en vooral hun moeilijke letterschrift verstaat." *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. Thereby suggesting the potential use that could be made of the Europeans knowing Chinese.

[112] *De Locomotief*, 31 December 1885.

[113] W. Halkema Sr., *De Ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken Stuart en Tjoa Sien Hie's vertalingen uit den Taij Tjhing Loet Lie*, 8 (Soerabaya: Gimberg, 1901).

[114] "Gisteren morgen tusschen 8 en 9 ure was ik op de begraafplaats Penélé ooggetuige

van een voorval, eenig in zijne soort. Ik zag een 20 a 30tal wel-gekleede Chinezen, biddende en offerende rondom een graf; vernam dat het graf het stoffelijk overschot bevatte van den onlangs overledenen heer Francken, alwaar zij hun laatsten eerbied voor den afgestorvene kwamen betuigen, doordien het Chinesche Nieuwejaar hen belet heeft de begrafenis te kunnen volgen en zij zich alsnu nog tot die handeling gedwongen gevoelden. Ik betuig u dat het mij trof, die vriendschappelijke gehechtheid te zien eener Natie, in zeden en gewoonten zoo zeer verschillende van den overledene. Zoude zulks niet tot bewijs strekken dat het graf allen één maakt?" *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 14 March 1864, quoting *Nieuwsbode van Soerabaija*, 22 February 1864. The Chinese New Year was on 8 February, the day of Francken's burial.

[115] It appeared first in the *Makassaarsch Handels en advertentieblad* (16 April 1886), was taken over by the *Samarangsche Courant* (27 April 1866), and in *De Locomotief* (30 April 1866; without the explanatory footnote); another shorter version in *Leidsch Dagblad* (18 and 20 August 1866).

[116] "Het moge eene bijdrage zijn om het karakter der Chinezen gunstiger te beoordeelen dan wel eens het geval is, en er van getuigen, dat egoïsme niet zoo geheel en al de spil is, waarom zich hunne handelingen bewegen, en zij wel degelijk vatbaar zijn voor onbaatzuchtige vriendschap. De bedoelde som is werkelijk aan *Francken*'s moeder uitgekeerd, en zijn broeder ontvangt jaarlijks eene toelage van 600 à 700 gulden, die door de Chinesche vrienden van den overledene wordt bijeengebracht." Footnote by the Redaction (Red.), *Makassaarsch Handels en advertentieblad* (16 April 1886).

[117] In Dutch he was known under another name than in Chinese.

[118] "今逢日里 / 大巡按緞富庭，昔為 / 荷主任日里沙灣華民政務司之責, 治理念餘年, 興利除弊, 政績昭然, 亦曾於中華潮屬汕頭開辦公司, 創設輪艘, 華人去來稱便載道口碑, 頗邀 / 荷主嘉慰, 今復命為日里巡按, 查悉前因, 深以爲憫, 意欲創辦中華信局而利便之 … 我華人須知 / 巡按、瑪腰、甲太各大人俯體民情之心有加無已 …." *Rili Mianlan Tongshanju daishou Zhonghua xinju zhangcheng* 日里棉蘭同善局代收中華信局章程, Medan, 1905, pp. 1v, 2r (punctuation added). Shawan 沙灣 is short for (Jalan) Kesawan, a street in the centre of Medan (after 1966 named Jalan Jenderal Ayani) and an informal name for Medan used by Chinese from the countryside (thanks are due to Ms. Farida Fong for this information). *See also* the section "Other coolie matters" in Chapter Fourteen.

[119] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 1 May 1906.

[120] Departement van Justitie, 2 April 1906, Borel uncatalogued no. 232, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[121] Article 7, *Reglement op de regterlijke organisatie en het beleid der justitie in Nederlandsch-Indië* (1847).

[122] Meeter, "De regtspositie der Chinesche vrouw," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, no. 32 (1879), 345.

[123] *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, *Indisch weekblad van het regt*.

[124] Abendanon, *Nederlandsch Indische rechtspraak*, 1849–80 and supplements. Until 1897, the oath was placed on top of the list; in 1907 it was at the bottom. In the supplement for 1908–17 the oath disappeared from the list.

[125] Some of these reports are mentioned by Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, for instance p. 192 (Francken).

[126] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 154, 11 June 1866. In this context, these cases cannot be fully analysed.

[127] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 362, 6 June 1870. Ko Setjoan 高西川 (1818-) became *luitenant titulair* in 1854, *luitenant* in 1860, and *kapitein* in 1868 (Gong An Bu, vol. 9, p. 397).

[128] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 776, 13 May 1878. The commission was installed on 4 August 1877, when Groeneveldt was still interpreter.

[129] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 287, 28 December 1868.

[130] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXV-XXXII." Borel, "Chineesch recht in Indië," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 92-104, 94-5.

[131] In his draft law of 1896, Fromberg misunderstood the apostrophe and consistently misspelled the title as Ta' Tsing Lu Li; later he used the correct spelling Ta Ts'ing Lu Li (*Verspreide geschriften*).

[132] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 232, 9 December 1867. Also in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 9 November 1867, signed "X."

[133] Ordinance in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1855, no. 79, in force from 1 March 1856 on. The situation then became similar to that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and before 1824, when many cases involving Chinese were also tried by the courts for Europeans. Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 76.

[134] Borel, "Chineesch gevaar," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 16-32, 20. Earlier published in *Deli-Courant*, 30 January 1895, about four months after his arrival in the Indies.

[135] Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 194-217. Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*. Seng Guo-Quan, *Disputed Properties, Contested Identities* (thesis Chicago, August 2015), in particular Chapter Two, "Comparative Law, Sinology's Father and the Patriarchalization of Creole Chinese Social Relations." In this chapter, Seng compares the opinions of the "Sinology purist" Schlegel with the "pragmatist" Groeneveldt and the "ethnographic Machiavellian" Meeter (since Meeter believed the Chinese were making misuse of European law), pp. 54-5, 74, 79.

[136] "Bepalingen betreffende het burgerlijk- en handelsrecht en enkele onderwerpen van strafrecht voor de Chineezen op Java en Madoera" (Provisions concerning the civil and commercial law and some subjects of penal law for the Chinese on Java and Madura), *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1892, no. 238.

[137] Pieter Hendrik Fromberg (Amsterdam, 16 January 1857 – 2 January 1924) studied law in Leiden and had a career in the judiciary in the Indies from 1882 on, culminating in a position in the High Court in 1903–8. He was a warm supporter of the Chinese in their struggle for a better legal position. His collected works were published by the Chung Hwa Hui (*Chineesche Vereeniging in Nederland*) in 1926 as *Verspreide geschriften*.

[138] Published in Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, Bijlagen, 217-307. The most often quoted Dutch sinologists in this draft and in later articles were De Groot, Groeneveldt, Meeter, Stuart, Young, Borel, and Van Wettum.

[139] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1917, no. 129, in effect as from 1 May 1919.

[140] For instance, in 1912 the draft text for a civil code *Zhonghua minguo zanxing minlü cao'an* 中華民國暫行民律草案 was published, but as a consequence of the political situation, it was not officially adopted. There is a partial Dutch translation by Van Wettum (1914).

[141] Meeter, "De regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw" (The legal position of Chinese women), *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 32 (1879), 345-73.

[142] J.M. Callery, *Li Ki ou Mémorial des Rites traduit pour la première fois du Chinois, et accompagné de notes, de commentaries et du texte original* (Turin 1854).

[143] Schlegel, *Hoa Tsien Ki, De geschiedenis van het gebloemde briefpapier*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 32 (1866).

[144] De Jongh did not send a *nota*, and only stated that he fully agreed with Meeter. Dr Tjiook-Liem gives on p. 202 (*Rechtspositie*, 2009) a distortion of Groeneveldt's comments, thereby overly discrediting the Dutch interpreters. Not only are her quotations not fully correct, but the impression is given that Groeneveldt's criticism of Meeter (*[getuigend van] zonderlinge begrippen*) and De Grijs (*verward betoog, onjuist, curieus en karakteristiek [wat betreft onwetendheid]*) applies to all seven sinologists, including the six others who did not participate. More seriously, Groeneveldt's comments on the dubious value of advice given by Chinese officers is simply omitted. Groeneveldt's pointing out the wrong manner of asking questions by judges is distorted into the conclusion that the interpreters did not have enough legal knowledge (which in itself may be true, but this was not Groeneveldt's point), while Groeneveldt also wrote that the topic of ambiguous questioning by judges had been studied before by J. Sibenius Trip in *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 28 (1877), 66-9 (in the copy of Groeneveldt's report in the National Archive the volume number is XXXIII instead of XXVIII). L.D.F. de Pauly explained the matter more clearly on pp. 372 and 375 of vol. 33 (1879); perhaps Groeneveldt confused these two sources.

[145] In 1886, Young published a translation of these provisions.

[146] Meeter had also discovered a faulty interpretation in De Grijs' translation in 1882, leading to a misunderstanding by the lawyer J.W.T. Cohen Stuart. Meeter, "Mr. J.W.T. Co-

hen Stuart over den regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 28 and 30 October 1882. Also published in: *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 39 (1882), 316-25.

[147] "Gai jiace" 改甲冊, from Lan Dingyuan's 藍鼎元 *Lan gong an* 藍公案. De Grijs translated the title as: "Het (vervalschen) veranderen van de registers van de burgerlijken stand." ((Falsifying) changing the civil registration). BPL 1780:3. *See also Catalogue* 2005, 87-8.

[148] The Chinese text is: 若夫或因犯罪, 或遭兵亂, 或值兇荒等事, 棄妻逃亡在外, 音信不通, 不知去向生死, 三年不還者, 其妻無所依倚, 不能存立, 聽明告官司, 為之判理。給執照別行改嫁。Quoted from *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899), 88.

[149] In Schlegel's review of P. Hoang, *Le marriage Chinois au pont de vue legal*, "Bulletin critique," *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899) 87-93. Names are given in a French transcription of Hokkien. *See also* P. Hoang's reaction with Schlegel's introduction in "Correspondance," *T'oung Pao* 1 (1900), 397-405. Hoang did not agree with Schlegel's translation of *dengshi* as "etcetera," considering it merely an indication of the end of a limitative list; but he agreed with Schlegel's conclusion on account of the analogical interpretation that was explicitly allowed in Chinese law. However, Schlegel's translation of *dengshi* seems more plausible and is confirmed by major dictionaries (Giles' *Chinese–English dictionary*, *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (Shanghai 上海：Hanyu da cidian chubanshe 漢語大詞典出版社 1986–1993)，*Hanyu da zidian* 漢語大字典 (Chengdu 成都：Sichuan cishu chubanshe 四川辞书出版社1986–1990)). According to Schlegel, many similar cases occurred during his ten-year stay in Batavia (p. 90).

[150] He also stated that the advice itself should only concern information about Chinese law, not an opinion about the legal question itself; and this should be requested from the legal advisors (Chinese officers), not from experts (sinologists and lawyers). J. Sibenius Trip, "Vraagpunten …," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië* 28 (1877) , 65-66.

[151] In Van Vollenhoven's words "een fragmentarische degeneneratie van het echt Chineesche recht…, die eerbied onzerzijds niet verdient." C. van Vollenhoven, *Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. II, 10. The main reason for this was probably that there existed no written sources about Chinese customary law in the Indies, and one had to rely completely on what the Chinese officers wished to report.

[152] Fromberg, "Mag een Chinees bij uitersten wil over zijn vermogen onbeperkt beschikken" (1896), *Verspreide geschriften*, 70. For instance, he quoted Meeter: "We consider the alleged customary law as nothing but fiction, devised by shrewd Chinese officers or their clever legal advisors." ("De regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw," 1879).

[153] Quoted by Van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. II, 10.

[154] Quoted by Van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. II, 10. On Van Vollenhoven *see also* J.M. Otto and S. Pompe, "The legal Oriental connection," in Otterspeer, *Leiden Oriental Connections*, 230-49.

[155] Fromberg, "Nieuw recht voor de Indo-Chineezen," *Verspreide geschriften*, 591.

[156] Consequently, and strictly following article 7 of the *Regulations on the Judiciary System* (1847), only the opinions of the legal advisors (Chinese officers) should be asked, and not those of the experts (sinologists). Sibenius Trip already in 1877 was opposed to using the sinologists as experts in the courts, but now their advice had in fact been useful by showing the Chinese officers' lack of legal knowledge. Sibenius Trip, *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië* 74 (1900), 1-3. The reason for his disapproval of using sinologists as experts is not clear, except that there was no legal provision for such.

[157] Van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. II, 11.

[158] *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 78 (1902), 97-104 (question); 79 (1902), 130-135 (experts' report).

[159] *Adatrecht*, vol. II, 13-14, etc.

[160] The judgements of the Chinese High Court had probably been brought along by Ezerman on his visit to China in 1916. Bureau of Chinese Affairs, "Het huwelijk tusschen lieden met denzelfden familienaam," *Indisch tijdschrift van het recht* 110 (1918), 51-7 (not quoting *Liji*). Ezerman, "Advies in zake Chineesch erfrecht," *Indisch tijdschrift van het recht* 111 (1918), 265-8. The latter was preceded by Fromberg's negative comments (reprinted in his *Verspreide geschriften*, "Omgekeerd?" 613-8). Parts of the *Qing Code* remained relevant, although the new laws in China were also unofficially being practiced.

[161] Ezerman, "Advies in zake Chineesch erfrecht," 265.

[162] Moreover, the Chinese still had not obtained a full equal status with Europeans. For the opinion of a Chinese lawyer educated in Leiden, *see* Phoa Liong Gie, "Het recht der werkelijkheid," *Gedenkboek Chung Hwa Hui 1911-1926*, 71-106.

[163] His sugar factory is mentioned in *Java-bode*, 25 June 1872. According to the certificate mentioned below, he was 57 years (*sui*) old on 8 June 1892; therefore he must have been born in 1836 or in January/February 1837. He was a *luitenant* since 21 June 1869, and a *luitenant titulair*, a title given to former *luitenants*, since 3 January 1884 (*Regeerings-almanak voor Ned.-Indië*). He passed away in October 1904 (*Soerabaiasch Handelsblad,* 5 October 1904). A short Chinese biography is given in Nishi Hideaki, "Oranda ni okeru hōgaku …," note 42, quoting *Huaqiao Huaren baike quanshu Renwu juan* 华人华侨百科全书 人物卷 (2001).

[164] The text of the donation certificate (吏部執照) was copied by Hoetink's teacher/clerk. Hoetink, *Chinese stukken* H. 421b, p. 105 (a typed version is available online, Leiden University Library). On 29 December 1891, De Groot had advised allowing the sale of titles in the Indies, to compensate for the refusal to accept Chinese Consuls (*Notizen*, 40).

[165] The Malay version was entitled *Atoeran hak poesaka orang tjina dan hal mengangkat anak tersalin dari kitab hoekoem Taij Tjhing Loet Li*. Both versions were published by Gimberg in Soerabaia in 1900. The Malay text is online available in Leiden University Library.

[166] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 6 September, 1900. "Veel licht," *De Locomotief*, 8 September 1900.

[167] "Bulletin critique," *T'oung Pao* 1 (1900), 501-502.

[168] Schlegel had criticised a translation of Chinese law by Pierre Hoang in *T'oung Pao* 10 (1899), 87-93, giving an interesting example of a translation problem from the Indies in 1869. The next year Hoang replied to Schlegel's criticism in *T'oung Pao* 1 (1900), 397-405. *See also* the section "Acting as Experts for the Courts."

[169] W. Halkema's full name was Johannes Wilhelmus Hendrikus Halkema, shortened to Willem, W., W.H. or J.W.H. Halkema (Tegal, 1833 – Surabaya, 10 April 1905). From 1855 on he had a career as Government clerk and *controleur*, but in 1872 he was honourably discharged from Government service (Stamboeken L 134). Later he worked as a journalist, translator and teacher of Malay and Javanese, and legal advisor. In 1879 he published a *Beknopte handleiding tot zelfonderricht in de Javaansche taal* (Concise manual for self-study of Javanese). He advertised as a translator and teacher in 1884 (*Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 18 January 1884, etc.) and as a legal advisor in 1892 (*Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 April 1892, etc.). In the 1880s he founded a Javanese newspaper and a newspaper for Eurasians; in 1881 he was expelled from the *Vorstenlanden* after offending the sultan (Termorshuizen, *Journalisten*, 182, 444, 446-7 etc.). In 1903 he was sent to prison for three months for his pamphlet *Zoo zijn er!* (*Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 18 November 1903).

[170] "Verhandeling over verdeeling van het familiegoed en stamvoortzetting bij de Chineezen," *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië* 75 (1900), 273-306.

[171] Unfortunately the vertical lines of the Chinese text are often continued on the next page, so the reader has to flip the pages back and forth while reading.

[172] Young only translated the *lü*, not the *li*, in his "Versterfrecht, adoptie en pleegkinderen bij de Chineezen. Behandeling der betrekkelijke artikelen van het Wetboek Tai-Tshing Loet-lé," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 31 (1886), 214-39. Malay translation: *Atoeran hak poesaka orang Tjina dan hal mengangkat anak tersalin dari pada kitab hoekoem Tai Tshing Loet Lé* (Batavia: Albrecht, 1887), 26 p. Malay text with Chinese law text in characters. This translation was reprinted by Albrecht & Rusche in 1894.

[173] Jamieson's translation appeared in *The China Review* 8 (1879–1880). P.L. Philastre, *Le Code Annamite, nouvelle traduction complète* (Paris, 1876).

[174] Only the transcription of the Chinese title of the *Qing Code* was slightly different.

[175] Giles' *Chinese–English dictionary* (2nd edition of 1912) confirms that *yiming* cannot be translated as "testament," and that even a Chinese written will does not have the force of a European testament (p. 678).

[176] Italics as in the original text. "Wanneer de *vader* of de *moeder* overleden is en de kinderen nog in den rouwstaat zijn, mogen deze op geene andere plaats wonen noch de nalatenschap verdeelen of daaraan eene andere bestemming geven. / Schending of over-

treding van deze bepaling zal aan den lijve van den daaraan bevonden schuldige worden gestraft met 80 slagen, bijaldien deswege door oudere familieleden—ooms of broeders—eene klacht is of wordt ingediend. / Zijn er ten opzichte daarvan evenwel door den overledene beschikkingen *genomen* en *aanwezig*, dan is *dit artikel niet van toepassing* [*] [Footnote] (*) TIAULIE of *toelichting*. Het in den oorspronkelijken tekst in het chineesch voorkomende: *Hik hong wie bing poet tjaij tjoe loet* beteekent: als er een *testament* is, heeft de wet met de zaak geen bemoeienis hoegenaamd, wat teruggeeft dat men slechts het testament *op te volgen en na te leven heeft."* Tjoa Sien Hie*, Regeling der erfopvolging* (1900) 2 (with corrections of obvious misprints). Quoted by Stuart with characters added, p. 280.

[177] "Een mystificatie," *De Locomotief*, 18 December 1900.

[178] W. Halkema Sr, *De Ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken Stuart en Tjoa Sien Hie's vertalingen uit den Taij Tjhing Loet Lie* (Soerabaya: Gimberg, 1901). At the top of the title page was printed: *Beleefd aangeboden present exemplaar* (Respectfully presented complimentary copy).

[179] Usually pronounced *boe sai*. In this pronunciation it is homophonous with another invective, *besai* 馬屎, "horse dung."

[180] Dated January 1903, published in Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, 335-6.

[181] *See* IB 10/6/1851 no. 53, published in *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, no. 420 (1858).

[182] Katz, "Chapter 3, Oaths and chicken-beheading rituals," *Divine Justice*, 61-81.

[183] *Liufa quanshu* 六法全書, *Xingshi susong fa* 刑事訴訟法 (1928), articles 186-187; *Minshi susongfa* 民事訴訟法 (1930) articles 312-313; still in force on Taiwan. The background of this fact needs further research (Katz, *Divine Justice*, 80).

[184] *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo Xingshi susong fa* 中华人民共和国刑事诉讼法 (2012), article 189.

[185] Katz, "Chapter 7, Judicial rituals in modern Taiwan," *Divine Justice*, 142-59, etc.

[186] From 1620 until 1666. Hoetink, "So Bing Kong," 357-9. Later two Chinese became members of the court in relevant cases ("Rechtswezen," *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië* (1917), 559).

[187] "至犯大罪…俱申報荷蘭。定奪人命，不問鄰佑，而重見證。見證必審訊，斬雞發誓，方敢花押定案。" (punctuation added) Wang Dahai 王大海, *Haidao yizhi* 海島逸志, p. 3 (preface 1791), here quoted from Zhouche suozhi 舟車所至 edition (reprint, Taibei 臺北: Zhengzhong shuju 正中書局, 1962, 791-2). According to Wang this emphasis on witness accounts was a very stupid method, since nobody dared to act as a witness; as a result nobody cared about corpses lying on the streets and in gutters.

[188] In the eighteenth-century reports of Indies court proceedings in which Chinese acted as witnesses, no reference could be found to the Chinese oath (oral communication from Leonard Blussé, 4 July 2015).

[189] The oldest oath formula dating from 1775 can be found in Kong Koan Archives no. 23001, Leiden University Library (online available). Many other cases of decisive oaths are recorded in the Minutes of the Chinese Council in Batavia of 1787–91 (Blussé, *Gong'an bu*, vol. 1). These are mentioned and analysed by Paul R. Katz in his (very short) discussion about the Chinese oath in Batavia (*Divine Justice*, 118-9). Katz was inspired by the analysis by Ji Zong'an 纪宗安 and Yan Lijin 颜丽金, "Shixi Baguo gongtang de mengshen shenpan 试析吧国公堂的盟神审判" (Preliminary analysis of trial by way of an oath to the gods in the Chinese Council of Batavia) (2005). An earlier source, not referred to by Ji and Yan, is Blussé and Wu, 18世纪末巴达维亚唐人社会 (2002), 25-8. Later cases are analysed by Chen, *Chinese gemeenschap, 1843–1865*, 124-5.

[190] Katz, *Divine Justice*, 119.

[191] Chen, *Chinese gemeenschap, 1843–1857*, 124.

[192] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1819, no. 20.

[193] *Algemeene bepalingen van wetgeving* (1847), art. 14.

[194] Articles 1929–1945, Zesde titel "van den geregtelijken eed," Boek IV, *Burgerlijk Wetboek voor Nederlandsch-Indië.* Schlegel, "De Chinesche eed," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 21 (1865), 247-59 (May 1863), p. 256. The decisive oath was possible in the Netherlands until the introduction of the *New Civil Code* at the end of the twentieth century ("Van den geregtelijken eed," art. 1966–82 of the old Dutch Civil Law). If required by the judge, it was called "supplementary" (*suppletoire*) oath.

[195] Type b and c as defined by Eric Hobsbawn, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in Hobsbawn's *The Invention of Tradition*, 1-14, p. 9.

[196] Katz, "Chapter 6, Judicial rituals in Asian colonial and immigrant history," *Divine Justice*, 119-32. *See also* Eitel, *Europe in China*, 268. Vaughton, *The Manners and Customs of the Chinese of the Straits Settlements*, 88-9. L.C.P., "Judicial Oaths for Chinese," *Notes and Queries*, vol. 3 (1869), 17-18; D., "Chinese Oaths," *idem*, 120-1; W.F. Mayers, "Chinese Oaths," *idem*, 142-4.

[197] It could also be used for witnesses in criminal cases. *Reglement op de strafvordering voor de Raden van Justitie op Java* [etc.] (1847), art. 415.

[198] In that case the advice of the Chinese Council was asked after two experts had refused to perform the chicken oath, which they found immoral. Der Kinderen, "Wijzen van eedsaflegging, in gebruik bij de Chinezen," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië* 15 (1858), 169-71.

[199] "De Chinesche eed," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 21 (1865), 247-59 (dated May 1863). These consequences are reminiscent of the popular Taoist tract about retribution and punishment by the gods *Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇. Schlegel had learnt this tract by heart when studying under Hoffmann.

[200] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 258, 8 June 1868.

[201] Borel, "Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden I," *Deli-Courant*, 16 September 1896. De Groot had attended ceremonies on Borneo, and Borel in Tanjung Pinang (Riau) and Makassar. In their articles they do not mention the 'large' oath in the temple.

[202] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 311, 14 June 1869, and no. 314, 5 July 1869.

[203] "De Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 223, 7 October 1867; no. 226, 28 October 1867; no. 232, 9 December 1867; also in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, *Java-bode* and other newspapers (*see* Schlegel's and Von Faber's bibliographies).

[204] Tan Hongie 陳逢義 (born in 1799 in China) was *luitenant* and member of the Chinese Council in Batavia in 1854–63, and *luitenant-titulair* thereafter; he was tax-farmer of alcoholic beverages and gambling in 1856–63. Tan Kamlong 陳甘郎 (1811-1878) was *kapitein-titulair* since 1844. He was opium tax-farmer in 1845–7 (Blussé, *Gong'anbu*, vol. 9, 376; Chen, *De Chinese gemeenschap van Batavia, 1843–1865*). The two well-known Dutch lawyers Alting Mees and Henny assisted them during the later court proceedings and it is assumed they did so from the start.

[205] "Without coat, cap or garments, You, always, can approach the porches of the Lord's temple. 不作衣冠不作裳，時時身近帝廟廊." Schlegel, *The Hung-League*, 115-6. Quoted (without source) in Schlegel's first article in *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 223, 7 October 1867. Von Faber later pointed out the source.

[206] As proof, he quoted (in Dutch) from Zhuge Liang's preparatory prayer for a favourable wind just before the Battle of the Red Cliff: 沐浴齋戒，身披道衣，跣足散髮，來到壇前。 "He bathed and fasted, put on a monk's habit, bared his feet and loosened his hair, and came to the altar." (*Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義, Chapter 49).

[207] Von Faber, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 4 November 1867.

[208] "Ingezonden stukken," by "X," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 7 November 1867.

[209] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 243, 23 January 1868 (session of 3 January 1868). In the meantime, another law suit about the oath had taken place, in which Schlegel had acted as representative of the Orphans Chamber and Von Faber as expert. The court had then concluded that the Chinese Council should decide about the ceremony of the oath. *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 258, 8 June 1868.

[210] Thung was a member of the Batavian Estate Chamber. Gouw Lamyang (Lamiang) 吳南陽 (1813-1892?) was *luitenant-titulair* since 1849. No information could be found about Gouw Tianin (*Regeeringsalmanak*; Chen, *Chinese gemeenschap*; Blussé, *Gong'anbu*, vol. 9, p. 474).

[211] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 287, 28 December 1868.

[212] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 939, 27 June 1881.

[213] Not surprisingly, some jurists published their opinion that no oath, whatever its form, could be a guarantee for honesty.

[214] Young, "De eed in China en in N.-Indië," *Sumatra-courant*, 27 and 29 September 1881.

[215] Von Faber, "De Chineesche eed. Open brief aan den WelEdelGestr. heer J.W. Young, tolk voor de chineesche taal te Padang," *Sumatra-courant*, 19 January 1882.

[216] Young, "Open brief aan den WelEdelG. Heer M. Von Faber, tolk voor de Chineesche Taal, te Batavia," *Sumatra-courant*, 21 January 1882. "Nog iets omtrent den chineeschen Eed in Ned.-Indië," *Sumatra-courant*, 16 March 1882. "Weêr iets over den chineeschen Eed," *Sumatra-courant*, 30 March 1882. Perhaps as a result of this discussion, Von Faber later wrote his "Trancendentale voorstellingen der Chineezen" (Chinese ideas of the transcendent), *De Indische Gids*, vol. 6 no. 2 (1884), 702-36. At the same time, Young and Von Faber discussed Kee Tjoa 解詛, the neutralisation of a curse, in three other articles. The question was whether the malediction of an oath could also be neutralised by this ceremony.

[217] "Chinese oaths in Western Borneo and Java" (*Notes and Queries*), *The China Review* (1881), vol. X, 212-8.

[218] Young, "Eenige beschouwingen omtrent den eed voor de Chineezen," *Sumatra-courant*, 30 August 1882.

[219] De Groot, *Eenige aanteekeningen omtrent Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden in de Nederlandsche koloniën: Een poging tot oplossing van de vraag, welke eed aldaar den Chineezen voor de rechtbanken behoort te worden afgenomen*.

[220] Borel, "Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden I," *Deli-Courant*, 16 September 1896.

[221] The original oath form is in BPL 1782:6A, an illustration is in *Catalogue* 2005, 97. Other oath texts and De Grijs' opinion about the oath are in BPL 1782:5.

[222] Chinese and Dutch text in *N.V. Internationale Crediet- en Handels-Vereeniging "Rotterdam" Gedenkboek uitgegeven bij het vijf-en-zeventig jarig bestaan op 28 augustus 1938* (Rotterdam, 1938), appendix.

[223] Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, 129, 131.

[224] Fromberg's *Verspreide geschriften* contains no article about the Chinese oath. Perhaps the topic was considered too specific to legal circles and more suitable for an expert in Chinese ethnology.

[225] Borel, "Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden I," *Deli-Courant*, 16 September 1896 (mainly about De Groot's article of 1883), and "II," 3 March 1897. Borel also had some negative comments on the Chinese oath in "Chineesch gevaar," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 25-30 (originally published in *Deli-Courant*, 30 January 1895, half a year after his appointment).

[226] *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 83 (1904), 542-8. Also published in *Indisch weekblad van het recht*, no. 2172, 13 February 1905, p. 28a.

[227] *Indisch weekblad van het recht*, no. 2227, 5 March 1906.

[228] "Eed," *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië* (1917), 652-3.

Notes to Chapter Fourteen

[1] *See* Chapter Six, Chinese Teachers/Clerks in the Indies, section "Reports on the Need of a Teacher/Clerk."

[2] Schaalje began to study the *Sanguo zhi yanyi* in December 1864 after arrival in the Indies (BPL 2106 II 6), and he began writing in Riau about Chinese festivals etc. (BPL 2106 II 36) but did not get far. De Grijs wrote a few articles that were not published (BPL 1782) and may have continued translating works by Lan Dingyuan (BPL 1780) and other texts (BPL 1782).

[3] Titles are mentioned in Schlegel's bibliography *Liste chronologique des ouvrages et opuscules* (1902).

[4] Titles are in De Groot's bibliography in Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 115-6.

[5] Schaalje collected a large number of documents about the popular betting pool based on the surnames of top scorers in the local and national examinations in China (*weixing* 闈姓), but he did not write anything about them. These are now in the Schaalje Collection, NEHA archives, IISG, Amsterdam.

[6] "Hebben de tolken weinig officiëlen en particulieren arbeid, zooveel te meer—zou men kunnen aanvoeren—kunnen zij aan eigen studie wijden, om de enkele keeren dat hunne diensten worden gevorderd, zich des te beter van hunne taak te kunnen kwijten. Het is evenwel niet aan een ieder gegeven, om altijd door te studeeren, althans niet op gezette

wijze. Men wil ook wel praktisch van nut zijn, voldoening hebben van de ten koste gelegde inspanning. Andere taalgeleerden ontvangen verschillende opdragten en doen geregeld verslag van de uitkomsten hunner studiën, die met belangstelling door de Regering worden nagegaan en op waarde geschat. De tolken voor de Chinesche taal komen in Indië met groote illusiën, worden op een buitenpost geplaatst en geheel aan zich zelve overgelaten. Of zij studeeren of niet studeeren, daarover bekommert zich niemand. Het verschil ligt daarin, dat eerstgenoemden zich toeleggen op de talen der inheemsche volken, die in de eerste plaats de aandacht der Regering worden waardig gekeurd, terwijl laatstgenoemden de taal beoefenen van een volk, dat in Indië slechts geduld wordt als een onmisbaar element, doch dat in veel mindere mate de zorg der overheerschers ondervindt. Wanneer de deskundige voorlichting en hulp zoo weinig worden ingeroepen, is het dan geen wonder dat de ijver gaat verslappen en het groote energie kost, om er niet ondergedrukt te gaan." *Nota* by Albrecht, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[7] Groeneveldt's *nota*, 12 October 1894, p. 26, V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[8] De Groot's *nota*, dated 2 March 1911, V 11/12/1911, no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

[9] *See* below. He told De Bruin that Borel had discredited sinology (De Bruin, *Een onopgehelderd geval*, 4).

[10] ["Van de overigen—een twee- of drietal—valt alleen te constateeren, dat] zij op hun tractement hebben gevegeteerd, door de besturende en rechterlijke machten niet gestoord in hunne zalige rust, oftewel genegeerd. Tot tijd en wijle pensioen of dood hen uit de mislukte carrière zal verlossen of reeds heeft verlost. / Ziedaar harde waarheden, en niet te loochenen feiten." De Groot's *nota* of 2 March 1911, V 11/12/1911, no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

[11] "*Nimmer waren de Ambtenaren voor Chineesche Zaken mannen, die van huis uit lust tot studie van China en de Chineezen in hunne betrekking medebrachten.* Zij bleven dus uitsluitend teren op wat elementaire taalkennis, in den opleidingstijd opgedaan. Zij konden dientengevolge onmogelijk beantwoorden aan de verantwoordelijke taak, waartoe het Goevernement hen geroepen had; hunne positie werd voor henzelven in de allereerste plaats netelig en onaangenaam, ja onmogelijk, en—de een voor, de ander na, liep er zoo goed mogelijk uit." De Groot's *nota* of 2 March 1911, V 11/12/1911, no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04 (underlined in the original).

[12] Royal Decree of 17 September 1906 no. 17, *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1906 no. 476.

[13] De Groot's *nota* of 2 March 1911, V 11/12/1911, no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

[14] Personal communication from his daughter Mary Gwendolyn Duyvendak, 2013.

[15] De Bruin, *Een onopgehelderd geval*, 4.

[16] Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-Kak-Sie" te Cheribon*, 8.

[17] Many documents in V 11/12/1911, no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

[18] J.A.M. Bruineman served in 1912–31, J. Snellen van Vollenhoven in 1912–33, and H. Mouw in 1912–35 (Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren Q' 580; Q' 579; Q' 581, 817).

[19] First Government Secretary De Graeff to the Consul General in Hong Kong, dated Buitenzorg 14 May 1910, inv. 157, toeg. 2.05.90. The Government did not need "scholars" (*geleerden*), but "*practical* officials with scholarly knowledge" (*wetenschappelijk onderlegde practische ambtenaren*). G.H.G. Harloff commented similarly on De Groot's *nota* in his report about the reorganisation of the functions of Officials for Chinese Affairs, dated 24 April 1912, in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04.

[20] De Groot's request and the following discussions are treated in more detail in Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, section "De Groot's Scholarly Mission to China."

[21] "Moge dit geschrift toonen, dat men de Chineezen in de koloniën niet behoorlijk kan kennen tenzij men hen in hun eigen vaderland bestudeert, en het bijgevolg voor eene regeering, die hare kracht meer in politiek en in kennis van land en volk dan in bajonnetten zoekt, van belang is op ruime schaal ethnographische studiën en navorschingen in het Rijk van het Midden te doen maken." De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 193.

[22] IB 14/3/1886 no. 21 inv. 7889.

[23] Franke, "Gedächtnisrede," p. CXX.

[24] This request is described in more detail in Chapter Twelve, Working as Interpreters and Translators, section "Some Problems of Legal Translation."

[25] It is mentioned in a list of books donated by Hoetink to the Leiden Library in 1907 (Archiefkast, East Asian Library; = Bibliotheekarchief Sinologisch Instituut, Leiden).

[26] *T'oung Pao* 3 (1892), 201. "Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indië voor het dienstjaar 1892," p. 11, *Handelingen der Staten-Generaal* (www.statengeneraaldigitaal.nl). Private interested persons would give the same total subsidy. These were J.Th. Cremer en P.W. Janssen, leaders of the Deli-Maatschappij.

[27] Young, "De wetgeving," part 2, p. 2, 6 (off-print). Schaank, "De kongsi's van Montrado," 92, 94.

[28] Manuscript article by Schaalje, October 1887, in BPL 2105 I 4, 4.

[29] *See* text of this ordinance in Chapter One, The Origins of Dutch Sinology, section "The Banka Case and Other Arguments" (note 54). Forced repatriation to China would be an extremely heavy punishment for immigrants (Young, *Wetgeving* II, 5 (offprint)).

[30] "Het Hemel-Aarde-Verbond, T'iên-Tí-Hoeí, een geheim genootschap in China en onder de Chinezen in Indië," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 1 (1853), 260-90. "Bijdragen tot de kennis der Geheime Genootschappen van de Chinezen, bepaaldelijk het T'iên-tí-hoeí," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 2 (1854), 292-329. Hoffmann also received some other documents, now in the Hoffmann Collection in Utrecht University Library, and a large stack of kongsi documents from Borneo (BPL 2186 N), which did not result in a publication by him. Röttger, *Thien-ti-hoih* (1852). The German missionary Röttger had been asked by the Neth.-Indies and British colonial governments to write this article.

[31] Johannes Elias Teysmann (1808–82) came with Governor-General Van den Bosch as a gardener to the Indies in 1830 and worked as hortulanus in the Botanical Garden in Bogor (Buitenzorg) from 1831 until 1869. Teysmann was a simple but intelligent and energetic man, who travelled widely through the Indies to collect specimens of plants. He contributed more than any scholar to the fame of the Botanical Garden (*Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*). These manuscripts were received by the Batavian Society between 27 March 1863 and 30 April 1864 (*Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 2 (1864), 110). They are now probably in the National Library in Jakarta.

[32] Modern research by Barend ter Haar has shown that such rituals are for performing only and can hardly be explained ("are not the subject of further reflection and analysis," Ter Haar, *Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads*, 42). Of course, the mysteriousness and inexplicability of the rituals enhanced their intimidating power over novitiates, necessary to make them into loyal members.

[33] Schlegel, *Hung-League*, Preface, pp. V-VII.

[34] Ter Haar, *Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads*, 32, 42. About Schlegel's problems with some of these texts, *see* Chapter Twelve, section "Working as Translators."

[35] Some reviews are mentioned in Schlegel's *Liste chronologique*.

[36] De Groot, *Kongsiwezen,* 182. Meeter, "Twee professoren."

[37] Reprinted by the Government Printer in Singapore [1958], AMS in New York [1975], and Routledge in New York and London (2000). Chinese translation: 施列格 (Gustave Schlegel) 著, (香港) 薛澄清譯, 天地會研究, ([長沙] 商務印書館 1940). Photomechanic reprints by 臺北古亭書屋 (1975) and 上海文艺出版社 (1991).

[38] Dr. William Milne (1785–1822), "Some Account of a Secret Society in China entitled 'The Triad Society'," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I (1825), 240.

[39] Schlegel, *Hung-League*, Introduction, p. XL.

[40] Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 21.

[41] Schaalje, "Bijdrage tot de kennis der Chinesche geheime genootschappen" (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1870), dated Riouw, January 1869 (BPL 2105 I:2); also published in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 20 (1873), 1-6. Young, "Bijdrage tot de kennis der Chineesche geheime genootschappen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 28 (1883), 546-77.

[42] Schaalje Collection BPL 2105 I and II; Schaalje Collection in NEHA Archives, IISG, Amsterdam (mostly materials from Penang); Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, inv. 692-1 to 6 (gift by M. Schaalje in 1889). There are also a few documents in the De Grijs Collection, BPL 1782 9 G, H.

[43] Minutes of 4 August 1896, *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*. Although no such manuscript is mentioned in the auction catalogue of Borel's library dating from about 1934, this could be the manuscript that the British Library acquired from Brill in 1979 (Ter Haar,

Triads, 31 note 40). This manuscript had been in Brill's bookshop for many years when it was finally described in 1976 and numbered no. 2720 in Brill's catalogue no. 488 in 1977.

[44] Original in English. Schlegel, *Hung-League*, Preface.

[45] Now in BPL 2105 I 3.

[46] Advice by Groeneveldt, 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854. *See also* Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, section "De Groot's Scholarly Mission to China."

[47] De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 172-93, in particular 174, 184, 192.

[48] De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 183, 185-6.

[49] "… dan bedenke men daarbij nog, dat dit stelsel vooral voor de Chineezen in onze koloniën steeds onmisbaar is geweest, omringd als zij immer waren door vreemde en vijandige volkeren, overheerscht door eene natie, waarvan de belangen, begrippen en zeden in zoovele opzichten lijnrecht tegen de hunne overstaan." De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 189.

[50] "In 1881 lekte het te Montrado uit, dat zich daar een eedverbond gevormd had. Het had reeds verscheidene nachtelijke vergaderingen gehouden, ruim een honderdtal leden ingelijfd, een bestuur gekozen en statuten ontworpen; en wat bleek ten slotte voor den landraad, toen deze de zaak te berechten kreeg? Dat al die drukte slechts eene club Chineesche nieuwelingen tot mikpunt had, wien men een pak slaag op groote schaal had toebedacht en die zich dan ook behoorlijk tot een tegenbond aaneengesloten hadden. Van plannen tot verzet tegen het Gouvernement, of van samenhang met buitenlandsche vereenigingen werd echter zweem noch schaduw ontdekt. Slechts het oude thema, de vorming van een clan 'pour laver son linge sale en famille' speelde weer den boventoon." De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 187.

[51] "Het zal wel weinigen onbekend wezen, dat het juist die geest van wederzijdsche ondersteuning is, dus in den grond een uiterst schoone karaktertrek des volks, welke in de koloniën eene nachtmerrie is voor alle Europeesche heerschappij. Niet zonder reden trouwens. Want, door de eedverbonden tot geschreven, streng gehandhaafde wet verheven, verlamt hij telkens haren arm, maakt hij hare wetten en bepalingen eigendunkelijk tot doode letter, houdt hij alle overtreders buiten haar bereik en maakt hij alle deugdelijke rechtspraak feitelijk onmogelijk. Zoo iets, dan is een geheim genootschap een staat in den staat." De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 191-2.

[52] "Wij hebben ons echter slechts ten taak gesteld den grondslag en den aard der geheime genootschappen in het licht te stellen, niet omtrent hunne werking in beschouwingen te treden, en staan dus niet verder bij dit onderwerp stil." De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 192.

[53] "Moge dit werkje ook eenige afbreuk doen aan de gelukkig in de laatste jaren wat luwende Chineezenvrees en aan die in menig opzicht zoo ongegronde, vooral op onbekendheid berustende antipathie jegens lieden, aan wier noeste vlijt Borneo, Deli, Bangka, Blitong, Riouw hun bloei en gewicht, hunne gansche beteekenis als kolonie te danken hebben!" De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 193.

[54] Without distinction between "harmful" and "unharmful" societies. "Bepalingen tot wering van geheime genootschappen onder de Chineezen in de afdeeling Deli." (Rules for banning secret societies among the Chinese in the Deli Division). Ordinance by the Resident of the East Coast of Sumatra, 31 October 1884. Dutch text in Albrecht, *Verzameling van verordeningen 1888*, 299-300, also in Young, "De wetgeving" (1890). It was made applicable in the departments of Asahan and Laboean-Batoe in 1885 (*Javasche Courant*, 15 September 1885, quoted by Young).

[55] One reason why Schaalje's articles were not published is perhaps the great number of grammatical mistakes in Schaalje's long, winding sentences. It seems Schaalje never fully overcame his grammatical shortcomings which had been noticed by Hoffmann. But another reason may have been that in view of the system of indirect government over the Chinese in the Outer Possessions, where governmental interference was less than on Java, it was undesirable to disclose this kind of information.

[56] The only documented case seems to be the Banka case of 1852, described in Chapter One. In criminal cases, suspicion of membership was sometimes mentioned in the newspapers.

[57] "Die goed-zacht-aardige gezindheid, als men het zoo noemen mag, jegens de Chineezen in hunne Geheime Genootschappen is mij immer raadselachtig geweest." Schaalje, "Het blaadje wordt omgekeerd," BPL 2105 I 4, p. 5.

[58] Jackson, *Pickering*, 106.

[59] Letter from A.H. Gijsberts, Resident of Western Borneo, to Governor-General O. van Rees, classified as 'top secret' (*zeer geheim*), dated 17 February 1887, Mailrapport 1887, no. 117a.

[60] "De Sam-Tiam-Hoey," *De Locomotief*, 24 September 1887. Ingezonden stuk (letter to the editor) by "C.K." (C. Kater) in Bandung. Kater, who had been retired on a pension contrary to his wishes in 1885, published many open letters about Borneo in 1885–7.

[61] *Luitenant* Liong Tsin Siong, with the personal title of *kapitein* in Kampong Baroe (near Pontianak), had requested honourable dismissal on 4 May, but this was rejected. The other officer was Ten Tsin Long, *luitenant* in Soengei Kakap (North of Pontianak). Judging from their names, both were Hakkas. IB 14/11/1887 no. 1/c, inv. 7929.

[62] IB 14/11/1887 no. 1/c, inv. 7929.

[63] *Nota* of 26 November 1887, in BPL 2105 I 5. A revision of criminal law or a by-law making membership in a secret society an aggravating circumstance for other crimes, would be necessary for this.

[64] Young wrote this in his article of 1890 (discussed below), but confirmation could be found only about Billiton and Western Borneo (*Java-bode*, 22 February and 7 April 1888). Schaalje, who was granted leave in April 1888, added a question mark next to the name of Riau in his copy of Young's article (BPL 2105 I 7, part II p. 5).

[65] In 1907–9, a slightly enlarged version was made applicable by decision of Van Heutsz, first in the East Coast of Sumatra, Riau, Banka, Billiton, and Western Borneo, then on Celebes etc., and finally everywhere in the Netherlands Indies (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1907 no. 271; 1908, nos. 9, 634; 1909, no. 250).

[66] Letter dated 19 May 1887. "Ik zie dat ge daar in Riouw nogal met geheime genootsch. te doen hebt. Kunt ge ook ons in de kennis daarvan wat verder brengen, dan Schlegel heeft, die wel den vorm uiteengezet, maar door eene aprioristische theorie het wezen dier vereenigingen geheel verkeerd heeft opgevat." BPL 2105 I 6.

[67] Unpublished article in BPL 2105 I 6. Later Schaalje wrote a last unpublished article about two diplomas of secret societies in 1893, showing that they still existed in Penang despite the ban (BPL 2105 I 8 A and B).

[68] Young was a freemason from 1882 on, first in the 'Matahari' lodge in Padang, later in Batavia (and Semarang), while Schlegel never joined freemasonry (Information provided by the Cultureel Maçonniek Centrum 'Prins Frederik,' The Hague, September-December 2014).

[69] Young, "De wetgeving ten aanzien van geheime genootschappen," 20 (off-print).

[70] This ban was quite effective and put an end to mass fighting in Singapore. But the attack also marked the end of Pickering's career. Described in Turnbull, *Singapore*, 88-90.

[71] "Then-A-Sioe, een slachtoffer der geheime genootschappen," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 25 and 26 July 1890. This story is written in the same style as Young's later stories and should be attributed to him.

[72] Schaank, "§7. Het bij de opheffing der kongsi's in 1854 ontstane geheime verbond en iets over lokale geheime verbonden," *De Kongsi's van Montrado*, 90-9.

[73] His pass is in BPL 2105 II 24. His Chinese name appears in nos. 21 and 22, and other documents in BPL 2105 II may also have belonged to him. Possibly no. 14 and BPL 2105 I 9 were considered to refer to a secret society. Many others are just religious documents. Report in *Deli-Courant*, 22 February 1893. The *Deli-Courant* mentions similar cases at other dates.

[74] An account of the background of this question can be found in Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, chapters IV and V, 79-144.

[75] Second edition, 1875, containing individual stories about atrocities in Cuba and Peru.

[76] *De Locomotief*, 12 March 1866. Verwijnen, "In memoriam," 171.

[77] "Spoor- en tramwegen," *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië* [1905].

[78] De Grijs' answers to questions from a member of Parliament around 1889, manuscript in BPL 1781:9.

[79] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 92 note 1.

[80] Opened on 10 August 1867. "Spoor- en tramwegen," *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië* [1905].

[81] "Koloniaal verslag over 1876," *Handelingen der Staten-Generaal*, 1876–1877, Bijlage [5, 1-2] 1, 7. In this Parliamentary report there is no sign of humanitarianism, no sympathy for these many victims, while European losses in the war were reported extensively in the press. To a modern reader, the lack of sympathy is shocking.

[82] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 107 note.

[83] "Koloniaal verslag over 1876." *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* and *Java-bode*, 22 November 1875, *Sumatra-Courant*, 8 December 1875. Other sources are mentioned in Paul van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1969), 170-1.

[84] *Deli-Maatschappij, Gedenkschrift vijftigjarig bestaan* (1919), 28.

[85] Bool, *De Chineesche immigratie*. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 113-32. Werblowsky, "Empire and Cigars," *Beaten Track*, 37-49. From 1902 on, *Mr.* H.J. Bool (Batavia, 1866 – Hilversum, 1965) was charged with several investigations by the Deli Planters Committee, one of which resulted in this book, and he became its secretary in 1905–18. Werblowsky's account is informative because he made use of De Groot's *Nachlass* in Berlin, but it is flawed with numerous errors: De Groot's letters requesting a study mission in 1885 were not destroyed and are still in the archives (*Beaten Track*, p. 23, n. 20), De Groot did receive a mandate from the Deli-Maatschappij and a few other companies in 1886, in November even by notarial mandate (p. 42, centre); "the plenipotentiary Fei" is not unknown but is J.H. Ferguson, then stationed in Swatow (p. 47, also note 27), and De Groot's contribution to emigration was later fully acknowledged, not only by Bool (1905, p. 14) but also by both the Deli-Maatschappij (*Gedenkschrift*, 1919, p. 49) and the Deli Planters Committee (*Gedenkboek van de Deli Planters Vereeniging*, 1929, pp. 48-9).

[86] IB 14/3/1886 no. 21 inv. 7889.

[87] De Groot, *Notizen*, 20-1.

[88] According to Bool, De Groot was mandated while in Deli (p. 8), but Modderman in the *Gedenkboek van de Deli Planters Vereeniging* (1929) (pp. 48-9) stated that this was done by a notarial mandate of 28 November 1886, quoting part of the text. Probably he was mandated twice, the second time in a more formal manner.

[89] Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 8.

[90] "Na lang tobben mocht het mij gelukken de firma Pasedag en Co alhier in Maart van het afgeloopen jaar een proefuitzending te doen wagen. Zeshonderd tot zevenhonderd arbeiders waren reeds voor Banka aangeworven en tot inscheping gereed, toen, hoofdzakelijk door toedoen van vijandige concurrenten van de firma, allerhand vertelsels onder hen werden uitgestrooid over slavernij, menschenhandel, beri-beri, Atjeh, enz., en alle aangeworvenen op een klein gedeelte na, deden uiteen stuiven." Request to the Governor-General dated Amoy 6 January 1888, Mailrapporten 1888 no. 91. Also recounted in *Notizen*, 25. De Groot wrote an extensive report about this incident dated 19 March 1887 (now in his *Nachlass* in Berlin), directed to the Director of Education, Religion and Industry, a position held by Groeneveldt as from 4 April 1887.

[91] De Groot's request to Governor-General O. van Rees dated Amoy 6 January 1888, Mailrapporten 1888 no. 91.

[92] Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 20.

[93] Zhang Zhidong (Chang Chih-tung, 1837–1909), who was "a brilliant scholar and official, widely esteemed for his integrity and patriotism," held this position in 1884–9 (De Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. II, 81; Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 27-32).

[94] De Groot, *Notizen*, 25 (15 August 1887).

[95] Note the different prices for Hailokhongs (Hoklos) and Hakkas. Bool, *Chineesche Immigratie*, 5-6. *See also* Broersma, *Oostkust van Sumatra*, Vol. I, 239.

[96] De Groot telegraphed the news from Shanghai on 24 April 1888 (*Notizen*, 28), which the planters received on 29 April (Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 14).

[97] De Groot, *Notizen*, 28 (9 May 1888). Bool, *Chineesche Immigratie*, 14.

[98] De Groot, *Notizen*, 26-7.

[99] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 102-4.

[100] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 125.

[101] Ferguson, *The Philosophy of Civilization*, 305-8. The preface is dated "China, 1889." Later two Dutch editions of this book entitled *De wetten der maatschappelijke ontwikkeling* appeared in 1893 and 1906. In the preface of 1893 he noted that an investigation of the

Straits coolie markets had been done in 1891—perhaps inspired by his book—showing that the situation was indeed as bad as he and the Deli planters had asserted. Werblowky's quotations without context from Ferguson's book give a completely erroneous idea of his opinions (*Beaten Track,* 41, note 8).

[102] Ferguson, *The Philosophy of Civilization*, 308.

[103] Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 46.

[104] De Groot, *Notizen*, 28-9 (15 Mei).

[105] Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 46.

[106] Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 17.

[107] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 117. Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, [76-7].

[108] He was ordered to take along his interpreter J. Rhein, but since he did not do so, he lacked an essential assistant in his contacts with the local Chinese government. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 122-3.

[109] Letter from F. Gransberg, I. Pratje, R. von Seutter (the Deli Planters Committee) to Governor-General Van der Wijck, dated Medan, 11 December 1888, and letter by Scherer dated 14 December 1888, in Mailrapporten 1889 no. 95.

[110] Advice by Groeneveldt, dated Batavia 2 February 1889, Mailrapporten 1889 no. 95.

[111] IB 8/2/1889 no. 20 inv. 7959. Also in Mailrapporten 1889 no. 95.

[112] Letter from Ferguson to Van der Wijck, dated Swatow 22 February 1889, in Mailrapporten 1889 no. 249.

[113] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 10 May 1889.

[114] IB 23/5/1889 no. 1 inv. 7966. Also in Mailrapporten 1889 no. 249.

[115] Partial text of mandate in Modderman, *Gedenkboek Deli Planters Vereeniging*, 53.

[116] Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 21-2.

[117] For instance, De Groot was reprimanded by the First Government Secretary in Batavia for the manner in which he had expressed himself about Ferguson in letters to the Minister of Colonies (Mailrapporten 1889 no. 436).

[118] Copies of Hoetink's Chinese correspondence with the *Daotai* of Hainan in April-May 1890 are kept in Ms Hoetink H 421b, KITLV Collection, pp. 95-104, and *see also* pp. 87-94. However, according to Broersma, emigration from these places already stopped in 1896 and (almost) in 1891 (Broersma, *Oostkust van Sumatra*, Vol. I, 243).

[119] The following years the need was smaller and so were the numbers of emigrants. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 127 and note. Hoetink's list is now in inv. 36, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief. Complete list in Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, [76-7].

[120] *See* Chapter Ten, section "Studying Hakka in Kia Ying Chow."

[121] Hoetink, *Reis naar China in verband met de Deli emigratie*, Swatow, 6 June 1898 (typoscript, Leiden University Library).

[122] "B. Hoetink," *De Sumatra Post*, 7 July 1906.

[123] Emigration of coolies (1888-1901), inv. 36, toegang 2.05.90.

[124] IB 6/6/1900 no. 18 inv. 8231. Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 244-6.

[125] Reports kept in the National Archives are listed by Breman, *Koelies, planters* (1992), 337-8.

[126] Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 273. It should be noted that Rhemrev found that very few crimes were perpetrated by Europeans. A *Raad van Justitie* was established in Medan on 15 March 1908 (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1908, no. 554). (The first public prosecutor was *Mr.* H. Rahder, uncle of the Leiden professor of Japanese J. Rahder, whose father W.J. Rahder became Resident in the same place on 16 February 1910.)

[127] Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 274.

[128] Request dated Weltevreden, 22 January 1903. IB 11/3/1903 no. 27 inv. 8297. His previous leave was eleven years earlier, in 1890-1892.

[129] IB 30/4/1904 no. 1 inv. 8324. Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 275, based on V 14/3/1904 no. 8.

[130] Modderman, *Gedenkboek Deli Planters Vereeniging*, 101-2.

[131] IB 24/1/1904 no. 9. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1904, no. 100.

[132] Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 276.

[133] IB 24/7/1904 no. 3 inv. 8330.

[134] IB 24/7/1904 no. 3 inv. 8330. In part quoted by Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 276.

[135] "Een-en-ander. Deli, De Arbeidsinspectie II," *De Sumatra Post*, 9 July 1906.

[136] "Hartelijke woorden," *De Sumatra Post*, 9 July 1906.
[137] *Rili Mianlan Tongshanju daishou Zhonghua xinju zhangcheng* 日里棉蘭同善局代收中華信局章程, Medan, 1905. *See also* Chapter Thirteen, section "Relations with the Chinese."
[138] Hoetink, "Eene Chineesche Remise-Bank," *De Sumatra Post*, 16 June 1905.
[139] The N.V. Deli Bank was founded on 20 June 1907. Statutes are in *De Sumatra Post*, 9 September 1907. Modderman, *Gedenkboek Deli Planters Vereeniging* (1929), 54, 112-3, 146-7. The Deli Planters organised a similar postal service. *Deli-Maatschappij, Gedenkschrift* (1919), 29-30. Problems with a postal service in 1888 are described by Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 19-20.
[140] Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 18.
[141] *Deli-Maatschappij Gendenkboek* (1919) 27, 29. Ong Eng Die, *Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 82-4.
[142] "B. Hoetink," *De Sumatra Post*, 7 July 1906; "Een-en-ander. Deli, De Arbeidsinspectie II," and "II," De Sumatra Post, 7, 9 July 1906. "Hartelijke woorden," *De Sumatra Post*, 9 July 1906.
[143] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1908, no. 400 (IB 6/6/1908 no. 3).
[144] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1915, no. 421.
[145] Modderman, *Gedenkboek Deli Planters Vereeniging* (1929), 101-2.
[146] Ong Eng Die, *Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 77-8. Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, 541.
[147] "Rapport over Singkep 24 maart – 4 april 1904," (summary) No. 232, Borel ongecatalogiseerd, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[148] Borel, "Een boek over Sovjet Rusland," *Het Vaderland*, 20 May 1928. Two years before, in 1902, Singkep had been inspected by Hoetink. He had advised to charge the Official for Chinese Affairs in Riau with regular inspections (this and other reports in V 31/3/1903 nos. 34 and 40, inv. 170, toegang 2.10.36.04). However, Borel stated earlier that he was demoted as a result of his newspaper article criticising the sultan of Lingga (Borel, "Voorwoord," *Wijsheid en schoonheid uit Indië* (1919)).
[149] IB 7/4/1905 no. 2 inv. 8347.
[150] J. Stecher, "Chineezen werving voor Banka 1905" (typoscript in Leiden University Library).
[151] "Goede dingen uit Banka," *De Sumatra Post*, 5 March 1906. IB 7/2/1906 no. 1. inv. 8367.
[152] IB 2/1/1908 no. 33 inv. 8413. Director H.J.E. Wenckebach was appointed on 30 April 1908.
[153] He was assigned together with the *Controleur* A.A. Burgdorffer, the medical doctor J.D.W. Rost van Tonningen and some native and Chinese personnel by IB 2/1/1909 no. 2 inv. 8437. Borel received a copy of his report which is now in the Borel Archive in the Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[154] Borel ongecatalogiseerd, 233, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[155] *Deli-Maatschappij Gedenkschrift* (1919), 10.
[156] According to Franke, De Groot "only had to occupy himself with the recruitment of Chinese workers for Sumatra for a short time." Franke, "Gedächtnisrede," p. CXX.
[157] Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 302. Breman's book, which was published in three editions, received a lot of criticism for his judgement of historical matters purely according to certain modern standards (for instance V.J.H. Houben, "History and morality: East Sumatra incidents as described by Jan Breman," *Itinerario* 1988, 97-100). To this could be added that he showed little understanding of cultural differences and was prejudiced against Hoetink.

Notes to Chapter Fifteen

[1] "Bepalingen tot aanwijzing der standplaatsen en regeling van den werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken," *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1896, no. 96. IB 21/5/1896 no. 43. Dutch text in Appendix S.

[2] "III. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken dienen de rechterlijke en administratieve autoriteiten en colleges in hun ressort rechtstreeks van advies in aangelegenheden Chineezen betreffende, zoo dikwijls dit van hen wordt verlangd. / Zij kunnen aan deze autoriteiten en colleges omtrent dergelijke aangelegenheden zelfstandig voorstellen en vertoogen indienen. / Zijn deze van algemeene strekking, dan geschiedt de indiening aan den Directeur van Justitie, hetzij rechtstreeks, hetzij door tusschenkomst van het Hoofd van het gewest, waarin hun standplaats gelegen is. / IV. Het Hoofd van het gewest, waarin de standplaats is gelegen van een ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken, raadpleegt dezen bij het nemen en het voorstellen van maatregelen en bij de behandeling van aangelegenheden, waarbij meer in het bijzonder Chineezen zijn betrokken of welke in het bijzonder voor de Chineesche bevolking in dat gewest van belang zijn. …" *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1896, no. 96.

[3] "V. Waar daartoe gelegenheid bestaat, wordt door het Hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur van de diensten van den ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken gebruik gemaakt tot verzekering van de goede werking van regelingen en bepalingen betreffende Chineesche werklieden voor en van ondernemingen van land- of mijnbouw." *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1896, no. 96.

[4] Letters by Buddingh and Gijsbers dated 23 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. *See also* Chapter Six, Chinese Teachers/Clerks in the Indies, section "Reports on the Need of a Teacher/Clerk."

[5] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1863, no. 33 (IB 24/3/1863 no. 7).

[6] Advice dated 20 October 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[7] "XII. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken kunnen bij de uitoefening van hunnen dagelijkschen dienst of op dienstreizen de volgende distinctieven dragen: / a. een jas van donkerblauw laken met eene rij gouden knoopen met de gekroonde letter W; / b. een pet van dezelfde stof met goud galon ter breedte van 4 centimeter." *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1896, no. 96.

[8] "Aan de betrekking van tolk voor de Chineesche taal of van ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken blijft altijd de onaangename zijde verbonden, dat men geen vasten kring van bemoeienis heeft, maar altijd afwachten moet totdat men door anderen in eenige zaak wordt betrokken; zoo ziet men veel buiten zijne medewerking regelen, waarin men belangstelling gevoelt en waarvan men de overtuiging heeft dat het beter zou geweest zijn als men er zich mee had kunnen bemoeien; dat schept een gevoel van onvoldaanheid, dat velen niet kunnen overwinnen en dat hen zal blijven nopen naar een anderen werkkring uit te zien." Groeneveldt's *nota*, in Advice of the Council of the Indies, 12 October 1894, pp. 50-1, no. XX, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[9] Jackson mistakenly assumed that in the 1870s the Dutch sinologists were already organised in a Bureau for Chinese Affairs. This anachronism was probably due to his personal experience; he was the last British China specialist in Malaya. Jackson, *Pickering*, 53 and p. VII.

[10] Jackson, *Pickering*, 18-19, 35, 52-3.

[11] "De betrekking van 'chinese protector', en de meeste andere betrekkingen, die de engelsche sinologen van de Straits Civil Service bekleeden, geven hun oneindig veel meer gelegenheid zich met het chineesche volk mede te doen leven, en hun kennis van taal, zeden en gewoonten met elken dag te vermeerderen, dan de zoo stiefmoederlijk bedeelde betrekking van onze tolken voor de chineesche taal in onze koloniën." Borel, "Een Chineesche loterij," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 42-3. This article was first published in *Deli-Courant*, 6 November 1895. Borel mentioned that he knew Hare on p. 47. Elsewhere he called him his good friend.

[12] "De Engelschen zijn den geheelen dag bezig, (maar nooit als djoeroebahasa, waarvoor Chineezen worden gebruikt), en hebben van 9 tot 4 uur hard werk, hetzij als magistraat, hetzij op het protectorate, of elders, terwijl de hollandsche tolken voor de chineesche taal, indien zij niet voor zichzelven werken en dan nog zonder den minsten officieelen prikkel, zoo goed als niets te doen hebben, en zich zeker wel eens zullen afvragen, waarom zij na de inderdaad schitterende, royale opleiding aan hun besteed, altijd maar zoo goed als werkeloos moeten blijven, met nu en dan een vertalinkje van een verordening of een stukje Staatsblad. Er zijn er, die in geen maanden Chineesch hebben gesproken, eenvoudig omdat zij niet in de gelegenheid worden gesteld." Borel, "Een Chineesche loterij," 43.

[13] *Notas* by Hoetink and Ezerman in V 6/12/1912 no. 54, inv. 986, toegang 2.10.36.04. They proposed to establish Bureaus for Chinese Affairs in each of the main towns of Java.

[14] "Is de tolk niet onbedreven in redactiewerk en genegen om mede te werken, dan wordt door de residenten, die zelden over goede redacteurs te beschikken hebben, in dat opzicht wel partij van hen getrokken, hoewel door het Gouvernement met hunne plaatsing niet het doel wordt beoogd om het personeel der gewestelijke bureaux te versterken." *Nota* by Albrecht, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[15] *See* Appendix B, Dates of appointment and discharge of European interpreters.

[16] "De ondergeteekende is van 1860–1864 op Banka geplaatst geweest; men heeft hem daar gelaten omdat hij op het residentiebureau werkzaamheden verrichtte, die men rechtens niet van hem mocht vergen, doch waarvan hij zich gaarne kweet, omdat hij zich anders erg zou vervelen en ook gaarne zich op de hoogte wilde stellen van de Bankasche toestanden en van de administratie in het algemeen. Hij heeft de voldoening gehad dat hem twee malen onder den resident Bossche de waarneming der betrekking van secretaris der residentie, telkens voor geruimen tijd, werd opgedragen." *Nota* by Albrecht, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. The Resident's actual name was J.R.F.S. van den Bossche.

[17] IB 29/3/1863 no. 4 inv. 7345.

[18] "Verklaring van een twaalftal Chinesche muntstukken," dated Muntok 11 June 1862, originally in APK 13, no. 160, Geldmuseum, Utrecht (now in Nationale Numismatische Collectie, Amsterdam). Such coins were often discovered in the Indies and then described by sinologists.

[19] The Residency's Secretary Gijsbers' *nota*, 23 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[20] "Zijn opvolger was eene andere meening toegedaan; daardoor kwam het beter uit, dat men hem konde missen en diens volgens heeft men de betrekking van tolk te Muntok ingetrokken." *Nota* by Albrecht, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[21] The decision was published in *Staatsblad voor Ned.-Indië* 1869, no. 51. Padang had a *Raad van Justitie* and Orphans Chamber. In 1896 several posts were abolished, and also in 1912.

[22] From his letters from China to his uncle Herman Schlegel in Leiden, we know him as a kind, sensitive, but also sickly young man. *See* Chapter Four, Contributions to Science, section "Buddingh collecting fauna," and Chapter Three, Studying in China (1855–1867), section "Student Life in Amoy 1862–1863."

[23] "… de eenige tolk, die op Banka flink gewerkt heeft, is A.A. de Jongh, … die veel bemoeienis had met de tinwinning, veel administratief werk deed en herhaaldelijk het secretariaat van het gewest waarnam. Zoo hing het ook hier weer van de personen af: de Resident Hooghwinkel wist van den Heer *de Jongh* partij te trekken en deze was bereid ook buiten zijne betrekking zich nuttig te maken, twee omstandigheden op welke men niet altijd rekenen mag." Groeneveldt's *nota* with the Council of the Indies' Advice of 12 October 1894, pp. 11-12, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[24] Groeneveldt's *nota* with the Council of the Indies' Advice of 12 October 1894, p. 11, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[25] *Leidsch Dagblad*, 2 November 1895.

[26] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Manuscript Chinese Dictionaries and Word Lists."

[27] "Schets van Montrado in 1861," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 13 (1864), 457-91.

[28] "Ik heb daar eenige jaren als tolk voor de Chineesche taal gediend en heb daar veel gewerkt maar voornamelijk buiten mijn eigenlijken werkkring. Ik voerde de correspondentie met Serawak, omdat ik beter Engelsch kende dan de andere ambtenaren, over wie de Resident daarvan kon beschikken, en nam dientengevolge op verschillende wijzen deel aan de behandeling der Dajaksche quaesties met dat land; vaak was ik den Resident behulpzaam in het uitwerken van grootere stukken en in zijne correspondentie met de Regeering, maar als tolk heb ik weinig gedaan. Toch verkeerde ik te dien aanzien in bijzonder gunstige omstandigheden, want uit een gevoel van onvoldaanheid trachtte ik zooveel mogelijk invloed uit te oefenen op alles wat de Chineezen betrof, en de Residenten onder wie ik achtereenvolgens diende, waren mij daarin zeer ter wille, vermoedelijk wegens de diensten, die ik hun vrijwillig bewees; zoodoende heb ik met de Chineesche zaken in

het gewest meer bemoeienis gehad dan een mijner voorgangers of opvolgers, maar toch kon ik niet met eenige voldoening terugzien op wat ik daar als tolk gepraesteerd heb." Groeneveldt's *nota* with the Council of the Indies' Advice of 12 October 1894, pp. 6-8, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[29] IB 28/8/1865 no. 41 inv. 7398. Cornelis Kater (Hendrik Ido Ambacht, 1824 – Bandoeng, 1891) began his career as a clerk, but was later promoted to the position of Assistant Resident and Resident (Stamboeken I 470 includes his career up to 1864).

[30] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën III," *Java-bode*, 15 December 1896 (refusal to take work), and idem no. IV, 23 December 1896 and no. XII, 2 April 1897 (unsuitable as a government official).

[31] Schlegel, "Nécrologie J.W. Young," *T'oung Pao* 10 (1899), 223.

[32] C. Kater had become Resident on 23 December 1867, but had also been on leave several times. This time he was in function until he was succeeded by B. van Zutphen on 23 February 1882.

[33] "De Engelsche correspondentie met den Radja van Serawak, mij door resident Kater opgedragen, wordt door mij met belangstelling gevoerd. Want, dank het geheim archief, waartoe zij mij den toegang opent, krijg ik veel wetenswaardigs te lezen omtrent de ware verhouding van Serawak tot de Engelsche kroon en die van de Kron tot Nederland, voor zoover het landschap betrokken is. Geen enkele controleur of assistent-resident in het gewest schijnt bedreven genoeg in het Engelsch te wezen om die correspondentie op zich te nemen, hetgeen treurig pleit voor de resultaten van het taalonderwijs op de Hoogere Burgerscholen, waarvan alle controleurs het eindexamen hebben afgelegd. Kater zelf kan ook geen regel Engelsch zonder fouten schrijven, en is dus tot het behoorlijk leiden van die vaak uiterst moeielijke politieke aangelegenheden in hooge mate van mij afhankelijk; rechtens kan ik weigeren dat werk te doen, aangezien het niet tot mijn ambtsbezigheden behoort. Het gevolg is, dat hij, schoon berucht bij elkeen voor de ruwe, onmenschkundige, slechte en in den regel onbillijke behandeling, die zijn ambtenaren van hem te verduren hebben, mij in het oog loopend ontziet. Misschien komt dit ook, dewijl hij blijkbaar gaarne zou zien, dat ik zijn tweede dochter ten huwelijk vroeg; doch ik trouw geen nonna, daartoe heb ik het ras te goed leeren kennen. … Pontianak zou bijna in staat wezen, mij met mijne betrekking te verzoenen; doch het voornemen eruit te loopen staat tè onwrikbaar vast om te worden prijsgegeven." De Groot, *Notizen*, 14.

[34] De Groot, *Notizen*, 16.

[35] These troubles stimulated De Groot to write his *Kongsiwezen van Borneo*. And they led to C. Kater's early retirement. Kater had been again appointed in August 1884, but after the riots in Mandor after Lioe A Sin's death, which he had not handled well, he was put on a pension on 27 February 1885 (IB no. 1/c). Later that year, he sent a request to the King for rehabilitation, adding his version of what had happened in a long appendix (*Request aan Z.M. den Koning van C. Kater, oud Resident der Westerafdeeling van Borneo* (1885); *see also* his "Mandor," *De Locomotief*, 22 February 1886, also separately published). In these reports Kater did not mention that Moll played any role except translating a Chinese document.

[36] Letter from S.W. Tromp, 7 November 1894, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926. In this way, one of the two arguments in Parliament by J.T. Cremer for training new interpreters in 1885 was denied by the regional government!

[37] "Cheribon heeft volgens de regeringsalmanak een Chinesche bevolking van 15.803 zielen, en is dus in dit opzicht de tweede residentie van Java. Ik meen dat een groot gedeelte dier bevolking nogal inlandsch is, zoodat vertalen weinig vereischt wordt, maar ook al is de kennis van het Maleisch algemeen, toch blijft de Chinesche bevolking een eigenaardig element, voor de behandeling van welks zaken een Chineesch tolk een nuttige steun zijn kan. De behoefte aan dien steun is echter vroeger niet gevoeld en de functiën van den daar geplaatsten tolk bepaalden zich voornamelijk tot de agentuur van de Bataviaasche Wees- en Boedelkamers, het opnemen der pakhuizen en ander inferieur werk, waarin op goedkooper wijze kan worden voorzien." Letter from Groeneveldt to Director of Justice Buijn, 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[38] "Men zou echter thans de proef kunnen nemen of de tegenwoordige resident er anders over denkt." Ibidem.

[39] "De werkelijkheid ten aanzien van de betrekking van tolk is een grote ontnuchtering. Al het voortreffelijke, door Schlegel ons daarvan voorgespiegeld, blijkt humbug, en ongegrond; ik ben er feitelijk ingevlogen. Ambtshalve heb ik zoowat niets te doen." De Groot, *Notizen*, 11.

[40] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1883.

[41] This incident is described in Chapter Thirteen, section "The Weak Position of the Interpreters as Advisors."

[42] J.J.M. De Groot, *Nota* for the Minister of Colonies accompanying a letter dated Leiden, 2 March 1911, p. 3, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

[43] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1886–1889.

[44] Letter from G. Scherer to the Governor-General, Medan 14 December 1888, Mailrapport 1889 no. 95.

[45] "[zij heeft Hoetink] wiens bekwaamheid door vriend en vijand erkend wordt, nimmer de gelegenheid gegeven, te toonen wat in hem stak. Met vertaalwerk dat een Chineesche schrijver verrichtte, of in het gunstigste geval als 'fait tout' van een Resident, moet hij zijn tijd zoek maken, terwijl het van zijn kant niet ontbrak aan ernstige pogingen om een meer werkzaam ambtelijk bestaan te verkrijgen." *De Locomotief*, 25 October 1895, quoting *Deli-Courant*.

[46] He was mentioned as possible candidate as director of an insurance company, the N.I. Levensverzekering- en Lijfrente-Maatschappij, succeeding H. Ypes who had suddenly died in Colombo (*Java-bode* and *De Locomotief*, 22 July 1895), but he was not appointed (*De Locomotief*, 23 July 1895).

[47] Letter from Director of Justice Mulock Houwer to Governor-General Van der Wijck, 8 July 1896, in V 15/10/1896 no. 14, inv. 5093.

[48] Decision by the Director of Justice of 18 June 1912 no. 9009. *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, no. 7666.

[49] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 29 March and 13 April 1880.

[50] "… de tolken voor de Chineesche taal staan te hoog voor het werk van commies op een residentie-bureau en hebben bij gebleken geschiktheid, zeker aanspraak op eene gelegenheid om hun wieken [p. 19] verder uit te slaan dan tot den rang van gewestelijk Secretaris." Groeneveldt's *nota* with the Council of the Indies' Advice of 12 October 1894, pp. 18-19, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[51] Groeneveldt's *nota*, in Advice of the Council of the Indies, 12 October 1894, p. 50, no. XX, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[52] The question of interpreters pursuing other careers was also discussed in detail in the newspaper article "Tolken en taalmeesters," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24 April 1894. *See* Chapter Nine, section "The Reorganisation of the Interpreters' Corps and Another Moratorium."

[53] "Uit den Archipel. W.P. Groeneveltd [*sic*] †," *De Sumatra Post*, 2 September 1915, quoting *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*.

[54] *Java-bode*, 19 August 1892.

[55] J. Deen quoted in *De Locomotief*, 25 October 1895. He was appointed on 5 February 1895. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 139.

[56] "Reglement voor den Tolkendienst bij Onze Gezantschappen en Consulaten in China en Japan," *Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk de Nederlanden* 1910, no. 156 (decision of 4 June 1910).

[57] Many documents about his studies in China are in inv. 71 and 72, toegang 2.05.27.02. Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren U' 139.

[58] Tin mining on Billiton started in 1852. The Billiton Maatschappij was founded in Amsterdam in 1860. The company developed into an international mining enterprise, but stopped its tin mining in Indonesia in 1958. In 2001 it merged with the Australian mining company BHP (founded in 1885) to become BHP Billiton, exploiting mines world-wide, listed in London and Australia (www.bhpbilliton.com, About us, Our history).

[59] *Gedenkboek Billiton 1852–1927*, I, 66.

[60] *Gedenkboek Billiton 1852–1927*, II, 62-63.

[61] Founded in 1869, when it obtained a concession to exploit tobacco in Deli. In 2006 it stopped its tobacco activities and now is mainly a supplier of timber, listed in Amsterdam (www.Deli-maatschappij.com).

[62] "Intusschen zijn de meesten prachtig terechtgekomen." In comments on De Groot's *nota* of 4 March 1911. Voorl. brief ad exh. 4 Mrt 1911-17, in V 11/12/1911 no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

Notes to Epilogue

[1] His inaugural lecture was entitled *Over Chineesche oorlogsgoden* (Leiden: Brill, 1919).

[2] "Voorwaarden tot benoembaarheid tot- en uitzending van ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken ten behoeve van den dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Staatsblad van Nederlands-Indië* 1918, no. 82. Royal Decree 5 September 1917 no. 23.

[3] *Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 1920, 13. De Bruin, *Een onopgehelderd geval* (1920), 5-7.

[4] Duyvendak, "Het Sinologisch Instituut, Rede uitgesproken bij de opening van het Sinologisch Instituut …," *China, een driemaandelijks tijdschrift* (1930), 259. Also separately published. For a recent account of Duyvendak's contribution to Dutch sinology *see* Barend ter Haar, "Between the Dutch East Indies and Philology (1919–1974)," in Idema, *Chinese Studies in the Netherlands* (2014), 69-104.

[5] In 1948 Hulsewé became lecturer in Leiden and in 1956 he succeeded Duyvendak; for the third and last time a sinologist from the Indies became professor. He was the first incumbent officially charged by Royal Degree to teach 'Chinese language and literature' (*Chinese taal- en letterkunde*) instead of just 'Chinese.'

[6] *Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden* (1930-1), 76, 184-5. In an interview Duyvendak explained the legal status of the Institute: "The Institute is a foundation which has the purpose of promoting Chinese studies in Leiden University." (Het Instituut is een stichting en stelt zich ten doel: de bevordering van de studie in het Chineesch aan de Leidsche Universiteit.) "Het Sinologisch Instituut te Leiden, een onderhoud met prof. dr. J.J.L. Duyvendak," *Het Vaderland*, 28 October 1930 (evening).

[7] "Chineesch instituut te Leiden," *Het Vaderland*, 18 January 1930. "Het Sinologisch Instituut, een onderhoud met prof. dr. J.J.L. Duyvendak," *Het Vaderland*, 28 Oktober 1930. Duyvendak, "Het Sinologisch Instituut, Rede…," 253-60.

[8] In 1901, the Netherlands were allotted 0.18% of the total Boxer indemnity for the destruction of the Legation, costs of sending navy vessels to Shanghai and personal damages. In 1925 it was decided to use 65% of the Indemnity for water conservancy projects in China and 35% for China-related cultural projects. The latter resulted in 1933 in a foundation having *f* 400,000 in capital, the profits from which were divided: 53% was directly donated to the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and 47% was allotted to the Sinological Institute. Muller, *Azië gespiegeld* II, 172 note. "De Nederlandsche Boxerindemniteit," *Het Vaderland*, 30 May 1933. In 2010, the foundation was abolished and the remaining funds were equally divided between the Dutch and Chinese Academies of Sciences. The funding that went to the Dutch side was reinvested in a foundation for the study of Chinese at Leiden University (*Stichting voor de studie van het Chinees aan de Universiteit Leiden*).

[9] In 1981 it moved to the Arsenaal (Arsenaalstraat 1). On 1 January 2009 the library (*bibliotheek Sinologie*) became fully subordinate to the Leiden University Library; on 1 September 2009 it merged with the Japanese and Korean libraries into the 'East Asian Library,' marking the formal end of the Sinological Institute library. In the near future this library will be moved to the main university library building, where it will merge with the libraries concerning India (Kern Institute) and Indonesia (KIT, KITLV); an 'Asian Library' will be created, thereby effectively dissolving the last vestige of the Sinological Institute.

[10] Their title was in Dutch "candidaat-sinoloog bij den Belasting-Accountantsdienst in Nederlandsch-Indië." IB 21/4/1931 no. 9, *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* no. 12523. Also (with correspondence) in box D, kast 2, Archiefkasten, East Asian Library;

=Archief Sinologisch Instituut. In the same year, the library acquired a large collection of Chinese account books from Batavia to be used as training material.

[11] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1913, no. 350 (Royal Decree 10 March 1913 no. 84. IB 28/4/1913 no. 34).

[12] "Reglement voor den dienst der Chineesche Zaken," *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1916, no. 377. IB 16/5/1916 no. 16.

[13] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1925, nos. 194-5. IB 28/4/1925 no. 33. *See also* Liem Ting Tjaij's plea for adding ethnic Chinese Officials to the staff and its refusal in "De Dienst der Chineesche Zaken," *Orgaan der Centrale Chung Hsioh*, 4 (1928) no. 7, 188-9, no. 10, 269.

[14] Effective on 1 January 1933. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1932, no. 583. IB 7/12/1932 no. 12.

[15] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1935, no. 311. IB 4/7/1935 no. 22. Van Anrooij, *De Koloniale Staat*, 47.

[16] Jaquet, *Aflossing van de wacht, bestuurlijke en politieke ervaringen in de nadagen van Nederlands-Indië*, 61-66. Ph. de Heer, "A.F.P. Hulsewé, A Biography," in Idema and Zürcher, *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China*, 8-11, mentioning other sources about this period. For an overview of this period and a list of sources in the Nationaal Archief, *see* Van Anrooij, "Hoofdstuk 6, De Dienst voor Oost-Aziatische Zaken en voorgangers," *De Koloniale Staat* (2009), 47-50.

[17] Van der Valk, "De studie der Sinologie in Indonesia," *Hari-ulang ke-50 Tiong hoa hwee koan* (Djakarta: Tiong hua hwee koan, 1950), 21-2. *See also* Nishi Hideaki, "Oranda ni okeru Chūgoku Hōgaku."

[18] He held his inaugural address on 25 May 1951, entitled *De regel nullum crimen sine lege en het Chinese recht* (Leiden: Brill, 1951). His successor in Jakarta was Tjan Tjoe Som, who had been librarian in Leiden in 1942–52.

[19] Obituary by Roland Altenburger and Robert H. Gassmann, "Robert P. Kramers (1920–2002)," *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques*, LVI.1.2002, 5-13. Also available online (www.ostasien.uzh.ch/sinologie) in *Jubilaeumbrochure 50 Jahre Sinologie*.

[20] On Lovink and Meijer *see Gids van het departement van buitenlandse zaken en de buitenlandse dienst* (1956), 135, 137. On Meijer and Van der Valk *see also* Nishi Hideaki, "Oranda ni okeru Chūgoku Hōgaku."

APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHIES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF THE SINOLOGISTS
(26 short biographies)

Introduction to the biographies

The following are short biographies of 24 interpreters of Chinese (Officials for Chinese Affairs) who worked or began working in the Netherlands Indies before 1900. Among them are eight students of J.J. Hoffmann, four students originating from Batavia, and twelve students of G. Schlegel.

Biographies of Hoffmann and S.H. Schaank are included, but do not figure in the analysis below.

The biographies only give an outline of the lives of the sinologists, including family background, studies in Leiden and in China, careers as interpreters and other careers, and publications and honours. More information about these subjects can be found in the main text, except for their family background and certain details as to their personal lives, stationings, publications and honours.

Hoffmann personally selected his students; they all came from Leiden or had some connection with Leiden. Schlegel selected his students through a public competitive examination. Most (8) were from the Western part (the provinces of South and North Holland), and only four from the East (Deventer, Arnhem) and North (Assen) of the Netherlands.

Most sinologists were of middle-class background; they were sons of shopkeepers (7), of teachers (6), of military officers (2), and of a tax-receiver, a Protestant minister, a postmaster and an interpreter. Only Schlegel, De Groot, De Jongh, Borel, and Von Faber were from a higher class background; they were sons of a professor, the director of a company, a mayor, and the governor of a military academy. Von Faber was the son of an East Indies official of German noble birth. Most (17) came from large families with 5 to 12 brothers and sisters.

For most of them (16), a career in the Indies was not an individual matter but a family affair: close relatives also had careers in the Indies. This applied all the more to the four students from Batavia. These relatives were sometimes even stationed in the same place. Many (10) found their wives in the Indies (at least four of whom were of Eurasian descent); others (7) found wives in the Netherlands or Europe (two of them after their final return to Europe); four were lifelong bachelors, and three died young. Most of their children also had careers in the Indies.

About one-third (9) left the interpreter corps before reaching the age of retirement (20 years of service), and about one-third (7) stayed in function until retirement. The remaining one-third (8) died relatively young while in function, including three of Hoffmann's eight students. Two died in their twenties (Francken, De Breuk), two in their early thirties (Buddingh, Roelofs), and four in their forties (Young, A.E. Moll, Van Wettum, Thijssen).

Those who left the interpreter corps (9) often pursued remarkable other careers: two in scholarship (Schlegel, De Groot), four in other positions in the colonial government (Groeneveldt, Albrecht, De Jongh, Hoetink), and two with a private company (Van de Stadt, De Bruin). Three sinologists went to study Japanese as well (Van Wettum, Ezerman, Van de Stadt). Only one sought a second career without any connection with his Chinese studies (Van der Spek).

One-third (9) received honours from the Dutch government, and five of them from foreign governments as well.

Most published scholarly and popular articles and books in Dutch (18), and some also in other languages (mainly Schlegel, Groeneveldt, De Groot). Some (6) published lavishly in newspapers in the Indies and the Netherlands (Schlegel, Meeter, Young, Van der Spek, Borel, De Bruin).

The bibliographies are as complete as possible, but do not mention all published legal reports. Schlegel's, De Groot's and Borel's bibliographies only contain publications that are related to their work as interpreters or that are mentioned in the text.

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ALBRECHT, Johannes Eduard

Johannes Eduard Albrecht (usually known as Eduard) was born on 25 February 1838 in Batavia and died on 7 May 1890 in Batavia.[1] In one Chinese document his name was transcribed as Ba-lát (*Bali*) 吧力.[2]

His father was Jan Hendrik Albrecht (Amsterdam, 6 May 1799 – Weltevreden, 22 April 1851), who came to the Indies in 1825 as a corporal and made a career as accountant in the military administration; he worked most of the time with the General Staff; his final rank was Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry.[3] J.E. Albrecht's mother was Johanna Geertruida Mackaij, who also died in 1851.[4] There were at least eight children in the family. Five sons had military careers in the Indies: Willem Alexander (Batavia, 31 August 1836; military career from 1851 to 1875), Frederik Hendrik (Weltevreden, 19 February 1839 – Malang, 28 August 1872; military career beginning in 1860), August Ernst (Weltevreden, 28 November 1844; military career from 1866 to his retirement in 1890), Gerrit Jan (Weltevreden, 24 March 1846; military career from 1868 to his retirement at his request in 1887); Jan Hendrik Albert (Weltevreden, 12 June 1851; military career from 1870 to his discharge at his request in 1879).[5] Starting in the 1880s, the last-named was proprietor of the well-known printing firm Albrecht & Co.[6]

Johannes Eduard Albrecht attended a private secondary school, Herwijnen (near Bogor), which existed from 1851 to 1856.[7] On 10 October 1855, Governor-General Duymaer van Twist decided to send Albrecht and his fellow student Von Faber to Canton to study Chinese under the supervision of the Dutch Consul, J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, who had just been appointed there, in order to become interpreters of Chinese in the Indies and also train other interpreters.[8] They left for China in January 1856, studying Cantonese and written Chinese for nine months in Canton and two and a half years in Macao, finally studying Hokkien for a year in Amoy[9] together with De Grijs, Schlegel, Francken, and Schaalje.

On 21 April 1860, after more than four years of study, Albrecht and Von Faber, who were still in China, were appointed as interpreters in the Indies, but it was not specified where they would be stationed. They were the first European interpreters for the Chinese language appointed in the Netherlands Indies. As of 15 May 1860, Albrecht hired Tan Kioe Djin 陳求仁, from Amoy, as a teacher to accompany him to the Indies, in order to further his studies and facilitate the training of other interpreters.[10]

After arriving in Batavia on 4 July 1860, Albrecht was appointed on 9 August 1860 as interpreter of the Chinese language in Mentok (Muntok).[11] However, his teacher Tan Kioe Djin, whose son was living in Batavia, refused to follow him to Mentok. Tan was dismissed and would

be sent back to China.[12] In Mentok, Albrecht would discover that he had studied the wrong dialect in China: not Cantonese but Hakka was the most common dialect spoken in the Outer Possessions.

Two years later, on 26 August 1862, he was allowed two weeks of leave within the country. He requested this while he was in Batavia,[13] doubtless to meet his fellow students Schlegel and Francken who had just arrived from China, and Von Faber who had been transferred to Batavia.

On Banka, Albrecht had very little to do as an interpreter, but he served temporarily in other official functions several times, for which he was paid.[14] For instance, on 29 March 1863 he was accorded a remuneration of *f* 300 for temporary duty as Secretary and Magistrate as well as General Tax Receiver (*algemeene ontvanger van 's lands Kas*) and Auctioneer (*vendue meester*) in Mentok during more than two months.[15]

On 11 February 1864, he was allowed two months' leave within the country for important but unspecified reasons.[16] This was perhaps because of the illness of his colleague Francken in Surabaya, who passed away on 6 February 1864. On 25 March 1864 Albrecht was, at his own request, appointed as interpreter in Surabaya, succeeding Francken. At the same time, Governor-General Sloet decided that one of the new interpreters should as soon as possible be appointed on Banka.[17] Albrecht also took over Francken's teacher Oei Tsoe Khing.[18]

On 9 June 1864 he became a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, and he remained a member until 30 July 1867.[19] His membership would be restored in 1878.

He married Wilhelmina Adriana Frederika Henriette de Quay (ca. 1845 – The Hague, 27 August 1898) in Surabaya on 7 April 1866. They had eight or more children.[20] One daughter was Cornelia Johanna Louise (Surabaya, 20 January 1867 – Driebergen, 22 December 1944). In 1885, when he went on sick leave to the Netherlands, he took along his wife and the following seven youngest children, including the only son: Louise Constance (born 14 June 1869), Jeanne Juli (12 July 1870) Antoinette Josephine (21 September 1871), Wilhelmina Johanna (4 November 1873 – Buitenzorg, 24 February 1892), Eduard Johannes (14 October 1875 – Blitar, 19 May 1897), Sophie (30 November 1877), and Albertina Hendrika Johanna (15 November 1877).[21]

Just as on Banka, Albrecht had little to do as interpreter and extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber in Surabaya, and he considered his functions in most places a sinecure. But on his own initiative he did much work for the Orphans Chamber outside of this official function.[22] He also developed a special interest in law, and from about 1875 on, he compiled an index to Netherlands Indies laws and regulations, which was regularly published and updated from 1879 on. This was the well-known *Albrecht's klapper*.

He remained in function in Surabaya for twelve years. On 11 March 1876, he was allowed two years of sick leave in the Netherlands,[23] but already on 15 November 1877, he was appointed as interpreter in Batavia and extraordinary member of the Estate Chamber (*College van Boedelmeesteren*).[24] He remained in function until 5 September 1879. Including leave, he worked as an interpreter for nineteen years.

On 27 August 1879 he was appointed President of the Orphans Chamber (*Weeskamer*) in Batavia as from 5 September 1879, with a monthly salary of *f* 1,000.[25] He was the second interpreter after Groeneveldt who left the interpreters' corps to pursue a different official career in the Indies.

His name was on the list of those who had passed the Lesser Notary Examination (*klein-notaris-examen*) from 1877 to 1887.[26] Officials of the Interior Administration who had to perform notary functions were obliged to have passed this examination.

On 2 April 1878, he was again added to the list of members of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. On 17 July 1878, he became a member of the Board of Directors, and two months later, on 17 September 1878, he became both librarian and editor of its journal *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde* (the latter until 14 October 1884). In 1879, he published one article in this journal, and he would also occupy himself with the publication of Francken and De Grijs' Chinese–Dutch dictionary. On 9 June 1885, when he went on sick leave to the Netherlands, he left the Board and gave up his position as librarian.

On 26 July 1884, he was charged to draft new regulations for the Estate Chamber, which could include a supplement to the regulations (*instructie*) of the Orphans Chamber. He was to present his draft before the end of June 1885, and would receive an extra allowance of *f* 250 per month.[27]

After six years as President of the Orphans Chamber, he was suddenly discharged on 6 June 1885. The Resident of Batavia granted him immediate sick leave in the Netherlands.[28] On 19 June 1885, Governor-General Van Rees granted him foreign sick leave for two years.[29] Albrecht was succeeded as President of the Orphans Chamber by H.A. van de Pol.[30]

After he left the Indies, he was on 11 July 1885 charged to continue his drafting of the new regulations of the Estate or Orphans Chamber as soon as he had recovered enough to do so, for a period of six months, but now with a monthly allowance of *f* 100.[31] He finished this assignment by sending some documents to the Director of Justice in January 1887.[32]

In 1886, while on leave in the Netherlands, he answered for an irregular act of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia from the time when he was President. This concerned the requisition, auction, acquisition and sale of a piece of land belonging to a minor, after a complaint by a lawyer representing this minor. From Albrecht's explanation, the Director of Justice and the Council of the Indies concluded that he had acted in good

faith. Thereupon the Minister of Colonies informed him that his case was cleared.[33]

While on leave in the Netherlands, he was declared unfit for service in the Indies and was at his request honorably discharged and pensioned from 1 July 1887.[34] In January 1888, he, his wife and their seven young children returned to Batavia.[35]

On 19 August 1888, he was appointed as President of the Board of the Widows and Orphans Foundation of Civil Servants in the Netherlands Indies (*Weduwen- en Weezenfonds van burgerlijke ambtenaren in NI*).[36]

On 7 May 1890 he passed away in Batavia, 52 years old. Three short obituaries appeared in Batavian newspapers, one of which wrote:

> A long and grievous suffering ended his highly useful life … By his humanity and his noble heart, the deceased obtained so much general respect, that he leaves the most pleasant and durable remembrances. … Indies society loses in him a broadly educated man, with a clear judgement and fine gift of observation.[37]

After his death, the publication of *Albrecht's klapper* was continued in several editions by his brother J.H.A. Albrecht's publishing firm Albrecht & Co, and later by other publishers. New editions appeared until 1921, and yearly supplements (*Albrecht's klapper Jaarvervolg*) were published for the years 1922 until 1937.

Publications

"Het schoolonderwijs onder de Chineezen op Java," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, vol. 25, 1879, pp. 225-41.

"L'instruction primaire chez les Chinois dans l'île de Java," *Annales de l'Extrême-Orient*," vol. 3, 1880–1881, pp. 225-40 (French translation of the preceding).

"Nota omtrent den staatsrechtelijken toestand der Chineezen in Ned.-Indië, bijgewerkt tot ultimo December 1883," *Bijblad op het Indisch staatsblad*, no. 4017, 1890.

"Soerat betrangan dari pada hal kaädaän bangsa Tjina di negri Hindia Olanda," *Bijblad op het Indisch staatsblad*, no. 4017, 1890, 61 p. (Malay translation of the preceding).

Albrecht's klapper op de wetboeken, het Staatsblad en de daarbij behoorende bijbladen van Nederlandsch-Indië (1879, later frequent reprints and supplements until 1937).

Verzameling van verordeningen en bepalingen voor de residentie Oostkust van Sumatra bijgewerkt tot ultimo 1888 (1889, later reprints with additions).

Translation into Chinese

"Chineesche vertaling van Staatsblad 1878, No. 86, handelende omtrent de heffing der belasting op het bedrijf van vreemde Oosterlingen op Sumatra's Westkust, in Benkoelen, de Lampongs, Palembang, Groot Atjeh, de Zuider- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo, Celebes en onderhoorigheden en Amboina" (Chinese translation of *Staatsblad* 1878, No. 86, concerning taxation on business of Foreign Orientals in Sumatra's West Coast etc.) (1 f.) (BPL 2106 I:10).



26. H. Borel as a student, ca. 1892 (Frederik van Eeden Collection, Amsterdam University Library).

BOREL, Henri Jean François

Henri Jean François Borel was born on 23 November 1869 in Dordrecht and died on 31 August 1933 in The Hague.[38] His Chinese name was Bú-lé 武禮 (*Wuli*),[39] but Bú-liét 武烈 (*Wulie*) was also used. In 1913 he was called Bô-lé 謀禮 (*Mouli*) in a letter from a Chinese friend,[40] which coincides better with the Hokkien sound.

His great-frandfather, a minister in the Walloon Church, moved from Switzerland to Belgium (near Liège) and later to the Netherlands. His father was George Frederik Willem Borel (Maastricht, 27 August 1834 – Bad Nauheim, 4 August 1907), artillery officer in the Dutch Army. In 1857 he was stationed as 2nd lieutenant in the East Indies, where he became commander of an expeditionary force in Borneo in 1859 and remained for five years. In 1873 he was, as a captain, again stationed for two years in the Indies, taking part in the war in Atjeh. In 1875 he returned to the Netherlands because of illness.[41] He wrote two books critical of the too humane manner in which, in his opinion, the war in Atjeh was waged:[42] *Onze vestiging in Atjeh* (The Hague 1878) and *Drogredenen zijn geen waarheid: naar aanleiding van het werk van den luitenant-generaal van Swieten over onze vestiging in Atjeh* (The Hague 1880). His final rank was lieutenant-colonel. From 1894 to 1898 he was Governor of the Royal Military Academy (*gouverneur van de KMA*) in Breda. His three brothers and some of their sons also had careers in the military. Henri Borel's mother was Suzanna Elisabeth Marcella (Nijmegen, 23 May 1839 – Ermelo, 6 October 1910).[43] Out of this marriage three children were born: an elder sister Julie Désirée (Maastricht, 31 July 1867), Henri and a younger brother Eduard Arnold (The Hague, 28 December 1876 – Breda, 21 December 1892).[44] Julie Désirée married Edward Ludwig Martin Kühr (1858–1935) who had a career as an East Indies official.[45]

Henri Borel went to school at the HBS in The Hague, Goes and Roermond.[46]

According to his diary, the reason why he chose to study Chinese was

that by taking the examination for the interpreters, he could have a day off from his school in Roermond and go to The Hague. He thought the reason he passed the examination might have been his knowledge of literature. Without finishing the HBS, he went to study in Leiden.[47]

Of the original 43 candidates, 26 took part in the competitive examination, and four were accepted; Borel was second in rank. However, the examination committee was not very satisfied with the level of these candidates.[48]

From 1888 to 1892, Borel studied Chinese under Schlegel, together with J.L.J.F Ezerman, B.A.J. van Wettum, and E.R. Goteling Vinnis; the last-named quit after one and a half years of study.[49] Borel was not a run-of-the-mill student. During his studies, he was very active in literature, art and music. He had contacts with well-known writers such as Frederik van Eeden and artists such as Johan Thorn Prikker. In his diaries and letters to Van Eeden, he wrote a lot about these activities, but very little about his Chinese studies.[50] Since Borel and Ezerman did not do well in the first year, all the students had to study in Leiden for four years instead of three.[51] On 15 July 1892 Borel entered the colonial service in order to be appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies after about one year of study in China.[52]

On 8 June 1892,[53] he married Maria Christina Zur Haar (The Hague, 16 September 1872). His wife accompanied him in 1892 to China, where his daughter Wilhelmina Suzanna was born on 5 October 1893; later they also had a son Paul Frederik (Tanjung Pinang, 23 August 1896 – Surabaya, 10 July 1920). After their divorce on 28 October 1902, Borel remarried on 10 December of that year with Helena Maria de Hartog (Wageningen, 13 August 1884), but they were also divorced six years later, on 6 May 1908. Out of this marriage one son was born, Louis Borel (Amsterdam, 6 October 1905 – Amsterdam, 24 April 1973); he became a well-known actor, also in Britain and the USA. Afterwards Henri Borel married Anna Maria Huffstadt (Utrecht, 21 November 1878 – The Hague, 20 April 1967). Out of his last marriage one daughter was born: Machteld Irmgarde (Surabaya, 30 May 1911 – Oegstgeest, 6 March 1994), who became a lawyer.

On 6 October 1892 he arrived in Amoy, [54] where he lived together with his wife and later their baby daughter. On 28 January 1893, all three students filed an official complaint (*reclame*) on their financial situation, and on 20 May their claims were satisfied,[55] but a final settlement was only achieved in September.

After one year in China, on 12 September 1893, the students were allowed to stay another year, at the request of Van Wettum and Ezerman, and later also Borel. Borel, however, wished not to be sent to the Hakka districts.[56]

While studying in China, he published articles about China in *De Gids*,

and he became famous for his "The Chinese Theatre" (*Het Chineesche Tooneel*) and "Wu wei," which both appeared in the literary monthly *De Gids*.

On 24 October 1894, he was appointed as interpreter for Chinese in Tanjung Pinang (Riau).[57] When he published an article revealing that a Chinese *luitenant* in Riau had more than once seriously broken the law,[58] the Governor-General considered this "a slanderous attack on the Resident of Riau" and expressed the government's serious dissatisfaction with Borel.[59] Many years later it became clear that Borel's allegation had been unfounded; he had been hoodwinked by his Chinese informant.[60]

On 26 August 1896, he was transferred and appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Makassar, as from 1 October 1896.[61] In both posts, judging from his very few diary notes, he was rather unhappy.[62]

On 15 April 1897, Borel send a request to be stationed as consular agent or interpreter in China, to which Director of Justice Mulock Brouwer had no objections. His request was forwarded to Minister of Colonies Bergsma, and by him to his colleague at Foreign Affairs, Röell.[63] On 6 July the latter informed Borel that for the time being no personnel was needed, but his request would be seriously considered when needed in the future.[64] On 12 July, Röell notified Bergsma that he was keeping Borel's request in consideration in case personnel were needed, and asked information about Borel.[65] A few months later, after consulting Governor-General Van der Wijck, the new Minister of Colonies Cremer answered that Borel had shown himself to be a well-qualified sinologist, but that the Governor-General had been obliged to express the government's serious dissatisfaction with him on account of his 1895 newspaper article against the Resident of Riau.[66]

On 3 April 1898, Borel was transferred to Surabaya,[67] which was a promotion for an Official from the Outer Possessions.

On 23 June 1899, he was allowed two years of sick leave to Europe.[68] He left Batavia for Europe on 19 July 1899, actually planning to leave the Indies forever.[69] This was almost five years after he had been appointed in the Indies, just about enough time to be able, if needed, to quit the East Indies service without having to restitute all study allowances, travel costs, and other fees.

More than four years later, on 25 November 1903, he returned to the Indies and was appointed Official for Chinese Affairs in Tanjung Pinang. At the same time, Ezerman was at his own request transferred from Tanjung Pinang to Makassar.[70]

Just half a year later, on 27 July 1904, during leave within the country on half pay in Sukabumi, Borel was honourably discharged from this position as from 2 August.[71] Borel wrote fifteen years later that in the spring of 1904 he was to be transferred to Makassar (just as in 1896), because he

had written a critical article on the sultan of Lingga, but he could escape by requesting unpaid leave to Europe.[72] Indeed, on 19 October 1904 he was, while still in Sukabumi, granted one year of leave to Europe for important reasons, half of which was unpaid leave.[73] But in 1929 Borel gave another reason for his transfer. His findings while investigating the implementation of the *Coolie Ordinance* in the tin mines at Singkep (Lingga) had led to conflicts with his superiors, resulting in his sick leave and finally his return to the Netherlands.[74]

The next year, when Governor-General Van Heutsz sent him a telegram asking him to return to the Indies to be appointed in Semarang, he considered this a kind of rehabilitation and returned.[75] The previous Official for Chinese Affairs in Semarang, A.E. Moll, had passed away on 21 March 1905, and on 23 September Borel was appointed as his successor.[76]

Soon afterwards, he was confronted with the nascent Chinese Movement, striving for emancipation of the Chinese in the Indies. In 1906 he became patron (*beschermheer*) of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan 中華會館 in Semarang.

He wrote a complaint against the Assistant Resident in Semarang,[77] who sent in a counter-complaint about Borel, after which criminal investigations were started against Borel.

In 1907 he was the first to point out the need for at least one Official for Chinese Affairs knowing Mandarin. He asked to be allowed a Mandarin teacher from Peking to study Mandarin with, and pleaded to have Mandarin added to the curriculum of the Candidate-Officials in China. Since the Director of Justice first wished to await the outcome of legal proceedings concerning the complaint against Borel, his request was not immediately granted, but De Groot was charged with arranging for his students to study Mandarin in China.[78] Actually, the criminal investigation against Borel had by that time already been dismissed.[79]

On 16 April 1908 he was transferred to Mentok,[80] succeeding De Bruin who had left government service on 2 February; but on 26 August this transfer was cancelled at his request, dated Weltevreden, 26 April 1908. Instead of Mentok, he was transferred to Pontianak.[81] He probably never went to Mentok.

A few months after arrival in Pontianak, the 39-year-old Borel requested an extra monthly allowance of *f* 50 to study Mandarin for one year, and an allowance of *f* 50 for textbooks, to which Governor-General Van Heutsz agreed on 4 February 1909.[82] On 1 March he began studying with local teachers who spoke a little Mandarin with Hakka or Hoklo accents.[83] This marks the beginning of the shift to Mandarin in Dutch sinology.

On 28 July 1909, he was transferred to Surabaya as from 2 August, when Thijssen went on sick leave. Borel's extra allowance for studying Mandarin was continued.[84] Already one month later, on 28 August 1909,

he was at his request directed to go to China for four months to complete his studies of Mandarin Chinese. He went to Peking, where he stayed during the autumn of 1909. About this visit to China he wrote *Het daghet in den Oosten* (Twilight in the East), translated into English as *The New China*. He engaged his Mandarin teacher Wang Fung Ting 王鳳亭 from Peking to accompany him to Surabaya, and continued studying Mandarin with him for two years.

On 7 November 1911, he was given the personal title of "Advisor for Chinese Affairs,"[85] simultaneously with Van Wettum in Batavia and Ezerman in Padang. This title was given to Officials for Chinese Affairs stationed in towns where a Chinese consulate could be established.

At Chinese New Year in 1912, serious riots by the "Macao Chinese" (Cantonese) took place in Surabaya following the establishment of the Republic of China. One of the reasons was the question of flying the new five-colour flag of the Republic, which was allowed by the government. This later led to a general refusal in the Chinese district to fly the Dutch flag on the birthday of Princess Juliana (30 April). There were also some other incidents. Borel was blamed for all this, and on 1 June 1912 he was for the third time transferred to Makassar, where for the preceding seven years no Official for Chinese Affairs had been stationed.[86] There were many protests against this measure for a man of his stature.[87] At the same time, he lost his "personal title" of Advisor for Chinese Affairs.

Half a year later, as from 3 January 1913 he was allowed nine months' leave to Europe in view of seven years of service, but with the proviso that other measures might be taken after the conclusion of the current investigation against him.[88]

Three years later, as from 1 February 1916 he was honourably discharged on grounds of physical unfitness (he had lost part of his eyesight in an accident),[89] and obtained a pension of *f* 1,124,[90] about a third of that of most Officials for Chinese Affairs. He was interpreter/Official for Chinese Affairs for more than 21 years, of which 8½ years were spent on leave.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 7 April 1896 until 4 January 1898. The minutes of the board meeting of 4 August 1896 recorded that he had presented to the library a manuscript handbook of a secret society, and offered to make a translation of it. Hoetink did not consider this necessary, as this text had already been translated before by Schlegel and others.[91]

While in the Indies, Borel had already become a well-known literary figure and art connoisseur; he was an authority on Oriental philosophy (Buddhism, Taoism), art and all things Chinese. He also was the first sinologist to translate Chinese literature (parts of the Chinese classics) directly into Dutch. After his return to the Netherlands, he became an editor of the

daily *Het Vaderland* in The Hague. He settled in Scheveningen, but also lived in Paris for some time (before 20 September 1926). He often gave popular lectures on subjects such as Oriental philosophy and art, but also on modern developments in China.

He was an active supporter of the Chinese Republic, and a proponent of the rights of the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies, at a time when many were only worried about the Chinese revolutionaires and their possible influence on the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies.

He also had pronounced opinions on sinology in the Netherlands. He was against the old system of only learning southern dialects and not Mandarin, and he criticised Prof. J.J.M. de Groot for his studies of ghosts and goblins and his disdainful remarks about the Chinese in his works, and for paying no attention to the New China which was just being born. Although many of these complaints were refuted by his colleague De Bruin,[92] in the end some of his opinions would gain the upper hand. Borel also tried to become De Groot's successor, but in the struggle for the professorship between the Ministry of Colonies and that of Foreign Affairs, the latter won. In 1917, the accepted successor of De Groot was J.J.L. Duyvendak, who had worked at the Dutch Legation in Peking for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and had not served in the Indies. He was not even familiar with the southern dialects, knowing only Mandarin.

In the Netherlands, Borel remained active as a journalist, a music and literature critic in the daily newspaper *Het Vaderland*, and as a China specialist. In one of his obituaries it was written: "One must admire Borel as a journalist for his amazing energy and almost incomprehensible speed with which he could write an article. Those articles—he said so himself—won him many enemies, but also many friends and admirers."[93]

He passed away on 31 August 1933 in The Hague, 63 years old. On his deathbed Borel converted to Roman Catholicism.[94]

Publications

Borel was a prolific writer on many subjects. He wrote innumerable articles in various periodicals. The Netherlands Central Library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) has 99 titles of books written by him or with contributions by him. Many of his books were translated into English, French, and German. In the following select bibliography, only works related to his study of Chinese or his work as interpreter or Official for Chinese Affairs are mentioned. A list of his publications, in part on-line available, can be found at www.dbnl.org.

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"Het Chineesche tooneel," *De Gids* 58 II (1894), 363-93.
"Korea," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 16 September, 11 December 1894.
"De Chineesche taal," *De Telegraaf*, 7 December 1894 (also in *Java-bode*, 11 January 1895; *Soerabaya-Courant*, 15 January 1895; by "Pi-tik," probably 彼得, i.e. "Peter" or "Piet"; style and idiom of the article compellingly suggest Borel as the actual author).

"Nog eens de Chineesche consulaats-quaestie," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 15 December 1894, by "X."
"Wu wei, een studie naar aanleiding van Lao Tsz's filosofie," *De Gids* 59 I (1895), 415-49.
"Iets over den Chineesch-Japanschen Oorlog," *Soerabaya-Courant*, 10 January 1895 (Dated Riouw 6 Dec. 1894).
"De Chineesche consulaats-quaestie," *Java-bode*, 19 January 1895 (from *NRC*, 15 Dec. 1894).
"Een antwoord aan prof. Schlegel. Chineesche waarheid." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 23 January 1895.
"Nog eens: Professor Schlegel, over den Chineesch–Japanschen Oorlog." *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 9 March 1895.
"Het Chineesch karakter," *Deli-Courant*, 8 May 1895 (review of Arthur Smith's *Chinese characteristics*).
"Ingezonden stukken" (about Schlegel), *Java-bode*, 21 May 1895.
"Consulaten in China," *Deli-Courant*, 1 June 1895, by "B."
"Christendom in Zuid-China," *Java-bode*, 5 July 1895, from *NRC*, by "B." (reaction by S. Ulfers, reprinted in *Java-bode*, 19 July 1895).
"Riouw-schandalen," *Soerabaya-Courant*, no. 147, 29 Juni 1895.
"Chineesche overwinningen," *Deli-Courant*, 3 August 1895.
"Zendingen in China als gevaar voor den vrede," *De Locomotief*, 30 September, 1 (not extant), 2 and 4 October 1895.
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"Iets over Chineesche wetten," *Deli-Courant*, 11 January, 15 February, 20 May 1896, by "H.B."
"De vreemdelingenhaat in China," *Deli-Courant*, 17 June 1896.
"Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden I," *Deli-Courant*, 16 September 1896, "II," 3 March 1897, by "H.B."
"Een oorlogszuchtige Professor," *Deli-Courant*, 12 December 1896 (about Schlegel).
Kwan Yin, een boek van de goden en de hel (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1897).
De Chineesche filosofie toegelicht voor niet-sinologen II. Lao Tsz' (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1896).
"Het jongetje," *De Gids* 62 (1898), 183-231 and 387-443, as a book : Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, several editions.
"Opmerkingen over de ontworpen nieuwe regeling van den privaatrechtelijken toestand der Chineezen," *De Indische Gids*, 20 II (1898), 780-99; (first reaction to De Groot's article). *Also* in *Indisch weekblad van het recht*, no. 1835, 29 August 1898.
"Dupliek aan Prof. Dr. J.J.M. de Groot," *Indisch weekblad van het recht*, no. 1836, 5 September 1898 (dated 29 August 1898).
De Chineesche kwestie (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1900).
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Het recht der liefde: eene studie uit het Indische leven (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, [1902]).
"Een bezoek aan de koelie-dépots in Singapore," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad*, 4 March 1904.
"Het gele gevaar," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad*, 4 August 1904.
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"De nieuwe banen der sinologie," *De Gids*, IV (1911) 297-309.
"De Nederlandsche sinologie," *De Gids*, III (1912), 262-74.
The New China: A Traveller's Impressions, by Henri Borel, Official Chinese interpreter in the Dutch East Indies, translated from the Dutch by C. Thieme (London: Fisher Unwin; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1912) (translation of *Het daghet in den Oosten*).
De Chineesche kwestie, by M. H (=Henri Borel) (Batavia: Papyrus, 1913).
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Een werkkring in Indië, pro: Creusesol; contra: Henri Borel (Creusesol is a pseudonym of I.P.C. Graafland) (Baarn: Hollandia-drukkerij, 1913), 40 p. Series: Pro en contra betreffende vraagstukken van algemeen belang; serie 8, no. 10.
"De ongeregeldheden in West-Borneo," *Indologenblad*, 6 (1914–1915), 106-8.
"De opleiding der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 9 September 1915.
De Geest van China (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, [1916]).
Het schoone eiland, een tweede boek van wijsheid en schoonheid uit China (Amsterdam, P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, [1922]).
Van leven en dood (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1925).
"Een boek over Sovjet Rusland," *Het Vaderland*, 20 May 1928.
"Henri Borel (Autobiografie en autocritiek)," *Het Vaderland*, 23 November 1929.
"Henri Borel, op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 November 1929, Bijvoegsel [short biography].

Obituaries

"Henri Borel † 23 Nov. 1869 – 31 Aug. 1933," *Het Vaderland*, 31 August 1933.
"Het overlijden van Henri Borel. Een levensloop vol moeilijkheden. Enkele boeken van blijvende waarde," *De Telegraaf*, 31 August 1933.
"Henri Borel, Zijn loopbaan in Indië," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 31 August 1933.
"Begrafenis Henri Borel," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 September 1933.
R.H. van Gulik, "In Memoriam Henri Borel," *China, een driemaandelijks tijdschrift* (October 1933), 167 (Amsterdam). *Also* published as "Henri Borel 23 Nov. 1869 – 31 Aug. 1933," *Chung Hwa Hui Tsa Chih* 1933, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 68.
Many other obituaries appeared in Dutch journals and newspapers.

His library

Borel's books and manuscripts were auctioned by Brill. Auction catalogue of his books: *Bibliothèque de feu M. Henri Jean François Borel, ancien conseiller d'affaires Chinoises*, Partie Orientale, E.J. Brill, Leyde (Cat. no. 87) [ca. 1934] (a copy is in the Letterkundig Museum, The Hague, B 745 P Catalogus bibl. H. Borel).



27. J. de Breuk as a student in Macao, probably 11 January 1866 (Internet).

BREUK, Johannes de

Johannes de Breuk was born on 14 May 1844 in Leiden, and died on 10 November 1870 in Cirebon.

His father was Dr. Hendrik (or Henderik) Roelof de Breuk (Haarlem, 25 September 1814 – Gouda, 24 September 1861), by profession a teacher of Latin and Greek, but mostly working as a printer (*boekdrukker*) and bookseller, acting in various functions in the Society for Public Welfare (*Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen*). He was a member of the Society for Netherlands Literature (*Maatschappij der Nederlandsche letterkunde*)[95] and for some time also a member of the municipal council (*gemeenteraad*) of Leiden. After his political demise and financial failure, he moved to IJsselstein in 1855.

Johannes de Breuk's mother was Johanna Helena Hazenberg (Leiden, 13 September 1813 – 2 May 1850). Johannes was the eldest child; he had three younger sisters. Shortly after the birth of the fifth child, who died on the same day, the mother also passed away. On 5 July 1852, Hendrik Roelof was again married, to Geertruida Johanna Bazendijk (Rotterdam, 9 September 1820). Out of this marriage two sons were born, the first one of whom died in infancy; both were named Hendrik Roelof;[96] later one other child was born.

Johannes studied Chinese and Japanese under Hoffmann at the same time as J.A. Buddingh and W.P. Groeneveldt starting on 1 September 1858; he was then 14 years old.[97] In 1859 they were joined by a student of Japanese, R.J. de Saint Aulaire. De Breuk studied more slowly than the others, since until 1862 he was also attending secondary schools. There was thought to be a plan of the Japanese government to invite him as a teacher of Dutch, but when this was not realised, like Buddingh and Groeneveldt he was sent to China. He studied with Hoffmann for six years.

On 4 April 1864 he entered the colonial service.[98] On 14 May 1864 (his twentieth birthday), being a minor and an orphan, he was granted the legal status of adulthood (*handlichting*).[99] On 10 June 1864 he left the Netherlands, being the first to travel by the 'overland' route via Marseille and Suez to Hong Kong. The Netherlands Consul in Hong Kong, A.W.P. Kup, was

ordered to receive De Breuk and offer help needed.[100] De Breuk went to live in the house of the Netherlands Consul J. des Amorie van der Hoeven in Macao. He studied in Macao and not in Amoy: De Grijs had already left Amoy in 1863, and the other students were also leaving. From May until October 1864, De Grijs was in Macao and probably offered help. De Breuk concentrated on the Hakka dialect. He also studied for a few months in a Hakka-speaking region in the interior of Guangdong.[101] He acted as secretary and Chinese interpreter for Consul J. des Amorie van der Hoeven during the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin (1863) from October 1864 until July 1865. De Breuk studied in China for two years.

In July 1866, he engaged the Chinese teacher Li Phoe-nien from Amoy to accompany him to the Indies and serve him as a teacher and clerk. He probably took a teacher from Amoy because he would be stationed on Java, where Hokkien was spoken—a dialect that he had not studied. On 9 September 1866 he was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Cirebon.[102] His functions were mainly restricted to the agency of the Batavian Orphans and Estate Chambers, checking the warehouses and other simple jobs.[103]

Four years later, on 10 November 1870, he passed away in Cirebon, 26 years old. He had worked as an interpreter for four years.



28. A.G. de Bruin, ca. 1942 (Nationaal Archief).

BRUIN, Annes Gerardus de

Annes Gerardus (in birth register: Gerhardus) de Bruin was born on 1 January 1874 in Deventer and died on 23 March 1947 in Amersfoort. His Chinese name was Bî-lûn An-tun 眉綸安敦 (*Meilun Andun*). In China, De Bruin seems to have used the more internationally familiar name Anton instead of Annes.[104]

His father was Peter (or Pieter) de Bruin (Vaassen, 1 May 1845 – Deventer, 30 April 1914), shopkeeper (*winkelier*), later grocer and owner of a mustard factory (*kruidenier en mosterdfabrikant*). His mother was Gerritje Veldwijk (Welsum, 26 May 1846 – Deventer, 3 February 1904). Out of this marriage at least eight children were born, three daughters and five sons, two of whom died in infancy or youth. Annes Gerhardus was the second son. His sister Gerhardina Catharina Petronella (Deventer, 17 July 1880 – Amersfoort, 23 April 1936; at that time she was living in Paris) accompanied him to the Indies in 1907[105] and lived together with him until around 1915, because he was in poor health.

He studied Chinese in Leiden under Schlegel from September 1892 to 1895, together with P.A. van de Stadt and E.F. Thijssen. He was registered as a student in Leiden University together with E.F. Thijssen on 3 February 1894.[106] At his graduation, Schlegel considered him the brightest student of his group.

On 12 November 1895, he entered the colonial service, and was to be appointed Official for Chinese Affairs after the completion of his studies.[107] All three students left for Hong Kong at the end of 1895, and went to study in Amoy first. In January 1897 all three went to Chao Chow Foo (Chaozhou) to study the Hoklo dialect for almost three months.[108] On 25 June 1897 they were ordered to proceed to Kia Ying Chow (Jiayingzhou, now Meixian, Guangdong), to study the local Hakka dialect until the end of his study period in China, where they studied from 30 August to mid-December. In total, they studied in China for two years.[109]

On 20 February 1898, De Bruin was appointed Official for Chinese Affairs in Mentok.[110] The same year, on 21 November he was transferred to Medan,[111] where he worked for six years.

From 21 September until 20 November 1902, he temporarily fufilled the functions of auctioneer, cashier and accountant at the local auction house (*venduhuis*), for which he was a year later afforded an allowance of *f* 400.[112]

In the summer of 1903 he acted twice as interpreter for J.L.T. Rhemrev, the public prosecutor who investigated the situation of Chinese coolies on the North Coast of Sumatra.[113] Rhemrev's report would make clear that the situation was much worse than expected.

On 16 November 1904 he was transferred to Pontianak.[114]

On 10 November 1905 he was allowed one year of sick leave to Europe.[115] From 27 February 1906 to 20 October 1907, he lived with his father in Deventer.[116]

After two years of leave, on 22 November 1907 he was appointed Official for Chinese Affairs in Mentok,[117] succeeding Van de Stadt who had left the interpreter corps in May.

Two months later, on 24 January 1908 he was at his request honourably discharged as from 2 February 1908.[118] He worked as an Official for Chinese Affairs for ten years, including two years of leave.

He became advisor for Chinese affairs at the Deli Company (Deli-Maatschappij) and worked there for almost eight years. During 1910–12 he published more than twenty articles in *De Sumatra Post*, in which he showed great understanding of and sympathy for the Chinese. He published also on European subjects, such as the theatre, but these articles are not listed here.

After the sinologist and diplomat W.J Oudendijk had told him in 1913 and 1914 that he was the right candidate for the professorship in Leiden as successor to De Groot, he made preparations, resigning at the Deli Company at the end of 1915. Thereupon, he spent the first half year of 1916 in Peking learning Mandarin.[119] He published ten articles detailing his impressions in *De Sumatra Post*, showing that he was in Peking from March until July 1916. According to De Bruin in the last issue, these were meant as miscellaneous notes that one reads at the tea table and then forgets.

During his leave in 1914 and after his final return to the Netherlands in 1916, he compiled and published at his own expense a textbook in three volumes: *Introduction to Modern Chinese*. The book was well received by H.A. Giles and others. It should be noted that "Modern Chinese" refers to the literary or classical Chinese then used in newspapers, not the national language (*guoyu*) taught in schools in China from 1920 on.

From 1 June 1917 to 1 June 1918, he was the archivist of the East Coast of Sumatra Institute (*Oostkust van Sumatra Instituut*) in Amsterdam, which was established in 1917. In that year he published *De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra*, a study of the Chinese on the East Coast of Sumatra, as Publication vol. 1 (*Mededeeling no. 1*) of this institute.

In the meantime, he applied for the post of professor of Chinese in

Leiden University. He was supported by the Ministry of Colonies, but the Ministries of Home Affairs and Foreign Affairs were in favour of another candidate. To his great disappointment, the little-known J.J.L. Duyvendak was appointed at the beginning of 1917 to become a lecturer (*lector*) as from 1919. Duyvendak had studied from 1910 to 1912 with De Groot in Leiden and Berlin, and in Paris, and worked as interpreter of Mandarin at the Dutch Legation in Peking and Consulate in Shanghai from 1912 to 1919.[120]

In 1920, De Bruin wrote and privately published a pamphlet comprising two articles, one expressing his anger at having been misled in his application for the Leiden professorship (*Een onopgehelderd geval* [An unsolved case], pp. 1-8), and the other defending himself against M.W. de Visser, Professor of Japanese in Leiden from 1917, who had rebuked him for criticising the poor literary style of the late Prof. H. Kern (*Een verbolgen hoogleeraar* [A furious professor], pp. 9-44, esp. p. 14).[121]

On 21 December 1920, De Bruin was appointed for three years as a temporary tax official in the Netherlands Indies. After the tax reforms of 1920, the Chinese continued to keep accounts in Chinese, and the local Tax Accountants Offices in the Netherlands Indies employed several sinologists.[122] From 29 March 1921 to 2 December 1931, De Bruin worked at the Tax Accountants Office (*Belasting Accountants Kantoor*) in Semarang. He was first "Official at Disposal with the Title of Interpreter," then "Official of the First Class for Chinese Bookkeeping," and finally "Sinologist."[123]

In January 1932, he returned to Amsterdam, and in October he moved to Amersfoort.[124]

In Amersfoort, he lived in the boarding house run by Mrs. J.F.M.A. Boelen-Brinck (Sloten, 24 September 1890), who was divorced from the rubberplanter J. Boelen in Bandung in 1922. In 1937, she became an active member of the Dutch Nazi Party (NSB). In the East Indies, among Dutch colonialists there was a lot of sympathy with the Nazis, especially as a counterweight to rising Indonesian nationalism. On 12 May 1940, the third day of the five-day war between the German invaders and the Netherlands, De Bruin and his landlady were immediately interned, but they were released again after the Dutch surrender on 14 May. In 1941, De Bruin also became a member of the NSB. In September 1944, as many Dutch Nazis did, Mrs. Boelen-Brinck fled to Germany and stayed there with her daughter and German son-in-law until the 1950s.

After the German capitulation on 5 May 1945, De Bruin was arrested on 13 May. When questioned by the Political Investigation Department (POD) about his membership in the Dutch Nazi Party, he said he had joined it because he considered it a vigorous force which could establish a strong government both in the Netherlands and the colonies. He was pro-German, and thought Germany would lay the foundation for a Uni-

fied Europe. He did not join any other Nazi organisations and did not actually fulfill any function in the party. He was in favour of a solution to the problem of the Jews, but not by the use of violence. Two neighbours who were questioned as witnesses said he was a calm man, and, although he wore a Nazi badge,[125] he was not seen taking part in any activities of the party and did not harm anyone.

On 31 May 1945, he was released on grounds of ill health, but he remained under house arrest. He then went to live with the retired minister E. Schouten in Amersfoort, as he could not return to his former house. All his belongings and money had been immediately seized and were later put in official custody (*beheer*) from 15 October 1945 to 14 November 1946; the custody was finally lifted on 24 January 1947, but he was not informed. De Bruin was prosecuted in order to stand trial at a special Tribunal on grounds of his membership in the Dutch Nazi Party. Now (2006), his file has disappeared, so not much is known regarding the facts of his case. On 11 October 1946, the Public Prosecutor decided to end the prosecution on the condition that De Bruin pay 12,000 guilders (one-third of his fortune) before 1 November 1946 (*voorwaardelijke buitenvervolgingstelling*). This deadline was later extended to 1 March 1947, because he still had no access to his money. His collection of 487 Chinese books was originally considered the property of Mrs. Boelen-Brinck, and its value was at first rumoured to amount to 100,000 to 200,000 guilders. According to his own list of belongings, the books were worth 500 guilders. Confiscation was considered in July 1946, but a few years later the books were still there. In 1948, the Netherlands Control Institute (NBI) decided "to offer the books to the university or the professor concerned," but in the East Asian Library in Leiden no trace of his books could be found. According to his will (1936) all his possessions, probably including his books, were to be inherited by Mrs. Boelen-Brinck.[126]

On 23 March 1947, A.G. de Bruin passed away suddenly in Amersfoort after a short illness, at 73 years of age. He remained a bachelor all his life.

Publications

"Iets over China en de Chineezen," *De Sumatra Post*, 30 September 1910;
"De raadselachtige Chinees," *idem*, 30 September 1910;
"Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?" *idem*, 29 October 1910;
"De schaar in een Chineesche courant," *idem*, 8 parts: 10, 19, 22, 30 November, 8, 22 December 1910, 12 January, 3 April 1911;
"Chineesche vaderlandsliefde," *idem*, 11 November 1910;
"Een Chineesche jammerklacht," *idem*, 26 January 1911;
"De jammerklacht verhoord," *idem*, 1 February 1911;
"Het daghet in den Oosten," *idem*, 4 February 1911;
"De Jezuïeten in China," *idem*, 18 April 1911;
"China onder de Keizerin-Weduwe," *idem*, 17 July 1911;

"De nieuwe banen der sinologie," *idem*, 20 December 1911;
"De jong-Chineezen en de opstootjes in Soerabaija," *idem*, 13 April 1912;
"Chineesche Varia," *idem*, 17 May 1912;
"Het dreigement van den heer Van Geuns," *idem*, 15 June 1912;
"Het jongste artikel van den heer Borel," *idem*, 10 September 1912.
Introduction to Modern Chinese, 3 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1914–1917), 136, 248, 276 p.
"Indrukken uit China," *De Sumatra Post*, 10 parts: 18, 30 May, 15, 24, 30 June, 4, 21, 29 July and 12, 14 August 1916 (dated Peking, 2 April until 20 July 1916).
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Een onopgehelderd geval en Een verbolgen hoogleeraar, [1920], [S.l.]: [s.n.], 43 p.
"Het wezen van den Chinees. (Toegelicht uit de Chineesche litteratuur). Lezing, gehouden op het 4de Congres van het Indonesisch Verbond van Studeerenden te Lunteren." *Koloniaal tijdschrift* 9 (1920), 585-610.
A descriptive catalogue of a rare and valuable collection of CHINESE PRINTED BOOKS constituting the libraries of the late Mr. W.P. Groeneveldt, Author of the well-known "Notes on the Malay Archipelago", of the late Mr. F.G. Kramp, Map Curator of the Royal Dutch Geographical Society, and of Mr. A.G. de Bruin, Ex-superintendent of Chinese Affairs in Netherlands India, Which will be sold by auction on Friday, May 27th, 1921, [compiled by A.G. de Bruin] E.J. Brill, Leyden.
Het Chineesche zakenleven in Nederlandsch-Indië, door den belasting-accountantsdienst onder leiding van J.L. Vleming Jr. (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1926) [one of the compilers is A.G. de Bruin].

Manuscript

"Rapport uitgebracht aan de Deli planters vereeniging over de wervingstoestanden op Java in het algemeen en over de laukehwerving in het byzonder," Mr. H.J. Bool en A.G. de Bruin, December 1911 (104 p. typoscript, KIT colonial collection, Leiden University Library).

His library

Some Chinese books bought in Peking by A.G. de Bruin were auctioned in 1921. Catalogue: *A descriptive catalogue of a rare and valuable collection of Chinese printed books, constituting the libraries of W.P. Groeneveldt … Mr. F.G. Kramp, …Mr. A.G. de Bruin,* which will be sold on Friday May 27, 1921 by E.J. Brill, Leiden.
A box of Chinese manuscripts from Medan (1900s) collected by De Bruin, including many copies made by his clerk, probably no. 356 in this catalogue, is now in the East Asian Library (Archiefkast; = Or. 27.044).
De Bruin's Western books were auctioned in 1921. Catalogue: *Catalogue des bibliothèques de feu MM. le Dr. P. van Geer, anc. Professeur de Mathématiques à l'Université de Leyde, H. Doeff, anc. Fonctionnaire d'État aux Indes néerl. et Journaliste, M. A.-G. de Bruin, anc. fonctionnaire des Affaires chinoises aux Indes néerl., d'un assyriologue inconnue et de plusieurs autres bibliothèques*, Vente 30 mai-4 juin 1921, E.J. Brill, Leyde.

BUDDINGH, Johan Adriaan

Johan Adriaan Buddingh (or: Buddingh'; also known as Arie) was born on 4 April 1840 in St. Oedenrode, and died on 16 August 1870 in Batavia.[127]

His father was Dr Johan Daniël Buddingh, a Protestant minister in St. Oedenrode (Alkemade, 7 May 1813 – St. Oedenrode, 6 October 1873); his mother was Christina Cornelia Marijt (Oegstgeest, around 1814 – 17 April 1874). Dr Johan Daniël Buddingh was a brother of the well-known Protestant minister and missionary Dr Steven Adriaan Buddingh (Kaag, 26 March 1811 – Katwijk, 29 July 1869) who worked in the East Indies in the years 1833–50 and 1852–7, and of Cornelia Buddingh (Alkemade, 17 June 1815 – Oegstgeest, 2 December 1864), the first wife of Herman Schlegel. Therefore Johan Adriaan was a cousin of Gustaaf Schlegel. Johan Adriaan was the eldest son; he had five sisters and one brother who died in infancy. Three of his sisters were Christina Cornelia (St. Oedenrode, 3 November 1841 – Zwolle, 20 November 1907), who after the death of her younger sister Agatha married the notary Conrad van Leenhof on 1 November 1881; Agatha Petronella Magdalena (St. Oedenrode, 17 July 1845 – Oirschot, 4 April 1878), who became the first wife of Conrad van Leenhof on 13 August 1869; and Catharina Elisabeth Gesina (9 August 1857 – 13 July 1897; an orphan since 1874 under the guardianship of Conrad van Leenhof), who married her 17-years-older cousin Gustaaf Schlegel on 9 May 1878, but divorced him on 3 December 1890.

Starting on 1 September 1858, Johan Adriaan Buddingh studied under Hoffmann, together with J. de Breuk and W.P. Groeneveldt. He studied Chinese for one year and then Japanese for two years.[128] During his studies he lived with his aunt Cornelia Schlegel-Buddingh and his uncle Herman Schlegel. All three students planned to go to Japan to become Japanese interpreters. In 1859 they were joined by a student of Japanese, R.J. de Saint Aulaire.

On 10 June 1861, Arie entered the colonial service as a "student of the Chinese and Japanese languages" (*kweekeling voor de Chinesche en Japansche taal*) to be trained as an interpreter.[129] He and Groeneveldt left the Netherlands on 3 October 1861 and arrived in Batavia on 20 January 1862, expecting to continue their voyage to Japan, but to their disappointment and under protest they were sent instead to China to become Chinese interpreters. On the way from Macao to Amoy, Buddingh visited his cousin G. Schlegel, who was then studying with Francken and Schaalje in Canton. Buddingh and Groeneveldt arrived at the beginning of May 1862 in Amoy, where they studied until 1864. The first year they studied Hokkien, but in November 1862 they were ordered to concentrate on Hakka, which they did in 1863 and 1864.

During his stay, Buddingh collected specimens of birds, insects, rep-

tiles, and other animals for his uncle Herman Schlegel, just as Gustaaf and Schaalje had done earlier. In total he sent 76 items and a box of insects. Around September 1863, he took a short trip to Formosa.

Plans to send the young interpreters to Hong Kong to learn Hakka were postponed several times, since it was thought they could learn Hakka just as well or even better in the Indies.[130] Later they were taught Hakka in Amoy by Hakka teachers.

On 15 June 1864, he engaged the Chinese teacher Tsen Kin Sioe, a Hakka from Hong Kong, to accompany him to the Indies and serve as a teacher and clerk.[131]

On 16 August 1864, he was appointed as interpreter for the Chinese language in Mentok, Banka.[132] In the beginning, his task as interpreter would prove almost impossible: he had to speak two very different dialects that he had studied for only two years, and he had very little opportunity to practice his Hakka. Moreover, he was often assigned against his will to other work.[133]

On Banka, he continued to collect specimens of birds and so on for his uncle, making contributions to the Museum of Natural History in Leiden. He also sent many specimens of plants to the Botanical Garden in Bogor.[134]

On 25 June 1869, Buddingh was discharged in Mentok and appointed as interpreter in Padang. The reason was that an interpreter could be dispensed with in Mentok, and could be more useful in Padang.[135] According to Albrecht, Buddingh had not been interested in doing work outside of his very few official functions, and therefore the position of interpreter on Banka had been abolished.[136]

On 16 August 1870 he passed away in Batavia, only 30 years old. He had worked as an interpreter for six years.

Publications

Notes about the origins of the words *chit*, *junk*, *pidgin* and *wai-lao*, signed "J.A.B." in Banka, *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, III (1869), 58, 59, 75, (83), 127.

EZERMAN, Johannes Lodewijk Juliaan Franciscus

Johannes Lodewijk Juliaan Franciscus Ezerman (Lodewijk or Lo) was born on 24 August 1869 in Dordrecht and died on 3 December 1949 in The Hague.

His father was Adrianus Ezerman (Zutphen, 13 February 1825 – Dordrecht, 22 May 1903), shopkeeper with a grocery and delicatessen store (*winkelier; Koloniale waren en comestibles*).[137] His mother was Catharina van Beuningen van Helsdingen (Ommeren, 8 August 1829 – Dordrecht, 19 January 1907). Out of this marriage four sons were born. Lodewijk was the youngest son. His eldest brother Reinier Arent (Renkum, 26 February 1863), a primary school teacher (*onderwijzer*), was stationed in the Indies as a military clerk and school teacher for six years from 1889 to 1895.[138] His two other brothers left for America in 1881.[139]

In 1888 he passed the competitive examination and was ranked number one. From 1888 to 1892 he studied Chinese under Schlegel, together with H.J.F. Borel and B.A.J. van Wettum. He shared Borel's interest in literature, arts and music. Since he and Borel did not achieve good results in the first year, all students studied in Leiden for four years instead of three.

On 22 September 1892, Lodewijk Ezerman entered the colonial service; he would be appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies after about one year of study in China.[140] In China, on 28 January 1893, all three students filed an official complaint (*reclame*) on their financial situation, and on 20 May their claims were satisfied,[141] but a final settlement was only achieved in September.

After one year in China, on 12 September 1893, the students were allowed to stay another year (at the request of Ezerman and Van Wettum, later joined by Borel).[142] In total, they studied the Hokkien dialect for two years in Amoy.

On 24 October 1894, Ezerman was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Mentok.[143] He was allowed to engage another teacher for learning the local Hakka dialect.[144]

On 26 August 1896, he was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Tanjung Pinang (Riau), as from 1 October 1896.[145]

On 25 November 1903, he was at his request transferred to Makassar; he was succeeded by Borel returning from leave in Europe.[146]

On 21 February 1904, his appointment was cancelled and he was temporarily placed at the disposal of the Director of Justice in order to work in the Justice Department in Batavia.[147]

On 1 November 1904, he was granted one year of leave to Europe in view of long service, leaving his office on 10 November.[148]

On 6 September 1905, Ezerman and Van Wettum, who were both on leave in the Netherlands, were charged by Royal Decree (no. 31) to study

Japanese at the Seminar für Ostasiatische Sprachen in Berlin. After theoretical studies in Berlin, they were to go to Japan for practical studies. The government wished to appoint them as chiefs of a Section for Japanese Affairs that was to be established soon.[149] Ezerman studied with Van Wettum in Berlin, but no evidence could be found that he also went to Japan. In January 1908, his leave was extended by another nine months.[150] In that year he was living in Leiden for some time.[151]

After four years of leave, he was on 22 October 1908 appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Semarang.[152] The next year, on 28 August 1909, he was given a monthly allowance of *f* 100 as extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Semarang.[153]

On 7 November 1911, he was given the personal title of 'Advisor for Chinese Affairs' and appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Padang. This title was also given to Borel in Surabaya and Van Wettum in Batavia,[154] since Chinese Consuls were to be stationed in these three towns.

On 1 June 1912, Ezerman was transferred to Surabaya, succeeding Borel, who was demoted to Makassar, keeping the same title.[155]

On 1 October 1914, he was transferred to Batavia (switching with Bruineman), keeping his title, succeeding B.A.J. van Wettum who had passed away.[156]

On 1 November 1915, he was ordered to go to China for a maximum of four months to study various subjects of interest to the Bureau for Chinese Affairs. That bureau would be established in the following year. During this time Mouw was acting Advisor for Chinese Affairs in Batavia.[157] During his visit to China, Ezerman wrote letters that were published in *De Indische Gids*. He first paid a visit to Dr. Lim Boen Khing 林文慶 in Singapore, and visited Hong Kong, Canton, Shanghai, Peking, Hankow, and Amoy. In his letters he reported on political and social conditions in China, for instance the reactions to Yuan Shikai's coup.

On 30 May 1916, he was was granted nine months of leave to Europe because of his seven years of service, and would be discharged as from 2 July.[158]

On 29 March 1917, he was appointed as Advisor for Chinese Affairs and the first Chief of the newly established Bureau for Chinese affairs (*Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken*) in Batavia.[159] (Mouw had been acting Chief from 24 June 1916). The bureau was staffed by the five Officials for Chinese Affairs: J.A.M. Bruineman, A.D.A. de Kat Angelino, J.Th. Moll, H. Mouw, and J. Snellen van Vollenhoven.

On 2 May 1919, he was discharged at his request, having fulfilled his period of service, as from 5 May, and received an official expression of gratitude for his long service to the country.[160]

He worked as an interpreter/Official for Chinese Affairs/Advisor for Chinese Affairs for 25 years, including eight months in the Department of

Justice, two years as Chief of the Bureau of Chinese Affairs, and four years and nine months of leave.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 23 August 1909 to an unknown date, and from 7 December 1914 to 13 September 1916, when his membership was transferred to the Bureau for Chinese Affairs (*Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken*) in Weltevreden (Batavia).

On 12 September 1919, he settled down in The Hague. In the following years he also stayed in Paris and Brussels for a long time, but mostly lived in The Hague, and from 1936 on in Wassenaar. He translated at least ten historical novels and other books from English and German into Dutch, only one of which was related to China. In 1937–40 he contributed several book reviews and articles to *China, een driemaandelijksch tijdschrift*. In addition to his work as a translator and literator (*letterkundige*), he worked as a music teacher.[161] Posthumously a children's book containing two fairy tales was published. The first is called a "Chinese fairytale" and is about a boy who can talk with flowers and plants. Set in a Chinese environment, it is reminiscent of Van Eeden's *Kleine Johannes*.

He died after a traffic accident on 3 December 1949 in The Hague,[162] 80 years old.

He remained a bachelor all his life.

Publications

"An Alphabetical List of the Emperors of China and of their Year-titles or Nien-hao, with the Date of their Reign and Duration," compiled with B.A.J. van Wettum, *T'oung Pao* A 2 (1891), 357-89.

Alphabetical List of the Chinese and Japanese Emperors. I: *An Alphabetical List of the Emperors of China and of Their Year-titles or Nien-hao, with the Date of Their Reign and Duration*, compiled by J.L.J.F. Ezerman and B.A.J. van Wettum – II: *Alphabetical List of the Mikados and Shoguns of Japan as also an Alphabetical List of the Year Title or Nen-Go, Adopted during Their Reign*, by G. Schlegel (Leiden E.J. Brill, 1893), 70 p.

"Twee Chineesche rechtsquesties," *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 95 (1910), 339-54.

"Praeadvies over het onderwijs aan Chineezen in Ned.-Indië van den Heer J.L.J.F. Ezerman, Adviseur voor Chineesche zaken te Batavia," *Prae-adviezen van het Eerste Koloniaal Onderwijscongres te houden te 's-Gravenhage op Maandag 28, Dinsdag 29 en Woensdag 30 Augustus 1916* etc. ('s-Gravenhage, Korthuis, 1916), XIX, 335 p., pp. 301-9.

"Advies in zake Chineesch erfrecht," *Indisch tijdschrift van het recht*, vol. 111 (1918), 265-8 [P.H. Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, p. 613 criticised his opinions, but in this reprint the author was mistakenly called J.*C.*J.F. *So*zerman].

"Van Batavia naar China en terug: reisbrieven," *De Indische Gids* 39 (1917), 23-41, 169-78 [travelogue dated 12 December 1915 to 3 March 1916].

Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-kak-Sie" te Cheribon (Weltevreden, 1920), 62 p. Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en Wetenschappen. Populair wetenschappelijke Serie No. II. [dedicated to his younger colleagues at the Bureau for Chinese Affairs].

Peri hal kelenting Koan Iem "Tiao-kak-Sie" di Tjeribon, translation by S.M. Latif (Weltevreden: Drukkerij Volkslectuur, 1922), 57 p. Bureau voor Volkslectuur. Balai Pustaka serie no. 582. [Malay translation of the preceding].

"De Loya-feesten te Riouw," *Tijdschrift voor parapsychologie*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1931), 49-64.
"China en Japan," *China, een driemaandelijksch tijdschrift,* vol. 12 no. 1 (1937), 6-18.
"Chineesche heilwenschen in symbolen uitgedrukt," I, *idem,* vol. 12, no. 2 (1937), 66-76; II, *idem,* no. 3 (1938), 105-16.
"Hiao, Chineesche kinderliefde," by H. van Meurs, *idem,* vol 12, no. 4 (1938), 196-7.
"Mi Fu on Ink-stones, a Study of the Yen-shih," by R.H. van Gulik, *idem,* vol. 12, no. 4 (1938), 197-8.
"Over Chineesche inktsteenen," *idem,* vol. 13, no. 1 (1938), 221-35.
"De ziel van het Oosten en de geest van het Westen," by Dr. Herman Wolf, *idem,* vol. 13 no. 1 (1938), 250-2.
"The House of Exile," by Nora Waln, *idem,* vol 13, no. 1 (1938), 252-3.
"Moderne Chineesche schrijvers," *idem,* vol. 13 no. 4 (1939), 372-85.
"North China Front," by James Bertram, *idem,* vol. 13, no. 4 (1939), 399-404.
"Mondfrau und Silbervase," by Dr. Franz Kuhn, *idem,* vol. 14, no. 1-2 (1940), 84-6.
Schemering over Shanghai: een roman uit het moderne China, [door] Mao Tun; uit het Chineesch bewerkt door F.Kuhn en J.L.J.F. Ezerman (Den Haag: J. Philip Kruseman, 1939), 325 p. [Retranslation of Mao Dun's *Ziye* from the German translation by Franz Kuhn, *Schanghai im Zwielicht*, 1938].
Een Chinees sprookje, en Hoe het kerstboompje in de wereld is gekomen, illustrations by E.J. Kindermann, De mens en zijn boeken; 10 (Leiden: L. Stafleu, 1950), 67 p.



29. M. von Faber during leave in the Netherlands, ca. 1876 (courtesy Mrs. L. Lokerse-Von Faber, Rijswijk).

FABER, Maximiliaan von

Maximiliaan von Faber was born on 1 September 1838 in Batavia (Meester Cornelis), and died on 7 December 1917 in Surabaya. His Chinese name as used in one document was Hun Hoat 紛發 (*Fen Fa*).[163]

His father was Ernst Ludwig Wilhelm von Faber (Berlin, 27 June 1798 – Blinjoe (Banka), 29 January 1859). He was the son of a Prussian officer named Faber who was knighted during the Napoleonic wars (1798) after which the prefix *von* was added to his surname. In 1826, like many young Germans, Ernst Ludwig Wilhelm went to the Netherlands Indies, where he became a civil servant. In 1827 he married Franciska Caroline Friederika Daum (Warsaw, 17 May 1804 – Oegstgeest, 13 October 1871) in Banka. She was a commoner and had therefore not been allowed to marry him in Prussia. He had various official functions in Banka (1827–34), Batavia (1834–43, in the Department of Finance) and again in Banka (1843–59, as Administrator of the tin mines). They had a family of ten children (two of whom died in infancy).[164] Maximiliaan's brothers Ernst (Muntok, 27 February 1832 – Batavia, 25 February 1894) and Eugenius (Batavia, 2 June 1841 – Amsterdam, 25 March 1896) also became East Indies Officials.

From 1852 to 1855, Maximiliaan von Faber attended a private school, Herwijnen (near Bogor), which existed from 1851 to 1856.[165] On 10 October 1855, Governor-General Duymaer van Twist decided to send him and his fellow student J.E. Albrecht to Canton to study Chinese, in order to become interpreters of the Chinese language in the Indies and also train other interpreters. They would be supervised by the Dutch Consul, J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, who had just been appointed there.[166] They left for China in January 1856, studying Cantonese and written Chinese for nine months in Canton and two and a half years in Macao, finally studying Hokkien for a year in Amoy together with De Grijs, Schlegel, Francken, and Schaalje.

On 21 April 1860, after more than four years of study, Von Faber and Albrecht, then still in China, were appointed as interpreters in the Indies, without specification of the place of stationing.[167] They were the first Eu-

ropean interpreters of Chinese appointed in the Netherlands Indies. Starting 15 May 1860, Von Faber hired Han Bong Ki(e) 韓蒙杞, a *juren* (graduate of the provincial examinations) and native of Canton, as a teacher to accompany him to the Indies, in order to further his studies and facilitate the training of other interpreters.[168]

After returning to Batavia on 4 July, he requested to be stationed in Batavia or elsewhere, and on 9 August 1860 he was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Pontianak.[169] He was stationed in Montrado.

Since he had studied Cantonese, he was stationed in the Outer Possessions. Unfortunately, it soon became clear that Cantonese was not understood on Borneo, and that Von Faber had studied a dialect that was hardly spoken in the Indies; therefore he applied himself to the study of Hakka. However, he did not reach a level in Hakka such that he could interpret at a court of law or teach it.

In February 1862 he was allowed two months' leave to Pelantoengan because of illness, which was later extended by another month.[170] Pelantoengan was a well-known rehabilitation resort with hot springs in the hills near Semarang. Three months later his leave was, at his request, extended for another three months,[171] to a total of six months.

While Von Faber was still on leave, on 20 August 1862, Governor-General Sloet decided there should be two interpreters in Batavia, and Von Faber was transferred from Montrado to Batavia. He was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Batavia simultaneously and together with G. Schlegel.[172] Schlegel, who had studied for three years in Amoy took care of interpreting while Von Faber, who had only studied there for one year, did mostly translations.

From 27 March 1863 to 5 January 1869, he was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. Together with Schlegel, he made plans and preparations for training interpreters in Batavia. Probably for this purpose, he compiled a word list of the Hakka language as spoken on Borneo and Banka, with a preface, introduction, stories, and dialogues, which he presented to the Batavian Society in October 1866 for publication. Two months later, the Board decided not to publish it because it was said to be lacking in scholarly value, but since it would be very advisable for government officials to learn some Hakka for daily conversation, they suggested sending the manuscript to the Government Press (*Landsdrukkerij*) for printing. In 1871, publication was cancelled because of lack of Chinese type at the Government Press.[173]

On 23 March 1864 Von Faber married Francina Jeanette Andeweg (Batavia, 11 June 1847 – Surabaya, 15 September 1910). They had nine children, one of whom died in infancy.[174]

On 9 August 1864, Han Bong Ki handed in his resignation in order to return to China because of family affairs, which was granted on 24 Sep-

tember 1864. Lo Ling Kaai, who was already living in Batavia, succeeded him as teacher and clerk.[175]

On 11 April 1867, Von Faber was ordered, together with G. Schlegel, to train an interpreter of Chinese in Batavia. From 1871 to 1872 Schlegel trained J.J. Roelofs, and in 1873–5 Von Faber trained J.W. Young.

After Schlegel left the Indies in June 1872, Von Faber was the only European interpreter of Chinese in Batavia for two and a half years. On 18 September 1875, he was granted a gratification of *f* 1,000 for (unspecified) extraordinary services from mid-1872 until the first months of 1875.[176]

On 8 October 1875 he was granted two years of sick leave in Europe.[177]

Two years later, on 26 September 1877, he was again appointed interpreter of Chinese in Batavia. He was also made an extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber, and temporarily acting extraordinary member of the Board of Directors of the Estate Chamber (*Collegie van Boedelmeesters*), until a second interpreter became available in Batavia.[178] He would be discharged when Albrecht was appointed on 15 November.[179]

On 11 June 1890, he was allowed five months of leave to the Netherlands because of twelve years of continuous service.[180] Including leave, he was stationed in Batavia for 28 years.

On 19 November 1890, he was appointed interpreter of Chinese in Surabaya, and extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber (*Wees- en Boedelkamer*).[181]

On 26 August 1896 (effective from 6 September), he was at his request honourably discharged from government service.[182] He had worked as an interpreter for 36 years, including three years of leave, the longest period of any interpreter. A few months after retirement, he was on 28 December 1896 appointed as an independent, unsalaried translator of the Chinese language (*translateur voor de Chineesche taal buiten bezwaar van den lande*) in Surabaya, and he remained in that capacity for twenty years.[183]

In 1898 he offered a Chinese–Dutch dictionary which was being compiled by himself for sale to the government, but this proposal was rejected.[184]

On 7 December 1917, he passed away in Surabaya at 79 years of age.

His son Godfried von Faber (Batavia, 8 November 1867 – Surabaya, 16 February 1927) studied law in Utrecht and wrote a thesis *Het familie-en erfrecht der Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië* (1895) (Family law and inheritance law of the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies). He later had a career in the judiciary in the Indies and retired in 1917. Godfried's son Godfried Hariowald (Surabaya, 1 December 1899 – Surabaya, 28 September 1955) became a well-known journalist.

Publications

"Schets van Montrado in 1861" (Sketch of Montrado in 1861), *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 13 (1864), 457-91.

De munten van Nederlandsch-Indië, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 31 (1864), 156-7 and 216-8. [Some contributions by Von Faber in this work by E. Netscher and J.A. van der Chijs.]

"Ingezonden stukken" [letter to the editor about the Chinese oath dated 17 October 1867], *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 21 October 1867.

"De Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 226, pp. 171-2, 28 October 1867 [reprint of the preceding].

"Ingezonden stukken" [letter to the editor about the Chinese oath dated 30 October 1867], *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 4 November 1867.

"Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 232, pp. 195-6, 9 December 1867 [reprint of the preceding].

"Beschrijving van drie Chineesche kaartspelen" (A description of three Chinese card games), *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 26 (1881), 413-22.

"De Chineesche eed. Open brief aan den WelEdelGestr. heer J.W. Young, tolk voor de chineesche taal te Padang," *Sumatra-courant*, 19 January 1882 [another polemic about the Chinese oath].

"Kee tjoa," [解詛] *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 25 January 1882, also in *Sumatra-courant*, 14 February 1882.

"Trancendentale voorstellingen der Chineezen" (Chinese ideas of the transcendent), *De Indische Gids*, vol. 6 no. 2 (1884), 702-36.

"Herwijnen, bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het middelbaar onderwijs in Ned.-Indië" (Herwijnen, a contribution to the history of secondary education in the Netherlands Indies), *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 30 (1885), 519-57.

Translations into Chinese

"Chinesche vertaling van staatsblad 1871 no. 78," [Batavia: Landsdrukkerij], [1871], 14 p. with the Chinese title: 調理獄犯有法及調停獄犯之工例. Translation of "Reglement van orde en tucht onder de gevangenen in Nederlandsch-Indië en tot voorloopige regeling van hunnen arbeid." (Regulations of order and discipline, and temporary labour arrangement for prisoners in the Netherlands Indies) (in KITLV Collection);

"Chineesche Vertaling van de Zegel Ordonnancie, Stbl 1885 No. 131, en Lijst van Vrijstellingen" (Chinese translation of the Ordinance on Stamps, *Staatsblad* 1885, no. 131, and List of Exemptions) (12 ff.). (BPL 2106 I:11).

"Zegelrecht van wisselbrieven enz. in Nederlandsch-Indië opgemaakt en in Nederland betaalbaar" (*Staatsblad* 1885, no. 132), 2 pp. (Stamp fees of bills of exchange etc. drawn up in the Netherlands Indies and payable in the Netherlands); "Opheffing der vrijstelling van zegelrecht voor de vergunningen aan Vreemde Oosterlingen om op plaatsen waar geen wijken voor hen zijn aangewezen zich neder te zetten en elders zich buiten de aangewezen wijken te vestigen" (*Staatsblad* 1885, no. 136), 1 p. (Abolition of the exemption from stamp fees on permits for Foreign Orientals to settle in places where no districts have been assigned to them and to settle elsewhere outside of the assigned districts) [mentioned in *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 25, p. 50, dd. 3 Maart 1886].



30. J.J.C. Francken (courtesy J.J.M. Francken, Bloemendaal).

FRANCKEN, Johannes Jacobus Cornelis

Johannes Jacobus Cornelis Francken (Jan Francken) was born on 1 December 1838 in Leiden, and died on 6 February 1864 in Surabaya.[185] His name was once transcribed in a letter as Hoa-lân-kun 花瀾君 (*Hualanjun*).[186]

His father was Jacobus Johannes Francken (Leiden, 17 June 1810 – Leiden, 27 November 1854), bookseller (*boekverkoper*). His mother was Wilhelmina Adriana Hoogenstraaten (Leiden, 26 January 1814 – after 1864). The family had eight children, one of whom died in infancy. Jan was the eldest child. His younger brother Henri Marie Josephus (Leiden, 11 March 1845 – Interlaken, 23 August 1893) also wished to be trained by Hoffmann to become a Chinese interpreter, but he was not admitted in 1862 because he would only finish the *gymnasium* in 1864, while the other candidate P. Meeter would finish in 1862.[187] Henri studied law in Leiden starting in 1863 and became a barrister (*advocaat en procureur*) at the High Court in Batavia in 1868, and at the *Raad van Justitie* in Surabaya from 1870 on; he retired in June 1893 and passed away soon afterwards.[188] Two of his sisters became nuns. His youngest brother Jacobus (Jacques) Marinus Wilhelmus (Leiden, 11 November 1850 – Bloemendaal, 4 October 1929) also went to the Indies and made a fortune as a planter in East Java.[189]

In July 1855, Francken, who was still a student at a *gymnasium*, started to study Chinese together with Schaalje under Hoffmann. He continued his other education at a school of classical languages, the *Paedagogium* of Dr J.J. de Gelder, and was originally planning to study at Leiden University and then at the Academy in Delft in order to obtain the *radikaal* (qualification) of a civil servant in the Netherlands Indies. In January 1856, he chose to study Chinese exclusively, in order to become a translator in the Netherlands Indies. Hoffmann considered him a very promising and talented student, and thought he should later concentrate his studies on Mandarin.[190] Francken studied for two years in Leiden, during which time he also studied botany with Prof. W.F.R. Suringar.

He entered the colonial service as a trainee for the Chinese language (*kweekeling voor de Chinesche taal*) on 16 June 1857, and left for China together with Schlegel on 27 October of the same year. They arrived in Batavia on 5 February 1858, then on 26 February left for Hong Kong, where they arrived on 12 March. They first stayed a few months in Macao, arriving in Amoy on 1 June 1858. C.F.M. de Grijs had already been studying there since 1857. He had been appointed as acting Vice-Consul, and he took care of his younger fellow students. Francken and Schlegel studied in Amoy for three years. On 12 November 1860 they were ordered to go to Canton, where they arrived the next year, on 17 July 1861. There they studied Cantonese and continued their Hokkien studies. After studying in Canton for almost a year, they left China on 27 June 1862, travelling by way of Singapore and arriving in Batavia on 22 July. Francken and Schlegel studied for four years and three months in China.

In China, Francken began compiling a Chinese–Dutch dictionary, while Schlegel began working on his Chinese–Dutch dictionary. Francken's dictionary was published in 1882.

From April 1862, Francken hired the Chinese teacher Oei Tsoe Khing to accompany him to the Indies.

On 22 September 1862, Francken was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Surabaya.[191] He continued to work on his dictionary. He did not have much to do as official interpreter, but tried to obtain private work, coming into contact with all kinds of Chinese.[192] He worked as an interpreter for one and a half years.

After a short illness, suffering from dysentery, he passed away in Surabaya on 6 February 1864, only 25 years old. His death was deeply regretted. A two-page obituary by W.H. s'Jacob was printed.[193] Since his funeral was on Chinese New Year's Day (8 February), the Chinese came to pray and sacrifice at his grave in Peneleh cemetery two weeks later. Many Chinese attended to show their attachment.[194] Two years later, a Dutch translation of a long Chinese elegy, recited at his grave by his friend Tshoa-dsien-sing, appeared in several newspapers.[195] It contains a short biography and description of his last days.

Publications

"Koop-, Huur- en Hypotheekbepalingen bij de Chinezen," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 20 (1862), 375-93 (October 1862).

"Godsdienst en bijgeloof der Chinezen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, 14 (1864), 38-74 (September 1862).

Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1882), viii, 774 p., Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (with C.F.M. de Grijs).

Manuscript

"Vertaling van de chinesche 'wet op de erfopvolging'" (with his comments). Report for the *Raad van Justitie* of Surabaya, dated 28 November 1862 (V 24/4/1865 no. 30 inv. 1600).

His library

By decision of Governor-General Sloet of 14 January 1866 (no. 42), 36 books and five manuscripts from his estate were donated to the Batavian Society. On 28 June 1866 the Board of Directors of the Society decided to place the books in the library of the Society.[196]

GRIJS, Carolus Franciscus Martinus de

Carolus (or Karolus, Karel) Franciscus Martinus de Grijs was born in Leiden on 29 December 1832 and died in Haarlem on 26 February 1902.[197] His Chinese name was *Kaishi* 凱士.[198] His father was Henricus Bartholomeus de Grijs (Amsterdam, ca. 1790 – The Hague, 31 October 1887), who ran a haberdashery and drapery shop (*winkelier in garen, band en manufacturen*) on the Botermarkt 24 in Leiden.[199] His mother was Johanna Maria Wilhelmina de Graaff (Leiden, ca. 1795 – Leiden, 19 February 1856).[200] Out of this marriage twelve children were born, four of whom died in infancy. Karel was the ninth child. His elder brother Johannes Henricus (Leiden, 19 February 1822 – at sea near Padang, 7 December 1852) was a medical doctor in the Dutch East Indies Army from 26 May 1851 on.[201] His younger brother Ludovicus Hendricus (Henri) (Leiden, 16 November 1838 – after 1902) was an Infantry Captain in the Dutch East Indies Army.[202]

Probably in 1849, he went to study at the Pharmaceutical School in Utrecht. This school was established in 1845 and offered a four-year program under supervision of Professor G.J. Mulder of Utrecht University.[203] In May 1851, while still studying in Utrecht, [204] De Grijs was drafted for military service in Leiden, and placed in the 5th Infantry Regiment. After passing the final examination in Utrecht, De Grijs was appointed pharmacist of the third class (*Apotheker 3de klasse*) in the Army Medical Corps in the East Indies (*militaire geneeskundige dienst in Oost Indië*) on 2 July 1853. As was usual, he was then assigned for four months to the Colonial Drafting Depot (*Coloniaal Werf Depot*) in Leiden[205] from 1 September 1853 on, where he was to study the collections of animals and minerals in the Museum of Natural History and of tropical plants in the National Herbarium. Inspired by Hoffmann, he had already decided to study Chinese several years before. Hoffmann recognised the importance of a knowledge of Chinese for the study of the natural history of China. De Grijs was given permission to study with Hoffmann as from 1 February 1854,[206] and studied for a year and a half.[207] On 25 June 1855, he left the Netherlands by ship, arriving on 1 November of the same year in Batavia, where he was placed in the Garrison Hospital in Weltevreden (Batavia). The following year he published a short article on Chinese coins in the journal of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, in which he was introduced as "one of the few Dutchmen who are seriously studying Chinese."[208]

Since the Governor-General, Duymaer van Twist, realised it would be difficult for De Grijs to be both a competent pharmacist and sinologist at the same time, and very few youngsters were willing to study Chinese, he suggested to the Minister of Colonies to allow him to continue his studies in China in order to be appointed as a translator, just as Albrecht and Von

Faber.[209] On 26 September 1856, his successor Pahud ordered him to go to China as a student of the Chinese language (*élève in de Chinesche taal*).[210] He arrived in Hong Kong on 4 November 1856, and first stayed with the Consul J. des Amorie van de Hoeven in Macao for a few months. He then decided to go to Amoy (also on the advice of Van der Hoeven), because most Chinese on Java came from that region;[211] he arrived on 6 May 1857.[212] In 1858 Governor-General Pahud decided that he would later be appointed as interpreter on Java.[213] De Grijs stayed in China for seven and a half years, studying the Amoy dialect, and from 1857 to May 1863 he also was acting Vice-Consul for the Netherlands in Amoy (*waarnemend Vice-Consul*).[214] During his stay in Amoy, he took care of the younger Dutch students.

In 1858, through the intermediacy of Mr P. Kup, Netherlands Vice-Consul in Hong Kong, he bought a set of 5,375 Chinese model type from the London Missionary Society. This kind of type had been used before to print the Delegates' Bible in 1854 and 1855. These type were sent to Hoffmann in Leiden and were later used to produce matrices, from which again type were made for printing Hoffmann's Japanese works.[215] This type would be used by Brill until 1964.

On 12 November 1860, Governor-General Pahud approved of his suggestion to translate the *Qing Code* into Dutch.[216] In 1862 he dispatched his draft text of *Het strafwetboek van China* (The Criminal Code of China) from Canton to Batavia, but it was lost in a shipwreck.[217] He later sent a translation of a handbook on forensic medicine which was meant to be published as an appendix to the *Code*; this was published by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1863. In 1865, De Grijs again offered his translation of the *Code* and an article on Chinese inheritance law to the Batavian Society, which decided to publish it,[218] but this was later postponed and De Grijs was urged to try to present it for publication to the Royal Institute for the Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Netherlands Indies (KITLV) in The Hague.[219] In the end it was not published, as it was about criminal rather than civil law and therefore not necessary for the Indies; besides, translations in English and French were available. The manuscript translation of the *Code* is still kept among De Grijs' papers in Leiden, together with the article on Chinese inheritance law.[220] On 20 September 1862, he became a corresponding member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, and on 10 February 1865 he became an ordinary member, but by December 1872 he was no longer a member.

In his researches in Chinese botany, De Grijs made several discoveries of new plants that were named after him. Best known is the *Camellia Grijsii* Hance (1879) discovered in 1861. Other plants named after him are *Elaeagnus Grijsii* Hance, *Machilus* (or *Persea*) *Grijsii* Hance, *Echinops Grijsii* Hance, *Pellionia Grijsii*, *Syzygium Grijsii*, *Iris Grijsii* Maxim, etc.

In October and November 1857, Henri Fletcher Hance (London, 1827 – Amoy, 1886), who came to Hong Kong in 1844, visited Amoy and doubtless met De Grijs. From then on, De Grijs collected plants for him in the neighbourhood of Amoy and in the tea-hills of Anxi. Hance later became Vice-Consul in Whampoa (1861–78) and Consul in Amoy (1878–81, 1883 and 1886).[221]

In 1863 and 1864, De Grijs was also secretary and interpreter for the Dutch Consul J. des Amorie van der Hoeven. From 29 July to 6 October 1863, De Grijs accompanied him on a Dutch warship to Tientsin (Tianjin). He negotiated the details of the first Dutch-Chinese Treaty on Trade and Friendship with Chinese officials from 14 to 30 September. On 6 October the treaty was signed, and the next day De Grijs left Tientsin to take the original text to the Netherlands in person. He first went to Peking, planning to travel back via Siberia, but because the winter was nearing he changed his plan and returned by ship. He arrived in Holland on 14 December.[222] In March 1864, he left the Netherlands and brought the letter of ratification that was to be exchanged back to China. For this purpose, De Grijs remained in China as temporary Chinese secretary and interpreter of the Dutch Consul.[223] On 20 October, it became clear that the Chinese did not accept the letter of ratification and wished to exchange the original treaty, as they had said before. The exchange was postponed, and on 22 October, De Grijs was allowed to go to Java. The exchange took place with De Breuk as interpreter in Canton on 26 July 1865.

On 12-14 June 1864, he was made honorary member of the Netherlands Society for the Promotion of Industry (*Nederlandsche Maatschappij ter bevordering van Nijverheid*).[224]

On 26 August 1864, De Grijs engaged the Chinese teacher K'eng [康] to accompany him to the Indies and serve him as a teacher and a clerk.[225]

On 19 November 1864, he returned to Batavia.[226]

On 4 February 1865, he was honourably discharged from military service, and at the same time temporarily appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Semarang.[227] He worked there as an interpreter for twenty years.

In March 1866, he went to Hong Kong for three months to recruit 400 coolies for the Netherlands-Indies Railroad Company.[228]

On 23 September 1866, he became an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber (*Wees- en Boedelkamer*) in Semarang. He also had other functions, such as secretary of the second inspection department of education (from 12 February 1867 on), and in 1871 he became a member of the board of the Semarang Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and Industry (*Samarangsch Genootschap ter bevordering van landbouw en nijverheid*), and captain and secretary of the court martial (*krijgsraad*) of the Semarang militia (*Schutterij*).[229]

On 4 June 1885 he was allowed two years of sick leave in the Netherlands.[230] In all, he worked as an interpreter in the Indies for more than twenty years.

On 22 June 1865, Carolus de Grijs married Agatha Petronella Sijbrandi (Amsterdam, 6 February 1845 – Haarlem, 9 August 1935) in Amsterdam. She was the daughter of Jan Dirks Sijbrandi, bookseller in Amsterdam, who acted as proxy at the wedding (*huwelijk met de handschoen*). Out of this marriage three children were born: Karel (Semarang, 8 November 1867 – Haarlem, 7 November 1885, almost 18 years old, a student of medicine at Leiden University),[231] Agatha (Semarang, 10 January 1868, later married to Johannes Jacobus Verstege, civil servant at the Haarlem Post Office) and Dora (Semarang, 5 June 1869, later married to Willem Frederik Engbert van Bevervoorde, Assistant Resident in Yogyakarta).

He went to live in Haarlem on 16 August 1885, and was discharged as interpreter of Chinese on 26 June 1888.[232]

Stricken with cancer, he passed away on 26 February 1902 at 69 years of age.

Publications

"Munten met Chinesche stempels uit Cheribon," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 5 (1856), 487-8.

"Over de bereiding en het gebruik der groene Chinesche verfstof 綠糕 of 綠餻, *Lŏ Kaô* (groene koek)," *De Volksvlijt* (1857), 313-9 [dated Amoy 30 May 1857].

Geregtelijke geneeskunde, uit het Chineesch vertaald, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 30 (3) (Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1863), VI, 118 p.

Wang (In-hoai), *Gerichtliche Medizin der Chinesen.* Nach der holländische Uebersetzung des Herrn C.F.M. de Grys herausgegeben von Dr. H. Breitenstein (Leipzig: Grieben, 1908), vii, 174 p. [German translation of the preceding].

Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1882), viii, 774 p. [editor of J.J.C. Francken's manuscript].

Manuscripts

Some of his manuscript translations are described in Chapter Three, Studying in China (1856–1867), section on translations by De Grijs. Many of his manuscripts are kept in Leiden University Library and described in *Catalogue* 2005, 40-1, 86-116.

Translation into Chinese

"Chinesche vertaling van Staatsblad 1875, No. 236, Bijlagen litt. A, B, C" (Chinese translation of *Staatsblad* 1875, No. 236 and Appendices litt. A, B, C.). (an ordinance on the tax-farming of opium, alcoholic beverages, gambling etc., with appendices) Printed

translation (7 ff.; 34.5 × 42 cm) (BPL 2106 I: 9; another copy without Appendix C is in BPL 1782:18).

Obituaries

J.J. Verwijnen, "In Memoriam Carolus Franciscus Martinus de Grijs," *Tijdschrift der Nederlandsche Maatschappij ter Bevordering van Nijverheid* 69 (1902), 169-72.
"C.F.M. de Grijs," *De Locomotief*, 8 April 1902.

His library

At least 38 of his Chinese books are kept in the KNAG collection in the East Asian Library in Leiden. Listed in Kuiper, *The KNAG Collection: Introduction and Catalogue*.



31. W.P. Groeneveldt in the costume of a member of the Council of the Indies (1889–1895) (courtesy R. D. Groeneveldt).

GROENEVELDT, Willem Pieter

Willem Pieter Groeneveldt was born on 28 May 1841 in Gorinchem (Gorcum) and died on 18 August 1915 in The Hague. His Chinese name was K'u Bík-lîm 瞿墨林 (*Qu Molin*).[233]

His father was Hendrik Groeneveldt (Gorinchem, 23 March 1797 – Gorinchem, 12 November 1855), Postmaster of the Horse Postal Service (*postmeester paardenposterij*).[234] His mother was Bastianette Maria Adriana Constantia Jackson (Enkhuizen, 6 July 1802 – Voorburg, 6 February 1884). Out of this marriage seven children were born, four sons and three daughters; Willem Pieter was the youngest but one. His younger brother Matthijs (born in 1844) died at sea in 1865. His elder brother Hendrik (Gorinchem, 1 March 1838 – Baarn, 9 February 1920) had a career as Indies official, starting as a clerk at the Residency Office in Pontianak (at *f* 150) in 1867, when W.P. Groeneveldt was also stationed there, and ending as Residency Secretary in Bantam in 1889 (at *f* 500).[235]

While attending the *gymnasium* in Leiden, Groeneveldt began studying Chinese with Hoffmann from 1 September 1858, at the same time as J. de Breuk and J.A. Buddingh. He first studied Chinese for one year, and then Japanese. All three students planned to go to Japan to become Japanese interpreters. In 1859 they were joined by the student of Japanese R.J. de Saint Aulaire. When Groeneveldt was only 20 years old, together with his older fellow student R.J. de St. Aulaire he published a handbook on the Chinese cursive script (*see* below). After almost three years of study, on 10 July 1861 he entered the colonial service as 'student in the Chinese and Japanese languages' (*kweekeling voor de Chinesche en Japansche talen*) to be trained as an interpreter of Chinese and Japanese.[236]

Groeneveldt and Buddingh left the Netherlands on 3 October 1861 and arrived in Batavia on 20 January 1862. They believed that they were on their way to Japan, but to their disappointment and under protest they were sent to China instead to become Chinese interpreters.[237] Groeneveldt and Buddingh first went to Macao, then to Amoy where they arrived at the beginning of May 1862; they studied there at least until December 1863. In



32. W.P. Groeneveldt, portrait by J.Th. Toorop, 1897. Note his Shiji 史記 *and* Mingshi 明史 *(courtesy R. D. Groeneveldt; Arsip Nasional, Jakarta).*

December 1862, they were charged to study the Hakka dialect.[238] Plans to send the aspirant interpreters to Hong Kong to learn Hakka were postponed several times, as it was thought they could just as well or even better learn Hakka in the Indies. Groeneveldt managed to study in Lilong (Lilang) for three months. This was a missionary outpost in a Hakka-speaking region near present-day Shenzhen. Groeneveldt en Buddingh studied in China for two years.

On 27 June 1864, Groeneveldt engaged the Chinese teacher Tsjoetsjoek-kong, a Hakka, to accompany him to the Indies as a teacher and clerk.[239]

On 20 August 1864, Groeneveldt was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Pontianak.[240] On 8 October 1864, he was officially allowed by Royal Decree to hire a Chinese teacher for five years.[241] The Resident of Pontianak recognised his talents and charged him several times with directing a division (*afdeeling*). Groeneveldt was lauded with the "special satisfaction of the government" after he helped to pacify a conflict among Dayak tribes in Sambas and Sarawak together with the Assistant Resident C. Kater in 1865.[242] Groeneveldt also put in order a great number of Chinese documents on secret societies and wrote a detailed report which he left at the office of the Resident for his successors. Without the help of police or military, he managed to avert a revolt, as he knew the grievances of the Chinese and eliminated them.[243]

On 14 September 1870, he was transferred to Padang[244] to become the successor of his fellow student Buddingh, who had passed away on 16 August 1870. However, with the exception of responding to occasional requests for advice by the Orphans and Estate Chamber, he had very little to do. He probably devoted his time to research.

Two years later, on 28 August 1872, he was made secretary-interpreter for the Minister Resident and Consul General J.H. Ferguson in Shanghai for one year,[245] and on 29 October 1873 it was decided he would stay for another year.[246] Ferguson resided in Shanghai and later in Chefoo, while Groeneveldt was mostly in Shanghai, but he also stayed in Peking for some time.[247] Groeneveldt was the first Dutch sinologist who learned to speak Mandarin well. While working at the Dutch Legation he wrote his main

work *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from Chinese Sources*.

On 25 December 1874 he was appointed again in the Indies, as interpreter of Chinese in Batavia and as extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber.[248] He probably engaged the Chinese *xiucai* (graduate) Tan Siu Eng 陳琇榮 (1833–1906) as his teacher/clerk in Amoy in 1874 and brought him to the Indies; Tan also acted as his assistant after his change of career in 1877.[249]

From August 1875 to February 1876, he was sent to Hong Kong to make arrangements for the emigration of Chinese workers for Atjeh, but this mission was not successful.

In the meantime, Groeneveldt had an impressive scholarly career. On 7 July 1865, he became an ordinary member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. On 9 March 1875 he became a member of the Board of Directors; he was editor of the journal for three years starting 6 May 1878, secretary for three years from 16 October 1877 to 2 March 1880, and conservator of the archaeological collection for twenty years (from 6 April 1875). In 1887 his catalogue of the archaeological collection was published; it is still a standard work. From 6 August 1889 to 5 July 1895, he was President of the Board. After retirement he became an honorary member.[250]

In 1884 he became corresponding member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (and after his return to the Netherlands ordinary member in 1896, and retired member in 1911). He was a member of the Royal Netherlands Geographical society (KNAG) and after returning to the Netherlands became President, but he retired two years later because of ill health.

On 21 August 1878, he married Johanna Carolina Elisabeth van Dijk (Pekalongan, 31 October 1851 – The Hague, 18 May 1931). Out of this marriage three sons and two daughters were born. The first son Willem Groeneveldt (Batavia, 6 March 1881 – The Hague, 29 March 1971) was an East Indies official from 1909 to 1935; the son of the latter, named Willem Pieter after his grandfather, was born in 1919; in 1942 he was a student and artillery sergeant in the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (KNIL); he died in Suwa-Hidachi, Japan in 1943. The second son Mr. Hendrik Groeneveldt (Weltevreden, 3 December 1883 – The Hague, 6 June 1959) was Inspector of Immigration in Batavia, translator for the Netherlands government.[251] The third son Pieter Groeneveldt (Batavia, 27 March 1889 – Voorschoten, 19 October 1982) became a well-known ceramist.

On 7 August 1877, after having been an interpreter for almost thirteen years, two of which were spent in Shanghai and Peking, he became Referendary (*Referendaris*) at the Department of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry (*Departement van Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid*),

and honorary advisor for Chinese affairs (*adviseur honorair voor Chineesche zaken*), but he remained acting Chinese interpreter[252] until Albrecht was appointed on 15 November 1877.

From now on he had an impressive career as a government official that lasted for eighteen years. On 1 April 1881, he became Secretary of the same Department, and on 4 April 1887 Director (with a monthly salary of *f* 2,000); finally, on 19 July 1889 he became a member of the Council of the Indies (*Raad van Indië*).[253] He was made Vice-President of the Council of the Indies on 31 May 1893 (with a salary of *f* 3,000 per month),[254] thereby being second only to the Governor-General.

At his request he was honourably discharged on 5 July 1895, receiving official thanks for his long-lasting and loyal services to the country.[255] After studying and working in the Far East without interruption for almost 34 years (he took no leave to Europe), of which 31 years as a government official, he finally returned to the Netherlands. He received a yearly pension of *f* 12,000.[256]

While a member of the Council of the Indies, Groeneveldt was charged with two major government assignments. In 1888, E.B. Kielstra's article in *De Gids* on the fraudulous practices of Chinese opium farmers had shocked the Netherlands, and it was decided to study and introduce another system. In 1890, Groeneveldt was sent to French Indo-China, together with the interpreter A.A. de Jongh as his secretary and Tan Siu Eng as his Chinese assistant, to study the system of opium monopoly there. He published a detailed report the same year, and the state monopoly (*opiumregie*) was gradually introduced on Madura and Java in the years 1894–1904. His Chinese assistant kept a diary of this mission.[257]

The second assignment was given him in August 1892. He was charged to investigate the economic situation of Foreign Orientals (*vreemde oosterlingen*) on Java and Madura.

Although he was aware of Chinese shortcomings, he sympathised with the Chinese and often protested against the restrictions on their freedom of movement. He wrote a *nota* and travelled through Java discussing it with local government officials. But because of his appointment as Vice-President of the Council of the Indies in May 1893, his assignment was taken over by F. Fokkens, who wrote the final report. In 1909 the system of travel passes and Chinese residential areas was finally abolished.

After his return to the Netherlands in 1895, he acted as advisor and commissioner. He accompanied Li Hongzhang during his visit to the Netherlands in July 1896, acting as Mandarin interpreter of the speech by the Queen. But he devoted most of his time to study. He published vol. 1 of *De Nederlanders in China* (The Dutch in China). Because of ill health he never finished the second part, the manuscript of which is now in the KITLV Collection.

Many expected him to become the new Governor-General, but in 1899 W. Rooseboom was appointed instead of him.[258]

After fifteen years of illness, suffering from partial paralysis but lucid in spirit, he passed away on 18 August 1915 in The Hague.

Honours

1876 Knight in the Order of Franz-Joseph of Austria[259]
Commander in the Royal Order of Cambodia
Commander in the Order of the Dragon of Annam
Knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*) while he was a member of the Council of the Indies.
1895 Knight of the second class with Star in the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia
Orders of Portugal and of China

Obituaries and biographies

[G.P. Rouffaer,] "W.P. Groeneveldt," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 20 Augustus 1915.
"W.P. Groeneveltd.†" (*sic*), *De Sumatra Post*, 2 September 1915 (from *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*).
Jongh, A.A. de, "Willem Pieter Groeneveldt," *Eigen haard*, no. 37, 11 September 1915.
Visser, M.W. de, "Levensbericht" (Obituary) in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, 1916 (also in www.dbnl.org).
"Groeneveldt, Willem Pieter," *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 1 (1917), 819-20.

Publications

A Manual of Chinese Running-hand Writing, Especially as It is Used in Japan, Compiled from Original Sources by R.J. de St. Aulaire and W.P. Groeneveldt; Printed for the authors; Sold by G.M. van Gelder (Amsterdam; Printed by J.C. Drabbe, Leyden; 1861), IV, 60 p.
"Dr. Williams' Dictionary" [Review of: S. Wells Williams' *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*], *The China Review*, vol. III, no. 4 (1874), 226-41.
"The Expedition of the Mongols against Java," *The China Review*, vol. IV, no. 4 (1875), 246-54.
"Books Wanted, Exchange" etc.: 島夷志略，安南志略，越史略，交州記, *The China Review* (1877), 145, repeated in 1878 and 1879. [The first three titles were mentioned in Wylie, pp. 47, 33].
Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from Chinese Sources, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 39 (1) (Batavia: Bruining, 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1880), X, 144 p. Preface dated 1876. Reprinted in 1887 in England, and in 1960 by Bharata [Djakarta] as *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya, Compiled from Chinese Sources*. Indonesian translation by Gatot Triwira and David Kwa (ed.), *Nusantara dalam catatan Tionghoa* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2009).
De Hindoe-Ruinen by Moeara-Takoes aan de Kampar-rivier by R.D.M. Verbeek and E.Th. van Delden; with notes by W.P. Groeneveldt, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 41 (4) (Batavia: Bruining, 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1882).

Catalogus der archeologische verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, door W.P. Groeneveldt; met aanteekeningen omtrent de op verschillende voorwerpen voorkomende inscripties en een voorlopige inventaris der beschreven steen- en door J.L.A. Brandes (Batavia: Albrecht, 1887).

Rapport over het opium-monopolie in Fransch Indo-China in verband met de vraag in hoever beheer in régie van dat middel voor Nederlandsch-Indië wenschelijk is, uitgebracht in voldoening aan artikel 1 van het Gouvernements-besluit van 21 Januari 1890 no. 1 (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1890). On top of title page: Geheim (secret).

Nota omtrent het onderzoek naar den economischen toestand der vreemde oosterlingen op Java en Madoera, bij het besluit van 9 Augustus 1892 no. 11 opgedragen aan het lid van den raad van Nederlandsch-Indië [Batavia: Landsdrukkerij], 13 p. (KITLV Collection).

"Het aannemen van duiten bij de opium-regie in Indië," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 27 October 1895.

"De financieele uitkomsten van de opium-regie in Indië," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant,* 2 November 1895. [Comments on these topics by "XX" in "De opiumregie en de duiten kwestie," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 25, part 1 (1896), 169-214].

"Supplementary Jottings to the 'Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from Chinese Sources'," *T'oung Pao* A 7 no. 2 (1896), Leiden: Brill, 113-34.

"Eene reis van eene Nederlandsche vloot in het begin der 17e eeuw," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (1897), 397-410 (lecture held for the general assembly of the KNAG, 5 June 1897).

"De Chineezen-quaestie in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 13 maart 1897. [Summary and review of this article: "De heer W.P. Groeneveldt in de Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant over de 'Chineezenquaestie in Ned.-Indië'," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 19, I (1897), 521-4].

"Advies over de ontworpen 'nieuwe regeling van den privaatrechtelijke toestand der Chineezen'," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 20, II (1898), 389-400 [publication of Groeneveldt's comments written to and at the request of the Minister of Colonies, dated The Hague 24 January 1898].

"De Nederlanders in China: Deel I: De eerste bemoeiingen om den handel in China en de vestiging in de Pescadores (1601–1624)" ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1898), *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI* ; 6e volgr., part. 4, VI, 598 p.

"Nederland en China. Interview met den heer W.P. Groeneveldt," [by Jhr. O. van Beresteyn] in *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 August 1900.

"Nederland en China," letter to the editor *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 September 1900; *also* published in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1900), 504-11.

"Hindoe-Javaansche portretbeelden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 50 (1908), 140-6.

Manuscript

The second part of *De Nederlanders in China*, [1899–1915], the continuation of: *De Nederlanders in China* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1898), VI, 598 p. The manuscript contains four chapters with appendices: 1) Rule of Martinus Sonck; 2) Rule of G.F. de Wit; 3) Pieter Nuyts in Japan; 4) Rule of Pieter Nuyts. [ca. 500 pp.] (KITLV Collection).

Translation into Chinese

"Verordening op het Bouwen & Slopen in de Residentie Riouw, 31 Maart 1875" (Ordinance on Building and Demolition in the Riau Residence) (7 ff.). Printed Chinese translation (BPL 2106 I:8).

His library

His Western and Chinese books were auctioned at Brill's Bookshop in Leiden respectively in 1920 and 1921. The catalogue for his Western books is entitled *Catalogue des bibliothèques de feu MM. … W.P. Groeneveldt, anc. Directeur du Département de l'Instruction et des Cultes aux Indes Néerl.* …. Vente 3-12 mai 1920, E.J. Brill, Leide. The catalogue for his Chinese books, compiled by A.G. de Bruin, has the title *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Rare and Valuable Collection of Chinese Printed Books Constituting the Libraries of the Late Mr. W.P. Groeneveldt, Author of the Well-known "Notes on the Malay Archipelago"*… auction on Friday, May 27th, 1921, E.J. Brill, Leyden.

Some rare Chinese books were bought by Leiden University Library, and these are now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden. A few other books are in Utrecht University Library. His books can be easily recognised from the hardcover Western-style binding and the neatly written titles on the back. Some of his books can be seen in the background of his portrait by J.Th. Toorop.



33. J.J.M. de Groot in Berlin (East Asian Library).

GROOT, Johannes Jacobus Maria de

Johannes Jacobus (also: Jan Jacob) Maria (also: Marius) de Groot was born on 18 February 1854 in Schiedam near Rotterdam and died on 24 September 1921 in Berlin.[260] His Chinese name was Ko Iên 高延 (*Gao Yan*); on one of his seals his name is Ko Iên Iâ-kok hâng dzī 高延琊崹行二 (*Gao Yan Yaguo hang er*, second son, Jan Jacob de Groot).[261]

His father was Johannes Seraphinus Matthias de Groot (Schiedam, 25 February 1824 – Schiedam, 5 April 1912), wine merchant (*wijnkooper*) and later commission merchant (*commissionair*), and distiller of Dutch gin (*genever*) in Schiedam. His mother was Helena Wilhelmina Elisabeth Beukers (Schiedam, 4 January 1830 – Schiedam, 27 April 1920).[262] Out of this marriage thirteen children were born, four of whom were sons. Two children died in infancy. Jan was the fourth child. Three sisters later became schoolteachers.

As a youngster, Jan de Groot had a strong wish to travel and see the world, but he was rejected twice for the naval officers' school and once for the school for marines officers. In 1872, after finishing the HBS, he began to study at the Indies Institute (*Indische Instelling*) in Delft[263] to become a civil servant in the Netherlands Indies. He did not like the lessons given by most of the teachers, and quit after one year when he heard of the new possibility of studying Chinese in Leiden. He took part in the competitive examination and obtained the highest score of thirteen candidates, but was ranked second to Hoetink, who had better results in languages and arithmetic. In contrast to other sinologists (until 1894), he had himself registered as a student (of Law) in Leiden University on 30 September 1873, since otherwise he could not become a member of the Student Corps (students' fraternity).[264] He then studied Chinese under Schlegel from October 1873 to December 1876, together with B. Hoetink and H.N. Stuart. In 1874 he broke with the Catholic Church. On 28 November 1876, all three entered the colonial service and were ordered to go to Amoy; after about one year of practical training they would be appointed as interpreters for Chinese in the Netherlands Indies.

They left the Netherlands on 11 December 1876 and arrived in Amoy on 2 February 1877. One year later, on 9 February 1878, they left Amoy

and travelled to the East Indies. During his one-year stay in China, De Groot not only studied the languages but also did research on local festivals in Amoy, and undertook long travels in Southern China. He was also Chancellor at the Consulate and Registrar in the Dutch Consular Court.

On 13 April 1878, De Groot was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Cirebon (Cheribon). This became a great disappointment for him, since there was hardly anything for him to do; moreover, the climate was unbearable. He realised this occupation was not suitable for him, and that his real ambition was to do research. He spent most of his time writing his book on the festivals in Amoy.

On 7 January 1880 he was transferred to Western Borneo,[265] but he first went to Sindanglaya (1,084 m, near Mount Gede) for three months to recover his health. From May 1880 to January 1883 he was stationed in Pontianak on Borneo. He often accompanied the Dutch Resident on his travels, applied himself to learn the Hakka dialect and continued to work on his book on Chinese festivals.

On 7 March 1883, he was granted two years of sick leave to the Netherlands.[266] This was the end of De Groot's five-year career as an interpreter, but he officially remained 'interpreter of the Chinese language' until his discharge at his own request in 1892.

After his return to the Netherlands, he settled down in The Hague.

He took part in the sixth international conference of Orientalists held in Leiden in September 1883, and gave a lecture about Buddhist Masses for the Dead.[267]

On 5 December 1884, he received a doctorate in the University of Leipzig for his book *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezen* (Yearly festivals and customs of the Amoy Chinese), which was published in two volumes in 1881 and 1883.

A little earlier, on 18 November 1884, he requested permission to do research in China for two or three years, in order to get a better understanding of the regions of origin of the Chinese in the Indies, which would be useful for the codification of Chinese law in the Indies etc., and on 18 December he added that he could study two more dialects in China (Hoklo and Hakka) in order to train others.[268] On 8 May 1885, after consultation of the Indies government (including Groeneveldt), he was notified by the Minister of Colonies, Sprenger van Eijk, that on return to the Indies he would be ordered to do research on the languages, geography, and ethnography in China in general,[269] which was even more than he had asked for.[270]

He donated the objects collected during his first stay in China to the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden, and he sold the Chinese books bought in Amoy to the University for cost price. Schlegel compiled a supplement of his *Catalogue* for these books in 1886.

De Groot left the Netherlands in December 1885, travelling via France

to Batavia, where he arrived in February 1886. On 14 March he was ordered to go to China for a period of two years to study the languages, geography, and ethnology (*taal- land- en volkenkunde*) of China in general. At the same time he was also charged to study and promote the emigration of Chinese workers to Banka and Sumatra.[271] On 31 March 1886, he left Batavia, travelled first to Mentok and Deli, then via Canton to Amoy where he arrived in June 1886. Two years later, on 30 January 1888, his stay was at his request prolonged for a maximum of another two years.[272] In 1888, he also successfully negotiated for the direct emigration of coolies to Deli, in order to avoid exploitation by Chinese coolie-brokers in the Straits Settlements. He was given the Légion d'Honneur for his scholarly works in 1888.[273] He collected or had made many Chinese objects, paid for by Brill, and finally sold to the Musée Guimet in Lyon. In 1888, Serrurier falsely accused De Groot of having bought Chinese objects on commission and sold them to a French museum, and having received the Légion d'Honneur for this, but De Groot refuted these accusations successfully in a letter to the Government Secretary in Batavia.[274] De Groot travelled extensively in southern China, and before leaving China also visited Shanghai, Tientsin, and Peking.

In January 1890 he accepted an offer to teach Chinese and Malay at the Amsterdam Public School of Commerce, and on 28 January he was allowed two years of unpaid leave as from 14 March 1890.[275] He left China in April 1890 and returned by way of Japan and the USA to the Netherlands. From September 1890 he taught for one year in Amsterdam.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 3 December 1878 to 10 April 1883 and from 2 March 1886 to 1 April 1890, when he became corresponding member.

On 24 October 1891 he was made professor of the geography and ethnography of the Indies Archipelago (*Land- en Volkenkunde van de Indische archipel*) at Leiden University, as successor to G.A. Wilken (1847–91).[276] He gave his inaugural address on 9 December 1891. On 11 February 1892, he was at his request discharged as interpreter of the Chinese language and finally left the East Indies civil service. The Minister of Colonies thanked him for his services and expressed hope of continuing to receive valuable information from him in the future.[277]

In Leiden he taught about 70 students yearly. From 3 January to 15 August 1900 he also gave private tutorials to Queen Wilhelmina.

From 1893 on he gave private tutorials on (written) Chinese to future interpreters at the Dutch Legation in Peking: in 1893–4 W.J. Oudendijk for more than one year, in the first half of 1894 W.J. van Duysberg for more than half a year, and in 1897–9 the candidate-consul G.S.D. Hamel for two years.

He was invited to take up professorships in Berlin and New York in

1902, but declined. For this reason he was made *Commandeur in de orde van Oranje-Nassau* in that year.

After Schlegel passed away on 15 October 1903, De Groot was asked to become his successor in the chair of sinology. He was reluctant to accept, as he would lose so many students and could no longer influence the colonies and their inhabitants through his students. But since in the Netherlands no other suitable candidate could be found and otherwise the chair would be left vacant,[278] he accepted in January 1904, and he was later allowed to continue teaching about the Indies Chinese by his successor A.W. Nieuwenhuis.[279]

His students included M.W. de Visser in 1902–4, and the Candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs J.A.M. Bruineman, H. Mouw, J. Snellen van Vollenhoven, C.G. Riem[280] in 1907–10, and A.D.A. de Kat Angelino and J.Th. Moll (who both followed him to Berlin) in 1911–4. An extraordinary student was the American missionary and sinologist Lewis Hodous, who followed his lectures in 1909-10 (for him given in English).[281] He also trained two interpreters who were destined for the Dutch Legation in Peking: J.J.L. Duyvendak and Th.H.J. de Josselin de Jong in 1910–2. Like Schlegel, De Groot would assert that systematic teaching of grammar was of little use to beginners.[282] While in Berlin he was even said to "despise grammar."[283]

In 1908, 1910 and 1911 he visited the USA for several months each time, giving lectures in New York, Princeton, Harvard and other places.

He remained a bachelor all his life, but lived together with his unmarried sisters in Leiden. He also had two foster sons. In Leiden, from 1891 on he lived at Rembrandtstraat 17, and from 5 March 1897 on in *Villa Kidoel* (Villa South), Zoeterwoudse Singel 48a (later no. 57), a stately house that he designed himself, surrounded by a large garden.[284]

De Groot was opposed to the hazing practices of the Student Corps, and published an anonymous pamphlet against hazing in 1904, which met with a lot of opposition from both students and colleagues. In 1910 he published a second pamphlet under his own name. In 1911 new excesses took place, in which the freshmen had to act in obscene plays, leading to quite a stir in university circles. Since De Groot was not satisfied by the disciplinary measures taken, he wrote a closed letter to the members of Parliament. His plea received support from many professors, except for those of the Faculties of Law and Medicine. This question may have been one of the reasons for De Groot's departure to Berlin.[285]

When he was again invited to accept a professorship in Berlin in 1911, this time on even better conditions, he finally accepted. Reasons for this were long-standing conflicts in Leiden: with the Student Corps on hazing practices and with the university on the appointment of the Iranist Josef Marquart. In January 1912, De Groot left Leiden for Berlin.

He became a professor at the Friedrich Wilhelms Universität in Berlin,

where he gave his inaugural lecture on 4 July 1912. He also became a member of the Royal Academy. As in Leiden, he was an enthusiastic teacher devoted to his students. Some of his students were Franz Kuhn[286] and Erich Haenisch.

The German Emperor appointed him as Royal Secret Government Advisor (*Königliche geheime Regierungsrat*), and De Groot became a fervent supporter of his new fatherland. In 1914, he was one of 93 German academics who signed the Appeal to the Civilised World (*Aufruf an die Kulturwelt*) (4 October 1914), claiming that Germany was not the aggressor in the Great War.[287] By doing so, he estranged himself from his Western colleagues. De Groot was blamed for his blind loyalty, but he was in good company: the appeal was also signed by Max Planck (Nobel prize in physics in 1918), who, however, distanced himself two weeks after signing it.

After the armistice of 1919, he ended a broken man, not because of the atrocities of the war itself, but by the German defeat and its consequences: revolution, forced abdication of the Emperor, and establishment of the Weimar republic.[288]

Although in his youth De Groot deplored his position as interpreter and wished to leave the corps as soon as possible, in later years he preferred to consider himself a simple, humble translator, believing that in this way he could be of the most use to scholarship.[289]

After a life of extremely hard work—he always worked fifteen hours per day, year after year—he passed away on 24 September 1921 in Berlin, 67 years old.

Honours

1888 Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur (France)
1898 (31 August) Knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*)
1902 Commander in the Order of Orange-Nassau (*Commandeur in de Orde van Oranje-Nassau*) (after his refusal to go to Berlin)
1911 (13 June) Honorary degree of Princeton University
1914 (18 January) Kronenorden 2. Klasse
1918 (2 January) Verdienstkreuz für Kriegshilfe

Prix Stanislas Julien (shared prize)
1894 for *Le code du Mahâyâna en Chine*
1898 for *The Religious system of China* [vols. I-III]
1902 for *The Religious system of China*, vol. IV

Memberships

1 May 1887 Corresponding member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW)

1 April 1890 Corresponding member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (*Bataviaasch Genootschap*)
21 April 1892 Member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW)
15 July 1893 Member of the Society for Dutch Literature (*Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*)
1893 Member of the Provincial Utrecht Society (*Provinciaal Utrechts Genootschap*)
1903 (December) Corresponding member of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai
1905 Membre associé etranger de la Société Asiatique de Paris
1908 Corresponding member of the Institut de France
1912 Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences (*Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften*), Berlin

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"Chinese Oaths in Western Borneo and Java" (Notes and Queries), *The China Review*, X (1881), 212-8.
"Emoy en de Java Chineezen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 17 October 1881.
Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezen; eene vergelijkende bijdrage tot de kennis van onze Chineesche medeburgers op Java. Met uitgebreide monographieën van godheden die te Emoy worden vereerd. Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 42 (1882), xiii, 644 p. [published in two parts in 1881 and 1883].
Eenige aanteekeningen omtrent Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden in de Nederlandsche koloniën: Een poging tot oplossing van de vraag, welke eed aldaar den Chineezen voor de rechtbanken behoort te worden afgenomen (Batavia: W. Bruining & Co., [July] 1883), 18 p.
"Buddhist masses for the dead," *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leyde*, part 4, section IV (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1885), 1-120.
Het kongsiwezen van Borneo. *Eene verhandeling over den grondslag en den aard der Chineesche politieke Vereenigingen in de koloniën, met eene Chineesche geschiedenis van de kongsi Lanfong* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1885), viii, 193 p. [Chinese translation by Yuan Bingling 袁冰凌譯, *Poluozhou Huaren gongsi zhidu* 婆羅洲華人公司制度，中央研究院近代史研究所史料叢刊 (33), 臺北市南港 (1996).]
"Lioe A Sin van Mandohr," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, vol. 34 (1885), 34-42.
Les Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui (Amoy): étude concernant la religion populaire des chinois. Traduite de l'hollandais, 2 vols. Annales du Musée Guimet. Tome 11-12. Translation of *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken*.
"Een en ander over de beschouwingen van de heer Perelaer omtrent de Chineezen," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 8, I (1886), 112-24. Reply by Perelaer: *id.*, 124-6.
"De rechtstoestand van den Chineeschen emigrant," *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag*, no. 69, 20 januari 1891.
"De oorzaken der Chineesche emigratie," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 20, no. 1 nieuwe serie (1891), 210-4.
"China's consulaire politiek," *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag*, no. 75, 3 March 1891, and no. 77, 17 March 1891.
"Nogmaals China's consulaire politiek," *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag*, 20 and 26 May, 2 June 1891.
Over het belang der kennis van China voor onze koloniën, uit een politiek en wetenschappelijk oogpunt. Inaugural address (Leiden: Brill, 1891), 35 p.

"De lijkbezorging der Emoy-Chineezen," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, dl. 41 (1892), 1-114.
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Le Code du Mahâyâna en Chine: Son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Vol. I, N° 2 (Amsterdam 1893).
"Heeft bezorgdheid voor overgrooten toevloed van Chineezen naar onze koloniën recht van bestaan?" *Verslagen der vergaderingen van het Indisch Genootschap*, 13 maart 1894, pp. 67-91.
"De nieuwe regeling van het privaat-recht der Chineezen in onze koloniën," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 20, I (1898), 133-49. Also in *Indisch weekblad van het recht*, no. 1822, 30 May 1898.
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His library

In 1885, De Groot sold 49 books and manuscripts to the Leiden University Library that he had collected during his first stay in China in 1877. These are described in G. Schlegel's *Supplément au Catalogue* of 1886. Most of these books bear his name seal Gao Yan.

His correspondence and scholarly manuscripts are kept as his *Nachlass* in the archives of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin.

He bequeathed his Chinese books to the library of the Sinologisches Seminar of the Royal Academy in Berlin.[290] At the end of the Second World War, this library was heavily damaged. Some of his books later seem to have turned up in Russia.[291]



34. B. Hoetink, ca. 1910 (91205 KITLV).

HOETINK, Bernardus

Bernardus Hoetink was born on 27 September 1854 in Deventer and died on 6 December 1927 in The Hague.[292] His Chinese names were Hu-ting 富亭 (*Futing*)[293] and later Huding 胡定 (according to Mandarin pronunciation).[294] His name could also be written Hu-ting 富庭 (*Futing*).[295] In one of his books a seal was found with his complete name 富亭印篾達裕士行一, Hu-ting ìn Bih-tát-dzū-sū hâng it, "seal of Hoetink, the eldest son Bernardus."[296]

His father was Hendrik Richard Hoetink (Deventer, 13 May 1825 – The Hague, 21 November 1907), a baker. His mother was Johanna Stegeman (Deventer, 30 December 1829 – Deventer, 4 September 1898). Out of this marriage four sons and four daughters were born, of whom Bernardus was the third child and eldest son. The eldest daughter Johanna (1851–1902) later married H. Heukels, author of *Flora van Nederland*. The second son Berend Jan (1860–1928) later worked at the Ministry of Finance. The third son Hendrik Richard (1863–1922) worked as a medical doctor at the Deli Company in the East Indies from 1888 to 1902. His son, also named Hendrik Richard (1900–63), later became a well-known lawyer who taught at the University of Law (*Rechtshogeschool*) in Batavia (1929–34), and in 1949 became *Rector-Magnificus* of the University of Amsterdam. His daughter Everardina Wilhelmina (1904–45) became an agricultural law specialist. The fourth son Julius Gerardus (1865–1935) became a notary in Groningen. The other three daughters died in infancy.[297]

From October 1873, after passing the competitive examination with the highest rank, Bernardus Hoetink studied Chinese under Schlegel in Leiden together with J.J.M. de Groot and H.N. Stuart. They learned colloquial Hokkien and written Chinese.

Three years later, on 23 November 1876, he entered the colonial service and was sent to China with his two fellow students. He was to study Chinese in order to be appointed later as interpreter for Chinese in the Netherlands Indies. He studied for one year in Amoy and Zhangzhou. When he finished his studies, he engaged the teacher Jo Hoae Giok 楊懷玉 from Amoy and took him to the Indies.

On 13 April 1878 he was appointed as temporary interpreter (*tijdelijk*

tolk) in Makassar.[298] This was a temporary appointment, since Makassar was not an officially prescribed position for an interpreter. After just a year and a half, he was transferred. According to his successor Van der Spek, he had been 'declared dead' since he was said to be practicing the wrong kind of love (*de verkeerde liefhebberij*). Some of the reasons for this serious allegation were that he had good friends in China, he wished to engage a Chinese 'boy,' and he longed to go to China again.[299] When Hoetink left, his teacher Jo Hoae Giok stayed in Makassar.

On 28 November 1879, he was transferred to the East Coast of Sumatra, and became an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber.[300] He was stationed in Medan, a new position for a Chinese interpreter in a region with many Chinese immigrants.

On 5 September 1883 he was to be transferred to Padang, and would be appointed as extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Padang,[301] but one month later, on 4 October 1883, this decision was withdrawn.[302] Instead of him, Van der Spek was now stationed in Padang, coming from Mentok.

In Medan he mostly did notarial and other administrative work.[303] From 8 March 1885 on he was a member of the Residency's Court (*Residentieraad*), and from 1 July 1887 of the *Landraad* in Medan. He was also secretary of the *Immigranten-Asyl*.[304]

In 1888 he was notified that at his request he would be allowed one year of unpaid leave in China in order to facilitate the emigration of Chinese workers to Deli.[305] At that time, J.J.M. de Groot was already trying to achieve the free emigration of workers, and his efforts met with success in 1888, but the Deli Planters now wished to send someone who was well acquainted with the situation in Deli.

After a repeated request by the Deli Planters Committee in April 1889, on 23 May of that year Hoetink was charged to go to Swatow to study the languages, geography, and ethnology (*taal-, land- en volkenkunde*) of Southern China, and at the same time to promote direct emigration.[306] This assignment was similar to De Groot's in 1886, but the emphasis was on the latter task. Hoetink arrived in Swatow on 8 July, where he assisted J.H. Ferguson who was then stationed in Swatow, but who left later that month and went on leave to Holland a few months later. After a year of negotiating with various Mandarins, also on Hainan, he succeeded in arranging free emigration from Hoihow and Pakhoi (Haikou and Beihai).[307]

On 30 September 1889 he was awarded *f* 300 for temporarily acting in other functions in Medan, where, in addition to his own assignment, he had been acting auctioneer (*vendumeester*) and General Tax Collector (*Algemeen ontvanger van 's lands kas*) for two months in 1887 and 1888.[308]

On 7 June 1890, in reply to his request from Swatow, he was allowed two years of leave to the Netherlands by reason of twelve years of uninter-

rupted service.[309] He worked in Medan for ten and a half years, including one year in China. He left for Europe in the end of May.

On 21 July 1892, he was appointed as interpreter and extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chambers in Batavia.[310]

The same year, on 24 August 1892, after the Consul General in Southern China in Amoy, P.S. Hamel, fell seriously ill and had to be repatriated, the Deli Planters Committee requested Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk to appoint him as Consul General in Southern China.[311] The Minister of Colonies submitted the same request to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but without success.

In May 1893 he passed the Higher Officials Examination in Batavia.[312]

Two years later, on 10 February 1894, he was willing to be temporarily appointed as consul in Jeddah,[313] and later for the new position of Consul-General in Hong Kong, but in both cases F.J. Haver Droeze was appointed instead of him.

The next year, on 27 Juli 1895, he was at his request honourably discharged as interpreter and extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia as from 31 July.[314] The reason for his resignation is not known.[315] Two months later, on 29 September, he was at his request reappointed in both of his original functions.[316]

On 26 August 1896, he was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Batavia as from 1 October.[317]

On the same day, Governor-General Van der Wijck—wishing to reduce the number of Officials for Chinese Affairs—wrote to Minister of Foreign Affairs Röell that Stuart and Hoetink, who had both passed the Higher Officials Examination, might be suitable and available for an appointment as Consul in China or Singapore. On 15 October, Minister of Colonies Bergsma submitted the same proposal to Röell.[318] Three weeks later, on 4 November, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs replied that it did not need anyone at the time.[319] But the next year, on 10 April 1897, the latter Ministry requested information about Stuart and Hoetink, because a new Consul was needed after the establishment of a Consulate in Shanghai. In reply to Minister Bergsma, Governor-General Van der Wijck wrote that he considered Stuart and Hoetink both suitable, in particular Hoetink, who was highly appreciated by his former superiors in Medan and Batavia.

> As an interpreter in Medan and later here [in Batavia], he continuously remained in contact with China and kept himself informed about everything concerning China that was of importance for the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies.[320]

But in his letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bergsma guessed that since E.D. van Walree had just been appointed Vice-Consul in Shanghai, there would be no opportunity for Hoetink, which proved to be correct.[321]

Although this opportunity did not materialise, the next year Hoetink would have an even better chance to go to China.

On 21 December 1897 and 10 February 1898 he wrote two *notas* requesting to be allowed to do research in China, similar to De Groot's request of 1886 and his own of 1889. Now he wished to visit China for two years in order to continue his studies of the languages, geography, and ethnology of China, but also to make a Chinese translation of the Netherlands Indies *Civil Code* and *Commercial Code* as far as applicable to the Chinese, and to prepare an official spelling list of Chinese names.[322] His request was granted on 3 April 1898,[323] and as with the previous missions to China, it was combined with another assignment. On 8 May he was also ordered to promote direct emigration of suitable workers to Deli.[324] Hoetink spent two years in China, mostly in Peking and Tientsin (Tianjin). As a result of this mission there are manuscript translations of the *Civil Code* book 1 and 3 and the *Commercial Code for the Netherlands Indies*, now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden.[325]

On 6 June 1900, he was temporarily stationed at the Justice Department, and made inspection tours on the working conditions in various mines and plantations.[326] On 11 March 1903, he was allowed one year of leave to Europe on grounds of long service, as from 7 April.[327] At this time Hoetink's career as an interpreter of the Chinese language/Official for Chinese Affairs ended after 25 years, nine of which had been spent in other locations (three years in China, three years in the Justice Department, three years on leave).

In 1902 appeared the pamphlet *De millioenen uit Deli*, written by the sollicitor J. van den Brand, criticising the working conditions of coolies on the East Coast of Sumatra. The next year, the public prosecutor Rhemrev from Batavia investigated the local situation and published a report. Because their reports were received with a shock in the Netherlands, it was decided the *Coolie Ordinance* of 1889 should be revised and there should be created a government Labour Inspection Bureau.

On 30 April 1904, Hoetink was charged with the revision of the *Coolie Ordinance*,[328] and on 24 July of the same year he was appointed in the newly created position of temporary Inspector of Labour on the East Coast of Sumatra, at *f* 1,200 monthly.[329] However, the revised version of the *Coolie Ordinance* was never put into effect, but in his report Hoetink refuted most of Van den Brand's criticism.

In 1905, at his initiative a Chinese Postal Service (Tong Sian Giok 同善局) was established in Medan to assist the Chinese living in outlying plantations in sending letters and money to China.[330] Hoetink wrote about this initiative in "Eene Chineesche Remise-Bank." (*De Sumatra Post*, 16 June 1905). The purpose of this was to facilitate correspondence and remittances and thereby also to promote emigration to Deli.

On 23 June 1906, Hoetink was at his request honourably discharged from government service as from 7 July 1906,[331] after a career of 28 years (including three years of leave).

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 12 October 1880 to 1892 [?], and again from 1 May 1894 to 1903 [?], and from 9 May 1904 to 25 June 1906. He became a member of the Board of Directors on 3 July 1894, was Secretary from 5 March 1895 and Curator (*conservator*) from 4 June 1895, both until 5 April 1898.[332]

On 19 December 1906, he settled in The Hague, coming from Medan.[333]

In 1907 he donated many Chinese books to Leiden University; they are now kept in the East Asian Library. His books in Western languages on China and the Indies were later donated to the Athenaeum library in Deventer.[334]

He published several articles on the history of the Chinese officers in the Indies.

From 1920 to 1927 he was secretary of the KITLV in The Hague.

He remained a bachelor all his life.

He passed away on 6 December 1927 in The Hague, 74 years old.

Honours

1901 (19 August) Knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*)

Publications

Nederlandsch–Chineesche almanak voor de jaren 1861–1920 (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1900) [compiler].

Concept-ordonnantie: naar aanleiding van de hem gedane opdracht in verband met eene herziening of wijziging van de vigeerende koelie-ordonnantie, is door den tegenwoordigen tijdelijken Inspecteur van den arbeid in de residentie Oostkust van Sumatra, den Heer B. Hoetink, aan de Regeering ingediend het navolgend Ontwerp van eene gewijzigde koelie-ordonnantie voor genoemd gewest [1904], 15 p.

Concept-koelieordonnantie voor de residentie Oostkust van Sumatra, *Bijvoegsel van de Deli-Courant*, 4 October 1904 [Medan], 22 p.

Ontwerp tot herziening der voor de residentie Oostkust van Sumatra geldende koelie-ordonnantie, samengesteld door den tijdelijken inspecteur van den arbeid in dat gewest, Medan [1904] (part 1, 15 p.; part 2, Toelichting, 37 p.).

Gewijzigd ontwerp van eene koelie-ordonnantie voor de residentie Oostkust van Sumatra, Medan, *Deli-Courant*, 1905. 15 p. (12 Jan. 1905 ingediend).

"Eene Chineesche Remise-Bank," *De Sumatra Post*, 16 June 1905.

"So Bing Kong, het eerste hoofd der Chineezen te Batavia (1619–1636)," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, vol. 73 (1917), 344-415.

Hikajat kapitein Souw Beng Kong: kapala bangsa Tionghoa jang pertama di Batavia (1619–1636), menoeroet karangannja B. Hoetink, Batavia: Lie Tek Long, 1918, 77 p. (Malay translation of the preceding).

"Ni Hoekong, kapitein der Chineezen te Batavia in 1740," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, vol. 74 (1918), 447-518.
"De weduwe van kapitein Siqua. - Djanda kapitein Siqua," *Chung Hwa Hui Tsa Chih*, vol. 2, no. 1-2 (1918), 16-25, 98-107.
Verhaal van het vergaan van het jacht De Sperwer en van het wedervaren der schipbreukelingen op het eiland Quelpaert en het vasteland van Korea (1653–1666) met eene beschrijving van dat rijk / door Hendrik Hame ; edited and with preface and notes by B. Hoetink. Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging; 18, 1920. Original author: Hendrik Hamel (1630–1692).
"Chineesche officieren te Batavia onder de compagnie," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, vol. 28 (1922), 1-136.
"So Bing Kong, het eerste hoofd der Chineezen te Batavia (1619-1636), eene nalezing," *Bijdragen tot de TLV in NI*, vol. 79 (1923), 11-14.
Ni Hoe Kong: Kapitein Tiong Hoa di Betawie dalem tahon 1740, oleh B. Hoetink; disalin oleh Liem Koen Hian (Batavia: Handel-Mij. & Drukk. De Pertoendjangan, 1923), 80 p. (Malay translation of the above).

Manuscripts

Handboek voor het Tsiangtsiu dialect (ca. 1875, according to catalogue data now in Deventer) (probably a copy of Schlegel's translation of E. Doty's handbook)
Uitgaande brieven van de ambtenaar voor Chinese zaken ter Sumatra's Oostkust. Draft letters and two translations of the Official for Chinese Affairs on the East Coast of Sumatra, numbered 1-12, thereafter not numbered, 1880–1886, with two pasted-in Chinese letters. 42 p. (Ms Hoetink H 421a, KITLV).
Reis naar China in verband met de Deli emigratie, Swatow, 6 Juni 1898 (typoscript).
Verslag van eene reis naar Deli en Singapore, in voldoening aan de opdracht bedoeld by het Gouvernementsbesluit van 12 Januari 1901, Weltevreden, 16 fol. (typoscript).
Verslag van eene reis naar de Oostkust van Sumatra, Weltevreden, 1902 (Onderzoek op landen mijnbouwondernemingen naar de naleving van de zgn. koelie ordonnantie) (typoscript).
Nota voor de resident van de Oostkust van Sumatra naar aanleiding van eene voorgenomen regeling van de verhouding op panglongs (1904), 6 p. (Handgeschreven nota over vernieuwing van de koelie-ordonnantie en enkele documenten, afkomstig uit het dossier Hoetink).

Translations into Chinese

Chinese vertalingen van Nederlands–Indische ordonnancies e.d. en originele Chinese stukken. Copies of 68 Chinese translations of notifications and ordinances of the Netherlands Indies local government of Makassar, the East Coast of Sumatra and Medan, regulations etc. on Chinese officers, opium and slaughter tax-farming, traffic rules, recruitment of coolies etc. and original Chinese texts (letters) (1878–1892), 93 p. (Ms Hoetink H 421b, KITLV Collection).
Minlü 民律, manuscript [1900], 11 vols. bound in 6 hard cover vols., no name of translator mentioned, translation of parts of *Burgerlijk Wetboek voor Nederlandsch-Indië* applicable to the Chinese (SINOL. VGK 4891.9.52.2).
Helan Yandi Hua min shangfa 荷蘭煙地華民商法, Helan huawusi Huding yi 荷蘭華務司胡定譯, manuscript, [1900], 7 vol. bound in 3 hard covers, translation of *Wetboek van koophandel voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (as far as applicable to the Chinese) (SINOL. VGK 4893.52.1).

Manuscript copies

Zeli shujuan 則例書卷, [three characters crossed out:] 辛丑年, 富亭手抄 Chinese translation of a Straits Settlements' law on the tax-farming of opium, alcoholic beverages, copra etc., with penal sanctions (*sanzhoufu* 三州府: Singapore, Malakka, Penang) copied by or for Hoetink, 1881 (SINOL. VGK 4231.14)

Huaren meisegan tiaoli 華人美色甘條例. Translation of "Reglement voor het Collegie van Boedelmeesteren te Batavia," *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1828 no. 46. Not translated by Hoetink, but by Chinese, and probably copied by Hoetink's Chinese clerk (SINOL. VGK 4891.9.52.1).

Shumu 書目, *Futing shouding* 富亭手訂. Booklet wit a list of 60 titles of Chinese books that Hoetink collected during his studies in China in 1877 (SINOL. VGK 9598.8).

Obituary

"B. Hoetink †," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 8 December 1927.

His library

Some of his Chinese books were donated to Leiden University Library in 1907, some having a sticker "Schenking (Donation) B. Hoetink 1907." Some other Chinese and Western books and manuscripts were donated to the KITLV. The rest of his library (mostly Western books) was donated to the Athenaeum Library in his birthplace Deventer, listed in C.J. Van Slee's catalogue.



35. J.J. Hoffmann (East Asian Library).

HOFFMANN, Johannes Josephus

Johannes Josephus (Philippus) Hoffmann was born on 14 February 1805 in Würzburg, Bavaria and died on 19 January 1878 in Leiden.[335]

His father was Adam Hoffmann from Senfriedsburg, officer of the courts (*Amtsdiener bei allen Gerichten*), and his mother was Margarete Gössmann.[336]

He studied philology, probably mainly Latin and Greek, at the University of Würzburg. He was gifted with an exceptionally beautiful voice, and from 1825 to 1830 he was an actor and singer, and lived the life of an actor.

While travelling through the southern part of the Netherlands, on 17 July 1830, in Antwerpen he by chance met his fellow countryman Philip von Siebold, who also happened to be a native of Würzburg. Von Siebold had just returned from Japan, where he had stayed more than seven years. A few days after this meeting, Hoffmann decided to quit his life as an actor and become Von Siebold's assistant in preparing his magnum opus on Japan, *Nippon: Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern* [etc.], which was published in 1832–51. All this happened before 25 August 1830, the day the riots in Brussels broke out which finally led to Belgian independence from the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Hoffmann arrived in Leiden in October 1830, and began learning Chinese in March 1831, using Abel Rémusat's *Élémens de la Grammaire Chinoise*. His teacher was Ko Tsching Dschang (Ko Tsing-tsang, Guo Chengzhang 郭成章), a Hakka born in Dama township, Dabu county (Guangdong) in 1802[337]. His name was originally spelled in Hakka pronunciation as Kok Sin Tjong; this was later changed by Hoffmann to a Mandarin spelling, although Ko probably did not speak Mandarin. Originally Ko was an printing assistant of W.H. Medhurst and had come from Batavia with Von Siebold, in order to prepare the lithographs for Chinese and Japanese texts. In order to be able to communicate with Ko, Hoffmann had first to learn Malay. After having learnt some Chinese, Hoffmann taught himself Japanese, with Chinese–Japanese dictionaries as his only help. As there were hardly any materials for learning Japanese, he started to work on a Japanese grammar and a Japanese–German dictionary, the general plan of which was finished in 1839.

In November 1835, Ko left the Netherlands and returned to Batavia, where he worked for W.H. Medhurst again, drawing lithographs for his Chinese translations.[338] After Ko had left, it was Hoffmann who painfully and meticulously prepared the Chinese and Japanese texts for *Nippon Archiv*.

Hoffmann published his first article based on translations of Chinese and Japanese texts in 1837, on a botanical subject.

According to Serrurier in his obituary, in 1840 he was made doctor honoris causa at a German university, but this could not be confirmed. Hoffmann sometimes called himself "Dr." and was sometimes addressed by others as "Dr.," but no doctorate is mentioned in obituaries by others or in the archives of the Dutch Royal Academy of Sciences and the Berlin Academy, of both of which Hoffmann was a member.

Since Von Siebold knew no Chinese and little Japanese, it was Hoffmann who wrote a large part of *Nippon Archiv* (in vols. III, IV, V, VII). All the credit, however, went to Von Siebold, which grieved Hoffmann and put an extra strain on his relationschip with the assertive and arrogant Von Siebold.

In 1846, Von Siebold left the Netherlands and returned to his native Germany, and Hoffmann's financial position became insecure. From the 1840s, Hoffmann was in correspondence with Stanislas Julien (1799–1873), professor of Chinese at the Collège de France and conservator of the Chinese books in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, who had a very high opinion of him and gave him many Chinese books. When in 1846 G.Th. Staunton wished to establish a chair for Chinese at King's College in London, Julien recommended Hoffmann. Hoffmann was invited and became torn between his wish to stay in the Netherlands with its rich source materials on Japan and accepting a well-salaried professorship in London. Finally the Minister of Colonies, J.C. Baud, decided on 11 December 1846 to appoint Hoffmann as Japanese translator of the Netherlands-Indies government, stationed in the Netherlands, at a yearly salary of *f* 1,800.

From 13 November 1849 on, Hoffmann taught Chinese to the nine-year old Gustaaf Schlegel, son of the originally German zoologist and ornithologist Herman Schlegel. Gustaaf studied with him until 1857 and was joined by C.F.M. de Grijs in 1854-55.

On 21 March 1855, Hoffmann was appointed titular professor of Japanese and Chinese at Leiden university and the next month his salary was raised to *f* 2,800, the normal salary of a professor in Leiden.[339] He was the first professor of Japanese in the Western world.

Later, Hoffmann was charged by the Minister of Colonies to train interpreters and taught Chinese to J.J.C. Francken in 1855–7 and M. Schaalje in 1855–9, Chinese and Japanese to W.P. Groeneveldt, J.A. Buddingh (both

1858–61) and J. de Breuk (1858–64), Chinese and Japanese to R.J. de Saint Aulaire (1859–61), and Chinese to P. Meeter (1862–5).

Hoffmann was a member of the Board of Directors of the Royal Institute for the Linguistics, Geography, and Ethnology of the Netherlands Indies (KITLV van NI) in 1853–9, 1861–4 and 1869–73. In 1873, he was succeeded by G. Schlegel as teacher of future interpreters.

In 1860 he had the first set of Chinese matrices and type made, necessary for printing his Japanese grammar and dictionary. The original type were delivered by C.F.M de Grijs and were bought from the London Missionary Society in Hong Kong. In 1854 and 1855, type from the same matrices had been used to print the Delegates' Bible by Medhurst and others. In 1861, the first book to be printed in Holland with these type was the Japanese *Shopping Dialogues*, and in 1868, Hoffmann's Japanese grammar followed. In 1875, the type were sold by the Ministry of Colonies to E.J.Brill's publishing house, where they were used until 1964.[340]

After the transfer of responsibility for Japanese affairs from the Ministry of Colonies to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1862, Hoffmann's title of 'Japanese translator of the Netherlands-Indies government' was revoked, but his professorial title was changed to 'professor charged with the training of interpreters for the Chinese and Japanese languages'[341] by Royal Decree as from 1 January 1863.[342]

In 1862 Hoffmann accompanied the Japanese delegation of the *shōgun* in the Netherlands, acting as translator for the Dutch King William III at their audience with him.[343]

Later he helped the Japanese students, especially Nishi Amane 西周 and Tsuda Mamichi 津田真道, who came to Leiden. They were the first Japanese students to study abroad. Originally they had planned to go to the United States, but because of the Civil War they chose to come to the Netherlands. From his direct contacts with the Japanese students, he studied the Japanese spoken language, and learned about Japanese intonation. As a result of this, he published a Japanese transcript of *The Grand Study (Ta Hio or Dai gaku)* [大學] including intonation.

In 1862, Hoffmann had already been charged by the Minister of Colonies with publishing a Japanese–Dutch–English dictionary, but he considered it necessary to publish a Japanese grammar first. In 1868 he finally published his *Japansche spraakleer* (Japanese grammar) and simultaneously an English translation. In 1876 a revised English translation and in 1877 a German translation appeared. In the meantime he continued working on his dictionary.

From the late 1860s it was decided to train future Chinese interpreters in the Indies rather than in Leiden, but only two such students were trained in Batavia by G. Schlegel and M. von Faber: J.J. Roelofs and J.W. Young. After Schlegel returned to the Netherlands on sick leave

in 1872, he began teaching a new group of three students in Leiden in 1873.

During the last ten years of his life, Hoffmann was in bad health, but he still taught a few students Chinese and Japanese: W. Vissering,[344] P. Maclaine Pont,[345] and L. Serrurier.[346]

Hoffmann remained a bachelor all his life. He lived at Hogewoerd 124 from at least 1849 to October 1856; from then on he lived with the family of Dr. C.A.X.G.F. Sicherer, German teacher at the *gymnasium* and lecturer at Leiden University, at Hooglandse Kerkgracht 23.[347]

He was the first to seriously study the Chinese and Japanese books kept in Leiden University Library. In 1845 he published, together with Von Siebold, a Latin catalogue of almost 600 Japanese books, many of which were Japanese prints of Chinese books. In 1836 and 1854 he also prepared Latin and Dutch descriptions of some Chinese books in the library, which are still kept in the library. Many of the older Chinese books in the library have his descriptions on pieces of paper pasted inside. Hoffmann himself also had a large collection of Chinese books comprising more than 100 titles, which was bought by the library after his death. He thus should not only be considered the founder of sinology and japanology in Leiden, but also of the Chinese library in Leiden University.

The printing of his dictionary was begun in 1875, but because of ill health, the editing was to be taken care of by L. Serrurier. Only three volumes appeared of his Japanese–Dutch and Japanese–English dictionaries in 1881–92.

Hoffmann passed away on 19 January 1878.

After his death, from 1887 to 1896 L. Serrurier was lecturer in Ethnology and Japanese, but no professor of Japanese was appointed at Leiden University until W.M. de Visser became professor in 1917.

Hoffmann's manuscripts, including the manuscript of his Japanese–Dutch–German dictionary, are kept in Leiden University Library (BPL 2180 and 2186, Or. 26.313 and 26.971). A description (except the last one) is in *Catalogue* 2005. Other manuscripts are in the Special Collections Department of Utrecht University Library.

Hoffmann became a member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) from the establishment of the Literary Section in 1855, and of the Berliner Akademie in 1874.

Honours

1875 (30 January) Knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*)[348]
1877 Albrecht's Order 1st class, from the King of Saxony

Publications

Hoffmann is best known for his Japanological works. Here only his works concerning China and Chinese studies and major Japanological works are listed. A more complete list of his many books and articles on Japanese subjects may be found in the obituary by H. Kern (*see also Catalogue* 2005, BPL 2186 K, pp. 167-71).

Bibliotheca Japonica (dictionaries and texts in Chinese characters, each published in 100 copies; together with Von Siebold and Ko Tsching Dschang): Vol. I, Sin Zoo zi lin gjŏk ben 新增字林玉篇, Novus et auctus literarum ideographicarum thesaurus (1834); Vol. II, Wa Kan won seki sio gen zi ko 和漢音釋書言字考, Thesaurus linguae Japonicae (1835); Vol. III, Tsián dsü wèn 千字文, sive Mille literae ideographicae (1833); Vol. IV, Lui Ho 類合, sive Vocabularium Sinense in Kôraïanen conversum (1838) (Some were later also published in translation in *Nippon*).

Die Angaben aus Schinesischen und Japanischen Naturgeschichten von dem Illicium religiosum (dem Mang tshao der Schinesen, Sikimi no ki der Japaner) und dem davon verschiedenen Sternanis des Handels (Leiden: 1837).

Lui Ho, eine Schinesiche Wörtersammlung mit Koraischer Uebersetzung und Angabe des Koraisch Schinesischen Dialects, Kritisch bearbeitet und verdeutscht von J. Hoffmann (*Nippon* VII, 1839) (Chinese–Korean wordlist).

Das *Tsiän dsü wen* oder Buch von tausend Wörtern, aus dem Schinesichen met Berücksichtiging der Koraischen und Japanischen Uebersetzung ins Deutsche übertragen von Dr. J. Hoffmann (*Nippon* IV).

Catalogus librorum et manuscriptorum Japonicorum a Ph. Fr. de Siebold collectorum, annexa enumeratione illorum, qui in museo regio Hagano servantur, auctore Ph. Fr. de Siebold; libros descripsit J. Hoffmann (Lugduni Batavorum: apud Auctorem, 1845), VI, 35, 16 p. Acc. tabulae lithographicae XVI; fol. Bibliotheca Japonica.

"Mededeelingen uit het gebied der Chinesche en Japansche Taal- en letterkunde, door Dr. J. Hoffmann, te Leiden. Iets over het werk: *Anfangsgründe der Chinesische Grammatik*, von Stephan Endlicher, Wien 1845" (Leiden 12 October 1846). From: *Algemeene Konsten Letterbode*, Nos. 50, 51 (1846), 11 p.

"Observations sur l'ouvrage intitulé *Anfangsgründe der Chinesische Grammatik*, von Stephan Endlicher, Wien 1845. Extrait de la revue *Algemeene Konst- en Letterkunde*, No. 50 et 51, année 1846," 13 p. [French translation of the preceding].

"Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis, verspreiding en kultuur der pioenen in China en Japan, uit oorspronkelijke bronnen." *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot aanmoediging van den Tuinbouw*, 19-37.

"Notes relating to the history, distribution and cultivation of the peony in China and Japan," tr. by Polman Mooy, *Paxton's magazine of botany and register of flowers*, vol. 16 (1849), 85-89 and 109-14 [translation of the preceding].

"Iets over een' Chineschen Almanak voor het jaar 1851," *De Gids* (1852), 3-12 [on D.J. MacGowan's *Bowu tongshu* 博物通書].

"Noms indigènes d'un choix de Plantes du Japon et de la Chine, determinés d'après les échantillons de l'herbier des Pays-Bas, par MM. J.J. Hoffmann et H. Schultes, Paris 1853." *Journal Asiatique*, 1852, no. 10. ("Over Japansche en Chinesche planten-namen, door Dr. J. Hoffmann." Dutch review and abstract by "d. V." (W.H. de Vriese?) of the French edition in *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot aanmoediging van den tuinbouw*, 1853 (2 ff.).) (an enlarged Dutch translation was published in 1864).

"Aanteekeningen omtrent het geneeskrachtig gebruik van de papaver getrokken uit de Chinesche Materia Medica Pèn-ts'aò Kâng Mŏ 本草綱目 van Lì Schî tschîn," Bijlage 1 in: J.C. Baud, "Proeve van eene geschiedenis van den handel en het verbruik van Opium in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 1 (1853), 195-9.

"Het Hemel-Aarde-Verbond, T'iên-Tí-Hoeí, een geheim genootschap in China en onder de Chinezen in Indië," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 1 (1853), 260-90.

"Bijdragen tot de kennis der Geheime Genootschappen van de Chinezen, bepaaldelijk het T'iên-tí-hoeí," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 2 (1854), 292-329.

"Het Chinesche knolgewas Tsch'ú-yú 薯蕷, de NAGA-IMO of YAMANO-IMO van Japan. (Dioscorea Batatas DCNE, Dioscorea Japonica THUNB.), een onlangs aangeprezen surrogaat van den aardappel. Volgens Japansche bronnen toegelicht; door Dr. J. Hoffmann. Medegedeeld door en met een naschrift van W.H. de Vriese," W.H. de Vriese, *Tuinbouw-flora van Nederland en zijne overzeesche bezittingen* (Leyden: Sythoff, 1855–1856), part 1, pp. 289-300.

"De Chinesche feestdagen volgens den Javaanschen almanak voor het jaar DAL 1783 (J.C. 1854/55) toegelicht door D. J. Hoffmann," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 4 (1856), 264-77.

Proeve eener Japansche spraakkunst, van J.H. Donker Curtius, toegelicht, verbeterd en met uitgebreide bijvoegselen vermeerderd (Leiden: Sythoff, 1857).

Review of *Catalogus medicamentorum sinensium quae Pekini comparanda et determinanda curavit ALEXANDER TATARINOV, Doctor medicinae, medicus missionis Rossicae Pekinensis spatios annorum 1840–1850*, Petropoli 1856. Mededeeling door J. Hoffmann (4 pp.). From: *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde*, Deel V, p. 68 [1859].

"Mededeeling van J. Hoffmann aangaande de Chinesche matrijzen en drukletters, krachtens magtiging van Z.M. den Koning en op last van Z.E. den minister van Staat, minister van Koloniën J.J. Rochussen vervaardigd onder toezicht van den hoogleeraar, translateur van het Nederlandsch-Indisch gouvernement voor de Japansche en Chinesche talen, Dr. J. Hoffmann." Uitgegeven door de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam, 1860 (16 pp.).

Catalogus van Chinesche matrijzen en drukletters, krachtens magtiging van Z.M. den Koning en op last van Z.E. den Minister van Staat, Minister van Koloniën J.J. Rochussen vervaardigd onder toezigt van den hoogleeraar, translateur van het Nederlandsch Indisch gouvernement voor de Japansche en Chinese talen Dr. J. Hoffmann (Leiden 1860).

Shopping Dialogues in Dutch, English and Japanese. Published by J. Hoffmann. Japanese interpreter to the government of the Dutch-Indies. Winkelgesprekken in het Hollandsch, Engelsch en Japansch, bewerkt en met voorkennis van Z.E. den Minister van Koloniën Jhr. J.P. Cornets de Groot van Kraaijenburg uitgegeven door Dr. J. Hoffmann, translateur van het Nederlandsch Indische gouvernement voor de Japansche taal. Sold by Martinus Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, and Trübner & Co., London.

"Iets over Chinesche lombardbriefjes," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, Nieuwe Volgreeks, 4e Deel, pp. 145-9.

[J. Hoffmann, ed.,] *The Japanese Treaties, Concluded with the Netherlands, Russia, England, the United States and France in 1858 at Jedo. Fac-simile of the Japanese text. De Japansche traktaten met Nederland, Rusland, Engeland, de Vereenigde Staten en Frankrijk in 1858 te Jedo gesloten. Facsimile van den Japanschen tekst* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1862).

The Grand Study - De Groote Studie (*Ta Hio* or *Dai gaku*), Pt. I, The Chinese text with interlinear Japanese version; Pt. II, Reading of the Japanese text [in Roman character] (Leiden: Brill, 1864); preface and title page also in Dutch.

(with H. Schultes) *Inlandsche namen eener reeks van Japansche en Chinesche planten, bestemd naar de op 's Rijks herbarium te Leyden aanwezige exemplaren* (Leyden 1864, second, enlarged edition of the 1852 French original).

"De Japansche traktaten, Manual of Chinese running hand," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, Nieuwe volgreeks, 7de deel (1864), 175-8 [review].

Japansche spraakleer (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1867).

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Lithographies and manuscripts (see also *Catalogue* 2005)

Lithograph copy of the local Edict of toleration of the Christian religion from Shaoxing of 1848, one with a note by J.J. Hoffmann, with Dutch text "Naar het oorspronkelijk op steen get. Leiden, Junij, 1850 J H" (Lithograph after the original, Leiden, June 1850, J Hoffmann) (SINOL. VGK 1982.3.5; Archiefkast 3D; = Or. 27.031).

Si schi hiën wen 昔時賢文: *wijze spreuken uit ouden tijd*, lithography of the Chinese text drawn by J.J. Hoffmann [ca. 1855].

"Chinesche spreuken" (Chinese maxims). Dutch and German translation of J.F. Davis, *Hien Wun Shoo* 賢文書, Chinese moral maxims (Macau 1823), manuscript copied by G. Schlegel, with original Chinese and English text, 428 p. (BPL 2044).

Wang Jiaoluan bainian chang hen 王嬌鸞百年長恨 *Wâng Kiâo luan pĕ niên tschang han oder die Blutige Rache einer junger Frau*, Chinesische Erzählung mit einer hochdeutschen Uebersetzung (Leiden, 1857), contains also the German translation by Adolf Böttger (1846) after the English translation by Sloth (Robert Thom, Canton, 1839). The story of Nian'er niang 廿二娘, copied by G. Schlegel (Archiefkast 3B; = Or. 27.030).

Obituaries

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His library

His Chinese, Japanese and many Western books on the Far East were bought after his death by Leiden University Library. Lists of his Chinese and Japanese books are in Bibliotheekarchief C 45* (Special Collections, Leiden University Library); a list of books in Western languages bought by the library is in Bibliotheekarchief J 39 (Lijst der nieuwe ingekomen boekwerken 1880–1881) for the period July-September 1880.



36. A.A. de Jongh, ca. 1880 (courtesy F.R. van der Spek, Noordwolde).

JONGH, Arie Arend de

Arie Arend de Jongh was born on 23 November 1856 in Zuidland and died on 4 January 1941 in The Hague. His Chinese name was Yông A-lí (*Yang Yali*) 楊亞理.[349]

His father was Martinus Johannes de Jongh (1819 – Zuidland, 14 February 1899), mayor (*burgemeester*) of Zuidland (near Rotterdam) from 1852 to 1896.[350] His mother was Adriana van Pernis (1828 – Zuidland, 8 October 1897). Out of this marriage eight children were born, two of whom died in infancy. Arie was the second child and eldest son.[351]

After passing the competitive examination as third highest, he began to study Chinese with Schlegel in October 1875, together with A.E. Moll and J. van der Spek. On 18 December 1878, the three students entered the colonial service and were requested to go to China to study Chinese for one year, in order to be appointed as interpreters of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies.[352] On 6 January 1879, they left the Netherlands, and on 28 February they arrived in Amoy, where they studied for nine months. From 25 June to 13 July they made a trip to Northern Formosa. From 1 December 1879 to 25 February 1880, they studied in Zhangzhou for almost three months, and from 4 to 27 March 1880 they travelled via Singapore to Batavia.[353]

On 26 April 1880, A.A. de Jongh was appointed temporary interpreter in Rembang.[354]

On 23 November 1882, he married Alberdina Anna Geertruida Crébas (Wonseradeel, 29 February 1864 – The Hague, 21 June 1931) in Rembang. She was a daughter of Johannes Idskens Crebas (Nieuweschans, 11 March 1832 – Apeldoorn, 1 October 1896), Protestant minister in Rembang, who worked in the Indies from 1873 until 1895. Out of this marriage three children were born, a son Johannes Idskeüs (Hilversum, 28 May 1886 – Driebergen, 19 October 1965), who had a career as engineer in the Indies; a daughter Albertine Anna Gertrude who passed away in early childhood (Mentok, 26 July 1887 – Mentok, 30 April 1889), and a daughter Martine Johanna (Batavia, 22 March 1892).[355] After the death of his first wife, A.A. de Jongh married Anna Maria van de Pol (Alkmaar, 12 June 1873) on 17 November 1933.

On 13 March 1885, he was transferred to Padang, replacing J. van der

Spek who was granted leave on the same day, and he became extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber there.[356]

Two months later, on 26 May 1885, he requested two years of sick leave in the Netherlands. On the next day, the Governor of the West Coast of Sumatra allowed him to leave immediately. On 20 June 1885, Governor-General O. van Rees agreed and also allowed two years of foreign sick leave.[357]

After two years of leave in the Netherlands, on 14 May 1887 he was appointed as interpreter in Mentok.[358]

From 15 March to 12 May 1890, he accompanied the sinologist and member of the Council of the Indies Groeneveldt as his secretary on a mission to French Indo-China to study the system of opium monopoly there.[359] On 26 September 1890, Governor-General C. Pijnacker Hordijk expressed the government's satisfaction with the manner in which he had assisted Groeneveldt on his mission.[360]

On 28 July 1890, he was transferred to Batavia, and also became extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber there, succeeding Von Faber.[361]

In May 1892 he passed the Higher Officials Examination in Batavia.[362] On 21 July 1892, he was (temporarily) put at the disposal of Groeneveldt, who was charged to do an experiment with a government monopoly of opium, for an extra monthly allowance of *f* 250. At the same time he was honourably discharged as extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia.[363]

On 11 August 1893 he was put at the disposal of the Chief Inspector of Opium Affairs, H.F. Hooghwinkel, since Groeneveldt became Vice-President of the Council of the Indies and gave up his involvement with opium affairs.[364]

On 8 August 1895, he was again made extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia.[365]

On 24 September he was accorded the rank and title of Inspector at the Office for Opium Affairs (*dienst der opium aangelegenheden*).[366]

On 29 September 1895, he was honourably discharged as extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia. He was succeeded by Hoetink, who became at the same time interpreter in Batavia. The decision of ten days earlier[367] to assign the Chinese clerk Tan Siu Eng (Tan Sioe Ing) to him for his work in the Orphans Chamber, as long as there was no interpreter for Chinese in Batavia, was cancelled at the same time. [368]

On 26 August 1896, he was appointed Official for Chinese Affairs as from 1 October 1896, but kept his rank and title of Inspector at the Office for Opium Affairs and continued to be temporarily put at the disposal of the Chief Inspector for Opium Affairs.[369]

On 18 February 1898, he was appointed as Inspector at the Govern-

ment Opium Monopoly (*dienst der Opiumregie*), at *f* 800 monthly.[370] He immediately received two raises in salary, resulting in *f* 1,000 per month. In this manner, his career as interpreter of Chinese and Official for Chinese Affairs ended after eighteen years, including two years of leave and four and a half years of actual service in the Office of Opium Affairs. From 1894 to 1904 the Opium monopoly was gradually introduced on Madura and Java, replacing the system of opium tax-farming.

As from 10 April 1898 he was temporarily assigned to be acting Chief of the Opium Monopoly, while the Chief, H.J. Hooghwinkel, went on one year's leave to the Netherlands,[371] but on 30 December of the same year he was honourably discharged.[372]

On 19 February 1899, he was granted one year of leave to Europe in view of long service, as from 8 March 1899.[373]

On 17 March 1900, he was again appointed as Inspector of the Opium Monopoly.[374]

On 28 August 1901, he was again temporarily charged to be acting Chief of the Opium Monopoly as from 3 September 1901, and later that month, on 25 September, he was made Chief Official (*Hoofdambtenaar, Chef van den Dienst*), succeeding his superior Hooghwinkel.[375] Two years later De Jongh's title was changed to General Inspector (*Hoofdinspecteur*).[376]

From 18 May 1904 on, Van de Stadt, Official for Chinese Affairs in Mentok (Banka), was temporarily assigned to De Jongh. He could be charged with office work or to accompany De Jongh on official travels.[377]

On 17 October 1905, at De Jongh's initiative, Thijssen, Official for Chinese Affairs in Surabaya, was assigned to work for him.[378] De Jongh had been charged with investigating the conditions of tin mining on Banka. They went to Banka, had meetings with Dutch officials and did investigations in the field. De Jongh's originally secret report of January 1906 was later printed (*see* his list of publications below). After completion, on 20 January 1906, this assignment was withdrawn. At the same time Governor-General Van Heutsz expressed the Government's gratitude and satisfaction for the manner in which both De Jongh and Thijssen had fulfilled their tasks.[379] Van Heutsz later decided to demand improvements in the living and working conditions of the Chinese labourers.[380]

On 3 July 1906, De Jongh was allowed one year of sick leave to Europe. He would leave his office on 2 August 1906.[381]

Two years later, on 10 November 1908, he was again appointed as Inspector General of the Opium Monopoly, at *f* 1,500 monthly.[382] In the same year he was assigned by the Ministry of Colonies to represent the Netherlands in the International Opium Commission convening in Shanghai on 1 February 1909.[383] The Commission represented thirteen countries; as a result of this meeting, the first International Opium Con-

ference was held in The Hague in 1912; it was followed by two other similar conferences in The Hague in 1913 and 1914.

On 28 July 1910, De Jongh and W.G. van Wettum, Inspector at the Opium Monopoly, a brother of the sinologist B.A.J. van Wettum, were directed to go to the Netherlands for consultations with Minister of Colonies J.H. de Waal Malefijt as from 15 September, and as long as the Minister would deem necessary.[384] This was in preparation for the International Opium Conference in The Hague planned for the next year.

On 7 August 1911, De Jongh was at his request discharged from government service, and Governor-General Idenburg expressed gratitude for his many and loyal services to the Country.[385] On 25 August 1911, he was granted a pension.

He worked on opium affairs for 19 years, of which ten years as Chief of the Opium Monopoly. This total period is inclusive of three years of leave and six years in the capacity of interpreter/Official for Chinese Affairs. In total he worked in the Indies for 31½ years (including five years of leave).

In December 1911 and January 1912, he attended the International Opium Conference in The Hague, representing the Netherlands as "former Inspector General, head of the Opium Monopoly of the Dutch East Indies," together with W.G. van Wettum, who would succeed him on 3 February 1912. This Conference decided in the *Hague International Opium Convention* of 23 January 1912 for the first time upon rules for the production, distribution, import and export of raw and prepared opium and some other drugs, measures against smuggling and the exchange of information and regulations among the various countries.[386]

De Jongh was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 4 November 1890 to 8 January 1896, again from 7 June 1898 until 13 February 1899 [?], and from 23 December 1901 until 15 January 1906. He was a member of the Board of Directors from 28 July 1898 until 13 February 1899, when he went on leave.

From 1902 until 1906, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Netherlands Indies Society for the Protection of Animals (*Nederlandsch-Indische Vereeniging tot bescherming van dieren*, established in 1898).

After his return to the Netherlands, he was mayor of Hoorn from 1913 to 1921.[387] He lived in Hoorn until his death.

On 4 April 1941, he passed away in The Hague, 84 years old.

Honours

1890 Knight in the Order of Cambodia
1906 (10 September) Knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*)

Publications

Verslag omtrent eenige aangelegenheden betreffende de tinwinning op Banka (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1906), IV, 106 p., Bijgevoegd: Nieuwe modellen der overeenkomst voor Banka.

Bescheiden betreffende eene herziening van het passenstelsel voor de Vreemde Oosterlingen op Java en Madoera / [by A.A. de Jongh ... et al.] (Batavia, 1909), VI, 98 p.

Bescheiden betreffende eene herziening van het wijkenstelsel voor de Vreemde Oosterlingen op Java en Madoera / [by A.A. de Jongh ... et al.] (Batavia, 1909), 93 p.

"Willem Pieter Groeneveldt," *Eigen haard*, no. 37, 11 September 1915 [obituary].

Translation into Chinese

Chineesche vertaling van het reglement op de brandweer in de afdeeling stad en voorsteden van Batavia, vastgesteld door den resident van Batavia den 30 Januari 1891, Chinese title: *Fangjiu huohuan shi zhi tiaogui* 防救火患事之條規 (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1891), [26 pp.], 13 double pp. (in Leiden University Library and KITLV Collection).

Manuscript

Hollandsch–Chineesch handboekje van het Tsiang-tsiu dialect, manuscript copy of Schlegel's translation of E. Doty's *Anglo–Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect* (Canton, 1853). Date at the end: 14 October 1877, 347 pp. With some Hakka transcriptions added (SINOL. 15.730.8).

His library

On 15 January 1936, he donated his Chinese books to the Sinological Institute in Leiden. Now 26 of these have been identified, most of which can be recognised by their hard-cover binding and a sticker inside. A list is available.



37. P. Meeter, ca. 1880 (courtesy Karin Meeter).

MEETER, Pieter

Pieter Meeter was born on 14 September 1844 in Arum (Friesland), and died on 13 September 1901 in Lausanne.[388] His official name was Pieter Meeter, but his family sometimes called him Pieter Andries(zoon) Meeter.[389] His Chinese name was perhaps Meide 美德.[390]

His father was Andries (Pietersz.) Meeter (Huizum, 28 November 1817 – Gorssel near Zutphen, 31 March 1889), who was principal (*hoofdonderwijzer*) in Arum from 1841 to 1857, director of the reformatory institution for boys (*directeur van het huis tot verbetering en opvoeding van jongens*) in Alkmaar from 1857 to 1874, director of the Nederlandsch Mettray agricultural colony from 1874 to 1885, and director of the Oldenhof psychiatric institution (*inrichting voor zenuwleiders en zwakken*) in Gorssel starting in 1885. He was the author of many schoolbooks, children's books, and articles and books on educational subjects.[391] His mother was Elisabeth Bolman (Leeuwarden, 30 September 1818 – Alkmaar, 19 March 1869). Out of this marriage nine children were born, four of whom died in infancy. The three sons and two daughters who lived into adulthood were Rinske (1843 – after 1907), Pieter (1844–1901), Reinouw (1847–1907), Andries (1851 – before 1904?), and Ybo (1854–1913). All the children later went to the Indies. Rinske and Reinouw followed their husbands; the latter went to Magelang, Java in November 1872. Andries was a florist and later became a tobacco planter.[392] Ybo was a clerk (1881), Administrator at the tin mines on Banka (1882), and later notary in Kota Raja (1897), Makassar (1907), and Medan (1912).[393]

Pieter Meeter was the last of Hoffmann's students. He had been recommended by J.J. de Gelder, director of the Alkmaar *gymnasium*, who praised him as a 'solid Frisian' (*degelijke Fries*),[394] and he began his studies in Leiden on 1 August 1862. Two and a half years later, on 15 March 1865, he entered the colonial service as a student-translator (*élève-translateur*).[395] He went by 'overland mail' to China and studied the Hakka dialect in Macao for two years. He also studied in the interior of Guangdong for a few months, doubtless in the Hakka districts, and travelled to Kia Ying Chow. When in Macao, he studied together with De Breuk for one year. He also did some translation work for the Dutch Consul N. Peter.

As of 13 February 1867, he engaged the Chinese teacher Tsjhin Koei Liem, probably a Hakka, to accompany him to the Indies and serve as a teacher and clerk.[396]

On 28 June 1867 he was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Riau.[397] At that time, M. Schaalje was interpreter in Tanjung Pinang, Riau.

Already one year later, on 6 July 1868, he was granted two years' sick leave to Europe.[398]

On 9 December 1869, he married Josephine Francisca Glasbergen (Amsterdam, 22 January 1844 – Paris, 1898) in Koudekerk aan den Rijn, a village near Leiden, where her family was living.

On 27 March 1870, Pieter Meeter and his wife left the Netherlands for the Indies.[399]

On 14 September 1870 he was appointed interpreter of Chinese in Pontianak, succeeding Groeneveldt.[400] A year later he was allowed a second teacher to help him study the Amoy dialect for one year.[401] Meeter was a member of the Local School Committee.

After four years in Pontianak, on 23 October 1874, he was transferred to Padang, again succeeding Groeneveldt.[402] By 28 December 1874, he had been discharged as a member of the Local School Committee of Pontianak. On 11 January 1875, he and his family left Batavia for Sumatra.[403]

One year later, on 30 March 1876, he was transferred to Surabaya,[404] where he remained for twelve years. As usual, he was also an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber.[405]

On 31 March 1888 he was allowed two years of leave to Europe, because of 15 years of continuous service.[406]

He returned to the Indies and arrived in Batavia on 5 April 1890.[407] On 17 April 1890 he was appointed interpreter in Semarang and extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber.[408] But only a few months later, on 13 September of the same year, he was at his request honourably discharged, and from then on he received a pension.[409] He had worked as an interpreter for 23 years, including four years of leave.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 17 December 1872 until 9 December 1884.

Pieter Meeter was also active as a journalist, contributing regularly to the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* in 1881–4. He was a commissioner of this newspaper, and in 1883–4 acted temporarily for eight months as chief editor. Because of his outspoken opinions on Chinese affairs (concerning tjap-djie-kie, a kind of gambling), he then came into conflict with the Dutch traders; this had serious consequences for the newspaper when many European companies cancelled their subscriptions and stopped advertising.[410]

In Surabaya, he was deputy chief of the fire brigade (*adjunct-brandspuitmeester*), and a member of the local committee of the boys' orphanage.

During his leave and after his retirement, from 1888 to 1894 (except for a short stay in Semarang), the family lived in Leiden, where Pieter Meeter did some work for Schlegel at the University.[411] He left Leiden after "a controversy with persons in the university."[412]

After his retirement, he contributed regularly to the *Java-bode* and other newspapers, for instance with his serial "Indische Chinoiserieën," in which he wrote about the Chinese interpreters and the Chinese in the Indies. This serial was quite popular; in advertisements of the *Java-bode* Meeter was mentioned as the first on their list of contributors.

He and his wife had seven children, one of whom died in infancy. These were: Pieter (Pontianak, 25 – 31 March 1871), Betty (Pontianak, 6 April 1873 – The Hague, 1907), Friso (Padang, 27 December 1875 – Utrecht, 18 October 1916), Marie (Surabaya, 3 December 1878 – Amsterdam, 24 December 1957), Hilda (Surabaya, 4 August 1880 – died in Switzerland), Emma (Surabaya 28 July 1882 – Seattle, 1956), Martha (Surabaya, 18 May 1884 – The Hague, 1968). The only son, Friso, studied at the Agricultural University of Wageningen and later became a planter in the Indies, and the five daughters were also well educated. His wife Josephine Glasbergen became seriously ill in Surabaya and did not recover in Leiden. In 1894 her family took her to a hospital for treatment in Paris, where she passed away in 1898.

In 1894 Pieter Meeter and his daughters moved to Geneva. He remarried in 1899, but passed away on 13 September 1901 in Lausanne, almost 57 years old.

A family history was written by his great-granddaughter Karin Meeter *Meeterverhalen, in drie eeuwen van Leeuwarden naar Rotterdam* ([Kaag] 2009); it includes a chapter about Pieter Meeter (chapter 6, pp. 49-59) containing several photographs of him and his family.

Publications

"De onbedrevenheid van Chinezen bedoeld in art. 7 der ordonnantie van 8 December 1855, staatsblad no. 79," *Indisch Weekblad van het Regt*, no. 733, 16 July 1877.

"De regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw" (The legal position of Chinese women), *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 32 (1879), 345-73.

"Advies van een deskundige in zake boekhouding en faillissementen van Chineezen" (Advice from an expert concerning bookkeeping and bankruptcy of the Chinese), *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 parts: 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31 December 1881. Published as a booklet by *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, offered to new subscribers for 1882 (KITLV Collection).

"Mr. J.W.T. Cohen Stuart over den regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 28 and 30 October 1882. Also published in: *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 39 (1882), 316-25. Fully quoted by J.W.T. Cohen Stuart in "De rechtstoestand der Chineesche vrouw," *Recht en Wet: rechtsgeleerd maandschrift*, no. 6 (1883), 297-307.

"Mr. J.W.F. Cohen Stuart over den rechtstoestand der Chineesche vrouw," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 2 and 4 May 1883.

"Het middelbaar onderwijs voor Chineezen in Indië," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 5 and 6 June 1883.
"Een kijkje in de Chineesche ambtenaarswereld," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 14 June 1883.
"De vos die de passie preekt, of …?" *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 2 October 1883.
"Eene zaak van den dag. Het tjap-dji-ki rekest. Antwoord aan de HH. handelaren te Soerabaia," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 6 October 1883.
"Het tjap-dji-ki rekest. Antwoord aan Dr Schagen van Soelen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 October 1883.
"De speelpacht kwestie," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 19, 27 October, 11 November 1883.
"Nog meer hulptroepen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 14 November 1883.
"Naar aanleiding van het ongeteekend artikel tegen P.M. in de Soerabaia Courant van gisteren," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 16 November 1883.
"De Chineesche boekhouding in de Tweede Kamer," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 5 January 1884.
"Eene idée fixe," (about bankruptcy) *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 8 parts: 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15 and 16 February 1884, and "Repliek," 20 February 1884.
"Aan den lezer," (the end of his editorship), *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 21 February 1884.
"De begrooting voor Ned.-Indië en de vreemde oosterlingen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 7, 8 July 1884.
"Aangeboden," (correspondence about the costs of advice on Chinese inheritance law), *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 August 1884.
"Ingezonden stukken," Letter to the editor in defense of J. van der Spek, *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 19 January 1885.
"Europeaan of Chinees?" *Java-bode*, 8 March 1889 (About Oei Jan Lee. Reaction by "X." in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 9 March 1889, announcing new legislation).
"De Chineezen in Indië," by P.M., *Java-bode*, 20 March 1889.
"Europeesche rechters en Chineesch erf- en versterfrecht," *Java-bode*, 7 August 1889.
"Opiumverpachtingen en Chineesche officieren," *Java-bode*, 21 August 1889. Also in *De Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van den dag*, nos. 2-3, 8 and 15 October 1889.
"Chineesche Officieren nuttig of schadelijk?," *Java-bode*, 18 September 1889.
"De Burgerlijke Stand van Chineezen in N.I.," *Java-bode*, 2 October 1889.
"De meerderjarigheid van Chineezen," *Java-bode*, 23 October 1889.
"De ouderliefde bij de Chineezen," *Java-bode*, 19 February 1891. (From now on signed "P.M.")
"De adoptie bij de Chineezen in China," *Java-bode*, 17 March 1891.
"De adoptie voor de Chineezen in N.I.," *Java-bode*, 16 April 1891.
"Testamenten van Chineezen in N.I.," *Java-bode*, 27 May 1891 (followed by an open letter to P.M. by 'a notary' in *Weekblad van het Recht* no. 1462, 6 July 1891, reprinted in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 9 July 1891).
"De vrijheid van testeeren bij de Chineezen," *Java-bode*, 24 June 1891 ("Ingezonden stukken," reaction on this article by "A" in "B", 30 June 1891).
"Testamenten van Chineezen in N.I.," reply by 'an interpreter' (this must be P. Meeter)[413] to 'a notary' in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 28 July 1891 (followed by a second open letter by 'a notary' in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 6 August 1891).
"De Chineesche wetten betreffende het huwelijk," *Java-bode*, 29, 30 July, 4 August 1891.
"De Tweede Kamer over de Chineezen," *Java-bode*, 28 January 1892.
"De heer A.C. Wertheim in de Eerste Kamer over de handelsboekhoudingen der Chineezen," *De Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van den dag*, 26 January 1892, 2 February 1892 (also in *Java-bode* 23 and 24 February 1892) (Wertheim's reaction "Chineesche tolken" in *De Indische Tolk*, 9 February 1892, also in *Java-bode*, 14 March 1892).
"De heer A.C. Wertheim contra de tolken voor de Chineesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië," *De Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van den dag*, 9 February 1892. Also published in *Java-bode*, 17 March 1892.
"Ingezonden" (Letter to the editor) with J. van der Spek, *Leidsch Dagblad* (and other newspapers), 29 March (a debate followed between Schlegel and Meeter on 30 and 31 March, and 1 April 1892 in the *Leidsch Dagblad*).
"Misbruiken bij faillissementen van Vreemde Oosterlingen," *Java-bode*, 8 parts: 1, 2 (II),

7 (II), 8 (II), 16 (III, IV), 28 (V) June, 12 (VI), 13 (VI) July 1892 (reactions by F. de Hartog in *Java-bode*, 26 July, 2 November, also 12 March 1892).
"Chineezen op boedelvendutiën van Europeesche ambtenaren in N.-Indië," *Java-bode*, 15 September 1893.
"Een Chineesch lesje in wellevendheid," *Java-bode*, 25 and 26 October 1894.
"Wees- en Boedelkamerherinneringen," *Java-bode*, 5 parts: 20 November 1894, 8 January, 5 February, 19 March, 4 April 1895.
"Twee professoren over China en Japan," *Java-bode*, 25 and 26 April 1895.
"Indische Chinoiserieën," *Java-bode*, 42 parts: 1, 8, 15, 23, 30 December 1896; 12, 26 January; 9, 12, 19, 26 February; 2, 9 April; 6, 19 October; 1 November; 3 December 1897; 3, 4 January; 15, 25 February; 14 March; 5, 10 May; 10, 16 June; 4, 26 July; 12, 15 August; 22, 30 September; 1 November; 8, 20, 30 December 1898; 25, 27 January; 13 February; 2, 15, 22 March 1899. (In 2013, the *Java-bode* was digitised until 1897).
"De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken," *Java-bode*, 5 parts: 4, 12, 18, 19, and 26 March 1897.



38. A.E. Moll, ca. 1880 (courtesy F.R. van der Spek, Noordwolde).

MOLL, Alexander Eliza

Alexander Eliza (Elisa) Moll was born on 17 August 1857 in Zutphen, and died on 21 March 1905 in Semarang, 47 years old. His Chinese name was Bú P'ik 武珀 (*Wu Po*).[414] Perhaps he had the common Dutch nickname Pik.

His father was Barend Johannes Moll (Zutphen, 2 September 1820 – Zutphen, 10 July 1889), shopkeeper (*winkelier*). His mother was Anna Elisabeth Staal (Zwolle, 24 March 1824 – The Hague, 18 May 1899). The family later lived in Assen. Out of this marriage three sons and two daughters were born; the latter two died in infancy. Alexander Eliza was the middle son. His younger brother Henri Coert (Zutphen, 18 April 1859 – Deventer, 5 January 1943) was an infantry officer in the Netherlands Army, who went to the Indies, became First Lieutenant in 1886 and fought in the Atjeh War in 1888–90. He finally became a Major and commander in Ambarawa (near Semarang). In 1904 he retired because of a health problem and returned to the Netherlands.[415]

Alexander went to school at the HBS in Assen and Groningen, where he passed the final examination.

In October 1875, after passing the competitive examination as second in rank, Moll began studying Chinese under Schlegel, together with A.A. de Jongh and J. van der Spek. They were taught colloquial Hokkien and written Chinese for three years.

On 18 December 1878, the three students entered the colonial service and were ordered to go to China to study Chinese for one year, in order to be appointed as interpreters of Chinese in the Netherlands Indies.[416] On 6 January 1879 they left the Netherlands, and on 28 February they arrived in Amoy, where they studied for nine months. From 25 June to 13 July they took a trip to Northern Formosa. From 1 December 1879 to 25 February 1880, they studied in Zhangzhou (Tsiangtsiu) for almost three months. They studied in China for one year. From 4 to 27 March 1880 they travelled via Singapore to Batavia.[417]

On 26 April 1880, A.E. Moll was appointed temporary interpreter (*tijdelijk tolk*) of Chinese in Cirebon.[418] He also became extraordinay substitute clerk (*buitengewoon substituut griffier*) at the *Landraad* on 17 January 1881.[419]

In December 1881 he started publishing anonymous articles revealing the complicated relations between the new Resident J. Faes and a Chinese opium tax-farmer. This led to an enormous row between those who supported Faes and those who did not. In the end many officials, including Moll, were discharged, and Faes was pensioned in 1883.

On 29 November 1882 he married Maria Cornelia Yda Snethlage (Batavia, 5 October 1862 – Surabaya, 15 June 1889) in Buitenzorg (Bogor). No children were born of this marriage.[420]

A few weeks before his marriage, on 1 November 1882, Governor-General F. s'Jacob expressed "the government's serious dissatisfaction with him because … he had written articles in daily newspapers against the regional government of Cirebon." At the same time he was transferred to Western Borneo, in order to be stationed in Montrado or Singkawang, [421] some of the least popular places in the Outer Possessions. Half a year later, on 24 May 1883, he was transferred from Singkawang to Pontianak, replacing De Groot who had a few months before left on sick leave to the Netherlands.[422]

On 3 March 1887 he was transferred to Batavia. This was because at the moment when an interpreter was urgently needed in Western Borneo, Moll had been absent. A 'missionary' (*zendeling*) of a secret society from Singapore had been apprehended on Borneo and the matter should have been investigated with the help of a European interpreter. At the time Moll happened to be in Batavia to act as witness in a law case; moreover he had requested two months' leave within the country, and he had already auctioned his belongings in Pontianak. Subsequently, Young was transferred from Batavia to Western Borneo to take his place. [423]

One year later, on 21 April 1888, Moll was transferred to Surabaya and appointed an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber, succeeding Meeter.[424]

On 15 June 1889, Moll's wife met with a tragic death: she died after having been poisened at home, together with three guests. Moll survived by drinking lots of castor oil.[425] Afterwards he asked for sick leave to Batavia and later to Sukabumi, and on 29 August 1889, he was at his request transferred to Medan; he was also honourably discharged as extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Surabaya.[426] He probably never went to Medan, since on 6 October he requested from Bogor two years of sick leave to Europe; this was granted on 9 October.[427]

He remarried in The Hague in 1892, to Elisabeth Petronella Windt, born 8 August 1873 in The Hague. Out of this marriage were born one son (Carel Alexander, Mentok, 5 October 1893, later *controleur* in Palembang) and two daughters (Annie Elisabeth, Padang, 7 May 1895; Gerardina, Medan, 17 October 1898).

After three years of leave, on 29 October 1892, Moll was appointed interpreter in Mentok (Banka).[428]

On 24 October 1894 he was transferred to Padang (Western Sumatra).[429]

On 26 August 1896 he was appointed as Official for Chinese affairs in Medan as from 1 October of that year.[430] Probably during the time when he was stationed in Medan he investigated the Chinese troubles in Bagan Si Api-api on the East Coast of Sumatra.[431]

On 17 October 1898 he was transferred to Semarang, succeeding Young who had passed away.[432]

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 14 September 1880 to 6 July 1886, and again as from 3 January 1888, probably until he went on sick leave. On 1 November 1892, he was again put on the list of members. In 1888 he helped to catalogue and order the Chinese coins acquired after 1885.[433]

On 21 March 1905 he passed away in Semarang, 47 years old. He had worked as an interpreter and official for Chinese affairs for 25 years, including three years of leave.

Publications

"De zaak van den opiumpachter te Cheribon," *Het Indisch Vaderland*, 12 December 1881.
"Errata," [Schlegel,] *Nederlandsch–Chineesch woordenboek met de transcriptie der Chineesche karakters in het Tsiang-tsiu dialekt, Aanhangsel* (Appendix) [1891], 41-61 [this Appendix also contains some additional vocabulary by him].

ROELOFS, Johannes Jacobus

Johannes Jacobus Roelofs was born on 5 December 1851 in The Hague, and died on 25 May 1885 in Doetinchem, near Arnhem.[434] His father was Hendrik Jan Roelofs (Terschelling, 1823 – Batavia, 1 January 1888), bookkeeper (*boekhouder*). His mother Petronella de Weijer operated a kindergarten (*bewaarschoolhouder*) and later worked as a midwife (*accoucheuse*).[435] The family first lived in The Hague, where eight children were born, four of whom died in infancy. In the summer of 1862 they moved to Batavia,[436] where Hendrik Jan Roelofs opened a shop (*toko*), and in 1867 he became shipping agent of the Java Bank (*expediteur van de Javasche Bank*).[437] Johannes Jacobus was the eldest son.[438] His brother Johannes Gerardus Roelofs (The Hague, 11 January 1854 – Geneva, 20 March 1892) also became an East Indies official.[439] His youngest brother was Hendrik Jan Roelofs Jr. (The Hague, ca. 1860 – 26 October 1891).[440] All three sons died relatively young.

After J.J. Roelofs had failed the Higher Officials Examination, he was the first candidate to pass the competitive interpreters' examination in 1871. He studied Hokkien and written Chinese with Schlegel in Batavia, officially being a student-interpreter (*élève tolk*) as of 20 April 1871.[441] After Schlegel was granted sick leave on 8 June 1872, there appeared an opportunity for Roelofs to go to China.[442] In September 1872, he was allowed to accompany Groeneveldt, who was assigned to the Dutch Consulate General for one year.[443] Roelofs was granted a maximum of two years' study leave in China. They left Batavia on 21 October 1872 and proceeded to Shanghai. Roelofs later studied in Amoy, but he stayed in China for two and a half years.

On 17 June 1875, he was appointed interpreter of Chinese in Pontianak. At the same time, he was notified of the serious dissatisfaction of the government because he had exceeded his two-year study leave by several months.[444]

One year later, on 22 May 1876, he was transferred to Padang and appointed an extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber.[445] He was a member of the militia in Padang.

On 3 October 1879 he was transferred to Batavia, succeeding Albrecht when the latter was made President of the Orphans Chamber. Roelofs was also made extraordinary member of the Estate Chamber (*Collegie van Boedelmeesteren*).[446] From some time on until 1883, he engaged the Chinese literator Tan Kaij Thee (Kah Tee) 陳開堤 (1862–85) as his clerk.[447] Tan Kaij Thee was the son of Tan Siu Eng, who was successively the teacher and clerk of four interpreters: Groeneveldt, De Jongh, Hoetink, and Stuart. Tan Siu Eng had probably been engaged by Groeneveldt in Amoy, and was brought to the Indies in 1874.[448]

On 7 October 1880, Roelofs became second lieutenant in the militia (*schutterij*).

In 1882 he sent three letters to the editor of the *Java-bode* (*see* below).

On 29 June 1883 he was granted two years of sick leave in Europe.[449] He worked as an interpreter for eight years.

From 6 May 1877 to 10 April 1883, he was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.

He was married to Aethina (Minerva) Saduca (Smirna, 6 October 1863), probably during his leave period.[450]

He passed away on 25 May 1885, at only 33 years of age, just three days after he had officially registered as a resident of Doetinchem. He probably went to Doetinchem because his sister-in-law, the wife of Johannes Gerardus Roelofs, married in 1881, was from Doetinchem.[451]

Publications

"Ingezonden stukken," *Sumatra-Courant*, 14 October 1876 (complaint about "furious driving" by natives); *Java-bode*, 19 October 1882 (about the difficulty of translating the *abracadabra* of a government decision); 4 November 1882 (about Francken and De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch dictionary and Schlegel's Dutch–Chinese dictionary); 23 November 1882 (supporting Moll in Cirebon, arguing that the interpreters were better educated than the Residents, since some of them had reached high positions; for this argument Roelofs was ridiculed the next day in the same newspaper).

SCHAALJE, Maurits

Maurits Schaalje was born in Maastricht on 31 October 1840, and died in Amsterdam on 2 November 1899.[452] His Chinese name was Shalie 沙烈.[453]

His father was Maurits Schaalje (Amsterdam, 27 July 1806 – Leiden, 11 October 1894), tax collector (*ontvanger der directe belastingen*) in Zoeterwoude (in the 1850s), a village near Leiden. His mother was Wilhelmina Frederika (Wilhelmine Frederike) Steup, who passed away in Montfoort after a long illness on 2 January 1844. Maurits had one older sister, Philippine Georgette (Valkenburg, 23 September 1839 – Abcoude-Baambrugge, 2 April 1916).[454] On 2 March 1849, his father married Hendrika van Langeveld (Rotterdam, 20 April 1801). This marriage was dissolved on 24 July 1860.[455]

In July 1855, the fourteen-year old Maurits Schaalje, who was still attending secondary school, started studying Chinese under Hoffmann, together with Francken. He then received private lessons in the English language, and attended classes in a school of mathematics in Leiden (*Genootschap Mathesis Scientiarum Genitrix*). His basic education was typically that of the commercial class.[456]

On 12 February 1856 the Minister of Colonies decided that Schaalje and Francken would be sent to the Netherlands Indies and China for further training, as soon as Hoffmann considered them ready to go.[457]

The next year, on 30 January 1857, Hoffmann reported to the Minister that Francken and Schlegel were now ready to go to China for further studies, but not Schaalje. Hoffmann still found Schaalje deficient in general preparatory education; he would be kept in Leiden for another year. He had to learn Latin in order to get a better understanding of etymology and language in general.[458]

A year and a half later, on 24 February 1859, Schaalje entered the colonial service. He left the Netherlands in April 1859 and travelled directly to Hong Kong. Then he continued to Amoy, where he arrived some time before 12 July 1859,[459] and studied Hokkien. A year later, the Governor-General ordered him, at the same time as Schlegel and Francken, to go to Canton to study Cantonese. In that way, he could later also be stationed in the Outer Possessions. From May[460] to December 1862, he studied Cantonese in Canton for half a year. In November 1862, after Schlegel and Francken arrived in the Indies and Governor-General Sloet realised that Cantonese was not spoken in the Indies, Schaalje was ordered to proceed to Ka-ying-tsiu (Kia Ying Chow) to study Hakka.[461] However, since it was too dangerous to travel in the interior, he returned to Amoy and studied Hakka starting in January 1863, with a Hakka teacher.[462] While in China, he compiled an (Amoy) Chinese–Dutch dictionary and made or copied lists of Cantonese and Hakka words and phrases; these have survived.

As of 15 June 1864, he engaged the Chinese teacher Tsioe Tot Koan to accompany him to the Indies and serve him as a teacher and a clerk.[463]

On 16 August 1864, he was appointed interpreter of Chinese in Tanjung Pinang, Riau.[464] A few days later, his fellow students Groeneveldt and Buddingh were appointed elsewhere in the Outer Possessions.

On 12 December 1865, he married Henriëtte Elisabeth van Angelbeek (Riau, 19 April 1847 – Batavia, 3 December 1911).[465] She was of Eurasian descent.[466] Out of this marriage three sons and one daughter were born: Maurits Johan Eduard (Riau, 24 September 1866), Henri Wilhelm Frederik (Riau, 1 November 1867), Otto Wilhelm Frederik (Riau, 30 March 1869) and Henriëtte Elisabeth Emma (Riau, 15 September 1876). All were still living in 1899, the year in which Maurits Schaalje passed away. The eldest two sons had careers in the Indies, where Maurits Johan Eduard worked as a notary until 1906, and Henri Wilhelm Frederik lived at least until 1900.[467] His grandson Maurits Henri Pieter (1902–43) died in the Japanese POW camp at Kanchanaburi (Thailand).[468]

In Riau, Schaalje also had other functions. He was an extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber, and member of the Management Comittee of Cemeteries for Europeans and persons of the same legal status (*gelijkgestelden*). In 1867, he was a regular member of the fire brigade (*algemeen brandspuitmeester*) under chief (*brandspuitmeester*) J.E. van Angelbeek, his father-in-law, and he became chief himself in 1869. In 1871 he became a member of the local school board. He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 7 July 1865 until 19 November 1872.

On 16 October 1872, he was granted two years of sick leave in the Netherlands.[469] His leave was twice lenghtened by the Minister of Colonies by six months.[470]

Three years later, on 10 November 1875, he was appointed again as interpreter of Chinese in Riau.[471]

Schlegel reported in 1877 that Schaalje had managed to quell a revolt without the help of police or military, because he knew the grievances of the Chinese and could alleviate them.[472] In that year he also wrote a long report about the Chinese secret societies on Riau.

On 27 April 1888, he was granted two years of leave in Europe because of twelve years of continuous service in those districts.[473] Including leave, he served for 26 years in Riau. He went to live in Haarlem and The Hague.

On 30 May 1890, he was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Medan (East Coast of Sumatra).[474] He also was secretary of the Immigrants' Home (*Immigranten-Asyl*) in Medan.

In July 1893 he obtained three months of sick leave to Garut (Java), which was later lengthened by another month.[475]

On 26 August 1896 he was honourably discharged as from 2 September

1896.[476] Including five years of leave, he had worked as an interpreter for 32 years.

On 2 November 1899, he passed away in Amsterdam, 59 years old.

Publications

"Bijdrage tot de kennis der Chinesche geheime genootschappen" (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1870), dated Riouw, January 1869 (BPL 2105 I:2); also published in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 20 (1873), 1-6.

"De kleine voeten der vrouwen in China; eene bijdrage tot de kennis van Chinesche gewoonten," (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1870), dated Riouw 1869 (Deventer Stadsarchief en Atheneum bibliotheek); also published in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 20 (1873), 33-57.

Translation into Chinese

"Chineesche vertaling van het eerste hoofdstuk en van de twee eerste titels van het derde hoofdstuk van het reglement op het rechtswezen in de Residentie Riouw (*Staatsblad* 1882, No. 84), vertaald door M. Schaalje, tolk voor de Chineesche taal te Riouw. Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, 1884" (21.5 × 13 cm). Chinese title: *Liao fu nei anjian zhi li* 廖府内案件之例. The front cover (with a photocopy of the translation) is kept in BPL 2106 II: 12D. The Chinese text without the cover is kept in the NEHA archives in the IISG in Amsterdam (M. Schaalje special collection, no. 2) (*see* illustration 22).

Manuscripts

Most of the manuscripts and documents left by Schaalje were bought by the Leiden University Library in 1917 and are kept in BPL 2104-2106. The rest are kept in the NEHA Archives in the International Institute for Social History (IISG) in Amsterdam. A complete description can be found in *Catalogue* 2005 and Kuiper 2004. The most important manuscripts are probably a policy document (*nota*) on secret societies and various dictionaries and word lists.

Dictons van het Emoi Dialect bijeen verzameld door M. Schaalje (Sayings in Amoy dialect collected by M. Schaalje) (1862–3) (BPL 2106 II: 11).

Emoisch Hollandsch woordenboek, M. Schaalje, 1864 (Amoy–Dutch dictionary) (BPL 2104 I).

Ka yin tsiu P'ak wá [Jiayingzhou baihua] 嘉應州白話 (The colloquial language of Kia Ying Chow) 2 vols. (ca. 1864) (BPL 2106 II: 23B).

Namen van Ambtenaren & Collegien in Nederlandsch Indie (Names of officials and boards in the Netherlands Indies) *Yandi guanxian* 燕地官銜 (ff. 1-8) (ca. 1860) (BPL 2106 II: 35).

De Geheime Genootschappen, I, II, door M. Schaalje (The Secret Societies, I, II, by M. Schaalje). Vol. II also has the title *De werking der Geheime Genootschappen onder de Chinezen in Nederlandsch-Indië* (The functioning of the Secret Societies among the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies). 1877–8 (BPL 2105 I:3).

Handboek bij het beoefenen van het Emoi dialect, Haarlem februari 1889 (Handbook for studying Amoy dialect). 3 vols. (BPL 2104 II). (This is a reverse version of Francken and De Grijs' dictionary.)



*39. S.H. Schaank (*T'oung Pao *1937, p. 298).*

SCHAANK, Simon Hartwich

Simon Hartwich Schaank was born on 23 October 1861 in Groningen and died on 15 December 1935 in The Hague.[477] His father was Roelf Schuringa Schaank (Groningen, 15 October 1826 – Groningen, 29 November 1913), bookseller (*boekhandelaar*). His mother was Grietje Boerman (Groningen, 29 June 1830 – Groningen, 14 January 1906).[478] Out of this marriage three sons and later three daughters were born; Simon Hartwich was the third son.

After passing the final examination of the HBS in Groningen in 1880, on 17 September 1880 Simon Hartwich was registered at the Indies Institute, the municipal training college for civil servants in the Indies (*Indische Instelling*, official name *Gemeentelijke Instelling voor opleiding van Indische ambtenaren*) in Delft; he passed the Higher Officials Examination for civil servants in the East Indies in 1882,[479] and on 16 August 1882 he entered the colonial service to be appointed as a civil servant at a monthly salary of *f* 150. On 31 October he was put at the disposal of the Director of the Department of Interior Administration (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*), and as from 1 November 1882 he was stationed on the East Coast of Sumatra. He started to learn Chinese, for which he had a great talent. The next year, on 9 July 1883, he was appointed Aspirant Controller (*Aspirant Controleur*)[480] in the Outer Possessions at a monthly salary of *f* 225, and was in that month stationed in Western Borneo (*Westerafdeeling van Borneo*). Perhaps he never went there, since on 29 August 1883 while in Batavia, he requested a two-year sick leave to the Netherlands, which was granted him on 4 September.

According to R.H. van Gulik's obituary, the Government allowed him to study Chinese in the Netherlands because he had shown an extraordinary talent for learning languages. He was registered as a student in the Faculty of Arts at Leiden University on 16 November 1884[481] and studied (Hokkien) Chinese with Schlegel for two years. In June 1885 he registered in Groningen, as living with his parents; he left again for Batavia on 31 January 1886.[482]

On 24 April 1886, he was appointed *aspirant controleur* in the Outer Possessions, and on 31 July he became Second-class Controller. In 1886,

he was stationed in Benkulen (Sumatra), and soon afterwards in Western Borneo in several places, first in Pamangkat (Sambas). In 1888 he was stationed in Montrado, and in 1890 in Lara and Lumar. In 1893 he was appointed First-class Controller (*controleur 1e klas*), at a monthly salary of *f* 400. In the same year he published an important study of the Chinese *kongsi* in Western Borneo.

On 1 April 1896, he was allowed one year of leave to Europe in view of long service. He had been stationed on Borneo for ten years. During his leave he settled down in The Hague. At his request and with support from Schlegel, his leave was extended for three months until 1 July 1897, in order to finish writing his study of the Hakka dialects in Sambas (Western Borneo),[483] which was published in the same year. During this leave and afterwards he also wrote his pioneering studies on Chinese phonetics, which were published in *T'oung Pao*. These were actually "preliminary studies" for his research on the Hakka dialects.

In 1897, he was appointed First-Class Controller and stationed on the East Coast of Sumatra.[484] In 1900, he was appointed *controleur*. In 1902, after five years on Sumatra, he was again transferred to Western Borneo. The next year, in 1903, he was first made acting Assistant Resident of Sambas at a monthly salary of *f* 600, and later full Assistant Resident in the same place. In 1904 he was appointed Assistant Resident of Deli at a monthly salary of *f* 650, and on 27 February 1907, Resident of Langkat (East Coast of Sumatra) as from 22 March. On 5 March 1908 he was granted one year's leave in view of long service, and was actually discharged as from 15 May. He had been stationed on Sumatra for nine years and on Borneo for two years.

One year later, on 2 July 1909 he was appointed Assistant Resident of Kendangan (Southern and Eastern Borneo) as from 4 September 1909. On 23 August 1910 he was again appointed Assistant Resident of Langkat, but one month later, on 24 September, this was rescinded. On 12 June 1912, he was appointed Assistant Resident of Ulu-Songei (Southern and Eastern Borneo) as from 1 July at *f* 650. On 27 April 1914, he was at his request discharged as from 2 May 1914. He was honourably discharged from government service, having completed his period of service. The last five years he had again been stationed on Borneo. He worked as an East Indies official for 32 years (17 years on Borneo, ten years on Sumatra and five years of leave).

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 7 August 1886 to 2 July 1896, and again from 13 February 1899 to 21 January 1907.

He published important studies on the Chinese on Sumatra and Borneo, but is best known for his linguistic studies. He was one of the first to study ancient Chinese phonetics, laying the basis on which almost twenty

years later Bernard Karlgren wrote his famous *Études sur la phonologie chinoise* (1915).[485] He also was one of the first sinologists to publish a linguistic study of a Hakka dialect.

On 21 January 1915, he was granted a yearly pension of *f* 3,612.

He was married to Anna Margaretha Seilbergen (Makassar, 8 November 1871). They had three children, one of whom was the daughter Margaretha Geertruida (Singkawang, 19 August 1889).[486]

After his return to the Netherlands he went to live in The Hague in 1923.

On 15 December 1935 he passed away in The Hague, 74 years old.

Robert Hans van Gulik wrote an obituary for him that was published in *T'oung Pao* in 1937 and in which he called him the "dean of the Dutch sinologists" (*le doyen des sinologues néerlandais*), and characterised him as an extremely modest man who had had a remarkable career both as a civil servant and as a scholar.

Publications

"De onlusten der Chineezen in Deli," *Het nieuws van den dag: Kleine courant*, Amsterdam, 2 March 1885, also *De Locomotief*, 14 April 1885, signed "H." [Written by a sinologist, probably S.H. Schaank[487]; it is an earlier version of the next article; containing an urgent plea for better treatment of and higher wages for the Chinese.]

"De Chineesche stammen in Deli," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 7, II (1885), 1503-14.

"De staart der Chineezen," *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, 2 (1888-89), 379-93.

"Iets over Dajaksche sterrenkunde," Mededeeling in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 32 (1889), 435-7.

"De kongsi's van Montrado. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis en de kennis van het wezen der Chineesche Vereenigingen op de Westkust van Borneo," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 35 (1893), 498-657. Errata, vol. 36 (1893), 417-8. Also published as a book, Batavia: Albrecht & Rusche, 1893.

"Stamps on Malay letters," *T'oung Pao* A 8 (1897), 106-7.

"Ancient Chinese phonetics," *T'oung Pao* A 8 (1897), 361-77, 457-86.

Het Loeh-foeng-dialect (Leiden: Brill, 1897), 226 p.

"Ancient Chinese phonetics, continued from Vol. VIII p. 457," *T'oung Pao* A 9 (1898), 28-57.

"Ancient Chinese phonetics (Supplementary note)," *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902), 106-8.

"Nota over de nageri-politie in de afdeeling Bandjirmasin en ommelanden (Z. en O. afd. van Borneo)," *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, vol. 44 (1913), 488-90.

Manuscript

"Aanteekening bij eene verzameling van zegelafdrukken der Chineesche Kongsi's in de Westerafdeeling van Borneo," [1890–3], text by S.H. Schaank, Controleur Onderafdeeling Lara en Loemar (Benkajang); Appendix: "Zegelafdrukken Chineesche kongsi's etc. Westerafdeeling van Borneo," a note-book with seal prints of Chinese kongsi in Borneo and notes, 2 pieces (KITLV Collection).



40. G. Schlegel, 1870s (KNAW, Internet),

SCHLEGEL, Gustaaf

Gustaaf Schlegel was born on 30 September 1840 in Oegstgeest (on the Maredijk, now in Leiden) and died on 15 October 1903 in Leiden.[488] In the birth register his given name was "Gustaaf," but when writing in German he used "Gustav," while in French and English he used "Gustave;" in his youth he was sometimes informally called "Gusje."[489] His Chinese names on seals are Si-lī-ka 施利加 (*Shi Lijia*), Si-lī 施利 (*Shi Lì*), Si-lí 施理 (*Shi Lǐ*); written names on books are Si-lī-ka 士利架 (*Shi Lijia*) and Si sū 施士 (*Shi shi*). He transcribed his given name Gustaaf as Gû tap 漁答 (*Yuda*).[490]

His father was the zoologist Herman(n) Schlegel (Altenburg, Saxonia, 10 June 1804 – Leiden, 17 January 1884), who became curator (*conservator*) in the Museum of Natural History in Leiden in 1828, and director with the personal title of director-professor in 1858. His mother was Cornelia Buddingh (Alkemade, 17 June 1815 – Leiden, 2 December 1864; for her family background *see* the biography of J.A. Buddingh). Out of this marriage five children were born, two of whom died in infancy. Gustaaf's elder sister Cécilia (Oegstgeest, 26 April 1838 – Amsterdam, 4 August 1910)[491] and younger brother Leander (Oegstgeest, 2 February 1844 – 20 October 1913)[492] later became musicians. Leander was a composer and director of the Haarlem Music School.

Gustaaf Schlegel originally wished to become an artist; a collection of twelve of his drawings when he was around 12 years old have survived.[493] But as his father thought it would be difficult to make a living as an artist, he pursued another career. He was educated by his father at home, and only went to school (*gymnasium*) for some time when he was 11 years old.

On his own initiative, he began learning Chinese from J.J. Hoffmann, who was a good friend of his parents, on 13 November 1849,[494] when he was only nine years old. Many years later he recounted what inspired him to do so. Hoffmann, who had been an actor, often amused the Schlegel children with all kinds of conjuror's tricks. Once, as Gustaaf watched entranced while Hoffmann made a peacock feather dance on his nose, Hoffmann laughed and said: "If you want to learn this, you must know Chinese." Gustaaf kept this advice in mind, and as soon as an opportuni-



41. G. Schlegel, 1900s. Posthumous portrait by Thérèse Schwarze (Van Zijderveld, Duitse familie*, p. 256-7; Leiden University).*

ty appeared, he went to Hoffmann's house and asked him to teach him Chinese.[495] Five years later, in 1854, he was joined by C.F.M. de Grijs, and in 1855 by J.J.C. Francken and M. Schaalje, who, when possible, were taught in combined classes.

On 17 January 1854, as an added incentive to his Chinese studies, he was allowed a monthly stipend of *f* 25 as from 1 January so that he could take private lessons and finish the *gymnasium* in three instead of five and a half years.[496]

On 30 January 1857 Hoffmann suggested sending Schlegel to China instead of Schaalje.

Half a year later, on 16 June 1857, he entered the colonial service as trainee in the Chinese language (*kweekeling voor de Chinesche taal*), together with Francken. On 19 September 1857, he passed the *admissie-examen*, an examination qualifying him to enter the University.[497] On 24 October 1857 he and Francken left for China.

They arrived in Batavia on 5 February 1858, then on 26 February left for Hong Kong, where they arrived on 12 March. They first stayed a few months in Macao, arriving on 1 June 1858 in Amoy, where C.F.M. de Grijs had been studying since 1857. De Grijs had been appointed as acting Vice-Consul, and he took care of his younger fellow-students. Schlegel and Francken studied in Amoy (and perhaps also in Zhangzhou) for three years. On 12 November 1860, they were ordered to study Cantonese in Canton, where they arrived the next year, on 17 July 1861. They studied Cantonese for almost a year. In total they studied in China for four years and three months.

In China, Schlegel began compiling his Dutch–Chinese dictionary, while Francken worked on his Chinese–Dutch dictionary.

They left China on 27 June 1862, travelling by way of Singapore and arriving in Batavia on 22 July.

In Amoy, Gustaaf Schlegel also collected specimens of birds, insects and reptiles, totalling 1,922 items (including 370 bird skins), which he sent to his father, thereby making important contributions to the Museum collection. He discovered one kind of pipit (common English name Pechora pipit, common Dutch name *Petsjora pieper*) which was (officially) first de-

scribed in 1863 by his friend Swinhoe, interpreter at the British consulate, but named after him *Anthus Gustavi*.[498]

From June 1862, he hired the Chinese teacher Ti Tik Khing from Tsjangtsaaúw (probably Zhangzhou) to accompany him to the Indies. Two years later, when Ti wished to return to China, he engaged Poei Boen Phiauw from Batavia from 1 January 1865 on.

On 20 August 1862 he was appointed as one of the two first European interpreters for Chinese in Batavia, together with M. von Faber, while Francken was appointed in Surabaya a few weeks later. On 10 March 1863, he was allowed permission to hire a Chinese teacher and clerk for 25 Mexican dollars a month, and after dismissing him, on 9 May 1865 to hire a new one.

On 25 October 1864, he was put at the disposal of the Resident of Bagelen (near Kedu, Central Java) to check the accounts of the local opium tax-farmer, and afterwards he was put at the disposal of the Resident of Kedu for some time.[499]

On 19 January 1865, he was assigned as an advisor to the commission for regulation of the law of persons, in particular inheritance law, of the Chinese on Java and Madura. The regular members of this commission were T.H. der Kinderen, F.A. Mees, and H.A. des Amorie van der Hoeven.[500] After having given their advice in 1867, the commission was dissolved in 1871. This subject was finally regulated in the Ordinance of 2 November 1892, which however never took effect.[501]

On 23 September 1865, he was appointed extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber.

On 11 April 1867 Schlegel was notified he would be charged with training an interpreter for Chinese. From April 1871 on, he taught the student-interpreter J.J. Roelofs until the summer of 1872.

On 12 June 1869, while staying in Batavia, he obtained his doctorate at the University of Jena. His thesis was on Chinese children's games in Europe.[502]

He was an ordinary member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 12 September 1863 on, and was a member of the Board of Directors from 12 June 1870 to 4 June 1872. On 6 May 1878, at the centennial celebration of the Batavian Society, he was made an honorary member.

On 8 June 1872 he was granted two years of sick leave to the Netherlands.[503] He was suffering from diabetes.

He returned to the Netherlands and soon afterwards, in October 1873, he began teaching Chinese to three students in Leiden (De Groot, Hoetink, Stuart). By Royal Decree of 1 September 1875, he was made titular professor of Chinese at Leiden University, the same position Hoffmann had held since 1855. By Royal Decree of 3 October 1877, he was made (ordinary) professor charged with teaching the Chinese language. He held

his inaugural lecture on 27 October 1877; its title was *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie* (On the importance of the study of the Chinese language). During his active professorship of 24 years, he trained a total of twelve interpreters for Chinese, but he also taught other students such as S.H. Schaank (1883–5), A. Lind (1876–7) and E. von Zach (1896–7).

In 1873, Schlegel succeeded Hoffmann as a member of the Board of Directors of the Royal Institute for the Linguistics, Geography, and Ethnology of the Netherlands Indies (KITLV) in The Hague. He resigned in 1877, but remained an ordinary member.

On 9 May 1878, the 37-year old Schlegel married his 20-year old maternal cousin Catharina Elisabeth Gesina Buddingh (St. Oedenrode, 9 August 1857 – 's-Heerenberg, 13 July 1897),[504] orphaned daughter of Johan Daniël Buddingh and Christina Cornelia Marijt. She was a sister of the late J.A. Buddingh (*see also* his biography). No children were born out of this marriage. The marriage was dissolved on 3 December 1890.

On 7 April 1873, he was named corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences in Amsterdam, and on 21 April 1888 he became an ordinary member.

In 1889, he and Henri Cordier founded the sinological journal *T'oung Pao*, which has since then been edited in Leiden and Paris.[505]

He kept on studying and publishing relentlessly, but in some of his philological and scholarly works he let his imagination play an excessive role.[506]

He published on many subjects, for instance on law (mainly in the 1860s), secret societies, astronomy, and he translated literary works. His best known work is his Dutch–Chinese dictionary in four volumes. A bibliography of 256 works appeared in 1902.

In 1899 he lost sight in his left eye. In June 1902, he was obliged to stop teaching his last two students, one of whom was M.W. de Visser, because of sudden blindness in his remaining eye.

On 15 October 1903, he passed away in Leiden, 63 years old.

In his later years, in particular after his marriage broke up in 1889, Schlegel became more and more a moody, vindictive person who was hard to deal with. This may also in part have been caused by his illness (diabetes), which eventually led to blindness in his left eye in 1899 and in his right eye in 1902. His friend the ethnologist and then director of the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden, Dr. J.D.E. Schmeltz[507] wrote in his sympathetic obituary of Schlegel:

> Schlegel had a great need for contact with other people, and now [in 1889] that he did not have anyone around him, he gradually became more self-centered. The cause of this can partly be sought in the fact that he had during his stay in the East absorbed too much of the customs, habits and opinions of the Chinese people, and as a result he could not identify with a good deal

of the customs and opinions of our European society. Therefore he often caused fierce discussions, which quite a few people found unpleasant, who then withdrew from him. We also had that experience with him, but we knew that our friend was amenable to a serious word and willing to listen to the truth about himself. As a friend we therefore never hesitated to tell him that, and we attribute it to this that from our first acquaintance in 1889 until the end, we were able to remain in friendly contact with him.[508]

Honours

1884 Knight in the Ernitistinic House-Order of Saksen-Coburg-Gotha[509]
1885 Commandeur de l'ordre Royal de Cambodge[510]
1896 (3 February) Knight of the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*)[511]
1898 (February) Commander (3rd class, 3rd grade) in the Order of the Double Dragon (China)

1887 Prix Stanislas Julien for *Nederlandsch–Chineesch woordenboek*

An interview, short biographies, and obituaries

Johan Gram, "Een bezoek aan Professor G. Schlegel" (A visit to Prof. G. Schlegel), *Het leeskabinet, maandschrift gewijd aan vaderlandsche en buitenlandsche letterkunde*, no. 2 (1902), 80-93.
Dr. J.D.E. Schmelz, "Prof. Dr. G. Schlegel. †," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 October 1903.
H. Cordier, "Nécrologie," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 407-15.
H. Kamerling Onnes, in *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden* 1903–1904, 36-8.
A.F.P. Hulsewé: "Chinese and Japanese studies in Holland," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 7 (1957–8), 355-60.
J.L. Blussé van Oud Alblas in *Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland* 3 (The Hague, 1989; new version dated 2003 on the internet).

Publications

An almost complete list of his publications until 1901 can be found in his *Liste chronologique des ouvrages et opuscules publiés par le Dr. G. Schlegel: 1862–1901* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1902). Only publications related to his work as interpreter or discussed in the text are mentioned here.

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"Chinesche mouches," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 14 (1864), 569-72.
"De Chinesche eed," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 21 (1865), 247-59 (May 1863).
Thian ti hwui: the Hung-league, or Heaven-earth-league: a secret society with the Chinese in China and India; with an introduction and numerous cuts and illustrations, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 32 (2) (Batavia: Lange, 1866), XL, 253 p., XVI bl. pl. Reprinted by the Government Printer in

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Hoa Tsien Ki [花箋記]*, of De geschiedenis van het gebloemde briefpapier*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 32 (1), 1866. Danish translation: *Hoa Tsien Ki. Historien om det blomstrede-brevpapir,* Fra Nederl. ved V. Schmidt, København (1871).

Iets over de prostitutie in China, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 32 (3) (Batavia: Lange, 1866), 25 p., XVI.

German translation of "Iets over de prostitutie in China" by M. von Scherzer in *Ausland* 1867 nos. 2-3, 34-39, 57-61.

Histoire de la prostitution en Chine, par le docteur Schlegel; traduit du hollandais par le docteur C***S***, Curiosités bibliographiques; 8 (Rouen: Lemonnyer, 1880), 46 p.

"Mededeeling aangaande eenen te Batavia gevestigden Chineschen speel-club," *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 4 (1866), 238-40 (25 September 1866).

"Staaltjes van Chineesch-Regterlijke scherpzinnigheid medegedeeld uit den Wijsheidsbundel [*Zhinang* 智囊]," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, 9 and 23 July, 3 September, 1 and 29 October, 24 December 1866, 15 January 1867.

"Chinesche letterkunde in Engeland," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 10 December 1866.

"Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 24 December 1866 (about an interpreter's work in general).

"Chinesche faillissementen," *Java-bode*, 3 July 1867; also *Indisch Weekblad van het Regt*, no. 210, 8 July 1867.

"De Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 223, p. 160, 7 oktober 1867. Reprinted as "Chinesche eed," *Java-bode*, 16 October 1867 and in other newspapers.

"Chinesche eed," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 28 oktober 1867 (dated 23 October 1867, signed with "X," polemic with M. von Faber). Also published as "De Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 226, pp. 171-2, 28 October 1867, dated 23 October 1867 (together with M. von Faber's earlier letter).

"Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 9 November 1867 (dated 4 November 1867). Also published as "Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 232, pp. 195-6, 9 December 1867 (together with M. von Faber's earlier letter).

Chinesische Bräuche und Spiele in Europa (Breslau: Robert Nischkowsky, 1869), 32 p. [Dutch translation by C.P.K. Winckel in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 20, 23 and 27 October 1869].

Sinico-Aryaca, ou recherches sur les racines primitives dans les langues chinoises et aryennes, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 36 (1872).

"Iets omtrent de betrekkingen der Chineezen met Java vóór de komst der Europeanen aldaar," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 20 (1873), 9-31.

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Catalogue des livres chinois qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque de l'université de Leide (Leiden: Brill, 1883).

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"Chineesche begrafenis- en huwelijksonderneming" [Soerabaja] (Leiden: Brill, 1885), 43 p., second printing with corrections. Offprint only to *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 4e volgreeks, deel viii.
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Manuscripts

Index (together with J.J.C. Francken) on *Chinesche spreuken* (Chinese sayings) translated by J.J. Hoffmann from J.F. Davis' *Hien Wun Shoo, Chinese moral maxims* (BPL 2044).

Hollandsch–Chinesche & Chineesch–Hollandsche Woordenlijst der Familiebetrekkingen. Alphabetisch gerangschikt. G. Schlegel. Kolongsu (Emoi) 1860 (Dutch–Chinese and Chinese–Dutch vocabulary of family relations, alphabetically arranged (Amoy, 1860). Small manuscript booklet (8 ff., 9.6 × 6.6 cm). (Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.036).

Kwang Sse Loui Fou 廣事類賦, *Recueil encyclopédique de Choses diverses òu Bibliotheca Classica Sinensis, traduit du Chinois et compilé par Gustave Schlegel, Interprête pour la langue Chinoise*. 5 vols. (Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.034) [1863–1864].

Chinese Chronological Tables, showing the Succession of Dynasties, Emperors, and Princes, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. From Fuh-Hi to the Present Dynasty (Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.033).

Anglo-Chinese Calendar from A.D. 1644 to 1900, compiled by Dr. G. Schlegel, Professor of Chinese, Leyden, 1875 (Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.032).

His library

His library was first offered for sale to Leiden University Library for *f* 1,250, but a week later Gustaaf's brother Leander decided it was more profitable for his brother's heir (Leander's only child, Lydia Schlegel, born in Haarlem, 7 January 1881, a minor) to auction the books at Burgersdijk and Niermans in Leiden.

Catalogue: *Catalogue de la bibliothèque Orientale Chino–Japonaise de feu Gust. Schlegel ...: contenant des ouvrages recherchés sur la linguistique, l'histoire, et la jurisprudence des Indes-Néerlandaises, jurisprudence des Pays-Bas, folklore, etc. et d'autres successions*, vente du 9 - 11 mai 1904 chez MM. Burgersdijk & Niermans, Leyde, 1904.

A part of these books were later that year offered for sale in London in *Probsthain's Oriental Catalogue no. 6: The Far East (second part), containing a large proportion of Professor Gustave Schlegel's Library* (London: Probsthain & Co, 1904).

Leiden University Library only bought 13 printed books at the Burgersdijk & Niermans auction.[512] Later also some of Schlegel's manuscripts were bought which are now kept in the East Asian Library, Leiden.

Some other Chinese printed books that once belonged to Schlegel are kept in the KNAG collection in the East Asian Library, Leiden.



42. Dr. J. van der Spek (CBG; Wereldkroniek*, 13 December 1902).*

SPEK, Jacobus van der

Jacobus van der Spek (also known as Koos) was born on 5 January 1857 in Delft, and died on 3 December 1902 in Amsterdam.[513] His Chinese name was Sih-peh 薛伯 (*Xuebo*)[514] and his style was Pang Kiét 邦傑.[515]

His father was Jacob van der Spek (Maasland, 14 March 1819 – Delft, 23 April 1890), who was a farmer (*bouwman, veehouder*). The family lived in the centre of the town of Delft. His mother was Anna de Jong (Maasland, 6 April 1827 – Delft, 12 September 1895). The family had three sons and three daughters, one of whom died in infancy. Jacobus was the middle son and middle child. His elder brother Jacob (Delft, 11 November 1854 – Delft, 13 August 1904) was a milkman; his younger brother Isaak (Delft, 26 November 1861 – Delft, 29 October 1944) was a primary school teacher and later deputy manager of Braat N.V.

Jacobus van der Spek went to school at the HBS in Delft, passed the competitive examination for Chinese interpreters in July 1875 ranked as the first and with the best scores ever, and also passed the final HBS examination on 18 August. He began studying Chinese in Leiden under Schlegel on 1 October 1875, together with A.A. de Jongh and A.E. Moll. They studied the Tsiangtsiu dialect (Hokkien) and written Chinese.

Three years later, on 18 December 1878, the three students entered the colonial service and were requested to go to China to study Chinese for one year, in order to be appointed as interpreters of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies.[516] On 6 January 1879 they left the Netherlands, and on 28 February they arrived in Gulangyu (Amoy), where they studied for nine months. From 25 June to 13 July, they took a trip to Northern Formosa. From 1 December 1879 to 25 February 1880, they studied in Zhangzhou (Tsiangtsiu) in a completely Chinese environment for almost three months. In total, they studied in China for one year. From 4 to 27 March 1880, they travelled via Singapore to Batavia.[517]

During this period, Jacobus van der Spek kept a diary from 6 January 1879, the day they left home, until 28 May 1880, when he was sworn in as interpreter, and 29 May, the reception by the Governor of Celebes in Makassar. This diary has remained in the family and was presented to the

Leiden University Library by F.R. van der Spek, grandson of J. van der Spek, in 2010; it is the only known complete diary of a nineteenth-century Dutch sinologist. Van der Spek also published fourteen "Letters from China" (*Brieven uit China*) in the Amsterdam daily newspaper *Het Nieuws van den dag: kleine courant* from 11 October 1879 to 5 August 1880. In 1881–3 he published many articles about Chinese subjects in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, just as Meeter did.

On 26 April 1880, Jacobus van der Spek was appointed as *temporary* interpreter of the Chinese language in Makassar.[518] On 24 March 1882, he became an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Makassar,[519] from which position he was honourably discharged on 1 June 1883.[520] In the meantime, on 3 March 1883 he had been transferred to Mentok,[521] but half a year later, on 4 October 1883, he was again transferred to Padang and appointed as extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Padang.[522] He was sworn in for the latter on 14 November 1883. When the President of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Padang, W.F. Maijer, was accused of illegal practices,[523] and all other members were also suspects, Van der Spek was for a short period temporarily appointed as President in Maijer's place.[524]

In December 1884, when Van der Spek was required to act as interpreter in a criminal court hearing in Padang, he could not understand the accent of the accused and was therefore replaced by Young, who happened to be present and knew the case.[525] Afterwards, Van der Spek was heavily criticised in the newspapers for his 'incompetence,' and when Meeter came to his support, the criticism intensified.[526] A few weeks later, a notice appeared in the *Sumatra-Courant* stating that Van der Spek had been nominated for dismissal, adding that he wished to take leave because of illness, or was even planning to resign, since he could not stand it in the Indies. Moreover, he was considering whether to put aside his Chinese and study medicine.[527] Actually, he had already been studying medicine by himself for some time.[528]

On 17 February he requested two years' sick leave in Europe, which was granted on 13 March 1885.[529] He had already left Batavia on 4 March, arriving in Marseille on 7 April.[530] In total, he served as an interpreter for almost five years. Two years later, on 3 August 1887, he was at his request discharged from Netherlands Indies government service.[531] He was the only nineteenth-century Dutch sinologist who, after the prescribed minimal five years of service, left the colonial service and took up a completely different career.

In September 1885, he registered as a student of Medicine at Amsterdam University. He also studied in Kiel and Strassbourg (then part of Germany), and acquired his physician's diploma on 6 March 1891 in Amsterdam. Afterwards, on 4 August 1891, he acquired his M.D. (cum

laude) in Berlin; the title of his thesis was *Ueber Pemphigus und andere bullöse Hautkrankheiten.* On 11 January 1892, he set up as a dermatologist in Amsterdam. He gave lectures and published regularly on syphilis and other dermatological diseases.[532]

On 20 September 1895, he married Gerardine Jacqueline Westhoff (Amsterdam, 18 June 1867 – Nijmegen, 24 February 1928). Out of this marriage were born two sons, Friedrich Reinhardt (1896–1945; an engineer) and Jacob (1900–54; a surgeon), and one daughter Anna (1901–21). After Van der Spek's untimely death, the studies of his sons were paid for by De Jongh.

On 3 December 1902, he passed away after a sudden illness (traumatic fever, Angina Ludovici) in Amsterdam, almost 46 years old.

G. Schlegel wrote a short necrology for him in *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902), 355.

Publications

"Brieven uit China" (Letters from China), *Het nieuws van den dag*, 11, 31 October; 15 November; 3, 11 December 1879; 1, 16, 21, 24 January; 14 February; 29 March; 5 April; 17 May; 5 August 1880) [Dated 17 August 1879 – 20 February 1880; numbered I-XVI; nos. XI and XII are missing].
"Een en ander over het opiumgebruik in China," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 16, 17 November 1881.
"Chineesche karaktertrekken," *idem*, 10, 12, 13, 14 December 1881.
"Spiritisme in China," *idem*, 6, 7 and 9 January 1882.
"Nog iets over faillisementen van Chineezen," *idem*, 16 January 1882.
"De vrouw in China," *idem*, 28 and 30 January 1882.
"Chineesch Nieuwjaar," *idem*, 20 February 1882.
"Het Chineesche lantaarnfeest," *idem*, 4 March 1882.
"De Chineezen in Borneo," *idem*, 4, 20, 21, 22 March 1882.
"Vreemde gewoonten der Chineezen," *idem*, 5 April 1882.
"Foeng-shoei," *idem*, 2 and 3 May 1882.
"Een uitstapje in Formosa," Feuilleton, *idem*, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 May 1882.
"Bouw en bereiding van thee in China," *idem*, 28, 29, 30 June, 1 July 1882.
"Handelsusantiën in China," *idem*, 23, 24, 25 August, 6, 7, 22, 23 September 1882.
"Iets over den tijger in China," *idem*, 13 October 1882.
"Bedelaars in huis," *idem*, 8 January 1883.
"Een Chineesch chevalier d'industrie," *idem*, 7, 8 May 1883.
"Over het Boeddhisme in China," (On Buddhism in China) *De Indische Gids* V, August (I) and September (*vervolg*, II) (1883), 263-73 and 414-35.
Ueber Pemphigus und andere bullöse Hautkrankheiten (thesis, Berlin, 1891).
"Ingezonden" (Letter to the editor), together with P. Meeter, *Leidsch Dagblad*, 29 March 1892 [a debate followed between Schlegel and Meeter on 30 and 31 March and 1 April in the *Leidsch Dagblad*].
"Chineesche gewoonten ten aanzien van kinderen," (Chinese customs relating to children) *De Indische Gids*, XVI (1894), 940-5 and 1116-20.
Atlas en handleiding der syphilis en venerische ziekten (Amsterdam: Scheltema en Holkema, 1903) (after Mraček's work).

Manuscript

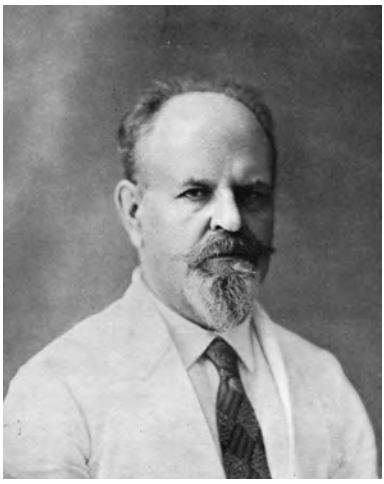
Diary from the day he left for China until the day of his meeting the Governor in Makassar (6 January 1879 – 29 May 1880). This *Diary* is now in the Leiden University Library (Or. 26.922).

Obituaries

"Dr. J. van der Spek. †" *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 December 1902 (taken over by many other newspapers).
"Dr. J. van der Spek. †" *Wereldkroniek*, 13 December 1902 (with photograph).
G. Schlegel, "Nécrologie," *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902), 355.

His library

Twenty of his Chinese books are now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden, mostly in the KNAG Collection.



*43. P.A. van de Stadt, 1930s (*Engel van de Stadt*, The Hague, 1951).*

STADT, Peter Adriaan van de

Peter Adriaan van de Stadt was born on 9 March 1876 in Arnhem and died on 20 March 1940 in Batavia.[533] His Chinese name was Si-tát Pit 施達闢 (*Shi Dapi*).[534]

His father was Dr. Hendrik van de Stadt (Amsterdam, 2 September 1842 – Arnhem, 10 May 1915), who studied at Leiden University and received a Ph.D. cum laude in mathematics and physics in 1866; he became a vice-director and teacher of physics and cosmography at the HBS in Arnhem; from 1874 to 1907 he was principal. He also wrote textbooks on physics and knew many languages. He was married to Hendrika Arnoldina Matthes (Zutphen, 15 January 1844 – Amsterdam, 24 June 1902). Out of this marriage three sons and one daughter were born, of whom Peter Adriaan was the youngest. The eldest son Hendrik Justus (Arnhem, 26 January 1868 – Hattem, 1 April 1954) studied chemistry and was a secondary school teacher, and from 1925 to 1933 principal. The second son Johan Willem (Arnhem, 5 January 1869 – The Hague, 6 October 1922) worked for the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij in the Indies from 1890 to 1906, then in The Hague as director of the Stoomrijstpellerij "Hollandia," in Rangoon, and as head administrator of the Nederlandsche Guttapercha Maatschappij (Rubber Works) in Singapore from 1911 to 1920.[535]

Peter Adriaan finished the HBS in 1892 and was admitted as number one on the list to be trained as an interpreter of Chinese. He studied under Schlegel together with A.G. de Bruin and E.F. Thijssen. He was registered as a student in Leiden University on 30 September 1892,[536] probably in order to become a member of the Student Corps. After three years in Leiden, he was third on Schlegel's ranking list; Schlegel's high expectations of him had not been realised. This may have been caused by his activities in the Student Corps.

After three years of study in Leiden, all three students entered the colonial service on 12 November 1895.[537] They left for Hong Kong at the end of 1895.

They studied for two years in China. In January 1897 they went to Chaochow (Chaozhou) to study the Hoklo dialect for almost three months.[538]

In September 1897, Van de Stadt was the first sinologist to request permission to study Mandarin and the Chinese government in Peking for some time. On 24 April 1897, this request was rejected by Governor-General Van der Wijck, "because that study is of no importance for service in the Indies" (*omdat die studie niet van belang voor de Ind. dienst is*).

On 25 June 1897, all three were ordered to proceed to Kia Ying Chow (now Meixian, Guangdong), to study the local Hakka dialect until the end of their study period in China. They studied there for almost four months. At the request of the Dutch Consul General in Hong Kong, Van de Stadt wrote a report on the local situation. The students left China on 13 January 1898.

On 20 February 1898, Van de Stadt was appointed Official for Chinese Affairs in Rembang (Java).[539]

On 23 June 1899 he was appointed in Makassar.[540]

He first married Maria Cornelia Ernestine Ketjen (Pekalongan, 5 November 1875 – Makassar, 20 February 1900) in Bakoen (Kediri) on 9 March 1898, but two years later his wife died in childbirth together with her infant child. A year and a half later, on 14 November 1901, he married Wilhelmina Adriana Moraux (Makassar, 4 August 1881 – The Hague, 8 August 1952), a Eurasian, daughter of Willem Adriaan Moraux and the Makassarese woman Sanning. Out of this marriage four daughters and one son were born. The daughters were Henriette Arnoldine (Makassar, 14 October 1902), Wilhelmina Adriana (Makassar, 2 January 1904 – West Vancouver, 3 December 1981); Dorothea Sophie (Mentok, 5 April 1907 – probably 18 September 1944 during transport of prisoners at sea) and Louise Alexandra (Tandjong Pandang, 15 October 1915). His son Huibert Cornelis (Billiton, 12 December 1912 – 1975) later became a naval officer.

On 9 November 1903, Van de Stadt was temporarily appointed in Mentok.[541]

From 18 May 1904, apart from his function of Official for Chinese Affairs, he was temporarily assigned to the General Inspector of the Opium Monopoly, A.A. de Jongh, with an extra monthly allowance of *f* 100. He could also be charged with office work or official travels together with De Jongh.[542]

On 7 April 1905 he was charged to proceed to Singapore, Pakhoi (Beihai) and if needed other places in Southern China to investigate the employment of coolies and to try to arrange a regular supply of labour for the tin mines on Banka. He was authorised to arrange the engagement and transport of at most 6,000 workers to Mentok,[543] but this mission was not successful.

On 1 March 1906, he and the engineer P.J. Stigter were charged to go to Singapore and the Federated Malay States to investigate the tin mining.[544]

On 27 April 1907, he was at his request honourably discharged from government service as from 5 May 1907.[545] He had worked as Official for Chinese Affairs for nine years.

He then worked in Tanjung Pandan (Billiton), and from 1914 on in Weltevreden (Batavia), for the Billiton Maatschappij (Billiton Mining Company). In 1916 he became General Representative in Batavia.[546] Two years later, when the Head Administrator (*hoofdadministrateur*) P.J. Stigter was discharged because of budget reporting problems, Van de Stadt also took leave, disagreeing with the company's treatment of Stigter. After working for this company for eleven years, he resigned in May 1918.[547]

In 1917 a system had been created for East Indies Officials to study Japanese in Leiden for three years and in Japan for two years, in order to work for the Netherlands Indies government,[548] just as in the new system for Chinese studies that had been promulgated ten days earlier. In accordance with the new system, Van de Stadt and his family went to Japan where he would study for two years with a government stipend, starting 1 August 1918.[549]

On 3 September 1920, he arrived with his family in The Hague from Tokyo. Thereupon he stayed for one year in the Netherlands, where he may have studied Japanese in Leiden with the newly appointed Professor M.W. de Visser. On 5 August 1921, he left The Hague for Batavia.[550]

On 18 October 1921, he was temporarily put at the disposal of the Director of Interior Administration (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*) with the title Advisor for Japanese Affairs,[551] and two months later, on 29 December, he was appointed Civil Official (*burgerlijk ambtenaar*) with the same title.[552] In the beginning he was the only official in the Bureau for Japanese Affairs (*Bureau voor Japansche zaken*). Before Van de Stadt's appointment in 1921, from 1908 to 1914, B.A.J. van Wettum had been the first Advisor for Japanese Affairs, and in the years 1915–7, H.L. Bense, lieutenant of infantry, was charged with handling Japanese affairs in Batavia.[553]

On 7 June 1922, the Bureau for Japanese Affairs was officially established. Van de Stadt was appointed as Advisor for Japanese Affairs and Bureau Chief. The Bureau also had a translator, a European interpreter of Japanese, and other personnel.[554]

As from 2 November 1927, Van de Stadt was granted eight months of leave to Europe by virtue of six years of government service.[555]

On 12 July 1928, he was again appointed Advisor for Japanese Affairs.[556]

On 7 December 1932, the government decided to abolish the Bureau for Japanese Affairs as from 1 January 1933, in order to cut expenses. The work was to be taken over by the Department of Chinese Affairs (*Dienst der Chineesche Zaken*), which would be called Department of Chinese Affairs and East Asian Matters (*Dienst der Chineesche Zaken en Oost-Azia-*

tische Aangelegenheden).[557] By this decision Van de Stadt's position was effectively abolished. On 22 December 1932, he was at his request honourably discharged as from 28 December 1932, with gratitude for his long service.[558] He had worked as Advisor for Japanese Affairs for eleven years.

On 20 March 1940 he passed away in Batavia, 64 years old.

Honours

1910 Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau (*Officier in de Orde van Oranje-Nassau*)
1926 4th class Order of the Rising Sun (of Japan) (1925)
1928 Legion of Honour (France?)

Publications

Hakka-woordenboek [Dutch–Hakka and Hakka–Dutch dictionary] (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1912), xxxi, 412 p.

Nederlandsch–Japansch woordenboek = Jitsuyō Ran-Wa jiten 實用蘭和辭典 (Tokyo: Nan'yō Kyōkai, Okura shoten 東京: 南洋協會, 大倉書店, 1922), 597 p.

Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek = Nichi-Ran jiten 日蘭辭典, Fan-de-sutatto cho ファン•デ•スタット著, (Taihoku (Taipei): Nan'yō Kyōkai Taiwan Shibu 臺北: 南洋協會臺灣支部, Shōwa 9 [1934]), 3, 1311 p. [The text of this dictionary is available on www.jiten.nl].



*44. H.N. Stuart (*Tilburgsche Courant, *5 November 1916)*

STUART, Hermanus Nicolaas

Hermanus Nicolaas Stuart was born on 16 June 1855 in Kralingen (near Rotterdam) and died on 20 October 1916 in The Hague.[559]

His father was Adrianus Leonardus Stuart (around 1820 – Rotterdam, 2 May 1900), a primary school teacher (*onderwijzer*). His mother was Sijtje van den Heuvel (1820 – 30 December 1859); she passed away when she was almost 40 years old. Out of this marriage at least five children were born, one daughter and four sons, one of whom died in infancy. Hermanus Nicolaas was the youngest son. In 1864, his father married D. van den Heuvel (died The Hague, 8 March 1902), perhaps his first wife's sister. Out of this marriage at least two children were born, one of whom died in infancy.[560]

He passed the final examination of the five-year HBS in Rotterdam in 1873. After the competitive examination, in which he was third on the ranking list, he studied from October 1873 Chinese under Schlegel in Leiden, together with J.J.M. de Groot and B. Hoetink.

Three years later, on 28 November 1876, he entered the colonial service and was sent to China together with his two fellow students. He was to study Chinese in order to be appointed later as interpreter for Chinese in the East Indies. He studied for one year in Amoy.

On 13 April 1878, he was appointed as interpreter in Mentok (Banka). Since he had only studied Hokkien, he was allowed to engage a second teacher at *f* 25 per month "for learning the locally most spoken dialect," probably Hakka.[561]

On 3 March 1883 he was transferred to Makassar,[562] changing places with Van der Spek, and on 1 June 1883 he was appointed an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Makassar as from 1 May 1883.[563]

On 28 July 1885, he was transferred to Semarang, succeeding De Grijs, and also appointed extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber.[564]

Probably when he was stationed in Semarang, Stuart married Jeanne Angelique Descelles (Semarang, 28 March 1862 – The Hague, 8 September 1934), who was of Eurasian descent.[565] Out of this marriage one daughter was born, Mary Stuart (Pontianak, 29 August 1890 – The Hague, 2 Feb-

ruary 1985),[566] who later became a lawyer and was president of the Dutch Foundation against Vivisection.[567]

On 26 March 1889, he was honourably discharged as interpreter in Semarang and transferred to Pontianak.[568]

On 19 May 1892, he was allowed two years of sick leave to Europe as from 8 June 1892.[569]

On 26 September 1893, he registered as a third-year student at the Indies Institute (*Indische Instelling*) in Delft. His purpose was to obtain the diploma, not to start a career as East Indies official.[570] He only chose to study one language, namely Malay, in contrast with most of his fellow-students who took three or four languages.[571] The following year he passed the Higher Officials Examination (*grootambtenaarsexamen*).[572]

On 21 December 1894, he was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Makassar.[573]

As from 1 October 1896, he was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Surabaya.[574]

On 15 October 1896, Governor-General Van der Wijck wrote on his own initiative to the Minister of Foreign Affairs that Stuart and Hoetink, who had both passed the Higher Officials Examination, might be suitable and available for an appointment as Consul in China or Singapore, but on 4 November the Ministry of Foreign Affairs replied that it did not need anyone at the time.[575] But the next year, on 10 April 1897, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested information about Stuart and Hoetink, because a new consul was needed after the establishment of a consulate in Shanghai. In reply to the Minister of Colonies, Governor-General Van der Wijck wrote that he considered Stuart and Hoetink both suitable, but since Stuart was married to a Eurasian lady, it would be less advisable to appoint him on account of the dominant English element in Shanghai.[576] In any case, it turned out that Stuart was not interested in this function.[577]

On 3 April 1898, Stuart was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Batavia, and extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber.[578]

Eleven years later, on 27 April 1909, he was at his request allowed one year of leave to Europe in view of long service. On 2 June 1909, he was to withdraw from office.[579] After this leave he did not return to the Indies. He worked as interpreter and Official for Chinese Affairs for 31 years, including three years of leave.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 14 September 1880 to 7 June 1892, and again from 5 March 1895 to 29 March 1909. He became a member of the Board of Directors from 26 August 1900 on, secretary from 1 July 1901 on, and treasurer (*thesaurië*r) from 1 January 1902 on. After retirement on 29 March 1909, he was made honorary member. He published a catalogue of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese coins in the Batavian Society Museum.

On 26 August 1909 he settled in The Hague.
On 20 October 1916 he passed away in The Hague, 61 years old.

Honours

1902 (28 August) Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau (*Officier in de Orde van Oranje-Nassau*)

Publications

"Over verdeeling van het familiegoed en stamvoortzetting bij de Chineezen," *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 75 (1900), 273-306.

"Adoption posthume chez les Chinois," *Hommage au Congrès des Orientalistes de Hanoi de la part du Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, [with articles by] Ph. S. van Ronkel, J. Brandes, G.A.J. Hazeu en H.N. Stuart, Congrès des Orientalistes (1902; Hanoi) (Batavia: Albrecht, 1902), 52 p., pp. 36-44.

Catalogus der munten en amuletten van China, Japan, Corea en Annam, behoorende tot de numismatische verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavia [etc.]: Landsdrukkerijen [etc.], 1904), XXIV, 227 p.

"Chineesch voogdijrecht, advies … dd. 14 Januari 1906, naar aanleiding van een verzoek van de Wees- en Boedelkamer te Soerabaja …" *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië* 86 (1906), 1-6.

Manuscript

Hollandsch–Chineesch handboekje voor het Tsiang-tsiu dialect, dated July 1875, 223 + [5] pp. Copy of Schlegel's Dutch translation of E. Doty's *Anglo–Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect* (Canton, 1853) (now in a private collection).

THIJSSEN, Emile Franciscus

Emile Franciscus Thijssen was born in The Hague on 27 June 1873 and died in the same city on 24 March 1914.[580] His Chinese name was Tài-sien I-bîng 戴先意明 (*Daixian Yiming*).[581]

His father was Petrus Thijssen (5 April 1836 – Loosdrecht, February 1888),[582] in 1873 first lieutenant on the infantry staff, and in 1877 captain. His mother was Henriette Margaretha Marnstra (Makassar, 10 December 1848).[583] He was the only (living) son.

While attending the fifth grade of the HBS, he passed the competitive examination for Chinese student-interpreters ranking as third. He studied Hokkien and written Chinese in Leiden under Schlegel from September 1892 to 1895, together with A.G. de Bruin and P.A. van de Stadt. He was registered as a student in Leiden University at the same time as De Bruin on 3 February 1894.[584]

On 12 November 1895, all three students entered the colonial service, and were to be appointed as Officials for Chinese Affairs after the completion of their studies.[585] The students left the Netherlands at the beginning of December 1895 and arrived in Hong Kong on 10 January 1896, and one or two days later in Amoy. They first studied Hokkien in Amoy for one year. For the year 1897 Thijssen was appointed as Registrar (*griffier*) at the Consular Court in Amoy. In January 1897, all three Candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs, as they were now called, went to Chaochow (Chaozhou) to study the Hoklo dialect for almost three months.[586] On 25 June 1897, they were ordered to proceed to Kia Ying Chow (now Meixian, Guangdong), to study the local Hakka dialect until the end of their study period in China, which they did for almost four months from 30 August until mid-December 1897. After two years of study, on 13 January 1898 they left China for Batavia.

On 3 April 1898, Thijssen was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Pontianak.[587] During this stationing he once acted as *controleur* of the division (*afdeeling*) Sukadana for twelve days.[588]

On 22 October 1904, he was temporarily appointed in Surabaya, succeeding Van Wettum. He received *f* 100 as extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber.[589] He was a member of the first Municipal Council of Surabaya (*Gemeenteraad*) in 1905–8.[590]

On 27 October 1905, while still in office in Surabaya, he was temporarily assigned to the Chief Inspector of the Opium Monopoly, A.A. de Jongh, with an extra monthly allowance of *f* 100.[591] De Jongh had been charged with investigating the conditions of tin mining on Banka (*see* De Jongh's biography). On 20 January 1906 this assignment was withdrawn, and Governor-General J.B. van Heutsz expressed the Government's gratitude and satisfaction for the manner in which both had fulfilled their task.[592]

In February and March 1906 he accompanied for the first time a group of 683 Chinese miners from Banka repatriating to Pakhoi (Beihai), Hoihow (Haikou) and Hong Kong. He was charged to accompany the miners and pay their savings to them at their arrival in China, to prevent them being robbed in Singapore, as happened often. Since Van de Stadt had not succeeded in recruiting coolies for Banka in the previous year, it was hoped that the news of their relatively high salaries in the Indies would attract more coolies to Banka. The full report was printed in several newspapers, showing Thijssen's sympathetic and helpful attitude towards the coolies.[593]

On 11 December 1907, while still officially stationed in Surabaya, he was temporarily put at the disposal of the Director of Education, Religious Affairs, and Industry (*Onderwijs, Eeredienst and Nijverheid*), to work on certain assignments.[594] This probably referred to the repatriation of coolies.

On 2 January 1908, he was temporarily put at the disposal of the Resident of Banka in order to arrange the repatriation to Southern China of miners whose contract ended in February. He was to leave Batavia on 18 January after consultation with the Director of the soon to be established Department of Government Enterprises (*Gouvernementsbedrijven*).[595]

In January and February 1909, he escorted a similar repatriation of 1,139 workers from Banka to Southern China.[596] He wrote a detailed description of the whole procedure, including the payment of wages after arrival in China. In this report, he criticised the small quantities and miserable condition of the food for the workers on board the ship, contrary to regulations. Despite his efforts and those of the captain and first officer, the food and rationing hardly got any better. The food was provided by a (Chinese) comprador at the cheapest rate. This report was not published. Borel received a copy which is now in the Borel Archive in the Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. This was the last time an Official for Chinese Affairs accompanied repatriating coolies.

On 28 June 1909, he was allowed one year of leave in view of long service, as from 2 August 1909.[597]

While on leave in the Netherlands, on 31 May 1910, he married Johanna Louisa Boekwijt (Leiden, 16 October 1871). The marriage took place in Teteringen.[598]

On 11 November 1910, he was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Pontianak, succeeding Borel who had left a year earlier.[599]

On 7 December 1911, he was transferred to Semarang, succeeding Ezerman who went to Padang.[600]

On 28 February 1914, he was at his request allowed two years of sick leave. He suddenly withdrew from office on 2 February 1914, and was to

leave for the Netherlands immediately.[601] Less than two months later, on 24 March 1914, he passed away in The Hague,[602] only 40 years old.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 8 June 1908 to 29 December 1913.[603]

He worked as Official for Chinese Affairs for almost 14 years, including one year of leave.

Honours

1907 (31 August) Knight in the Order of Orange-Nassau (*Ridder in de Orde van Oranje-Nassau*)

Publication

"Verslag van den reis naar China in Februari en Maart 1906 ondernomen door den Ambtenaar voor Chineesche Zaken E.F. Thijssen in het belang der werving van Chineesche mijnwerkers voor Banka," [Report about the repatriation of Chinese workers from Banka] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* and *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 20 April 1906.

Manuscript

Untitled manuscript report for the Resident of Banka, about the repatriation of Chinese workers from Banka, dated Soerabaja 20 April 1909 (Borel Archives, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).



45. B.A.J. van Wettum, 1914 (CBG, The Hague)

WETTUM, Bertus Anton Jacobus van

Bertus Anton Jacobus van Wettum (Bertus van Wettum) was born on 5 December 1870 in Stompwijk, a small village 7 km to the south of Leiden and died on 7 August 1914 in Batavia.[604] In Leiden he had the Chinese nickname Putam.[605] His later Chinese name was Bík-tam 墨湛 (*Mozhan*), and style (*zi* 字) Hanxiang 翰香,[606] but he also used P'oan (or P'oa˘) Bík-tam 潘墨湛 (*Pan Mozhan*).[607]

His father was Willem van Wettum (Naarden, 12 April 1827 – Stompwijk, 30 March 1882), a teacher of mathematics and headmaster of a school in Leidschendam; he also ran a boarding school. His mother was Johanna de Graaf(f) (Maassluis, 16 October 1830 – The Hague, 4 January 1920). Out of this marriage thirteen children were born, four of whom died in infancy. There remained six sons and and three daughters. From 1885 the family lived in The Hague.[608] Bertus was the second-youngest child. His younger brother Willem Gideon van Wettum (Stompwijk, 13 December 1872 – 1936) was an East Indies official from 1892; from 1901 on he worked for the Government Opium Monopoly, of which he became Inspector General in 1912. He retired in 1921.

Bertus van Wettum went to school at the HBS in The Hague (Bleyenburg), and he was acccepted for training as a Chinese interpreter; he passed the competitive examination ranking fourth; after which he still took and passed his HBS examination.[609] From 1888 to 1892, he studied Hokkien and written Chinese under Schlegel in Leiden, together with Ezerman, Borel, and Goteling Vinnis. Because his fellow students Borel and Ezerman did not do well in their first year, all three of them studied in Leiden for four years instead of three.

On 15 August 1892, he and his fellow students entered the colonial service. They were sent to Amoy to study Chinese for one year, in order to be subsequently appointed as interpreters for Chinese in the Netherlands Indies. They arrived in Amoy on 6 October 1892. On 28 January 1893, all three students filed an official complaint (*reclame*) about their financial situation, and on 20 May 1893 their claims were met,[610] but a final settlement was only achieved in September.

After one year in China, on 12 September 1893, the students were giv-

en permission to stay another year; this was at the request of Van Wettum and Ezerman, later also supported by Borel.

On 24 October 1894, Van Wettum was appointed interpreter of the Chinese language in Pontianak.[611]

As from 1 October, together with all other interpreters, his title was changed to 'Official for Chinese affairs' (*ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken*), and he continued in this capacity in Pontianak.[612]

On 3 December 1896, he married Anne Maria Tromp (Tanjung Pura, 22 April 1879 – 1951). She was a daughter of his superior, S.W. Tromp (1848–97), Resident of Western Borneo.

In 1898, he was also extraordinary substitute clerk (*buitengewoon substituut griffier*) at the District Court (*Landraad*) in Pontianak.[613]

On 3 April 1898, he was transferred to Makassar, succeeding Borel.[614]

The following year, on 23 June 1899, he was transferred to Surabaya, again succeeding Borel who went on sick leave.[615]

On 24 September 1904, he was allowed one year of leave to Europe in view of long service, as from 4 October.[616]

On 6 September 1905, Van Wettum and Ezerman, who were both on leave in the Netherlands, were charged by Royal Decree (no. 31) to study Japanese at the Seminar für Ostasiatische Sprachen in Berlin. After theoretical studies in Berlin, they were to go to Japan for practical studies. The government wished to appoint them as chiefs of a Section for Japanese Affairs that was to be established soon.[617] Van Wettum went with his family and Ezerman to Berlin where he studied Japanese for one year.

On 20 November 1906, he was, pursuant to the Royal Decree of 19 August 1906 no. 31, charged by Governor-General Van Heutsz to go to Japan to study Japanese language, geography, and ethnology (*taal-, land- en volkenkunde*).[618] Actually, he and his family had already arrived in Japan on 4 November, and he studied there for two years.[619] He was first stationed at the Dutch Legation in Tokyo, and later in the Consulate in Kobe, where he was acting Consul for some time. During his stay in Japan he translated a booklet about Japanese rice culture and processing, and he wrote a *nota* about sugar culture on Formosa.[620]

He returned to the Indies on 28 November 1908. On 30 November 1908, he was temporarily assigned to work in the Department of Justice.[621]

On 26 January 1909, Van Wettum was at his request temporarily appointed as Advisor for Japanese Affairs.[622]

A few months later, on 30 April 1909, he was appointed retroactively as Official for Chinese Affairs in Batavia from 30 November 1908, temporarily assigned to work as Advisor for Japanese Affairs (*adviseur voor Japansche zaken*) in the Department of Justice.[623]

On 17 August 1909, he was made extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber and of the Estate Chamber in Batavia. For this, and sepa-

rately also for his temporary Advisorship of Japanese Affairs, he received a monthly salary of *f* 100.[624]

On 7 January 1911, he was accorded the personal title of Advisor for Chinese Affairs (*adviseur voor Chineesche zaken*).[625] All three officials posted in cities where Chinese Consuls would be stationed obtained this title (Borel, Ezerman, and Van Wettum).

On 14 March 1913, Van Wettum was temporarily assigned to work in the Department of Interior Administration (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*) in order to design a plan for the organisation of an agency for Chinese affairs in Batavia.[626] Later that year the diplomat W.J. Oudendijk, who had studied Chinese in Peking, was temporarily appointed as an External Advisor for Chinese Affairs. Oudendijk proposed the establishment of a Bureau for Chinese Affairs under the Central Government.[627] This Bureau for Chinese Affairs was finally established in 1916.[628] From that time on, all Officials for Chinese Affairs worked for that Bureau and were stationed in Batavia.

On 7 August 1914, Van Wettum passed away after a sudden illness (dysentery)[629] in Batavia, at only 43 years of age. His death was much regretted. He was considered a very capable Advisor for Chinese Affairs, very well versed in Chinese.[630]

He was at the time the senior sinologist and the only japanologist in the Netherlands Indies, and probably would have been the first Director of the Bureau for Chinese Affairs (*Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken*) in Batavia, had he not passed away so early.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 8 September 1896 to 4 January 1899 and again from 18 January 1909 until his death. He became a member of the Board of Directors on 22 February 1909, and was Secretary-Treasurer for five years starting on 29 March 1909. After his death, the functions of Secretary and Treasurer were fulfilled by two members of the Board.[631]

He had two sons: Solco Walle (Makassar, 8 December 1898 – The Hague, 30 September 1953) and Johannes (Surabaya, 26 November 1900 – The Hague, 10 June 1989). Both studied at the Technical University in Delft and became engineers. Solco Walle worked in the Indies starting in 1925, was detained in a Japanese prison camp in 1942–5 and passed away early in 1953; one of his sons died in a Japanese POW camp in Thailand.[632] In 1925, Johannes (Jan van Wettum) became a teacher at the first Waldorf School in The Hague, established in 1923; he later became a well-known Waldorfian.[633]

Publications

"An Alphabetical List of the Emperors of China and of Their Year-titles or nien-hao" (together J.L.J.F. Ezerman), *T'oung Pao* A 2 (1891), 357-89.

Alphabetical List of the Chinese and Japanese Emperors. I: *An Alphabetical List of the Emperors of China and of Their Year-titles or Nien-hao, with the Date of Their Reign and Duration*, compiled by J.L.J.F. Ezerman and B.A.J. van Wettum - II: *Alphabetical List of the Mikados and Shoguns of Japan as also an Alphabetical List of the Year title or Nen-Go, Adopted during Their Reign*, by G. Schlegel, Leiden E.J. Brill, 1893 [enlarged version of the preceding].

"A Pair of Chinese Marriage Contracts," *T'oung Pao* A 5 (1894), 371-85, signed "Dutch Chinese student-interpreter, Amoy, January 1894."

"A Chinese Opinion on Leprosy, Being a Translation of a Chapter from the Medical Standard-work 御纂醫宗金鑑 [*Yuzuan Yizong jinjian*]. Imperial Edition of the Golden Mirror for the Medical Class (1st chapter of vol. 87)," *T'oung Pao* 2 (1901), 256-68.

Nederlandsch–Chineesche almanak (oude stijl) voor de jaren 1861–1980 (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1913) [editor; revision of Hoetink's earlier edition].[634]

"Aanteekeningen over japansche adoptie en erfrecht en den chineeschen invloed daarop" (Notes on Japanese adoption and inheritance law and the Chinese influence on it), *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 92 (1908), 1-71.

"Het familie- en erfrecht in het nieuw ontworpen Chineesche Burgerlijk Wetboek" (Family and inheritance law in the newly devised Chinese Civil Code), *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 102 (1914), 105-50.

Hak familie dan hak poesaka di Burgerlijk Wetboek baroe di Tiongkok (Batavia, Hoa Siang In Kiok), 62 p. [Malay translation of the preceding].

Manuscripts

Nederlandsch–Chineesch handboekje van het Tsiang-tsiu dialect, door Rev. Doty, bewerkt door G. Schlegel, 1873 (Dutch–Chinese handbook for the Zhangzhou dialect, by Rev. Doty, arranged by G. Schlegel) [signed "B.A.J. van Wettum," and dated 17 June 1888 (first page) and 15 August 1891 (last page).] (Or. 27.042).

"Du Shiniang," 杜十娘怒沉百寶箱, a story from *Jingu qiguan*, copied in Van Wettum's handwriting, 2 vols., now in the Borel Archives, B 745 H. 3 Vertalingen etc., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague [Chinese text, Hokkien transcription and Dutch translation (incomplete)].

His library

His books and manuscripts were auctioned at Burgersdijk & Niermans in Leiden on 16-26 April 1917. An auction catalogue was published as *Catalogue des bibliothèques de feu M.M. B.A.J van Wettum, Conseiller pour les affaires du Japon et de la Chine aux Indes-Néerlandaises* … (KITLV Collection).

Many of his Chinese books (52) are now kept in the KNAG Collection in the East Asian Library in Leiden. At least 37 of these books were acquired while studying in China and bear his Chinese seal. Some of his Japanese books (at least two) which formed part of the KNAG Collection are now kept in the Japanese section of the East Asian Library in Leiden.[635] Some of his books in Western languages are also kept in that library.

YOUNG, James William

James William Young[636] was born on 16 October 1855 in Batavia, and died on 7 September 1898 in Semarang.

His father was James Young (Batavia, 7 January 1832 – Batavia, 2 August 1906), who worked as a clerk, secretary, and translator of the Malay language (*translateur voor de Maleische taal*); he was honourably discharged as clerk in 1880 and became acting Malay translator in Batavia from 1881 to 1885.[637] His mother was Petronella Rensing (Telok Poetjoeng (Batavia), 13 December 1835 – Batavia, 29 May 1919). Out of this marriage twelve children were born, all of whom had careers in the East Indies or whose husbands had such careers.[638]

His grandfather William Young (Dacca (Bengal), 1787 – Batavia, 28 August 1841) had come to Java in 1811 after the British conquest and had a career in the government of the East Indies. He first married Charlotte Geertruida de Haart (Colombo, 13 April 1797 – Batavia, 3 November 1825) and later Johanna Juliana Henriëtte de Lannoy (Colombo, 14 February 1810 – Batavia, 21 September 1879); out of these marriages fourteen children were born, all of whom lived in the East Indies. One of his father's half-brothers was William Young (Batavia, 4 October 1818 – London, April 1886), Chinese name Yang 楊, who started studying Chinese in 1828 with W.H. Medhurst and joined the London Missionary Society. As an assistant of the missionary J. Stronach, he went to Amoy in the 1840s. He was a minister in a Chinese church in Australia in 1854–75, sometimes also acting as Chinese interpreter, and in Singapore in 1875–85.[639]

James William went to school at the Willem III Gymnasium, and passed the competitive examination for student-interpreters on 18 November 1872 and the following days. On 2 January 1873, he was accepted as a student-interpreter (*élève tolk*)[640] to be trained as interpreter of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies; he was to be taught the Tsiangtsiu dialect in Batavia.[641] From January 1873 to December 1875, he studied Hokkien (and perhaps also some Cantonese) under Von Faber in Batavia.

On 22 December 1876, he was ordered to go to China to study there for one and a half years. From January 1876 to 3 February 1877, he studied in Amoy; he had to leave for Java because his allowance stopped in January. By decision of 8 February 1877, one week after he had left Amoy, he was allowed to take along an experienced Chinese clerk when he left China, to serve him for three years. He was the only interpreter of Eurasian descent.[642]

On 14 March 1877, he married his cousin Johanna Adriana Brouwer (Batavia, 3 November 1856 – after 1906). Her mother Elisabeth Young was an elder sister of his father. Out of this marriage two daughters and

two sons were born. His sons Charles Young (Pontianak, 7 December 1877 – Kediri, 29 March 1923) and Alfred Young (Batavia, 9 February 1887 – The Hague, 1 September 1932) both had careers in the East Indies. His daughters were Laura (Pontianak, 3 January 1879) and Mary (Padang, 3 June 1881).

On 16 March 1877, he was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Pontianak. On 3 June 1877, Resident Kater granted him an extra monthly allowance of *f* 25 for one year, for the salary of a second teacher, in order to learn the Hakka dialect.[643]

On 3 October 1879, he was transferred to Padang and appointed as an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Padang.[644]

On 20 August 1883, he was transferred to Batavia and appointed as an extraordinary member of the Estate Chamber in Batavia.[645] In 1885 he was honourably discharged from the latter function. In September 1885 he was charged with a special mission to Atjeh (Aceh) to interpret in a lawsuit involving the possible confiscation of a Chinese ship from Canton containing weapons for the insurgents.[646] After his return to Batavia, he was accorded a monthly allowance of *f* 25 for a teacher's fee in order to learn Cantonese.[647] Young's Chinese was considered so good that a Chinese officer in Batavia even had his son study Chinese with the European interpreter of Chinese![648]

On 3 March 1887 he was suddenly transferred to Western Borneo, with orders to leave Batavia on 16 March. This was because a 'missionary' (*zendeling*) of a secret society from Singapore had been apprehended on Borneo and the matter was to be investigated with the help of a European interpreter. Although Moll was at the time stationed in Pontianak, he was actually in Batavia for other matters and seemed to have no intention of returning to Borneo. Moreover, Young had been stationed earlier in Pontianak, he knew the local situation, and he knew Hakka.[649] Two weeks after arrival, he was sent on a secret mission to Singapore[650] to further investigate the matter. As a result of this investigation, a new bylaw for suppressing secret societies was promulgated in some of the Outer Possessions. In 1890 Young published an article about law pertaining to secret societies in the Straits Settlements and the Indies.

After two years in Pontianak, on 5 March 1889 he was granted two years' sick leave in the Netherlands,[651] because of serious heart problems.

On 22 March 1891 he was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Semarang, and as extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber.[652]

As from 1 October 1896 he was appointed as an Official for Chinese Affairs in Semarang.[653]

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 2 October 1883 to 10 May 1887.

On 7 September 1898, he passed away in Semarang, almost 43 years

old. Many attended his impressive funeral at which the Master of the Freemasons' lodge in Semarang, J. Stigter, gave an obituary speech.[654]

According to J.J.M. de Groot, J.W. Young was the best interpreter among all his colleagues. He spoke Hokkien (Amoy, Tsiangtsiu), Cantonese, and Hakka with a purety of accent and fluency seldom acquired by Europeans.[655]

Besides publishing many highly informative articles about Chinese customs and problems in newspapers and journals, Young also published six short stories with lively descriptions of the Chinese in the Indies. In 1895, P.A. Daum wrote a review of a collection of four stories. In his opinion these stories, although without any literary value, gave more insight into the life of the Chinese in the Indies than Snouck Hurgonje gave in his scholarly studies about the life of the Achinese.[656]

Publications

A partial list of his publications can be found in Schlegel's obituary in *T'oung Pao*.

"送字紙 Procession for Written Paper at Padang (Sumatra)," *The China Review*, vol. X (1881), 428-31 (by "T.W. Young").
"'Kong Taang Poa.' [貢銅盤] Een uitdrukking bij Padang-Chineezen gebruikelijk," *Sumatra-Courant*, 26 June 1881 (also in *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 7 July 1881).
"De eed in China en in N.-Indië," *Sumatra-courant*, 27 and 29 September 1881.
"Kee tjoa" [解詛], *Sumatra-courant*, 29 December 1881.
"Open brief aan den WelEdelG. Heer M. Von Faber, tolk voor de Chineesche Taal, te Batavia," *Sumatra-courant*, 21 January 1882.
"Nog eens Kee tjoa," *Sumatra-courant*, 2 March 1882.
"Nog iets omtrent den chineeschen Eed in Ned.-Indië," *Sumatra-courant*, 16 March 1882.
"Weêr iets over den chineeschen Eed," *Sumatra-courant*, 30 March 1882.
"Eenige beschouwingen omtrent den eed voor de Chineezen," *Sumatra-courant*, 30 August 1882.
"Sāng Djie Tjoa (送字紙). De optocht der Chineezen voor het beschreven papier," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, vol. 27 (1882), 560-64 (dated Padang 1880).
"Bijdrage tot de kennis der Chineesche geheime genootschappen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, vol. 28 (1883), 546-77 (an earlier version without Chinese characters was published in the *Sumatra-courant* on 19, 21 and 24 October 1882).
"Het opbinden van de haarvlecht bij de Chineezen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 18 May 1883 (from *Padangsch Handelsblad*).
"De schriftteekens der Chineezen," *Sumatra-Courant*, 5 January 1884 (dated Batavia, 11 December 1883).
"Het testament bij de Chineezen," *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 43 (1884), 330-9.
"Het huwelijk bij de Chineezen te Padang. Matriarchaat in botsing met patriarchaat en daaruit voortvloeiende neiging om van het in China geëerbiedigde versterfrecht af te wijken," *De Indische Gids*, 7, II (1885), 1458-79 (also published in *Sumatra-courant*, 30 January, 9, 11, 18, 20 February 1886).
"Versterfrecht, adoptie en pleegkinderen bij de Chineezen. Behandeling der betrekkelijke artikelen van het Wetboek Tai-Tshing Loet-lé," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 31 (1886), 214-39. Translated into Malay in 1887 (1894).
"Bijdrage tot de kennis der Chineesche hazard- en kaartspelen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 31 (1886), 268-302.

Atoeran hak poesaka orang Tjina dan hal mengangkat anak tersalin dari pada kitab hoekoem Tai Tshing Loet Lé (Batavia: Albrecht, 1887), 26 p. Malay text and Chinese law text in characters. Translation of "Versterfrecht, adoptie en pleegkinderen bij de Chineezen." (1886).

Idem (Albrecht & Rusche, 1894) (2nd printing).

"De begraafplaatsen der Chineezen, zoo in Nederlandsch-Indië als in China," *De Indische Gids*, 9, II (1887), 1522-60. This article was translated into Malay by R.J.M.N. Kussendrager in 1889.

"Then Sioe Kim Njong, in de Westerafdeeling van Borneo bekend als Njonja Kaptai." In memoriam (widow of Lioe A-sin). *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 37 (1888), 149-53.

風水記 *Hal hong soei atawa pamilihan tempat-tempat pekoeboeran pada bangsa tjina*, di karangken oleh J.W. Young; dan di salin pada basa Melajoe oleh R.J.M.N. Kussendrager (Batavia: Albrecht & Rusche, 1889), 20 p. Translation of "De begraafplaatsen der Chineezen" (1887) (KITLV Collection).

"De feestdagen der Chineezen, door Tshoà Tsoe Koan. Naar den Maleischen tekst bewerkt door J.W. Young," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 32 (1889), 1-88.

"Het Hoa-Höee-spel (Hok-kiën-dialect) of Fa-foei-spel (Kheh of Hakka-dialect). Een hazardspel bij de Chineezen." *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, 4 (1890), no. 3, 161-88.

"De wetgeving ten aanzien van geheime genootschappen of broederschappen onder de Chineezen in de Straits Settlements en in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 19, nieuwe serie I (1890), 179-208, 241-91.

"Eenige aanteekeningen betreffende de Chineezen in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 19, nieuwe serie I (1890), 362-74.

"Then-A-Sioe, een slachtoffer der geheime genootschappen," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 25 and 26 July 1890 [short story, anonymous, but written in Young's style].

"Handelsgebruiken in China," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 21, nieuwe serie II (1892), 241-6.

"Het huwelijk en de wetgeving hierop in China," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 38 (1894). Translated into Malay in the same year.

Boekoe adat-adat kawin dan ondang-ondangnja di tanah Tjina, dikarang dalam bahasa Olanda oleh J.W. Young, serta tersalin dalam behasa Melajoe (Betawi: Albrecht en Rusche, 1894) [Malay text and Chinese law text in characters], XI, V, 118, LIX, 4 p.

"A-Liang-Ko. Opiumsluiken en weldoen," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 23, nieuwe serie I (1894) 1-30 (short story written in November 1893).

"Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van Borneo's Westerafdeeling," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 38 (1895), 499-550.

Uit de Indo–Chineesche samenleving (Utrecht, H. Honig, 1895), 213 p. [short stories].

"Aanteekeningen naar aanleiding van de verhandelingen van Mr. P.H. Fromberg ten aanzien van de vraag: Mag een Chinees bij uitersten wil over zijn vermogen onbeperkt beschikken?" *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 67 (1896), 253-62.

"Sam-Po Tong. La Grotte de Sam-Po," *T'oung Pao* A 9 (1898), 93-102.

Manuscripts

Two manuscripts are mentioned in Schlegel's "Nécrologie," probably written in Dutch, location now unknown:

"Li Ban nio, une victime de vanité chinoise," Semarang 1898 [short story?]

"Tan Giok nio, la concubine chinoise: chap. 1: Papa Li Tjoen Koen et sa famille, chap. 2 Li Siang Koen se marie" [189X?] [two chapters of a novel?]

Translation into Chinese

"Vertaling der Concept ordonnantie: Verqachtigen. (*sic*) Voorwaarden en bepalingen voor de verpachting voor 1885 van verschillende landsmiddelen (zoogenaamde kleine of gewone middelen) op Java en Madoera." (Translation of draft decree: Conditions and regulations for farming for 1885 of several forms of state resources (so-called small or usual resources) on Java and Madura) 和一千八百八十五年爪哇末流嘮雜項傌仔事其章程. Translation of *Staatsblad* 1885, no. 163. Printed Chinese translation by J.W. Young, Batavia (BPL 1782: 4G4).

Obituaries

"Een indrukwekkende Uitvaart," *De Locomotief*, 9 September 1898.
G. Schlegel: "Nécrologie. J.W. Young," *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899) 223-5.

Albrecht

[1] All data on his career is from Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren N 297, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.
[2] BPL 1782: 5A, UB Leiden. *Catalogue* 2005, 95 ill.
[3] Stamboeken Militairen 1814-1950, Inv. 3 no. 746, toegang 2.10.50, Ministerie van Koloniën, NA, The Hague.
[4] *De Indische Navorscher* 15 (2002), 26.
[5] Stamboeken Militairen 1814-1950, Willem Alexander Inv. 5 no. 1585, Frederik Hendrik Inv. 6 no 1692, August Ernst Inv. 8 no. 2092, Gerrit Jan Inv. 8 no. 2149, Jan Hendrik Albert Inv. 10 no. 2551, toegang 2.10.50, Ministerie van Koloniën, NA, The Hague.
[6] A letter from him to the publisher Sythoff (in SYT 1898 Batavia, University Library, Leiden).
[7] *See* Von Faber, "Herwijnen" (1885).
[8] IB 10/10/1855 no. 3 inv. 7175. *See also* the notice [by W.R. van Hoëvell] in *Tijdschrift voor NI* 17-1 (1855), 266 and 18-1 (1866), 160-1. Also mentioned in Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie* (1877), 13.
[9] Albrecht was in Amoy on 31 August 1859 and 18 February 1860 (Or. 26.273, UB Leiden, nos. 45, 67).
[10] IB 31/7/1860 no. 11 inv. 7287.
[11] IB 9/8/1860, no. 38 inv. 7288.
[12] IB 21/11/1860 no. 13 inv. 7295.
[13] IB 26/8/1862 no. 9 inv. 7333.
[14] Albrecht's *nota* about the work of the interpreters, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.
[15] IB 29/3/1863 no. 4 inv. 7345.
[16] Albrechts's request and a letter of the Resident of Banka dated 28 January 1864. IB 11/2/1864 no. 24 inv. 7361.
[17] Request dated Batavia, 11 March 1864. IB 25/3/1864 no. 3 inv. 7364.
[18] Report by Albrecht 30 August 1865, V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. The date of taking over Oei is not mentioned.
[19] On that day "J.G. Albrecht" resigned as a member. Data based on *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* and *Notulen van de Algemeene en bestuursvergaderingen*.
[20] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 30 March 1880. *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 16 April 1866. *De Locomotief*, 27 August 1898.
[21] IB 19/6/1885 no. 14 inv. 7872. *Java-bode*, 2 March 1892. *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 19 May 1897.
[22] Albrecht's *nota* about the work of the interpreters, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.
[23] IB 11/3/1876 no. 22 inv. 7648.
[24] IB 15/11/1877 no. 24 inv. 7690.
[25] IB 27/8/1879 no. 28 inv. 7732.
[26] Klein-notaris-examen, *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1877–1887.
[27] He had to revise the regulations of the Estate Chamber of *Staatsblad* 1828 no. 46 and if needed enlarge the instructions for the Orphans Chamber of *Staatsblad* 1872 no. 166. IB 26/7/1884 no. 3c inv. 7850.
[28] The Resident of Batavia had already on 4 June allowed him immediate leave (IB 19/6/1885 no. 14 inv. 7872.). On 6 June Albrecht was succeeded as President by H.A. van de Pol who was previously stationed in Surabaya (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).
[29] Request dated Batavia, 5 June 1885. IB 19/6/1885 no. 14 inv. 7872.
[30] IB 6/7/1885 no. 2/c inv. 7873.
[31] IB 11/7/1885 no. 2/c inv. 7873.
[32] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 21 January 1887.
[33] V 11/3/1886 no. 28 inv. 3938, Albrechts's letter of The Hague 8 April 1886 in V 19/4/1886 no. 33 inv. 3947, the Minister's decision in V 6/11/1886 no. 42 inv. 4005.
[34] He was discharged by Royal Decree. *De Locomotief*, 20 May, 23 August 1887.
[35] They had left Rotterdam for the Indies by 16 December 1887. *De Locomotief*, 16 December 1887.

[36] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned. Indië*, 1889, p. 651.

[37] "Een lang en smartelijk lijden heeft een einde gemaakt aan zijn zoo hoogst nuttig leven. Door zijne humaniteit en zijn edel hart heeft de overledene zich zoo zeer de algemeene achting verworven, dat hij de aangenaamste en duurzaamste herinneringen nalaat. … De Indische Maatschappij verliest in hem een veelzijdig ontwikkeld man, met een helder oordeel en fijne opmerkingsgave." *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 7 May 1890. The other obituaries appeared in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* of the same day and *Java-bode*, 8 May 1890.

Borel

[38] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren F' 7 and F' 818. Many thanks are due to Dr. Ming Govaars of Oegstgeest, who commented on earlier versions and provided some new biographical information.

[39] Seal printed on Borel's diary of 1893, B.745 H.3 dagboek 1255-1256, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. This name was also used on some Chinese letters to him (Borel archives, Letterkundig Museum).

[40] B 745 uncatalogued (233), letter from Fang Kunshan 方崑山 announcing a visit to him in The Hague [?].

[41] Ministerie van Koloniën: Stamboeken en pensioenregisters militairen Oost-Indië en West-Indië, 1815–1954, nos. 6-1624, 9-2441, NA, The Hague.

[42] Paul van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog* (Amsterdam 1969), 126-33.

[43] www.genlias.nl.

[44] "Henri Borel. Biografische notities," Joosten (ed.), *De brieven van Johan Thorn Prikker aan Henri Borel and anderen, 1892–1904*, 1980. Overlijdensakten, Stadsarchief Breda (online).

[45] Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren IJ 282. He was stationed in Western Borneo in 1881–93 and was the author of "Schetsen uit Borneo's Westerafdeeling," *Bijdragen tot de KITLV van NI* 1896-97, reprinted as a book in 1995, KITLV Uitgeverij, Leiden (with an introduction by Hans Claessen and Harry Poeze).

[46] *Wie is dat?*, The Hague 1932, p. 38.

[47] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 10.

[48] Borel elsewhere erroneously stated that there were 63 candidates. "Henri Borel. Op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel 23 november 1929.

[49] Goteling Vinnis (The Hague 1868–94) first studied at the Art Academy of The Hague in 1885–7, and from 1887 he studied Law at Leiden (Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 10-11).

[50] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker,* passim. Dagboeken, Letterkundig Museum, passim.

[51] Verbaal 12 September 1893 no. 40, NA, The Hague.

[52] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, F' 7, F' 818, NA, The Hague.

[53] Joosten, p. 47.

[54] Verbaal 12 September 1893 no. 40, NA, The Hague.

[55] Their complaint concerned: 1) the refund of travel costs from Hong Kong to Amoy; 2) remuneration of the salary of the Chinese teacher; 3) their monthly stipend of 125 Spanish dollars being too low as a result of the devaluation of this dollar.

[56] Verbaal 12 September 1893 no. 40, NA, The Hague.

[57] IB 24/10/1894 no. 4 inv. 8096.

[58] "Riouw-schandalen," *Soerabaya-Courant*, no. 147, 29 Juni 1895.

[59] Letter from the Director of Justice to the Governor-General (secret), 8 June 1896, and IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 (*also* inv. 8140),V 15/10/1896 no. 14, inv. 5093.

[60] Extract Nota Algemene Secretarie, 1912 (typed document about Borel's career in the National Archives, precise source unknown, perhaps originally Mailrapport 1914 no. 34).

[61] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.

[62] On 29 October 1897, he wrote: "In Makassar, now almost a year. Brrr! What misery" ("In Makassar, nu al bijna een jaar. Brrr! Wat een tijd.").

[63] V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176.

[64] Letter to Borel dated 6 July 1897, in 232, uncatalogued, Henri Borel archive, Letterkundig Museum.

[65] V 12/7/1897 no. 4 inv. 5180.
[66] Letter from Governor-General dated Buitenzorg, 26 October 1897, V 4/12/1897 no. 2 inv. 5225.
[67] Four Officials for Chinese Affairs in a row were transferred when Hoetink went to China. IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.
[68] IB 23/6/1899 no. 7 inv. 8208.
[69] "Henri Borel. Op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel 23 november 1929.
[70] Since Ezerman was transferred at his own request, no travel expense fee was afforded to him. IB 25/11/1903 no. 1 inv. 8314.
[71] At the time Borel was on leave in Sukabumi. From then on he was given half pay. IB 27/7/1904 no. 26 inv. 8330.
[72] Inleiding, p. 2, *Wijsheid en schoonheid in Indië*, 2de druk (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & zoon [1919]). The article was entitled "Een bezoek bij den sultan van Lingga." This happened in the spring of 1904.
[73] Request dated Sukabumi, 1 October 1904. IB 13/10/1904 no. 11 inv. 8335.
[74] "Henri Borel. Op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel 23 november 1929. More details in "Een boek over Sovjet Rusland," *Het Vaderland*, 20 May 1928. "Rapport over Singkep 24 maart – 4 april 1904" (summary), No. 232, Borel ongecatalogiseerd, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[75] "Henri Borel. Op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel 23 november 1929.
[76] IB 23/9/1905 no. 25 inv. 8358.
[77] Borel, uncatalogued, Letterkundig Museum.
[78] V 15/8/1907 no. 44 inv. 484 toegang 2.10.36.04.
[79] IB 9/2/1908 no. 2 inv. 8415. Also in Borel, uncatalogued, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[80] IB 16/4/1908 no. 38 inv. 8420.
[81] IB 21/8/1908 no. 15 inv. 8428.
[82] Borel's request is dated Pontianak, 14 December 1908. IB 4/2/1909 no. 7 inv. 8439.
[83] Letter from Borel to the Director of Justice dated Pontianak, 15 June 1909. Mailrapport 1909 no. 1465.
[84] IB 28/7/1909 no. 9 inv. 8450.
[85] IB 7/11/1911 no. 30 inv. 8505.
[86] Ezerman succeeded him in Surabaya. IB 1/6/1912 no. 16 inv. 8519.
[87] P.H. Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, 481.
[88] Request dated Makasser, 14 October 1912. IB 27/12/1912 no. 4 inv. 8532.
[89] Stamboeken F'818 (V 19/2/1916 no. 51 is not extant in inv. 1508 toeg. 2.10.36.04). "Henri Borel. Op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel 23 november 1929.
[90] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, F' 818.
[91] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*. Although not mentioned in Borel's Library's auction catalogue from around 1934, it was perhaps the manuscript acquired by the British Library from Brill in 1979 (Catalogue E.J. Brill Leiden no. 488 (1977), item no. 2720; *see* Ter Haar, *Triads*, 31 note 40).
[92] A.G. de Bruin, "De nieuwe banen der sinologie," *De Sumatra Post*, 20 December 1911.
[93] "Henri Borel † 23 Nov. 1869 – 31 Aug. 1933," *Het Vaderland*, 31 August 1933.
[94] The grave of Borel, his last wife and daughter are in Begraafplaats St. Petrus Banden, Kerkhoflaan, the Hague.

De Breuk

[95] A short biography of Dr. H.R. de Breuk by J.E. Inckel was published in the *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1862), 70-82 (also on www.dbnl.org).
[96] Burgerlijke stand, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken. Also in www.janvanhout.nl/pluche2.
[97] V 11/4/1867 no. 22 (bijlage D) inv. 1900.

[98] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren Q 40, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.
[99] Dossier de Breuk, CBG, The Hague. *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 24 June 1864.
[100] V 24/5/1864 no. 22/563 inv. 1475, and V 30/8/1864 no. 42 inv. 1512.
[101] Letter from the Consul N. Peter to the Governor-General, dated Macao 26 July 1866, in V 29/11/1866 no. 85 inv. 1837.
[102] IB 9/9/1866 no. 4 inv. 7423.
[103] Letter from Groeneveldt to Director of Justice Buijn, 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

De Bruin

[104] Letter from all three students dated 16 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.02. Three copies of his Chinese name card are in Archiefkast 3E, East Asian Library, Leiden (Or. 27.044).
[105] Bevolkingsregister, Gemeentearchief Deventer.
[106] *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 3013, 20 years old.
[107] V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.
[108] Letter from Knobel to the Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 18 January 1897, quoted in another letter dated 14 April 1897, inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.
[109] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, G' 623, NA, The Hague.
[110] He was appointed at the same time as Van de Stadt. IB 20/2/1898 no. 10 inv. 8176.
[111] IB 21/11/1898 no. 14. He succeeded A.E. Moll, who was transferred to Semarang after Young's death.
[112] *De Sumatra Post*, 21 August 1903, quoting the *Javasche Courant*.
[113] Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 450, 459, 462, 535.
[114] IB 16/11/1904 no. 20 inv. 8338.
[115] Request dated Medan 29 October 1905, with medical certificate. IB 10/11/1905 no. 32 inv. 8361.
[116] Gemeentearchief, Deventer.
[117] IB 22/11/1907 no. 8 inv. 8410. He succeeded Van de Stadt, who had left the interpreters' service in May.
[118] IB 24/1/1908 no. 3 inv. 8414.
[119] A.G. de Bruin, *Een onopgehelderd geval en Een verbolgen Hoogleeraar*, Leiden [1920], 5.
[120] *Staatsalmanak* 1912–1920. "Jan Julius Lodewijk Duyvendak," *Jaarboek van de Maatchappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden 1955–1956*.
[121] In an article entitled "Culturele waarden" (Cultural values), *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, Tuesday, 25 May 1920.
[122] Almost all of whom were Germans: Dr. E. von Zach, H. Tittel, Dr. E. Tospann, Dr. M.G. Pernitzsch, Dr. W. Strzoda, G.E. Dehio, Dr. L.P.H. Engelmann, Dr. A.N.W. Lorenzen. Many of them had been stationed in Tsingtao and lost their jobs when this German concession was taken over by the Japanese in 1914. *Cf.* M.G. Pernitzsch and H. Tittel: *Chinesische Buchhaltung* (Tokyo 1927).
[123] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië* 1922–1931; Stamkaarten Indische ambtenaren ca. 1912–1949, NA, The Hague; Vleming (ed.), *Het Chineesche zakenleven in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 16-18.
[124] Bevolkingsregister, Gemeentearchief Amsterdam.
[125] In the CABR file on Boelen-Brinck (107821), there is one photo of A.G. de Bruin wearing a badge with the so-called "wolfsangel" (wolf's barb), said to be an ancient Germanic symbol warning of wolves; Dutch Nazis wore the "wolfsangel," not the swastika (*see* illustration 28).
[126] CABR (Centraal Archief Bijzondere Rechtspleging) PRA Utrecht 5629 inv. 97427, NBI (Nederlands Beheers Instituut) Dossier A.G. de Bruin te Amersfoort inv. 49829, and files on J.F.M.A. Boelen-Brinck, CABR inv. nr. 107821, NBI inv. 37741, NA, The Hague.

Buddingh

[127] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren O 133. Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken (Leiden archives).

[128] V 11/4/1867 no. 22 (bijlage D) inv. 1900.
[129] V 10/6/1861 no. 13 inv. 1069.
[130] Six letters by Buddingh dating from 1862 and 1863 are kept among the Letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden. A short biography of Buddingh based on these letters can be found in: G.F. Mees: *A List of the Birds Recorded from Bangka island, Indonesia*, Zoölogische verhandelingen uitgegeven door het Rijksmuseum voor natuurlijke historie te Leiden, no. 232 (Leiden 1986), 158.
[131] V 28/10/1864 no. 10 inv. 1534.
[132] IB 16/8/1864 no. 2 inv. 7374.
[133] Reports by Buddingh and Secretary Gijsbers dated 23 August 1865 in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[134] "Verslag omtrent 's Lands Plantentuin over het jaar 1868," quoted in *Java-bode*, 23 June 1869.
[135] Letters of the Resident of Banka dated 23 November 1868 and the Director of Justice dated 21 May 1869. Buddingh was to take along his teacher. IB 25/6/1869, no. 12 inv. 7489. *Indisch Staatsblad* 1869 no. 51.
[136] Albrecht's *nota* about the work of the interpreters, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

Ezerman

[137] *Algemeen adresboek der gemeente Dordrecht*, 1893, Gemeentearchief Dordrecht.
[138] Folio 33390, Stamboeken en pensioenregisters militairen Oost-Indië en West-Indië, 1815–1954, NA, The Hague.
[139] Bevolkingsregister, Gemeentearchief Dordrecht.
[140] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, F' 6, NA, The Hague.
[141] Their complaint concerned: 1) the refund of travel costs from Hong Kong to Amoy; 2) remuneration of the salary of the Chinese teacher; and 3) their stipend of 125 Spanish dollars being too low as a result of the devaluation of this dollar.
[142] Request by Ezerman and Van Wettum in Mailrapport no. 228, 1893. Borel's request in V 12/9/1893 no. 40 inv. 4739.
[143] IB 24/10/1894 no. 4 inv. 8096.
[144] No. 654, 12 July 1897, Letter from Government Secretary Nederburgh to Consul General Haver Droeze in Hong Kong, dated Buitenzorg 25 June 1897, No. 1500a, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.
[145] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.
[146] Since he was transferred at his request, travel costs were not reimbursed. IB 25/11/1903 no. 1 inv. 8314.
[147] IB 21/2/1904 no. 12 inv. 8320.
[148] Request dated Batavia, 26 September 1904. IB 1/11/1904 no. 14 inv. 8337.
[149] *Het nieuws van den dag van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 27 October 1905. *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 30 March 1906.
[150] Decision by the Minister of Colonies. *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 28 January 1908.
[151] He registered in Leiden on 22 February 1908 (Bevolkingsregister 2505a, Leiden Archives) and must have left in September (embarcation in Genua, *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 22 September 1908).
[152] IB 22/10/1908 no. 14 inv. 8432.
[153] IB 28/8/1909 no. 66 inv. 8452.
[154] IB 7/11/1911 no. 30 inv. 8505
[155] IB 1/6/1912 no. 16 inv. 8519.
[156] IB 1/10/1914 no. 34 inv. 8575.
[157] IB 10/11/1915 no. 9 inv. 8601.
[158] IB 30/5/1916 no. 48 inv. 8614.
[159] IB 29/3/1917 no. 4 inv. 8634.
[160] IB 2/5/1919 no. 4 inv. 8685.
[161] Joosten, *Brieven vanThorn Prikker*, 11.
[162] Familieadvertenties Ezerman, CBG.

Von Faber

[163] BPL 1782 5A. Reproduced in *Catalogue* 2005, 95 (ill. 25).

[164] E.B.G. Lokerse, *Von Faber*, Rijswijk 1988 (genealogy of the East Indies branch of the Von Faber family, kept in the Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie in The Hague), pp. 15-17. These data are used with kind permission from Mrs. L. Lokerse-von Faber of Rijswijk.

[165] *See* his article on the school in Herwijnen mentioned below.

[166] IB 10/10/1855 no. 3 inv. 7175. *See also* the notice [by W.R. van Hoëvell] in *Tijdschrift voor NI*, 1855, 17-1, p. 266 and 1866, 18-1, pp. 160-1. *Also* mentioned in Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, Inaugurele rede Leiden (Leiden: Brill, 1877), 13. Summary of Von Faber's career in Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren N 298, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[167] IB 21/4/1860 no. 19 inv. 7281.

[168] IB 31/7/1860 no. 11 inv. 7287.

[169] IB 9/8/1860 no. 38 inv. 7288.

[170] Request with medical certificate, 24 January 1862. IB 11/3/1860 no. 1 inv. 7324.

[171] Request with medical certificate, 20 April 1862. IB 4/5/1862 no. 1 inv. 7327. This was the maximum of leave period within the country for an official from the Outer Possessions (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1853 no. 47).

[172] IB 20/8/1862 no. 25 inv. 7333.

[173] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, vol. 4, 1866, 31 October 1866 (pp. 255-6), 27 December 1866 (pp. 274-5), vol. 9, 1871, 26 March 1871 (p. 23). The type was needed for other publications.

[174] List in Lokerse, *Von Faber*.

[175] V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548, containing a summary of IB 24/9/1864 no. 5 art 1.

[176] IB 18/9/1875 no. 9 inv. 7636.

[177] Request with medical certificate, 4 October. IB 8/10/1875 no. 41 inv. 7637.

[178] IB 26/9/1877 no. 10 inv. 7686.

[179] IB 15/11/1877 no. 24 inv. 7690.

[180] IB 11/6/1890 no. 42 inv. 7991.

[181] IB 19/11/1890 no. 16 inv. 8002.

[182] Request Surabaya 29 June 1896. IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.

[183] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1897 etc. He was appointed by the Director of Justice (*Java-bode*, 30 December 1896). In 1898–9 he advertised regularly in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*.

[184] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* and *De Locomotief*, 29 November 1898.

Francken

[185] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren A 905, NA, The Hague.

[186] Letter by Runan 汝男 to De Grijs and Schaalje, BPL 2106 II: 13A p. 3, *Catalogue* 2005, 140.

[187] V 13/6/1862 no. 29 inv. 1205, letter from Hoffmann 23 February 1862; V 7/7/1862 No. 59 inv. 1213.

[188] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren R 431, NA, The Hague. Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken. He was registered as a student of Law in Leiden University on 22 September 1863 (*Album Studiosorum 1575–1875*, 1393). Death notice in *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 September 1893.

[189] His life and that of his descendants are described in Inez Hollander, *Silenced Voices: Uncovering a Family's Colonial History in Indonesia* (Ohio University Press, 2008). Dutch translation: *Verstilde stemmen en verzwegen levens. Een Indische familiegeschiedenis*, Atlas, 2009. Thanks are due to Inez Hollander Lake, J.J.M. Francken, Mrs. Enny Harm-Francken, and Floris Harm for providing information about their (great)great-uncle J.J.C. Francken.

[190] V 12/2/1856-16, inv. 490, toeg. 2.10.02, NA. Letter by Hoffmann to the Minister of Colonies dated 3 February 1856.

[191] IB 22/9/1862 no. 9, inv. 7334.

[192] Letter from De Grijs to Francken, 3 May 1863 (BPL 1782:28). "Voorbericht," Francken and De Grijs, *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek*.

[193] *Woorden uitgesproken door Mr. W.H. 's Jacob [sic], bij het graf van J.J.C. Francken, overleden te Soerabaija den 6den Februarij 1864.* Dated 8 February 1864. An original copy is in the possession of Mrs. Enny Harm-Francken.

[194] *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 14 April 1864, quoting the *Nieuwsbode van Soerabaija*, 22 February 1864. Chinese New Year's Day was on 8 February, the Lantern Festival on Monday 22 February. Also quoted in *Leidsch Dagblad*, 15 april 1864.

[195] It appeared first in the *Makassaarsch Handels en advertentieblad* (16 April 1886), was taken over by the *Samarangsche Courant* (27 April 1866), and without the original explanatory footnote in *De Locomotief* (30 April 1866); an abridged version appeared in the *Leidsch Dagblad* (18 and 20 August 1866).

[196] *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directie-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 28 June 1866, pp. 170-1.

De Grijs

[197] Gezinskaarten Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken; Gemeentearchief Haarlem.

[198] A red Chinese name card and a name stamp can be found in KNAG 139, East Asian Library, Leiden. This name is also stamped on KNAG 138 v. 4. Chinese sources such as *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末 also use this name. The name *Kai laoye* "Old Master Kai" 凱老爺 was used in a letter from his Chinese teacher (BPL 2106 II 13, *Catalogue* 2005, 140). The Chinese name *Fei Lijiu* 費禮就 on his American consular passport was probably not his own name (issued on 5 October 1863 at Tientsin (Tianjin). BPL 1782: 27. *Catalogue* 2005, 112, 115).

[199] This is the present house number (Straatnamenboek, Adresboekjes, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken).

[200] Familieadvertenties De Grijs, CBG, The Hague.

[201] Stamboeken militairen Oost en West Indië, no. 1428, NA, The Hague.

[202] Dossier De Grijs, CBG, The Hague.

[203] Established by Royal Decree 26 November 1845 no. 63. All information on the Pharmaceutical School is personal communication from Prof. Dr. Harm Beukers, June 2009.

[204] Inschrijvingsregister voor de Nationale Militie, ligting van het jaar 1851, no. 92, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken.

[205] Information on his military career is from Stamboeken officieren KNIL 1814–1940, vol. 396, p. 59 and vol. 667, p. 75, NA, The Hague. *See also* Stamboeken militairen Oost en West Indië, no. 1548, NA, The Hague.

[206] V 17/1/1854 no. 19, inv. 311. In his report dated 9 December 1853, Hoffmann had requested prolongation of De Grijs' assignment in Leiden for three or four months so that he could learn some Chinese (V 12/4/1854 no. 24, inv. 330); this was granted. Hoffmann later asked for another year of leave, whereupon De Grijs' order to proceed to the Indies was postponed for another six months starting 1 June 1854 (V 7/6/1854 no. 8, inv. 342). And in December 1854, De Grijs was again given postponement for a few months until he would be ready (V 22/11/1854 no. 4 inv. 382).

[207] Beginning in January 1855, he was studying together with Schlegel. V 19/6/1855 no.1, inv. 430. Letter by Hoffmann to Minister of Colonies dated 28 May 1855.

[208] *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 5 (1856), 487-8.

[209] V 21/4/1856 no. 19/373, inv. 509. Letter from Governor-General Duymaer van Twist to Minister of Colonies Pahud dated 16 January 1856.

[210] According to Schlegel, De Grijs was sent (*gedetacheerd*) to China to study Chinese pharmacopeia. Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 13. This is not confirmed by other sources.

[211] Introduction (*Voorbericht*), in: J.J.C. Francken, C.F.M. de Grijs: *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt* (Batavia 1882).

[212] Letter from Hoffmann to Minister of Colonies Rochussen dated 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5, inv. 734.

[213] IB 21/2/1858 no. 2 inv. 7229. Mentioned in the Advice from the Council of the Indies dated 20 January 1865 no. XXXIV, in: V 13/5/1865 no. 19/555 inv. 1607.

[214] According to the *Staatsalmanak*, he was acting Vice-Consul in Amoy in 1864 and 1865; the British merchant J. Tait was Vice-Consul from 1851 to 1863. The years 1864 and 1865 are clearly mistaken. De Grijs' notary minutes as acting Vice-Consul in Amoy date from 1858 to 1862; they are kept in Leiden University Library (Or. 26.273, *Catalogue* 2005, 40-1). He left Amoy at the end of May 1863 and arrived in Hong Kong on 1 June. In June he sold all his furniture and other belongings in Amoy (letters in BPL 1782:28). After his return from the Netherlands to China in 1864, he lived with the Consul in Macao, not in Amoy.

[215] Hoffmann, *Meededeling*, 1860, pp. 5-6.

[216] Decision of 12 November 1860 no. 8. *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 3, pp. 42-3 (7 April 1865).

[217] De Grijs, *Geregtelijke geneeskunde*, p. III, note. *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 1, p. 13 (20 September 1862). Another copy dated 1863 is kept in BPL 1781: 1 (*Catalogue* 2005, 91-2).

[218] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 3, p. 10 (10 February 1865), 93-4 (15 May 1865).

[219] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 4, p. 21 (16 January 1866).

[220] BPL1781:1 and 4. *Catalogue* 2005, 91-2.

[221] E. Bretschneider listed the names of 21 plants discovered by "Dr. C.F.M. de Grijs, Dutch military surgeon," six of which had already been discovered earlier under other names (*History of European Botanical Discoveries in China* (St. Petersburg 1898, reprint Leipzig 1962), 532-4).

[222] *Catalogue* 2005, 110-6, letters in BPL 1782: 28, BPL 1783: 1D, 2.

[223] BPL 1782: 26 A, B and C. *Catalogue* 2005, 112.

[224] Verwijnen, "In Memoriam."

[225] IB 4/2/1865 no. 5 inv. 7385.

[226] IB 4/2/1865 no. 5 (ff. 116-119), inv. 7385.

[227] This decision was confirmed on 12 July 1865. His monthly salary was *f* 600, which was twice as much as that of the other interpreters (Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren Q 339, NA, The Hague).

[228] Answers by De Grijs to questions, probably by the member of Parliament A.J.W. Farncombe Sanders in 1889. BPL 1781:9, p. 2a. *De Locomotief*, 12 March 1866.

[229] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, various yearly editions.

[230] Request with medical certificate 25 May 1885. IB 4/6/1885 no. 30 inv. 7871.

[231] *Almanak van het Leidsch studentencorps voor 1886*, 369.

[232] No. 1528, inv. 5, toegang 2.10.50 (Stamboeken militairen Indië).

Groeneveldt

[233] This name appears on a Chinese seal in two of his books, *Shijing bianlan* 詩經便覽, SINOL. VGK 435.4 and Stanislas Julien, *Meng tseu vel Mencium*, vol. 2 (Chinese text) (1824), SINOL. 12.364.3 II.

[234] *Nederland's patriciaat* no. 79 (1995-1996), 237-9, 245-8.

[235] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren R 316, NA, The Hague.

[236] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren O 134, O 437, NA, The Hague.

[237] IB 4/2/1862 no. 11 in V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234. Letters to Herman Schlegel from J.A. Buddingh, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[238] IB 9/11/1862 no. 6 inv. 7337. Also in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[239] V 28/10/1864 no. 10/1301 inv. 1534.

[240] IB 20/8/1864 no. 5.

[241] V 28/10/1864 no. 10/1301 inv. 1534.

[242] IB 28/8/1865 no. 41 inv. 7398.

[243] Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 21.

[244] In Pontianak he was succeeded by Meeter. IB 14/9/1870 no. 27 inv. 7515.

[245] IB 5/8/1872 no. 9 in V 5/10/1872 no. 46 inv. 2531.

[246] V 3/10/1873 no. 45 inv. 2626.

[247] This can be concluded from his preface to *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, 1877.

[248] IB 25/12/1874 no. 3, inv. 7617.
[249] Kuiper, "Du nouveau sur la mystérieuse mission de Batavia à Saïgon en 1890," in *Archipel* (2009).
[250] *Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1862–1922.*
[251] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren V' 425, NA, The Hague.
[252] IB 7/8/1877 no. 12 inv. 7683.
[253] IB 1/4/1881 no. 23 inv. 7771; IB 4/4/1887 no. 2/c inv. 7915; V 24/7/1889 no. 17 inv. 4281 (by Royal Decree 19/7/1889 no. 14).
[254] V 8/7/1893 no. 4/1138 inv. 4708. Appointment by Royal Decree 31/5/1893 no. 25.
[255] Royal Decree 13 April 1895 no. 31, mentioned in Stamboeken O 437.
[256] V 26/8/1895 no. 21 inv. 4968.
[257] Kuiper, "Du nouveau sur la mystérieuse mission de Batavia à Saïgon en 1890," *Archipel* (2009).
[258] *De Sumatra Post*, 2 September 1915, quoting *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*.
[259] Request for permission to accept the Order dated Batavia 19 June 1876. Proposal to the King in V 16/8/1876 no. 16 inv. 2908. Permission by Royal Decree 21 August 1876 no. 20 in V 29/8/1876 no. 3 inv. 2912.

De Groot

[260] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren W 113, Nationaal Archief, The Hague. M.W. de Visser: "Levensbericht van J.J.M. de Groot," (1922). R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, *The Beaten Track of Science: The Life and Work of J.J.M. de Groot* (2002). *Notizen über mein Leben* (manuscript diary extracts in Dutch; one copy is in Archiefkast, East Asian Library, Leiden; De Groot Archief, Leiden). *See also* D.E. Mungello, *Western Queers in China* (2012), 75-80.
[261] In his manuscript *Tuibeitu chen* 推背圖讖, Schlegel 137b, now SINOL. VGK 1741.17.
[262] Gemeentearchief Schiedam.
[263] The Indies Institute was a private (municipal) school to prepare students for the higher officials examination for civil service (*grootambtenaarsexamen*) in the Netherlands Indies. Students were taught the languages (Malay, Javanese etc.), ethnology, geography, public insitutions, history, law and religious laws of the East Indies Archipelago. *See* Fasseur, *De indologen*, and Leur and Ammerlaan, *De Indische Instelling in Delft* (1989).
[264] *Album Studiosorum 1885–1925* no. 1433. On the reason, *see* De Groot, *Notizen über mein Leben*, 4, entry for 1873. "In September Prof. De Vries registered me as student of law in the *Album*, because without that registration one cannot become a member of the Student Corps." (In September schrijft Prof. De Vries mij als jurist op het Akademisch Album in. Zonder die inschrijving kan men namelijk geen lid van het Studentencorps worden.)
[265] IB 7/1/1880 no. 22 inv. 7741.
[266] Request dated Batavia 2 March 1883. IB 7/3/1883 no. 16 inv. 7817.
[267] Published as "Buddhist Masses for the Dead at Amoy," *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leide* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1885), Vol. 4, 1-120.
[268] V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819.
[269] V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.
[270] De Groot, *Notizen*, 19.
[271] IB 14/3/1886 no. 21 inv. 7889.
[272] IB 30/1/1888 no. 7 inv. 7934. A copy of De Groot's request (Amoy, 6 January 1888) is in Mailrapport 1888 no. 91.
[273] After his request dated Amoy, 5 April 1888, Governor-General O. van Rees had no objections and fully supported De Groot's request; the Minister of Justice also had no objections (V 16/1/1889 no. 55 inv. 4227). He was given permission to accept this decoration by Royal Decree of 2 Febuary 1889 no. 18, in V 8/2/1889 no. 32/269 inv. 4234.
[274] Serrurier's accusation in V 16/7/1888 no. 19/1178 inv. 4172. De Groot's answer (Amoy 16 September 1888) and the Minister's conclusion in V 11/1/1889 no. 10/47 inv. 4226. This was not the end of De Groot's conflicts with Serrurier, which dragged on for many years.
[275] Request dated Amoy 4 January 1890. IB 28/1/1890 no. 21 inv. 7982. Half of his salary in Amsterdam was paid by the Deli-Maatschappij.

[276] His assignment was: "History, literature, antiquities, institutions, customs and traditions of the peoples of the Indies Archipelago; the physical geography of the Indies Archipelago" (De geschiedenis, letterkunde, oudheden, instellingen, zeden en gewoonten der volken van den Indischen Archipel; de natuurkundige aardrijkskunde van den Indischen Archipel) (*Jaarboek der Rijks Universiteit Leiden* (1891–92), 4).

[277] The words of thanks were added at the explicit request of De Groot (V 6/2/1892 no. 51 inv. 4543). Royal Decree of 11 February 1892 no. 18, in V 19/2/1892 no. 16/369 inv. 4547.

[278] De Groot, *Notizen über mein Leben* (diary extracts), 63.

[279] His assignment was first the same as Schlegel's, "The Chinese language." However, Nieuwenhuis agreed to let him continue teaching a course about the Chinese in the Indies and the peoples of East Asia (A.W. Nieuwenhuis, *De levensvoorwaarden onder volken op hoogen en lagen trap van beschaving*, Inaugural Address 4 May 1904, p. 40). Therefore his assignment was later announced in the University yearbook as: "Chinese language and literature. The customs, traditions and history of the Chinese in our Colonies and of the peoples in East Asia (De Chineesche taal en letterkunde. De zeden, gewoonten en geschiedenis der Chineezen in onze Koloniën en van de volken van Oost-Azië) (*Jaarboek der Rijks Universiteit Leiden* (1903–04), 6, 38).

[280] Riem, whom De Groot considered by far the best student of this group, went to study Mandarin in Peking. Two years later, he did not proceed to the Indies to become Official for Chinese Affairs, but remained in Peking where he was appointed as student-interpreter at the Dutch Legation.

[281] Lewis Hodous (1872–1949) worked in Fuzhou in 1901–17 and later became professor of Chinese culture at Hartford Seminary (1917–45). AC3 1563, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.

[282] This was his student De Visser's (a classicist) only complaint about De Groot. De Visser, "Levensbericht J.J.M. de Groot," 12 (offprint).

[283] Forke, "De Groots Lebenswerk," 275.

[284] Bevolkingsregister 1890–1923, folio 9569, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken. In 1927, the number was changed to Zoeterwoudse Singel 57. The house was auctioned in 1938 (*Leidsch Dagblad*, 17 and 24 September, 1 October 1938); subsequently it was demolished and in 1939 ten new houses and appartments were built in its place.

[285] The last incident happened after his decision to leave. Described by Otterspeer, *De opvoedende kracht van den groentijd*.

[286] Hatto Kuhn, *Dr. Franz Kuhn, Lebensbeschreibung* (English version), 12-13.

[287] Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 31.

[288] Franke, "Gedächtnisrede," CXVII, CXXV; Bidder, "Erinnerungen," 280-1.

[289] Walravens, *Von Zach, Gesammelte Rezensionen, Geschichte*, 37.

[290] Franke, "Gedächtnisrede" (1923), CXVII. *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 11 October 1921.

[291] Personal communication, Hartmut Walravens, email 15 August 2012.

Hoetink

[292] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren W 112 kat. 3, W 528, Nationaal Archief, The Hague; Gemeentearchief Deventer; Gemeentearchief The Hague; *Regeeringsalmanak voor NI*.

[293] Used on his Chinese lantern in Tsiangtsiu (*see* Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 April 1879) and on an embossed stamp in his copy of *Huaren Meisegan tiaoli* 華人美色甘條例.

[294] Used on his manuscript *Helan Yandi Huamin shangfa* 荷蘭煙地華民商法 in 1900.

[295] Used in *Rili Mianlan Tongshanju daishou Zhonghua xinju zhangcheng* 日里棉蘭同善局代收中華信局章程, Medan 1905.

[296] In J. Hoffmann and H. Schultes, *Inlandsche namen eener reeks van Japansche en Chinesche planten*, KITLV Collection.

[297] J.E. van Kamp: *Dien Hoetink. 'Bij benadering' Biografie van een landbouw-jurist in crisis- en oorlogstijd* (Thesis Wageningen University 2005), 21-2, 24, 29-32, 339-40.

[298] IB 13/4/1878 no. 7 inv. 7699.

[299] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 16 May 1880.

[300] IB 28/11/1879 no. 19 inv. 7738.
[301] IB 5/9/1883 no. 14 inv. 7829.
[302] IB 4/10/1883 no. 57 inv. 7831.
[303] J.J.M. De Groot, *Nota* for the Minister of Colonies accompanying a letter dated Leiden, 2 March 1911, p. 3, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.
[304] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1886–1889.
[305] Mailrapporten 1889 nos. 95 and 249.
[306] IB 23/5/1889 no. 1 inv. 7966. Also in Mailrapporten 1889 no. 249.
[307] H.J. Bool: *De Chineesche immigratie naar Deli* [Medan 1905], 21-4. Copies of Hoetink's Chinese correspondence with the Daotai of Hainan in April-May 1890 are kept in Ms Hoetink H 421b, KITLV Collection, pp. 95-104, and *see also* pp. 87-94.
[308] IB 30/9/1889 no. 5 inv. 7974.
[309] Request dated Swatow, May 1890. IB 7/6/1890 no. 9 inv. 7991.
[310] IB 21/7/1892 no. 28 (3) inv. 8042.
[311] V 24/8/1892 no. 18 inv. 4608. The Indies government agreed, according to Deen in the *Java-bode*, 19 August 1892.
[312] He obtained 34 points (on a scale of 26 to 45 points). *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* and *Java-bode*, 29 May 1893.
[313] Stamboeken W 528 mentions V 10/2/1894 no. 21, but this file was destroyed. *Java-bode*, 1 and 28 December 1893, 2 March 1894. In Parliament it had been suggested in 1893 that the position in Jeddah was to be filled by an Indies official to keep tabs on the numerous Dutch subjects from the Indies going to Mekka. A retired officer of the Indies army, F.J. Haver Droeze, was appointed there in March 1894.
[314] Request dated Weltevreden, 21 July 1895. IB 27/7/1895 no. 17 inv. 8114. The reason is unknown.
[315] He was mentioned as possible candidate for director of the N.I. Levensverzekering- en Lijfrente-Maatschappij, succeeding Ypes who had suddenly died (*Java-bode*, 22 July 1895), but he was not appointed (*De Locomotief*, 23 July 1895).
[316] IB 29/9/1895 no. 2 inv. 8118.
[317] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.
[318] V 15/10/1896 no. 14 inv. 5093.
[319] The consular positions in Peking and Hong Kong were occupied, and for Singapore a professional Consul was preferred. V 4/11/1896 no. 32/2895 inv. 5099.
[320] "Als tolk te Medan en later hier, heeft hij voortdurend relaties met China aangehouden en zich steeds op de hoogte gehouden van al wat voor Nederland en Nederlandsch-Indië in verband tot dat rijk van aanbelang is." Letter from Director of Justice J.C. Mulock Brouwer to Governor-General dated Batavia, 24 May 1897, in V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176.
[321] Appointed by Royal Decree of 16 June 1897. Letter from Minister of Colonies Bergsma to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176. Reply from the latter to Bergsma, dated 5 July 1897, in V 12/7/1897 no. 4 inv. 5180.
[322] Mailrapport no. 206, 1898.
[323] IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.
[324] IB 8/5/1898 no. 2 inv. 8181. Mailrapport no. 253, 16 May 1898.
[325] These were never published. He proposed to translate the draft *Civil Code* for the Chinese by H. Fromberg (1896), but Governor-General Van der Wijck decided that he should translate the laws that were actually in force.
[326] IB 6/6/1900 no. 18 inv. 8231. Breman, *Koelies, planters en koloniale politiek*, 244-6.
[327] Request dated Weltevreden, 22 January 1903. IB 11/3/1903 no. 27 inv. 8297.
[328] IB 30/4/1904 no. 1 inv. 8324.
[329] IB 24/7/1904 no. 3 inv. 8330.
[330] *Rili Mianlan Tongshanju daishou Zhonghua xinju zhangcheng* 日里棉蘭同善局代收中華信局章程, Medan, 1905.
[331] Request dated Medan, 7 May 1906 (IB 23/6/1906 no. 52 inv. 8376). Pension *f* 3,655 (IB 30/7/1906 no. 17 inv. 8378).
[332] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*.
[333] Gemeentearchief, The Hague.
[334] A catalogue was published by C.J. van Slee, *Catalogus van de Chinees–Indische boe-*

kenverzameling (der Athenaeum bibliotheek te Deventer) geschenk van B. Hoetink, Deventer 1925 (SINOL. 40 E 16).

Hoffmann

[335] The following is mostly based upon two obituaries. "Johannes Josephus Hoffmann." Obituary in Dutch by L. Serrurier dated Leiden, 29 January 1878. *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (16 Feb. 1878), 50-2 (*also* in BPL 2186 K:20). H. Kern, "Levensbericht van J.J. Hoffmann." *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 1878. *See also:* W.J. Boot, "J.J. Hoffmann – The First Japanologist, speech at the Hoffmann commemoration on 21 March 2005, Leiden" (unpublished manuscript) and its expanded version "J.J. Hoffmann, the Founder of Japanology," in *Ontmoetingen*, Leiden 2008, pp. 33-42. In the Bevolkingsregister 1854–61 (wijk 8, fol. 102), Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, his name is Johan Josephus Philippus Hoffmann. His Christian names were Johann Joseph (Babinger).

[336] Franz Babinger, "Johann Joseph Hoffmann (1805–1878) Ein Würzburger Orientalist," *Archiv des historischen Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg* 1912.9, p. 220. Babinger's biography is almost entirely based on Kern's obituary.

[337] Lehner, 191, note 5, quoting Van Siebold, *Isagoge* (1841), 4. The original text is: Ko Tsching Dschang anno millesimo octingentesimo secundo in provincia Fokien, in regione urbis Kanton finitima in lucem editus est (Ko Tsching Dschang was born in Fujian province, which is near to the city of Canton, in the year 1802). According to other sources, he was born in Dama Xiang 大麻鄉, Dabu Xian 大埔縣, a Hakka county in Eastern Guangdong bordering Fujian (*Shiiborutu "Nippon" kaisetsu*, T 54, 55; email from Zhao Jianmin 趙建民, 15 July 2015). From Hoffmann's notes in his Chinese dictionary on Ko's pronunciation, it is clear he was a Hakka speaker.

[338] Von Siebold, *Isagoge* (1841), 3-4. According to Serrurier (1878, p. 2), after his return to the Indies, Ko started a business, in the end lost all his money, and died in misery. This may have happened later, after Medhurst left Batavia and went to Shanghai in 1843.

[339] *See* Chapter Two.

[340] Hoffmann, *Meededeling*, 1860; Hoffmann, *Catalogue of Chinese Types and Matrixes*, 1876, introduction; Lehner, *Der Druck chinesischer Zeichen in Europa*, 206. These type were also used by E.J. Brill for publishing Schlegel's dictionary.

[341] "hoogleeraar belast met de opleiding van tolken voor de Chinesche en Japansche talen."

[342] Royal Decree (*Koninklijk Besluit*) of 30 September 1862 no. 84, V 15/10/1862 no. 6/1295 inv. 1250. *See* Chapter Two.

[343] *Catalogue* 2005, 170 (BPL 2186 K 16).

[344] Willem Vissering (1851–1931) was enrolled at Leiden University as a student of law on 25 September 1869, 18 years old. He also studied Chinese and Japanese, and wrote a thesis with a translation and study of Ma Duanlin's "Qianbi kao" 錢幣考 (part 8 and 9 of *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, 1321) entitled *On Chinese Currency: Coins and Paper Money,* Leiden: 1877 (promotion 26/6/1877). He was a son of Prof. Simon Vissering (1818–88), who had taught law to Nishi and Tsuda in Leiden. Many years later, his brother Gerard (1865–1937), a banker, and in 1912–31 president of the Netherlands Central Bank, wrote a book with almost the same title: *On Chinese Currency:* I. *Preliminary Remarks on the Monetary Reform of China;* II. *The Banking Problem*, published in 1912–4.

[345] Pieter Maclaine Pont (1850–1926), a student of law, studied Chinese together with W. Vissering for one year. *Nederland's Patriciaat* 75 (1991), 267. Schlegel's and Hoffmann's reports (May 1873) in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[346] Lindor Serrurier (1846–1901) first studied Japanese and Chinese and later law. He studied Japanese from the 1860s, and was enrolled as a student of law at Leiden University on 23 September 1874 (no. 1436). He obtained a Ph.D. in law on 5 October 1877. In 1877 he became curator and in 1881 director of the Ethnographic Museum in Leiden. As from 1887 he was also lecturer in Ethnology and Japanese at Leiden Uni-

versity (*Jaarboek Rijks-Universiteit Leiden*, 1888–1896). In 1896 he resigned from both functions and went to the East Indies, where he became a teacher of the geography and ethnology of the East Indies at the Willem III Gymnasium in Batavia. He published a catalogue of Japanese books in Leiden in 1896 (*Bibliothèque Japonaise: Catalogue raisonné* etc.). Critical obituary by Schlegel in *T'oung Pao* 2 (1901), 279-82.

[347] Bevolkingsregister, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken. *The Honorable Visitor: Wandelgids: Japan in Leiden* (Leiden: Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal 2000), 67.

[348] Royal Decree of 30 January 1875 no. 22 in V 5/2/1875 no. 24 inv. 2757. Short letter of thanks from Hoffmann in V 23/2/1875 no. 24 (Exh.) inv. 2762.

De Jongh

[349] This name is written on some of his Chinese books donated to the Sinological Institute in Leiden. It is also mentioned in Van der Spek's *Diary* (entry before 28 February 1879).

[350] *Staatsalmanak* 1860 to 1897.

[351] www.genlias.nl Dates of death are dates of registration.

[352] Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren, IJ 51 and IJ 593.

[353] Van der Spek, *Diary*.

[354] IB 26/4/1880 no. 24 inv. 7748.

[355] IB 28/7/1910, no. 9, inv. 8474. CBG, The Hague. www.genlias.nl

[356] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*. *Javasche Courant* 1885 no. 24.

[357] De Jongh's request dated Padang 26 May 1885. IB 20/6/1885 no. 2 inv. 7872.

[358] IB 14/5/1887 no. 20 inv. 7917.

[359] Kuiper, "Du nouveau sur la mystérieuse mission."

[360] IB 26/9/1890 no. 9 inv. 7998.

[361] IB 28/7/1890 no. 27 inv. 7994.

[362] *Java-bode*, 30 May 1892. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1893.

[363] IB 21/7/1892 no. 28 inv. 8042.

[364] IB 11/8/1893 no. 11, inv. 8067.

[365] IB 8/8/1895 no. 28 inv. 8115.

[366] IB 24/9/1895 no. 32 inv. 8118.

[367] IB 19/9/1895 no. 35 inv. 8118.

[368] IB 29/9/1895 no. 2 inv. 8118.

[369] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.

[370] IB 18/2/1898 no. 24 inv. 8176.

[371] IB 8/4/1898 no. 14 inv. 8179. Hooghwinkel's leave in IB 17/3/1898 no. 19 inv. 8178.

[372] IB 30/12/1898 no. 3 inv. 8196.

[373] IB 19/2/1899 no. 9 inv. 8200.

[374] IB 17/3/1900 no. 21 inv. 8226.

[375] IB 28/8/1901 no. 31 inv. 8260, IB 25/9/1902 no. 27 inv. 8262.

[376] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1904.

[377] IB 30/6/1904 no. 9 inv. 8329.

[378] IB 17/10/1905 no. 16 inv. 8360.

[379] IB 20/1/1906 no. 18 inv. 8366.

[380] IB 28/6/1906 no. 11, quoted in full in De Jongh's report.

[381] IB 3/7/1906 no. 20 inv. 8377.

[382] IB 10/11/1908 no. 22 inv. 8433.

[383] *Javasche Courant* 1908, no. 99.

[384] They were to leave on 4 August on the steamer *Tamboer*. IB 28/7/1910 no. 9 inv. 8474.

[385] Request dated Batavia 8 June 1911. IB 6/7/1911 no. 21 inv. 8497.

[386] *Winkler Prins Encyclopedie*, 1952, vol. 14, p. 837. This Convention and later Conventions of the League of Nations would lead to national drugs legislation, such as the Dutch *Opium Law* of 1928.

[387] *Staatsalmanak* 1914 to 1922.

Meeter

[388] Dossier Meeter, CBG, The Hague. Information about his life and family background can be found in K. Meeter, *Meeterverhalen*.

[389] V 13/6/1862 no. 29 inv. 1205. He was also called Pieter Andrieszoon Meeter (*Meeterverhalen*, 154).

[390] There is a seal with this name on *Si da qi shu diyi zhong (Sanguo zhi)* 四大奇書第一種（三國志）文英堂（源盛）(SINOL. VGK 5754.7).

[391] Andries Pietersz. Meeter, in: F. Jos. van den Branden, J.G. Frederiks, *Biografisch woordenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde* (1888–91) (www.dbnl.org).

[392] K. Meeter, *Meeterverhalen*, 154.

[393] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, I (rom) 620 (2.10.36.22 inv. 947). Dossier Meeter, CBG, The Hague.

[394] Letter from J.J. de Gelder to Hoffmann, 12 August 1862, in Or. 26.971, East Asian Library.

[395] V 15/3/1865 no. 7 inv. 1583. Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren Q 426, NA, The Hague.

[396] IB 28/6/1867 no. 17 inv. 7442, art. 2.

[397] IB 28/6/1867 no. 17, in V 15/8/1867 no. 30 inv. 1955.

[398] IB 6/7/1868 no. 6 inv. 7467.

[399] V 8/4/1870 no. 20/411 inv. 2309.

[400] IB 14/9/1870 no. 27 inv. 7515.

[401] IB 4/7/1871 no. 30 inv. 7534.

[402] IB 23/10/1874 no. 14 inv. 7613.

[403] *Java-bode*, 28 December 1874, 11 January 1875.

[404] *Javasche Courant* 1876 no. 27, 30/3/1876.

[405] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië*.

[406] IB 31/3/1888 no. 2/c inv. 7938.

[407] "Aangekomen," *Java-bode*, 5 April 1890.

[408] IB 17/4/1890 no. 21 inv. 7988.

[409] IB 13/9/1890 no. 4 inv. 7997. Request dated Semarang, 28 Augustus 1890.

[410] Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 144, 256-7, 498.

[411] For instance he wrote a conference report together with Schlegel in *T'oung Pao* A 2 (1891), 420.

[412] According to a family tradition. *Meeterverhalen*, 54.

[413] The author uses Meeter's style and choice of words, and discloses that "P.M." are P. Meeter's initials. But it remains puzzling how Meeter could react so quickly to an article in an Indies newspaper while he was living in Leiden. Perhaps he was at the time again in the Indies, where he had invested with his brother in a plantation.

Moll

[414] Van der Spek, *Diary*, entry before 28 February 1879.

[415] He became administrator in a bakery cooperative in The Hague and worked until 1927. Familiedrukwerk *Geslacht Moll* (stam Achterhoek) (1622–1942), CBG, The Hague.

[416] Royal permission dated 10 December 1878 no. 14, in V 18/12/1878 no. 17/2796 inv. 3159. Mentioned in Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren, IJ 50, NA, The Hague.

[417] Van der Spek, *Diary*.

[418] IB 26/4/1880 no. 24 inv. 7748.

[419] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1883.

[420] *Geslacht Moll*, 28.

[421] "Aan den tijdelijken tolk voor de Chinesche taal te Cheribon A.E. Moll het ernstig ongenoegen der Regering te betuigen over de hoogst ongepaste handeling, waaraan hij zich schuldig heeft gemaakt door als ambtenaar tegen het gewestelijk bestuur in Cheribon gerigte artikelen in dagbladen te schrijven." IB 1 Nov. 1882 no. 18 inv. 7809. Only one such article could be found. *See* Chapter Thirteen, The Interpreters' Advisory Functions, section "The Weak Position of the Interpreters as Advisors."

[422] IB 24/5/1883 no. 8 inv. 7822.
[423] IB 3/3/1887 no. 7/c inv. 7913. Secret correspondence from the Resident of Western Borneo and others in Mailrapport 1887 no. 117a.
[424] IB 5/3/1889 no. 20 inv. 7961.
[425] They had been first diagnosed as having cholera and received the wrong treatment. Then it was discovered that they had been poisoned. Since Mrs. Moll had just sharply reprimanded the female cook, the latter and others were arrested as suspects, but they were acquitted when no proof was found. The other deaths were their sister-in-law (the wife of H.C. Moll, A.E. Moll's brother), the merchant James Greig, and the 5-year old Emma van Delden, daughter of the Assistant Resident of Grissee (*Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 27 June 1889; *Java-bode*, 17, 22 June 1889, *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 27 June 1889, and many other newspapers).
[426] On his leave *see Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 24 July 1889. Request dated Sukabumi, 18 August 1889. IB 29/8/1889 no. 41 inv. 7972.
[427] Request dated Bogor (Buitenzorg), 6 October 1889. IB 9/10/1889 no. 25 inv. 7975.
[428] IB 29/10/1892 no. 8 inv. 8048.
[429] Ezerman was appointed on Banka on that date. IB 24/10/1894 no. 4 inv. 8096.
[430] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.
[431] *Geslacht Moll*, 28, CBG, The Hague.
[432] IB 17/10/1898 no. 4 inv. 8192.
[433] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 1888 (7 February 1888), 34.

Roelofs

[434] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren V122, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.
[435] *Java-bode*, 9 June 1879 etc.
[436] The arrival of H. Roelofs, his wife and four children was published in the *Java-bode*, 2 July 1862.
[437] Many advertisements appeared in the *Java-bode* in 1862-1863. *Regeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1868), 495.
[438] Gemeentearchief Doetinchem; Gemeentearchief The Hague.
[439] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren Z 75, NA, The Hague. He was a surveyor (*landmeter*) with the Land Registry (*Kadaster*) (*Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 22 April 1892).
[440] *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 28 October 1890.
[441] *Regeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1875), 107.
[442] Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 14.
[443] IB 22/9/1872 no. 6 inv. 7563.
[444] IB 17/6/1875 nos. 12 and 14 inv. 7630. Details about this matter are in inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.
[445] *Regeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1877) 116, 128.
[446] "Kollegie van Boedelmeesteren der Chinesche en andere onchristen sterfboedels." IB 3/10/1879 no. 19 inv. 7735. At the same time Young was transferred from Pontianak to Padang.
[447] IB 11/9/1883, no. 14, inv. 7829. *Also: Kong tong Minutes* (*Gongtang anbu* 公堂案簿), inv. 21021 (19/1/1881 – 19/9/1884), 11 August 1884 (p. 247) and 15 October 1883 (p. 269), Kong Koan Archive, East Asian Library, Leiden.
[448] Kuiper, "Du nouveau sur la mystérieuse mission de Batavia à Saïgon en 1890," *Archipel* (2009).
[449] Request with medical certificate 27 June 1883, IB 29/6/1883 no. 13 inv. 7824.
[450] She was not a resident of the Indies. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1880-1884).
[451] In July 1885 his widow left for Greece. Gemeentearchief Doetinchem.

Schaalje

[452] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren M108, Nationaal Archief, The Hague; Gemeentearchief Haarlem; Familieadvertenties Schaalje, Centraal Bureau voor de Genealogie, The Hague.

[453] Used in Chinese letters to him, BPL 2106 II 1, 13 A; *Catalogue* 2005, 132, 140.
[454] www.genlias.nl.
[455] Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken.
[456] V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484, toegang 2.10.02, NA. Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister of Colonies dated 15 December 1855. A list of 13 basic character strokes by him dated 3 July 1855 is in BPL 2106 II 1 A, *Catalogue* 2005, 136.
[457] V 12/2/1856 no. 16, inv. 490.
[458] Letter from Hoffmann, dated 30 January 1857, V 16/6/1857 no. 1/662 inv. 613.
[459] Or. 26.273, no. 89, *Catalogue* 2005, 41.
[460] Letter from J.A. Buddingh to Herman Schlegel dated 13 May, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.
[461] IB 9/11/1862 no. 6 inv. 7337.
[462] Letter from C.F.M. de Grijs, BPL 1782:23, p. 2 (26 January 1863), 25 (23 June 1863).
[463] V 28/10/1864 no. 10 inv. 1534.
[464] IB 16/8/1864 no. 2 inv. 7374.
[465] About the Van Angelbeek family, *see De Indische Navorscher*, vol. 8 (1995) no. 1.
[466] http://blog.seniorennet.be/renepersijn2006/archief.php?ID=30662
[467] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië*.
[468] http://www.onzeplek.nl/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=708
[469] IB 16/10/1872 no. 16 inv. 7515.
[470] *De Locomotief*, 12 August 1874 and 12 April 1875.
[471] At his request dated Riouw, 15 October 1875, with medical certificate. IB 10/11/1875 no. 9 inv. 7639.
[472] G. Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 21.
[473] Request dated 9 April 1888. IB 27/4/1888 no. 24 inv. 7940.
[474] IB 30/5/1890 no. 26 inv. 7990.
[475] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 27 July 1893; *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 10 October 1893.
[476] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140. He was allotted a pension in IB 19/10/1896 no. 11 inv. 8144.

Schaank

[477] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren A'16, A' 628. R.H. van Gulik, "Nécrologie Simon Hartwich Schaank," *T'oung Pao* 33 (1937), 298-300.
[478] Dossier Schaank, CBG, The Hague.
[479] Inv. 125, B26, 1880-81, no. 57 and 1881-82 no. 59, Archief Indische Instelling, Gemeentearchief Delft.
[480] A *controleur* was an official of low rank in the Interior Administration (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*); on Java and Madura he would monitor the local native government, having close contact with the local population; elsewhere he would also often lead a division (*afdeeling*).
[481] *Album Studiosorum 1875-1925*, no. 1561.
[482] Gemeentearchief, Groningen.
[483] V 7/1/1897 no. 22/42 inv. 5119.
[484] *Javasche Courant* 92 (1897), 19 November 1897.
[485] For a modern reappraisal of Schaank's work on this subject, *see* David Prager Branner, "Simon Schaank and the Evolution of Western Beliefs about Traditional Chinese Phonology," David Prager Branner (ed.), *The Chinese Rime Tables: Linguistic Philosophy and Historical-comparative Phonology* (Amsterdam, 2006), 151-70. *See also* Sybesma, "A History of Chinese Linguistics in the Netherlands" (2014), 144-5.
[486] Gemeentearchief The Hague; Dossier Schaank, CBG, The Hague.
[487] De Bruin also assumed Schaank was the author (*De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra*, 41).

Schlegel

[488] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren M 106, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.
[489] Letter from De Grijs to Francken, Amoy 7 May 1863, in BPL 1782:28, p. 13.

[490] Stamped or written on KNAG 20 and 21, East Asian Library, Leiden. Gustaaf (Gû tap 漁答) was one of the very few given names mentioned in the Supplement (*Aanhangsel*) to his dictionary (p. 8); Schlegel called it his style (*zi* 字).

[491] Date of death from Bob van Zijderveld, *Een Duitse familie*, 325. This book contains a lot of other personal information about Gustaaf Schlegel and his family, not mentioned in my thesis. This information is often based on recently discovered German letters by Hermann Schlegel to his second son Leander (now in BPL 3567).

[492] The last date is from the gravestone of Gustaaf, Leander and the latter's wife, Begraafplaats Groenesteeg, Leiden. *See* Bob van Zijderveld, *Een Duitse familie*, Part III, Leander Schlegel, 261-345.

[493] *Leids jaarboekje* 1982. Photocopy in: Miscellaneous letters of Herman Schlegel, archives of Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[494] Henri Cordier, "Nécrologie," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 407-15. Many of the following dates are from this source. G. Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 12.

[495] Gram, "Een bezoek aan professor Schlegel," 82-83.

[496] V 11/1/1854 no. 7, inv. 309, NA. Letter from Hoffmann to A.L. Weddik, dated 9 January 1854.

[497] Schmeltz, "Prof. dr. G. Schlegel. †," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 October 1903. This *Admissie-examen* for Leiden University was held on 18 and 19 September 1857 at the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts (*Leydse Courant*, 24 August 1857). Those who did not have a *gymnasium* education, had to pass this examination in order to be admitted. In 1869, when Schlegel applied for a promotion at the University of Jena, he stated in his curriculum vitae that after passing an examination, he had on 19 September 1857 been accepted as a student in Leiden University (Van Zijderveld, *Een Duitse familie in Nederland*, 165-6). Cordier wrote in his "Nécrologie" (p. 408), that Schlegel was enrolled (*immatriculé*) in Leiden University on 19 September 1857. But Schlegel's name does not appear in the Leiden *Album Studiosorum*, nor in the manuscript version of it (Archieven van Senaat en Faculteiten, no. 18, University Library, Leiden).

[498] Gerlof F. Mees, "Historisches über *Anthus Gustavi* Swinhoe," *Mitteilungen aus dem Zoologischen Museum in Berlin*, *Annalen für Ornithologie* 14, Berlin 66 (1990), Supplementshaft, pp. 137-41. *See also* Barbara and Richard Mearns, *Biographies for Bird Watchers: The Lives of Those Commemorated in Western Palearctic Bird Names* (London etc.: Academic Press, 1988), 337-9. The *Anthus Gustavi* spends the summer in Siberia and the winter in Sulawesi; it migrates via Amoy. Some fishes etc. were also named after Gustaaf Schlegel (*see:* Dr. G. Schlegel, "Levensschets van Herman Schlegel," *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen 1884*. In off-print p. 63, note).

[499] Bagelen: IB 25/10/1864 no. 12 inv. 7378. Kedu: IB 3/11/1864 no. 15 inv. 7379.

[500] IB 19/1/1864 no. 1, inv. 7384.

[501] *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Vol. II, p. 477 (Mr Fokko Alting Mees, 1819–), 1st edition [1900]; "Ordonnantie van 2 November 1892," *Staatsblad* no. 238. Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 194-208.

[502] *Chinesische Braüche und Spiele in Europa*, 32 pp.

[503] Request with medical certificate, Batavia 3 June 1872. IB 8/6/1872 no. 12 inv. 7556.

[504] Dossier Schlegel, CBG.

[505] From 2011 on no longer edited in Leiden but in the USA (and Paris).

[506] Cordier, "Nécrologie," 412.

[507] Johannes Dietrich Eduard Schmeltz (Hamburg, 17 May 1839 – Leiden, 26 May 1909), ethnographer and naturalist, was in 1863–82 *Kustos* of the Museum Godefroy in Hamburg, concerned with the natural history and ethnography of the South Seas, and he worked from 1882 on as curator in the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden. He was one of the founders of the journal *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* (1888–1968). As successor to Serrurier he was director of the Museum in Leiden from 1897 until 1909.

[508] "Schlegel had groote behoefte aan verkeer met menschen en nu hij niemand meer om zich had, werd hij bij den dag meer in zich zelf gekeerd. De oorzaak hiervan mag ten deele gezocht worden daarin, dat hij gedurende zijn verblijf in de Oost te veel had ingezogen van de zeden, gewoonten en beschouwingen van het Chineesche volk en hij zich derhalve met een groot deel van de gebruiken en begrippen van onze Europeesche samenleving niet

meer vereenigen kon. Daardoor gaf hij dikwijls aanleiding tot heftige discussies, wat door menigeen minder aangenaam ondervonden werd, die zich dan van hem terugtrok. Ook wij hebben die ondervinding met hem opgedaan, maar wij wisten dat onze vriend voor een ernstig woord toegankelijk was en ook de waarheid over zichzelven kon hooren. Wij hebben dan ook nooit geschroomd hem die als een vriend te zeggen en schrijven het daaraan toe, dat wij van onze eerste kennismaking af in 1889 tot op het laatste toe in vriendschappelijke aanraking met hem hebben mogen blijven." J.D.E. Schmeltz, "Prof. dr. G. Schlegel. †," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 October 1903. A summary (with many mistakes) appeared in *De Indische Gids*, Vol. 2 (1903), 1862-3.

[509] *Leidsch dagblad*, 28 July 1884.

[510] This was because of his help as an interpreter etc. to a French Navy vessel stranded in Amoy in 1860. H. Cordier, "Nécrologie," p. 409.

[511] Royal Decree (KB) of 3 February 1896 no. 19.

[512] Appraisal by Burgersdijk en Niermans, 18 November 1903, no. 1729; letters from L. Schlegel, 21 November 1903 no. 1738, and 30 November 1903 no. 1801; letter from Prof. De Goeje with numbers of printed books bought for the library, 14 May 1904 no. 740. Bibliotheekarchief M 86, Leiden University Library.

Van der Spek

[513] Gemeentearchief Delft; Van der Spek family archive; Schlegel's obituary in *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902), 355.

[514] The transcription Sih Peh is written on his wooden seal for printing calling cards that are kept together with his diary in the Leiden University Library. The name could also be transcribed Sih Pik.

[515] These names are mentioned in his diary and written or printed on his books. There is also a large wooden seal with the characters for Sih Peh, probably used to make red name cards in the Chinese manner. His style is based on a quotation from the *Book of Odes*: 詩經云伯兮絜兮邦之傑也 (*Book of Songs* says: "Hey, Péh is brave, greatest hero in the land!" Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs* (1996), 53. The *Book of Odes* says: "My noble husband is how martial like! / The hero of the country!" Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 4, p. 105).

[516] Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren, IJ 49, NA, The Hague.

[517] Van der Spek, *Diary*.

[518] IB 26/4/1880 no. 24 inv. 7748.

[519] IB 24/3/1882 no. 87, article C 3.

[520] He was succeeded by Stuart. IB 1/6/1883 no. 38.

[521] He changed places with Stuart, who came from Mentok. IB 3/3/1883 no. 1 inv. 7817. According to Meeter, this was a punishment for insubordination (Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1895).

[522] IB 4/10/1883 no. 57 inv. 7831. He succeeded Hoetink, who had been appointed for one month only, before he was reappointed in Medan.

[523] Two years later, in April 1885, Maijer was condemned to eight years imprisonment (*tuchthuis*). Staat A, with IB 22/7/1892 no. 7 inv. 8042. About W.F. Maijer, *see also* Stamboeken M 191.

[524] IB 21/12/1883 no. 19 inv. 7836. As from 21 December 1883 he was succeeded as temporary acting President by J.C. Tasch. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1885), 128. Tasch had been a member of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia and he remained in function until 6 July 1885.

[525] *Sumatra-Courant*, 9, 11 and 13 December 1884. Justus, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 31 December 1884.

[526] Meeter, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 19 January 1885; Spaarpot, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 26 January 1885; *Sumatra-Courant*, 5 February 1885.

[527] *Sumatra-Courant*, 17 February 1885, fully quoted in *Java-bode*, 2 March 1885.

[528] J.J.M. De Groot, *Nota* for the Minister of Colonies accompanying a letter dated Leiden, 2 March 1911, p. 3, inv. 886, *toegang* 2.10.36.04.

[529] Request with medical certificate, dated Padang, 24 February 1885. IB 13/3/1885 no. 4/c inv. 7865. He was succeeded by De Jongh.
[530] He travelled on the *Prinses Marie*. *Het nieuws van den dag*, 11 April 1885. *Diary*, 7 April 1885.
[531] Request of 27 June 1887. Decided by Royal Decree of 23 July 1887 no. 17. In V 3/8/1887 no. 25/1275, inv. 4076, V 18/7/1887 no. 2 inv. 4070.
[532] *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, IV, 1918.

Van de Stadt

[533] Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren G' 625, G' 786, NA, The Hague.
[534] Letter from all three students dated 16 July 1897, also used in several Chinese documents, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.02.
[535] *Engel van de Stadt, 1746–1819, zijn voor- en nageslacht*, 161, 164-5 (The Hague: A.A.M. Stols, 1951), CBG The Hague.
[536] *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 2793, 16 years old, in the Faculty of Arts. According to the data in the *Album Studiosorum*, he was the second sinologist who registered as a regular student in Leiden University (after De Groot, who enrolled as a student of law in 1873).
[537] V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.
[538] Letter from Knobel to the Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 18 January 1897, quoted in another letter dated 14 April 1897, inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.
[539] De Bruin was at the same time appointed in Mentok. IB 20/2/1898 no. 10 inv. 8176.
[540] IB 23/6/1899 no. 8 inv. 8208.
[541] Contrary to the decision published in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1896 no. 96, an Official for Chinese Affairs was again appointed in Mentok. IB 9/11/1902 no. 7 inv. 8289
[542] IB 30/6/1904 no. 9 inv. 8329.
[543] IB 7/4/1905 no. 2 inv. 8347. His later complaint about his daily allowance met with approval: *f* 10 per day was not enough, it should be *f* 15 (IB 28/2/1906 no. 33 inv. 8368, also in Mailrapport 1906 no. 331).
[544] P.J. Stigter was Second-Class Engineer. IB 16/8/1906 no. 1 inv. 8380.
[545] Request dated Mentok 6 April 1907. IB 27/4/1907 no. 18 inv. 8396.
[546] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 23 June 1916.
[547] When he resigned, Van de Stadt was planning to go to Japan for six months to continue his Japanese studies (*Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 16 May 1918).
[548] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1918 nos. 71 and 72, making known two Royal Decrees of 15 September 1917. Later a similar opportunity to study Japanese was created for infantry officers of the Netherlands Indies Army. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1918 nos. 117, 651, and 1919 no. 176.
[549] "Japansche Zaken," *De Sumatra Post*, 12 November 1918, taken from the *Java-bode*.
[550] Gemeentearchief, The Hague.
[551] IB 18/10/1921 no. 60 inv. 8744.
[552] IB 29/12/1921 no. 42.
[553] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1915–1917. There had also been several interpreters for Japanese.
[554] S. Cho (Tsang Tsui Chih) was responsible for translations and G.H. de Heer was European interpreter of Japanese; regulations in ten articles in IB 7/6/1922 no. 41 inv. 8759. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1922 no. 404.
[555] *Javasche Courant* 1929 no. 69. Stamboeken G' 786.
[556] IB 12/7/1928 no. 29 inv. 8909.
[557] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1932 no. 583. IB 7/12/1932 no. 12.
[558] IB 22/12/1932 no. 22, summarised in Stamboeken G' 786.

Stuart

[559] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren W114 and 437, NA, The Hague.
[560] Familieadvertenties Stuart, CBG, The Hague.

[561] IB 13/4/1878 no. 7 inv. 7699.
[562] IB 3/3/1883 no. 1 inv. 7817.
[563] IB 1/6/1883 no. 38 inv. 7823.
[564] IB 28/7/1885 no. 3/c inv. 7874.
[565] Letter from Governor-General to Minister of Colonies dated 26 May 1895, in V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176.
[566] Gemeentearchief The Hague.
[567] Her title is mentioned in the death notice of H.N. Stuart in 1916, CBG. And in *Het Vaderland*, 6 September 1934. She devoted fifty years of her life to the Anti-Vivisection Stichting (Foundation against vivisection). *De Telegraaf*, 6 December 1957 and 4 February 1985.
[568] IB 26/3/1889 no. 34 inv. 7962.
[569] IB 19/5/1892 no. 14 inv. 8038.
[570] He was allowed to take part according to the rules from before Royal Decree of 20 July 1893, on the condition that he should take a preliminary examination, showing that he had studied East Indies subjects before that date; he passed on 20 September (V 5/9/1893 no. 36 inv. 4737; V 16/9/1893 no. 12 inv. 4740; V 23/9/1893 no. 42 inv. 4742).
[571] Inv. 125, B28, no. 111, Archief Indische Instelling, Gemeentarchief Delft.
[572] Stuart passed the examination of July 1894 as number 33 of 34 successful candidates, while 23 others failed. V 12/7/1894 no. 62 inv. 4837. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1895. *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 July 1894.
[573] IB 21/12/1894 no. 38 inv. 8100.
[574] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.
[575] V 15/10/1896 no. 14 inv. 5093.
[576] Letter from Director of Justice J.C. Mulock Brouwer to Governor-General (secret), dated Batavia 24 May 1897, in V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176.
[577] Telegram from Governor-General to Minister of Colonies dated 26 May 1897, in V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176.
[578] IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.
[579] IB 27/4/1909 no. 19 inv. 8444.

Thijssen

[580] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren G' 624, NA, The Hague. His birth date in the Gemeentearchief The Hague is 26 June 1873.
[581] Letter from all three students dated 16 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.02.
[582] He passed away in the week of 10 to 17 February. *De Gooi- en Eemlander, nieuws en advertentieblad*, 18 February 1888.
[583] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië* (1850), 408. Her father Hendrik Marnstra worked as a Protestant minister in the Indies in 1844–64.
[584] *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 3014, 20 years old.
[585] V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.
[586] Letter from Knobel to the Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 18 January 1897, quoted in another letter dated 14 April 1897, inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.
[587] IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.
[588] From 31 May until 11 June 1902. He received *f* 72 as subsidy for extra expenses. IB 19/5/1903 no. 8 inv. 8203.
[589] IB 22/10/1904 no. 26 inv. 8336.
[590] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*.
[591] IB 17/10/1905 no. 16 inv. 8360.
[592] IB 20/1/1906 no. 18 inv. 8366.
[593] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 20 April 1906. Also in *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* of the same date. IB 7/2/1906 no. 1. inv. 8367.
[594] IB 11/12/1907 no. 37 inv. 8411.
[595] IB 2/1/1908 no. 33 inv. 8413. Director H.J.E. Wenckebach was appointed on 30 April 1908.
[596] He was assigned together with the *Controleur* A.A. Burgdorffer, the medical doctor J.D.W. Rost van Tonningen and some native and Chinese personnel by IB 2/1/1909 no. 2 inv. 8437.

[597] Request Surabaya 18 May 1909. IB 28/6/1909 no. 23 inv. 8448.
[598] www.genlias.nl. Birthdate from Burgerlijke Stand, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken.
[599] IB 11/11/1910 no. 17 inv. 8481.
[600] IB 7/11/1911 no. 30 inv. 8505.
[601] Request with medical certificate, dated Semarang, 31 January 1914. The Governor-General approved the Resident's permission for immediate leave. IB 28/2/1914 no. 16 inv. 8560.

Van Wettum

[602] Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren G' 624. *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 27 March 1914.
[603] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*.
[604] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren F' 5, F' 809, Nationaal Archief, The Hague; Gemeentearchief Leidschendam; Kramers family papers.
[605] Dagboeken Henri Borel, 14 July 1891 (p. 4), Cahier 1890–1891, B.745 H.3 Dagboek, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[606] Stamped on many of his Chinese books in the KNAG Collection, East Asian Library, Leiden.
[607] Wolfgang Franke, Claudine Salmon, Anthony Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia*, vol. III, p. 258.
[608] Bevolkingsregister 1880–1895, Gemeentearchief The Hague.
[609] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 12.
[610] Their complaints concerned: 1) the refund of travel costs from Hong Kong to Amoy; 2) remuneration of the salary of the Chinese teacher; 3) their stipend of 125 Spanish dollars being too low as a result of the devaluation of this dollar.
[611] IB 24/10/1894 no. 4 inv. 8096.
[612] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.
[613] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië* (1898), 100.
[614] Five Officials in a row were transferred when Hoetink left for China and Thijssen arrived in the Indies. IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.
[615] IB 23/6/1899 nos. 7 (Borel) and 8 (Van Wettum, Van de Stadt) inv. 8208.
[616] Request dated Surabaya, 31 July 1904. IB 24/9/1904 no. 43 inv. 8334.
[617] *Het nieuws van den dag van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 27 October 1905. *Soerabaisasch Handelsblad*, 30 March 1906. This was just after the end of the Russo–Japanese war in which the Japanese achieved their world-shocking victory over the Russians. It marked a new stage in Japanese expansion in Asia.
[618] IB 20/11/1906 no. 17 inv. 8386.
[619] Mailrapport 1906 no. 1738 (salary in Japan) and no. 1941 (report of the Dutch Minister (*gezant*) in Tokyo), both missing in the archives of the Ministry of Colonies.
[620] The title of this booklet was *Inékomé Itchiran*, "Short explanation of rice culture and processing." The translation was published in *Van Oordt's Berichten* no. 12. H. van Oordt van Lauwenrent was Consul in Kobe. *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 2 March 1907 and 24 October 1907. The *nota* on Formosan sugar culture was mentioned in *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 17 October 1908.
[621] IB 30/11/1908 no. 3 inv. 8434.
[622] Request of 24 December 1908. The position of Advisor for Japanese Affairs was at the same time temporarily created. IB 26/1/1909 no. 8 inv. 8438.
[623] IB 30/4/1909 no. 7 inv. 8444.
[624] For his Japanese Advisorship retroactively from 26 January 1909. IB 17/8/1909 no. 10 inv. 8452.
[625] B 7/11/1911 no. 30 inv. 8505.
[626] IB 14/3/1913 no. 51 inv. 8537.
[627] W.J. Oudendijk, *Ways and By-ways in Diplomacy* (London: Peter Davies, 1939), 198,
[628] IB 16 May 1916, no. 16, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1916, no. 377.
[629] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 9 August 1914. This article gives a short account of his funeral which was attended by many.
[630] Short obituary in a Dutch newspaper, 1914, kept in CBG, The Hague (Van Wet-

tum, Portretten). Obituary also in *Het nieuws van den dag van Ned.-Indië*, 8 August 1914.

[631] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*.

[632] Personal information from his granddaughter Anne Maria Laboyrie-van Wettum of Zeist (14 December 2007).

[633] Short biography in: *Mededelingen van de Anthroposofische Vereniging in Nederland* (November 1989), 339-43.

[634] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 51 (1913), 97 (6 October 1913).

[635] Listed in Kuiper, *The KNAG Collection*.

Young

[636] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren T 208, NA, The Hague. G. Schlegel: "Nécrologie. J.W. Young," *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899) 223-5.

[637] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren K 297, Z 292, NA, The Hague.

[638] "Genealogie Young," *De Indische Navorscher,* 18 (2005), 124-37, CBG, The Hague.

[639] Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries*, 66-8. Many sources on the Internet, search "William Young" and Batavia.

[640] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië* (1875), 107.

[641] IB 2/1/1873 no. 3, in V 18/2/1873 no. 26 inv. 2563.

[642] Schlegel's report dated 9 April 1873, p. 17, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[643] According to his "Nécrologie," he learned Hakka. According to IB 3/6/1877 no. 25, inv. 7679, also IB 8/2/1877 no. 46 inv. 7671, he could choose to study Hakka (Kheh) or Hoklo (Chaochou/Teochiu).

[644] Roelofs was transferred from Padang to Batavia (succeeding Albrecht). IB 3/10/1879 no. 19 inv. 7735.

[645] IB 20/8/1883 no. 27 inv. 7828.

[646] Schlegel, "Nécrologie." Details in *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 1 September 1885.

[647] Schlegel, "Nécrologie." Request mentioned in *De Locomotief*, 16 October 1885.

[648] *De Locomotief*, 31 December 1885.

[649] IB 3/3/1887 no. 7/c inv. 7913. Secret correspondence from the Resident of Western Borneo and others in Mailrapport 1887 no. 117a.

[650] Schlegel, "Nécrologie."

[651] Request dated Pontianak, 15 February 1889. IB 5/3/1889 no. 20 inv. 7961.

[652] IB 22/3/1891 no. 5 inv. 8010.

[653] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.

[654] "Een indrukwekkende Uitvaart" (An impressive funeral), *De Locomotief*, 9 September 1898. J. Stigter was a teacher of the Dutch language at the Semarang Teachers College (*Normaalschool*).

[655] Schlegel, "Nécrologie."

[656] "Een leesboek = een leerboek," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 25 June 1895. This was a review of *Uit de Indo–Chineesche samenleving*, signed "D." P.A. Daum, the main editor of this newspaper, was also a well-known novelist.

APPENDIX B

DATES OF APPOINTMENT AND DISCHARGE OF EUROPEAN INTERPRETERS OF CHINESE IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

Introduction to the tables

The dates of appointment and discharge on the tables are usually the dates of the decision of the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies (IB), or the date of inception mentioned in the *Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren*.

Dates written before each name are the dates of appointment (or inception), and those written after the name (after a period of time) and followed by a semicolon (;) are the dates of discharge or a new appointment elsewhere; for instance, in the line for 1862: "20/8 Schlegel" means G. Schlegel was appointed on 20 August 1862; in the line for 1872: "8/6;" means he was discharged on 8 June 1872.

The actual dates of arrival and departure are known only in a very few cases, based on personal diaries. These actual dates do not differ much from the official ones. For example, J. van der Spek was appointed in Makassar on 26 April 1880, knew of his appointment from a newspaper on 27 April and received his appointment on 28 April. He arrived in Makassar on 18 May and was sworn in on 28 May.[1] H.J.F. Borel was appointed in Riau on 24 October and arrived on 26 October 1894; he was appointed in Makassar on 26 August as from 1 October, but arrived on 14 November 1896; he was appointed in Surabaya on 3 April but arrived on 21 April 1898.[2]

Although S.H. Schaank was neither an interpreter nor an Official for Chinese Affairs, he was an East Indies official who had studied Chinese. Therefore his name is indicated in the tables also. For the first year of appointment his name appears between brackets; his continued service in each place is indicated by an asterisk (*); in general, no precise dates of his appointment and discharge are given as they do not appear in the *Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren*. The precise location of his appointments is likewise not mentioned in the tables.

When there was a surfeit of interpreters, some were appointed "temporarily" in newly created positions; this is indicated by "t" after their name.

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[1] J. van der Spek, *Diary*.
[2] Henri Borel, *Diary*, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

Dates of Appointment and Discharge of European Interpreters of Chinese in the Netherlands Indies (1860–1896)

	JAVA					
	Batavia		Surabaya	Semarang	Cirebon	Rembang
year						
1860						
1861						
1862	20/8 Schlegel	20/8 v Faber	22/9 Francken			
1863	”	”	”			
1864	”	”	† 6/2; 25/3 Albrecht			
1865	”	”	”	4/2 de Grijs		
1866	”	”	”	”	9/9 de Breuk	
1867	”	”	”	”	”	
1868	”	”	”	”	”	
1869	”	”	”	”	”	
1870	”	”	”	”	† 10/11;	
1871	”	”	”	”		
1872	8/6;	”	”	”		
1873		”	”	”		
1874	25/12 Groeneveldt	”	”	”		
1875	”	8/10;	”	”		
1876	”		11/3; 30/3 Meeter	”		
1877	7/8; 15/11 Albrecht	26/9 v Faber	”	”		
1878	”	”	”	”	13/4 de Groot	
1879	5/9; 3/10 Roelofs	”	”	”	”	
1880	”	”	”	”	7/1; 26/4 Moll	26/4 de Jongh t
1881	”	”	”	”	”	”
1882	”	”	”	”	1/11;	”
1883	29/6; 20/8 Young	”	”	”		”
1884	”	”	”	”		”
1885	”	”	”	4/6; 28/7 Stuart		13/3;
1886	”	”	”	”		
1887	3/3; 3/3 Moll	”	”	”		
1888	21/4;	”	31/3; 21/4 Moll	”		
1889		”	29/8;	26/3;		
1890	28/7 de Jongh	11/6;	19/11 v Faber	17/4 Meeter 13/9		
1891	”		”	22/3 Young		
1892	”	21/7 Hoetink	”	”		
1893	(11/8 Opium)	”	”	”		
1894	”	”	”	”		
1895	”	31/7; 29/9 Hoetink	”	”		

	OUTER POSSESSIONS					
year	Pontianak (West. Borneo)	Mentok (Bangka)	Tanjung Pinang, Riau	Padang (W. C. Sumatra)	Makassar	Medan (E.C. of Sumatra)
1860	9/8 v Faber	9/8 Albrecht				
1861	”	”				
1862	(11/3) 20/8;	”				
1863		”				
1864	20/8 Groeneveldt	25/3; 16/8 Buddingh	16/8 Schaalje			
1865	”	”	”			
1866	”	”	”			
1867	”	”	” + 28/6 Meeter			
1868	”	”	” + Meeter 6/7;			
1869	”	25/6;	”	25/6 Buddingh		
1870	14/9; 14/9 Meeter		”	(†16/8 Batavia); 14/9 Groeneveldt		
1871	”		”	”		
1872	”		16/10;	28/8;		
1873	”					
1874	23/10;			23/10 Meeter		
1875	17/6 Roelofs		10/11 Schaalje	”		
1876	22/5;		”	30/3; 22/5 Roelofs		
1877	16/3 Young		”	”		
1878	”	13/4 Stuart	”	”	13/4 Hoetink t	
1879	3/10;	”	”	3/10; 3/10 Young	28/11;	28/11 Hoetink
1880	7/1 de Groot	”	”	”	26/4 vdSpek t	”
1881	”	”	”	”	”	”
1882	” +1/11 Moll (Singkawang)	”	”	”	”	” (1/11 Schaank)
1883	dG 7/3; 24/5 Moll (Pontianak) (7*4/9;)	3/3; 3/3 vdSpek 4/10	”	20/8; (5/9 Hoetink 4/10;) 4/10 vdSpek	3/3; 3/3 Stuart	” (*9/7;) (5/9-4/10 Padang)
1884	”		”	”	”	”
1885	”		”	13/3; 13/3 de Jongh 20/6	28/7;	”
1886	” (Schaank)		”			”
1887	3/3; Young *	14/5 de Jongh	”			”
1888	” *	”	27/4;			”
1889	5/3; 26/3 Stuart *	”				23/5; (29/8 Moll 9/10;)
1890	” *	28/7;				30/5 Schaalje
1891	” *					”
1892	8/6; *	29/10 Moll				”
1893	*	”				”
1894	24/10 v Wettum *	24/10; 24/10 Ezerman	24/10 Borel	24/10 Moll	21/12 Stuart	”
1895	” *	”	”	”	”	”

Dates of Appointment and Discharge of Officials for Chinese Affairs in the Netherlands Indies (1 October 1896–1917)

year	JAVA				
	Batavia		Surabaya	Semarang	Rembang
1896	de Jongh (Opium) 1/10; 1/10 de Jongh (Opium)	Hoetink 1/10; 1/10 Hoetink	v Faber 6/9; 1/10 Stuart	Young 1/10; 1/10 Young	
1897	”	”	”	”	
1898	18/2; 3/4 Stuart	” (3/4 China)	3/4; 3/4 Borel	† 7/9; 17/10 Moll	20/2 vdStadt
1899	”	” (China)	23/6; 23/6 v Wettum	”	23/6;
1900	”	” (6/6 Justice)	”	”	
1901	”	” (Justice)	”	”	
1902	”	” (Justice)	”	”	
1903	”	” (Justice) 7/4;	”	”	
1904	”	21/2 Ezerman (id.) 10/11;	4/10; 22/10 Thijssen t	”	
1905	”		” (27/10 Opium)	† 21/3; 23/9 Borel	
1906	”		” (Opium 20/1;)	”	
1907	”		” (11/12 OEN)	”	
1908	”	30/11 v Wettum (Justice)	” (2/1 Banka)	16/4; 22/10 Ezerman	
1909	” 2/6;	30/4 v Wettum (Jap. & Chinese)[2]	2/8; 2/8 Borel	”	
1910		”	”	”	
1911		”	”	7/11; 7/11 Thijssen	
1912	29/3 Mouw 1/6; 5/4 SnellvVol 1/6	”	1/6; + 29/3 Bruineman 1/6; 1/6 Ezerman	”	
1913		” (14/3 BB)	”	”	
1914	18/8 Bruineman 1/10; 1/10 Ezerman	† 10/8;	1/10; 1/10 Bruineman	2/2; († 24/3)	
1915	” + 8/6 Mouw ?	8/2 Josselin (BB)	”		
1916	” 2/7; 24/6 Mouw; Bruineman, Snellen v Vollenhoven	” 12/2;	” 24/6;		
1917	Batavia: Mouw, Bruineman, Snellen van Vollenhoven, 17/2 J.Th. Moll, 29/3 Ezerman,13/9 de Kat Angelino				

1 Although Borel was appointed in Mentok, he probably never went there. On 16 November 1908 he was appointed in Pontianak.

2 On 30 April 1909 Van Wettum was retroactively appointed Official for Chinese Affairs as from 30 November 1908.

year	OUTER POSSESSIONS					
	Pontianak (West. Borneo)	Mentok (Bangka)	Tanjung Pinang, Riau	Padang (W.C. Sumatra)	Makassar	Medan (E.C. Sumatra)
1896	v Wettum 1/10; 1/10 v Wettum (* 1/4;)	Ezerman 1/10;	Borel 1/10; 1/10 Ezerman	Moll 1/10;	Stuart 1/10; 1/10 Borel	Schaalje 2/9; 1/10 Moll
1897	”		”		”	” (Schaank)
1898	30/4; 3/4 Thijssen	20/2 de Bruin 21/11;	”		3/4; 30/4 v Wettum	17/10; 21/11 de Bruin *
1899	”		”		23/6; 23/6 vdStadt	” *
1900	”		”		”	” *
1901	”		”		”	” *
1902	” (Schaank)		”		”	” *;
1903	” *	9/11 vdStadt t	25/11; 25/11 Borel		9/11; 25/11 Ezerman	”
1904	22/10; 16/11 de Bruin *;	”	2/8;		21/2;	16/11; (Schaank)
1905	10/11;	”				*
1906		”				*
1907		5/5; 22/11 de Bruin				*
1908	21/8 Borel	2/2; 16/4 Borel 21/8[1]				(*15/5;)
1909	2/8; (4/9 Schaank)					
1910	11/11 Thijssen *					
1911	7/11; *			7/11 Ezerman		
1912	1/6 Mouw *		1/6 Bruineman	1/6; 1/6 SnellvVol	1/6 Borel	
1913	” *		”	”	3/1;	
1914	21/1; (24/2 SnellvVol) (*2/5;) 10/6 SnellvVol		24/2 (18/8);	24/2;		
1915	”					
1916	” 24/6;					

APPENDIX C

CHINESE NAMES OF DUTCH SINOLOGISTS (1860–1917)

Mandarin	Hokkien	in characters	Dutch name
An Gelin		安格林	A.D.A. de Kat Angelino
Bali	Pa-lát	吧力	J.E. Albrecht
Bangjie	(Pang Kiét)	邦傑	J. van der Spek, style 字
Daixien Yiming	Tài-sien I-bîng	戴先意明	Emile F. Thijssen
Fen Fa	Hun Hoat	紛發	M. von Faber
Futing	Hu-ting	富亭, 富庭	B. Hoetink (ca. 1878, 1905)
Futing Miedayushi hang yi	Hu-ting Bih-tát-dzū-sū hâng it	富亭篾達裕士行一	Bernardus Hoetink, eldest son
Gao Yan	Ko Iên	高延	Jan J.M. de Groot
Gao Yan Yaguo hang er	Ko Iên Iâ-kok hâng dzī	高延琊崞行二	Jan Jacob de Groot, second son
Hu Ding		胡定	B. Hoetink (ca. 1900)
Hua Lan Jun	Hoa-lân-kun	花瀾君	J.J.C. Francken
Kai Shi	K'ái Sū	凱士	C.F.M. de Grijs
Mao Lu	Mô Lo̍	毛露	J.Th. Moll
Meide	(Bi-tek)	美德	P. Meeter (?)
Meilun Andun	Bî-lûn An-tun	眉綸安敦	Anton G. de Bruin
Mo Zhan	Bík-tam	墨湛	B.A.J. van Wettum
Mouli	Bo̍-lé	謀禮	H.J.F. Borel
Pan Mozhan	P'oan / P'oa˘ Bík-tam	潘墨湛	B.A.J. van Wettum
Qu Molin	K'u Bík-lîm	瞿墨林	Willem P. Groeneveldt
Shalie	(Sa Liét)	沙列	M. Schaalje
Shi Dapi	Si-tát Pit	施達闢	Peter A. van de Stadt
Shi Li	Si-lí	施理	G. Schlegel
Shi Lijia	Si-lī-ka	施利加	G. Schlegel
Shili Yuda	Si-lí Gû-tap	施理漁答	Gustaaf Schlegel
Wang Yiren	Ang-gī-lîn	汪義仁	A.D.A. de Kat Angelino
Wang Yiren	Ang-ik-lîn	汪逸人	A.D.A. de Kat Angelino
Wuli	Bú-lé	武禮	H.J.F. Borel
Wulie	Bú-liét	武烈	H.J.F. Borel
Wu Po	Bú P'ik	武珀	A.E. Moll
Xue Bo	Sih-peh	薛伯	J. van der Spek
Yanglan	Gióng Lân	仰蘭	B. Hoetink (?), style 字
Yang Yali	Yông Ā-lí	楊亞理	Arie A. de Jongh
Yuda	Gû-tap	漁答	Gustaaf (Schlegel), style 字

APPENDIX D

STUDENTS OF HOFFMANN, SCHLEGEL, AND DE GROOT

Hoffmann's students (1849–1877)

	name	years of life	years of study	note
1	G. Schlegel	1840–1903	1849–1857	Chinese interpreter, professor
2	Z.H. Kloekers	1828–1894	1851–1852	missionary
3	C.F.M. de Grijs	1832–1902	1854–1855	Chinese interpreter, acting Vice-Consul in Amoy
4	J.J.C. Francken	1838–1864	1855–1857	Chinese interpreter
5	M. Schaalje	1840–1899	1855–1859	Chinese interpreter
6	W.P. Groeneveldt	1841–1915	1858–1861	Chinese interpreter, Vice-President Council of the Indies
7	J.A. Buddingh	1840–1870	1858–1861	Chinese interpreter
8	J. de Breuk	1844–1870	1858–1864	Chinese interpreter
9	R.J. de St. Aulaire	1827–1864	1859–1861	Japanese interpreter
10	P. Meeter	1844–1901	1862–1865	Chinese interpreter
11	L. Serrurier	1846–1901	1870s	Chinese and Japanese, law
12	W. Vissering	1851–1931	1872–1877	law, Chinese
13	P. Maclaine Pont	1850–1926	1872–1873	law, Chinese

Schlegel's students (1871–1902)

	name	years of life	years of study	note
1	J.J. Roelofs	1851–1885	1871–72	studied in Batavia, interpreter
2	B. Hoetink	1854–1926	1873–76	interpreter, Labour Inspector
3	J.J.M. de Groot	1854–1921	1873–76	interpreter, professor
4	H.N. Stuart	1855–1916	1873–76	interpreter, Off. Chin. Aff.
5	J. van der Spek	1857–1902	1875–78	interpreter, dermatologist
6	A.E. Moll	1857–1905	1875–78	interpreter, Off. Chin. Aff.
7	A.A. de Jongh	1856–1941	1875–78	interpreter, Chief Opium Monopoly
8	A. Lind	1858–1931	1876–87	Chinese and law, lawyer
9	S.H. Schaank	1861–1935	1884–85	East Indies official (BB)
10	J.L.J.F. Ezerman	1869–1949	1888–92	interpreter, Off. Chin. Aff.
11	H.J.F. Borel	1869–1933	1888–92	interpreter, Off. Chin. Aff.
12	E.R. Goteling Vinnis	1868–1894	1888–90	stopped after 1.5 years
13	B.A.J. van Wettum	1870–1914	1888–92	interpreter, Off. Chin. Aff., Japanese
14	P.A. van de Stadt	1876–1941	1892–95	Off. Chin. Aff., Billiton Mij., Japanese
15	A.G. de Bruin	1874–1947	1892–95	Off. Chin. Aff., Deli-Mij., N.I. Tax Office
16	E.F. Thijssen	1873–1814	1892–95	Off. Chin. Aff.
17	J.H. Kann	1872–1944	1895–96	banker
18	E. *Ritter* von Zach	1872–1942	1896–97	Austrian Consulate, N.I. Tax Office
19	M.W. de Visser	1875–1930	1901–02	japanologist, professor

De Groot's students in Leiden (and Dutch students in Berlin) (1892–1914)

	name	years of life	years of study	Note
1	W.J. Oudendijk	1874–1953	1893–94	interpreter at Legation, diplomat
2	W.J. van Duysberg	1876–1960	1894	interpreter at Legation
3	G.S.D. Hamel	1877–±1954	1897–99	consul
4	M.W. de Visser	1875–1930	1902–04	japanologist, professor
5	C.G. Riem	1889–±1968	1907–10	interpreter at Legation, banker
6	J. Snellen van Vollenhoven	1885–1975	1907–10	Off. Chin. Aff.
7	J.A.M. Bruineman	1885–1945	1907–10	Off. Chin. Aff., mayor
8	H. Mouw	1886–1970	1907–10	Off. Chin. Aff., diplomat
9	Lewis Hodous	1872–1949	1909–10	American missionary and sinologist
10	Th.H.J. de Josselin de Jong	1887–1965	1910–12	Off. Chin. Aff., interpreter at Legation
11	J.J.L. Duyvendak	1889–1954	1910–12	interpreter at Legation, professor
12	A.D.A. de Kat Angelino	1891–1969	1911–14	Off. Chin. Aff., diplomat
13	J.Th. Moll	1891–1985	1911–14	Off. Chin. Aff., banker

APPENDIX E

NAMES OF SOME TEACHERS/CLERKS IN THE INDIES

sinologist	teacher	Chinese	date	period	place of origin or notes
Albrecht	Tan Kioe Djin	陳求仁	from 15/5/1860 to 21/11/1860	3-5 yrs	Amoy
	Oei Tsoe Khing	黃[資慶]	from 3/1864 on [?]		Chong Cheuy [Tsiangtsiu]
Von Faber	Han Bong Kie	韓蒙杞	from 15/5/1860 to 24/9/1864	3-5 yrs	Canton
	Lo Ling Kaai	[羅寧佳]	from 24/9/1864	3-5 yrs	[Amoy] from Batavia
Schlegel	Ti Tik Khing	[池德慶]	from 4/1862 to 31/12/1864	3 yrs	Tsjang-tsjaaúw [Tsiangtsiu]
	Poei Boen Phiauw	[方文颺]	from 1/1/1865 on	3 yrs	former schoolmaster, Free school Batavia
Francken	Oei Tsoe Khing	黃[資慶]	from 4/1862 to 2/1864	3 yrs	Chong Cheuy [Tsiangtsiu]
Schaalje	Tsioe Tot Koan (Tsiu)	[周德官]	15/6/1864 contract	3 yrs	from Amoy
Buddingh	Tsen Kin Sioe (Tsîn, Tsen Kin Siu)	[陳敬壽, 曾]	15/6/1864	4 yrs	Hakka, from Hong Kong
Groeneveldt	Tsjoe Tsjoek Kong	[周竹剛]	28/7/1864 contract	5 yrs	Hakka
	Tan Siu Eng (1833–1906)	陳琇榮	1874–1890s?		Amoy
De Grijs	K'eng	[康]	26/8/1864 contract	3 yrs	[Amoy]
De Breuk	Li Phoe Nien	[李浮蓮]	from 7/1866 on	3 yrs	[Amoy]
Meeter	Tsjhin Koei Liem	[陳貴林]	from 13/2/1867 on	3 yrs	[Hakka]
Roelofs	Tan Kaij Thee (1862–1885)	陳開堤	ca. 1880–1883		Amoy
Hoetink	Jo Hoae Giok (?–1899)	楊懷玉	1878–1879		Amoy
	Tan Siu Eng (1833–1906)	陳琇榮	1890s		Amoy
De Jongh	Tan Siu Eng (1833–1906)	陳琇榮	1890s		Amoy
Stuart	Tan Siu Eng (1833–1906)	陳琇榮	ca. 1898-1906		Amoy
Borel	Wang Fung Ting	王鳳亭	1909–1912		Peking, teacher of Mandarin
De Josselin de Jong	Yung Siuk Kiun	熊淑君	1915–1916		Hakka

APPENDIX F.

TABLE OF STUDENTS IN CHINA 1856–1867
(with appointments in the Indies)

year*	Albrecht	Von Faber	De Grijs	Francken	Schlegel	Schaalje	Buddingh	Groeneveldt	De Breuk	Meeter
1856	Canton	Canton								
	Macao	Macao	Macao							
1857	”	”	”							
	”	”	Amoy							
1858	”	”	”	Macao	Macao					
	”	”	”	Amoy	Amoy					
1859	”	”	”	”	”					
	Amoy	Amoy	”	”	”	Amoy				
1860	”	”	”	”	”	”				
	Mentok	*Montrado*	”	”	”	”				
1861			”	”	”	”				
			”	Canton	Canton	”				
1862			”	”	”	”				
		Batavia	”	*Surabaya*	*Batavia*	Canton	Amoy	Amoy		
1863			”			Amoy	”	”		
			Tientsin			”	”	”		
1864	*Surabaya*			†		”	”	” & Lilong		
			Macao			*Riau*	*Mentok*	*Pontianak*	Macao	
1865			*Semarang*						”	
									”	Macao
1866									” & Inland	”
									Cirebon	”
1867										” & Inland
										Riau

* Each year occupies two rows, representing the first and second half of the year respectively.

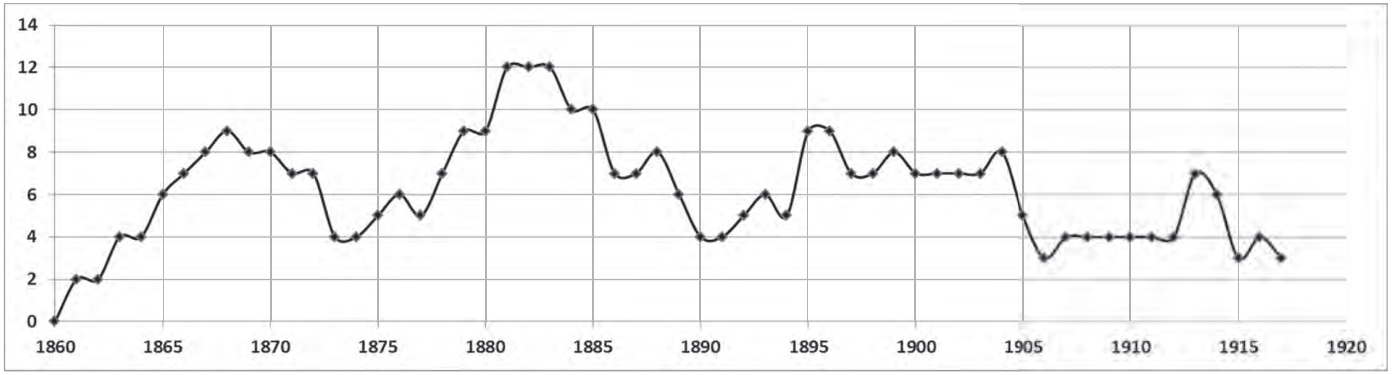
APPENDIX G.

SINOLOGISTS IN THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE BATAVIAN SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

Name	from	to	Special function	from	to
G. Schlegel	14–6–1870	5–6–1872			
W.P. Groeneveldt	9–3–1875	5–7–1895	museum	6–4–1875	10–4–1877
			editor	4–5–1875	6–5–1878
			curator	10–4–1877	5–7–1895
			librarian	7–8–1877	16–10–1877
			secretary	16–10–1877	2–3–1880
			president	6–8–1889	5–7–1895
J.E. Albrecht	16–7–1878	9–6–1885	editor	17–9–1878	14–6–1884
			librarian	17–9–1878	9–6–1885
B. Hoetink	3–7–1894	5–4–1898	secretary	5–3–1895	5–4–1898
			curator	4–6–1895	5–4–1898
A.A. de Jongh	28–7–1898	13–2–1899			
(L. Serrurier	6–7–1897	10–6–1901	secretary	5–4–1898	10–6–1901)
H.N. Stuart	28–6–1900	29–3–1909	secretary	1–7–1901	29–3–1909
			treasurer	1–1–1902	29–3–1909
B.A.J. van Wettum	22–2–1909	7–8–1914†	secretary	29–3–1909	7–8–1914†
			treasurer	29–3–1909	7–8–1914†

APPENDIX H.

GRAPH OF THE NUMBER OF SINOLOGISTS IN ACTIVE SERVICE, 1860–1917



The graph shows the number of European interpreters of Chinese in active service in the Netherlands Indies on 1 January of each year, excluding those on leave; from 1897 on they are called Officials for Chinese Affairs. The numerical increases run parallel to the training programmes of the three professors in Leiden. Hoffmann trained eight students in 1854–65, Schlegel trained six students in 1873–8 and another six in 1888–95, and De Groot trained three students for the Indies in 1907–10. These caused the peaks of 9 in 1868, 12 in 1881–3, again 9 in 1895–6, and 7 in 1913. The stable number of Officials for Chinese Affairs in active service after the reorganisation of 1896, from 1897 until 1904, is remarkable.

APPENDIX I.

SCHLEGEL'S TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM OF TSIANGTSIU AND AMOY DIALECTS COMPARED WITH OTHER SYSTEMS

Initials

Medhurst 1832	Doty 1853	Douglas 1873 (ca.1860)	Schlegel 1882 (ca.1860)	International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)	Neth. Indies (Dutch)
p'h	p‘	ph	p‘	p‘	ph
t'h	t‘	th	t‘	t‘	th
k'h	k‘	kh	k‘	k‘	kh
ch	ch	ch (i,e) ts (a,o,u)	ts	ts	tj
ch'h	ch‘	chh	ts‘	ts‘	tjh
j	j*	j	dz	dz	dj

Finals (simple vowels)

Medhurst 1832	Doty 1853	Douglas 1873 (ca.1860)	Schlegel 1882 (ca.1860)	International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)	Neth. Indies (Dutch)
oe	o·	ɵ·	o̲	ɔ	ô, ouw
o	o	o	o	o	o, oo
ay	*	ɛ	e̲	ɛ	è
ey	e	e	e	e	é?, e, ee
e	i	i	i	i	ie
oo	u	u	u	u	oe

Finals (diphthongs)

Medhurst 1832	Doty 1853	Douglas 1873 (ca.1860)	Schlegel 1882 (ca.1860)	International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)	Neth. Indies (Dutch)
aou	au	au	ao	au	auw, ao
ew	iu	iu	iu	iu	ioe
wa	oa	oa	oa	ua	oa, wa
ëau	iau	iau	iao	iau	iauw
öey	oe	oe	oe	ue	oë, oé
wuy	ui	ui	ui	ui	oei

Finals (nasals, rusheng*)*

Medhurst 1832	Doty 1853	Douglas 1873 (ca.1860)	Schlegel 1882 (ca.1860)	International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)	Neth. Indies (Dutch)
ëem	iam	iam	iem	iam	iam
eng	ieng	eng	ing	iŋ [ng]	ing
^{n}a	a^{n}	a^{n}	a˜ **	ã	a
ng	ng	ng	ɛng, ENG	əŋ [ng]	ung, ng
ek	iek	ek	ik	ik	ik, ek
ëep	iap	iap	iep	iap	iap
ëet	iat	iet	iet	iat	iat

* These sounds do not exist in modern Amoy pronunciation; in the nineteenth century j/dz was also used in Amoy pronunciation, but this sound has now evolved into l (L).

** Nasalisation is in Schlegel's transcription indicated by the *tilde* ˜ under the vowel, but for technical reasons this is printed here after the vowel.

APPENDIX J.

SOME PHONETIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AMOY AND TSIANGTSIU DIALECTS

Amoy	Tsiangtsiu	conditions	example	loanword or name
e	oe		粿 *ké/koé*	kweekwee
oe	e		鮭 *koê/kê*	ketjap, ketchup
ɛng	*uiˇ*	lit. –n	門 *mɛ^ng/muîˇ*, lit. bûn	Amoy
ɛng	*uiˇ*	lit. ong, Mand. –uang	黃 *ɛ^ng/uîˇ*, lit. hông	Oei
iong	iang	coll. *iuˇ*	鄉 hiong/hiang	
iong	iong	coll. *ɛng*, Mand. –ang	(長 *tɛ^ng*, tiông/tiâng)	
iok	iak	often	弱 dziók/dziák	
u	i		余 û/î	Oe
un	in		銀 gûn/gîn	
in	un	sometimes		
iˇ	*e̲ˇ*	lit. ing	更 *kiˇ/ke̲ˇ*, lit. king	
iˇ	*iˇ*	lit. ien, iem	年 *nîˇ*, lit. liên	bami
a	*e̲*	coll. also *e*	下 *hā/hē*, also *hē/hē̲*	
e	*e̲*	lit. a	家 *kē/kē̲*, lit. kā/kē̲	tauge
eh	*e̲h*	lit. ik	白 *péh/pé̲h*, lit. pík	
ing	*an*	lit. ien; often	繭 *íng/kán*, lit. kién/kán	
iuˇ	*io̲ˇ*	mostly	張 *Tiuˇ/Tio̲ˇ*	Thio, Tio, Teo
oe	*oa*	lit. oa	花 *hoe/hoa*, lit. hoa	
iet	oat	often		
ik	it	sometimes		
muiˇ	boe̲ˇ	sometimes	梅 muîˇ/boê̲ˇ, coll. *ɛ^m*	

This table is based on Appendix III in Douglas' Amoy–English Dictionary, p. 609, but Schlegel's transcription system is used.

Nasalisation is in Schlegel's transcription indicated by the *tilde* ˇ under the vowel, but for technical reasons this is printed here after the vowel. For the same reason the tone on *ɛ* is printed after the vowel (*ɛ^*).

Colloquial pronunciations are in italics. Unless specified, the other finals can be both literary and colloquial. The literary pronunciations of Amoy and Tsiangtsiu dialects are often the same.

Examples are from Francken and De Grijs' dictionary. For some differences no examples could be found.

APPENDIX K.

CHINESE TRANSLATIONS OF SOME DUTCH ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGAL TERMS

Malay translations are mostly from Klinkert, *Nieuw Nederlandsch–Maleisch woordenboek*. The Malay transcriptions are according to modern spelling. The translations by Chinese are mostly taken from the lists of words used in the Chinese Council in Blussé et al., *Bacheng Huaren gongguan (Baguo gongtang) dang'an congshu*, 吧城華人公館（吧國公堂）檔案叢書, but only one manner of transliteration is given here. The Chinese (Hokkien) transcriptions only serve to explain the choice of characters and have no scholarly value; for characters having more than one pronunciation, which is often the case, the one most resembling Malay or Dutch pronunciation is chosen. Probably these characters only served to give readers a hint at the pronunciation, which was enough for identification. In Hokkien *l-* is often pronounced similarly to *d-* and is therefore here spelled *d-*; and *b-* sounds like *mb-*. The translations by Europeans are from Schaalje's list (*) and Schlegel's *Dictionary* (1); after the semicolon some translations by other Europeans are added. Some translations are (also) mentioned in Pernitzsch and Tittel's handbook (2).

Dutch	Malay
CIVIL AUTHORITIES	
assistent-resident	asistén-residén
assistent-resident voor de politie	
commissie	komisi
controleur	petor (feitor)
directeur (finantiën)	direktur
directeur (Javasche Bank)	direktur
directeur (middelen en domeinen)	direktur
gouvernement	gubernemén
gouverneur	gubernur
gouverneur-generaal	gubernur-jenderal
hoofdschout	(tuan) sekaut
notaris	notaris
oppasser	opas
politie	polisi
raad van Indië	rad pan India
regeering	kompeni
rekenkamer	
resident	(tuan) residén
residentie	(ke)residénan
schout	(tuan) sekaut, sekot
secretaris	sekertaris
Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië	*Statsblad*
JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES	
advocaat (procureur)	pokerol
boedelkamer / boedelmeesteren	
hoog geregtshof	(mahkama tinggi)
landraad	landrad
officier van justitie (until 1848: fiscaal)	piskal
president (hoog geregtshof)	presidén
president (raad van justitie)	presidén
president (weeskamer)	presidén
procureur-generaal	prokurur-jenderal
raad van justitie	(majelis justisi)
tolk voor de Chineesche taal	(juru bahasa Cina)
weeskamer	
CHINESE ADMINISTRATION	
kapitein	kapitan
luitenant	litenan
majoor	mayor
wijkmeester	bék

translations by Chinese	pronunciation	translation by Europeans
亞寔顛挨寔嗹, 副挨寔嗹, 副淡[2]	*a-sít-tien oe-sít-diên*	知州正堂*[1]
		分府*[1],捕盜通判[1]
君眉司	*kun-bî-si*	會[1];軍黎絲
杯突，田杯[2]	*poe-tut, tiân-poe*	知縣[1]
厘力突	*dî-lát-tút*	布政司*[1]
厘力突	*dî-lát-tút*	大當總管*[1]
厘力突	*dî-lát-tút*	督糧道*[1]
敖文明	*gō-bûn-bîng*	政(府) [1], 國家[1]
敖文律	*gō-bûn-lút*	道臺*[1]
敖文律仁得嘮， 王，王上，大王	*gō-bûn-lút dzîn-tik-lā*	總督*[1], 總督部堂[1]
大狗[1]	*toā kaó*	大差頭[1]
梁礁	*niû˘-ta*	梁礁[1]
烏拔（氏）	*o-poáh(-sī)*	差役*[1]
褒黎司	*pó-lê-si*	胥吏[1], 員差[1]; 玻黎絲
力扳厘里	*lát p'an lî-dí*	參議司*[1]
公班衙	*kong-pan-gê*	公班衙[1]
黎均甘抹	*lê-kun-kam-boah*	比部*[1]
挨寔嗹，大澹，大淡[2]	*oe-sít-diên, toā tām, toā tâm*	知府正堂*[1], 府尹[1]; 府尊
州[2]		府[1]
大狗，大狡，大九[2]	*toā kaó*	差頭*[1]
朱葛礁	*tsu-koah-ta*	書辦*[1], 經歷[1]
國例		(燕地)國例[1]; 國律, 國報

帽老	*bō-ló*	狀師[1]
武直迷	*bú-tít-bé*	管家業衙*[1]
		大理寺*[1]
蘭得力	*lân-tik-lát*	同審官*[1]; 同審堂
美色葛	*bí-sík-koah*	明刑師爺*[1]
勃寔嗹	*pút-sít-diên*	大理寺正卿*[1]
勃寔嗹	*pút-sít-diên*	按察使*, 按察司[1]
勃寔嗹	*pút-sít-diên*	總管*[1]
勃老骨律仁得嘮	*pút-ló-kut-lút dzîn-tik-lā*	明刑師爺*[1]
(力)柔寔低司	*(lát) dziû-sít-te-si*	酌刑司*[1]; 大叻 *toā lát*, 大審案堂
和蘭翻譯官		翻繹漢字官*, 傳唐話譯官[1]; 翻譯官
美色甘	*bí-sík-kam*	管孤子業衙*[1]

甲必丹	*kap-pit-tan*	鄉正*[1], 甲必丹[1]
雷珍蘭	*luî-tin-lân*	里正*[1], 雷珍蘭[1]
馬腰	*má-io*	巡檢*[1], 馬腰[1]
默氏，地頭主	*bék-sī*	地保*[1], 保正[1]

APPENDIX L.

SOME LEGAL TRANSLATIONS INTO CHINESE BY DUTCH INTERPRETERS (1860–1900)

Presumptive titles are here provided for most Chinese translations.

Printed translations

1871 Von Faber (Prison regulations)
調理獄犯有法及調停獄犯之工例. Translation by Von Faber. "Chinesche vertaling van staatsblad 1871 no. 78" [Batavia: Landsdrukkerij], [1871], 14 p., 34 cm. Translation of "Reglement van orde en tucht onder de gevangenen in Nederlandsch Indië en tot voorloopige regeling van hunnen arbeid." (Regulation of order and discipline among prisoners in the Netherlands Indies and temporary labour rules). Bound in hard cover, KITLV Collection (only digital copy accessible).

1875 Groeneveldt (Building ordinance)
廖府起屋拆屋條例. "Verordening op het Bouwen & Slopen in de Residentie Riouw, 31 Maart 1875" (Ordinance on Building and Demolition in Riau Residency) (7 ff.; 34.5 × 21.8 cm). Printed Chinese translation by W.P. Groeneveldt, printed and bound in Chinese fashion (BPL 2106 I:8).

1875 De Grijs (Tax-farming conditions of opium, etc.)
双門答納東方公班衙新設各件僞仔 (presumptive title). "Chinesche vertaling van Staatsblad 1875, No. 236, Bijlagen litt. A, B, C" (Chinese translation of *Staatsblad* 1875, No. 236 and Appendices litt. A, B, C.). Printed translation (7 ff.; 34.5 × 42 cm) by C.F.M. de Grijs; printed Chinese translations of an ordinance of the Netherlands East Indies Government on the tax-farming of opium, alcoholic beverages, gambling etc., with appendices, by C.F.M. de Grijs (BPL 2106 I: 9; another copy without Appendix C is in BPL 1782:18) (another manuscript translation of Appendix A by Hoetink [1880], pp. 27-33).

1878 (Travel costs of witnesses)
補貼土著及等項證人程途等費 (presumptive title). Translator unknown. One page of a translation, printed in *Letterproef Landsdrukkerij 1878*. Rules for the remuneration of travel costs for witnesses appearing in criminal cases (natives and persons of the same status) (KITLV Collection).

1878 Albrecht (Business tax)
唐人與亞凹人等人爲工商者納餉 (presumptive title). "Chineesche vertaling van Staatsblad 1878, No. 86, handelende omtrent de heffing der belasting op het bedrijf van vreemde Oosterlingen op Sumatra's Westkust, in Benkoelen, de Lampongs, Palembang, Groot Atjeh, de Zuider- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo, Celebes en onderhoorigheden en Amboina" (Chinese translation of *Staatsblad* 1878, no. 86, concerning taxation on business of Foreign Orientals [translated as: "Chinese, Arabs etc."] on Sumatra's West Coast etc.) (1 f., 34 × 59 cm). Printed translation by J.E. Albrecht. (BPL 2106 I:10)

1882 Schaalje (Judicial system)
廖府內案件之例. Translation by Schaalje. "Chineesche vertaling van het eerste hoofdstuk en van de twee eerste titels van het derde hoofdstuk van het reglement op het rechtswezen

in de Residentie Riouw (*Staatsblad* 1882, No. 84), vertaald door M. Schaalje, tolk voor de Chineesche taal te Riouw. Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, 1884" (The first chapter and the first two sections of the third chapter of the Regulations on the legal system in Riau Residence) (21.5 × 13 cm).
An original front cover of the printed Chinese translation with a photocopy of the Chinese text is kept in BPL 2106 II: 12D. An original Chinese text without the cover is kept in the NEHA archives in the IISG in Amsterdam (M. Schaalje special collection, no. 2).

1885 Young (Tax-farming regulations)
和一千八百八十五年爪哇末流嘮雜項傌仔章程 (presumptive title). Translation by J.W. Young. "Vertaling der Concept ordonnantie: Verpachtigen. Voorwaarden en bepalingen voor de verpachting voor 1885 van verschillende landsmiddelen (zoo-genaamde kleine of gewone middelen) op Java en Madoera." (Translation of draft decree: Conditions and regulations for tax-farming for 1885 regarding several forms of state resources (so-called small or usual resources) on Java and Madura). Translation of *Staatsblad* 1885, no. 163. (34.5 × 42 cm). Chinese text in BPL 1782:4G4.

1885 Von Faber (Stamp ordinance)
課印之例 (presumptive title). "Chineesche Vertaling van de Zegel Ordonnancie, Stbl 1885 No. 131, en Lijst van Vrijstellingen" (Chinese translation of the Ordinance on Stamps, *Staatsblad* 1885, no. 131, and List of Exemptions) (12 ff.; 34 × 20,7 cm). Printed translation by M. von Faber, and bound in Chinese style. Chinese text in BPL 2106 I:11.

1891 De Jongh (Fire brigade in Batavia)
防救火患事之條規. *Chineesche vertaling van het reglement op de brandweer in de afdeeling stad en voorsteden van Batavia*, vastgesteld door den resident van Batavia den 30 Januari 1891. Translation by A.A. de Jongh. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1891, [26 p.], 13 double p., printed and bound in Chinese style. Chinese text in Leiden University Library (paper copy) and KITLV Collection (digital copy accessible only).

1882–1890 Schlegel (dating from the 1860s)
Short translations in Schlegel's dictionary, probably by himself (including advertisements)
Doorplate of a sollicitor: *advocaat* (sollicitor), Vol. I, pp. 129-130; 狀師
Taxes on horses and carriages: *belasting* (taxation), Vol. I, p. 374; 馬稅車稅
Advertisement for imported mineral water: *bronwater*, Vol. I, pp. 707-8); 約翰醴泉水
Announcement of the Batavia Gas Company: *gas*, Vol. I, p. 1226; 煉火烟公司
Public sale of household furniture: *gegadigde* (bidder), 1866, Vol. I, pp. 1262-3); 家私出賣
Appointment of a Chinese officer: *patent* (appointment), Vol. III, pp. 406-7; 執照
Notice of someone joining a company in Batavia: *toetreden* (to join), dated 1866, Vol. IV, p. 138; 入股
Taxation on land owned by civilians: *verponding* (land tax), dated 1863, Vol. IV, p. 655; 地稅
Law against counterfeiting: *vervalschen* (to counterfeit), Vol. IV, p. 714. 私造僞造

Manuscript translations

[probably early nineteenth century] (Estate Chamber)
華人美色甘條例. Translation of "Reglement voor het Collegie van Boedelmeesteren te Batavia." (Regulations of the Estate Chamber in Batavia). With the interpreter Hoetink's embossed seal; translated by ethnic Chinese. Dutch text in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1828, no. 46. Chinese text in SINOL. VGK 4891.9.52.1.

1878–1892 Hoetink
Collection of 66 manuscript translations of local government ordinances, decrees and other documents from Makassar and Medan, and some original Chinese texts, copied for Hoe-

tink. Some texts of which the Dutch original could be found are mentioned below. Chinese texts in H 421B, KITLV Collection, 93 p.

1879 De Grijs (The Chinese oath)
盟誓新法 (presumptive title). "Over den eed" (On the oath). Neatly written Chinese translation of a notice by the Resident of Semarang asking the Chinese to comment on new methods of swearing the oath suggested by M. von Faber and J.E. Albrecht, replacing the so-called chicken oath (34.7 × 42.7 cm). Dated September 1879. Translation by C.F.M. de Grijs. Chinese text in BPL 1782: 5A.

[1880] Hoetink (Tax-farming conditions of opium)
賭鴉片之僞仔 (presumptive title). Translation by Hoetink. Chinese translation of *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1875, no. 236 Appendix A, about the rules of opium tax-farming for the East Coast of Sumatra. Revision of De Grijs' translation of 1875 (Appendix A). Chinese text in H 421 B, pp. 27-29, KITLV Collection.

1883 Hoetink (Traffic rules)
日裡馬車牛車行止禁約條例 (presumptive title). Translation by Hoetink, "Verordening op het gebruik van paarden, rij- en voertuigen in de afdeeling Deli, met uitzondering van de onderafdeeling Tamiang." (Ordinance concerning the use of horses, coaches and waggons in Deli Division except the Subdivision Tamiang). Ordinance by the Resident of the East Coast of Sumatra, 2 February 1883. Dutch text in Albrecht, *Verzameling van verordeningen 1888*, 295-99. Chinese text in H 421B, pp. 67-9, KITLV Collection.

1883 Hoetink (Hygiene)
日裡沙灣勝武漢地方應宜整頓規條 (presumptive title). Translation by Hoetink, "Verordening in het belang der gezondheid en tot bevordering van netheid, reinheid, veiligheid en orde ter hoofdplaatsen Medan en Laboean-Deli." (Ordinance for the sake of health and for the promotion of neatness, cleanliness, safety and order in the main towns of Medan and Labuan-Deli). Ordinance by the Resident of the East Coast of Sumatra, 3 March 1883. Dutch text in Albrecht, *Verzameling van verordeningen 1888*, 292-5. Chinese text in H 421B, pp. 70-2, KITLV Collection.

1884 Hoetink (Secret societies)
日裡華人插會公司彈壓律條 (presumptive title). Translation by Hoetink, "Bepalingen tot wering van geheime genootschappen onder de Chineezen in de afdeeling Deli." (Rules for banning secret societies among the Chinese in the Division of Deli). Ordinance by the Resident of the East Coast of Sumatra, 31 October 1884. Dutch text in Albrecht, *Verzameling van verordeningen 1888*, 299-300. Chinese text in H 421B, p. 80, KITLV Collection.

1884 De Grijs (Tax-farming of gambling)
賭博條規 (presumptive title). "Verpachtingen. Chineesche dobbelspeelen Batavia. Semarang. Soerabaja. Wijzigingen van de voorwaarden van de pacht der Chineesche dobbelspelen. Uitgegeven den drie en twintigsten October 1884." (Tax-farming. Chinese gambling. Batavia etc. Changes in the conditions of tax-farming of Chinese gambling. Issued 23 October 1884). Printed text from *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1884, no. 182, containing articles 4 and 5. A neatly written Chinese translation by C.F.M. de Grijs is pasted onto this text. Chinese text in BPL 1782: 4G3.

[1900] Hoetink (Commercial law)
荷蘭煙地華民商法, 荷蘭華務司胡定譯. "Translated by the Dutch Official for Chinese Affairs, Hoetink," [1900], 7 vols. bound in 3 vols., translation of *Wetboek van koophandel voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Commercial Law for the Netherlands Indies), as far as applicable to the Chinese. Dutch text in Engelbrecht, *Nederlandsch-Indische Wetboeken*. Chinese text in SINOL. VGK 4893.52.1.

[1900] Hoetink (Civil law)
民律. Translated by Hoetink, 11 vols. bound in 6 vols., translation of *Burgerlijk Wetboek voor Nederlandsch Indië* (Civil Code for the Netherlands Indies) book 1 and 3, as far as applicable to the Chinese. Dutch text in Engelbrecht, *Nederlandsch-Indische Wetboeken*. Chinese text in SINOL. VGK 4891.9.52.2.

APPENDIX M.

LIST OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN VARIOUS SPELLINGS

For Chinese geographical names often the contemporary spelling is used, but for most places in the Netherlands Indies the modern Indonesian spelling is used.

China

Old names	Pinyin spelling	Chinese characters
Amoy	Xiamen	廈門
Canton	Guangzhou city	廣州
Canton	Guangdong province	廣東
Changchow	Zhangzhou	漳州
Chaochow	Chaozhou	潮州
Emoi	Xiamen	廈門
Emoui	Xiamen	廈門
Fokien	Fujian province	福建
Formosa	Taiwan	臺灣
Fukien	Fujian province	福建
Hoihong	Haifeng	海豐
Hailam	Hainan	海南
Hokkian	Fujian province	福建
Hoihow	Haikou	海口
Hokkien	Fujian province	福建
Ka Yin Tsoe	Jiayingzhou (Meixian)	嘉應州（梅縣）
Ka Yin Tsiu	Jiayingzhou (Meixian)	嘉應州（梅縣）
Kia Ying Chow	Jiayingzhou (Meixian)	嘉應州（梅縣）
Kolongsoe	Gulangyu	鼓浪嶼
Koolangsu	Gulangyu	鼓浪嶼
Kwangtung	Guangdong province	廣東
Lilong	Lilang	李朗、李浪
Lokhong	Lufeng	陸豐
Pakhoi	Beihai	北海
Peking	Beijing	北京
Swatow	Shantou	汕頭
Teochiu	Chaozhou	潮州
Tientsin	Tianjin	天津
Tsiangtsiu	Zhangzhou	漳州
Tsoantsiu	Quanzhou	泉州
Tsong Lok	Changle (Wuhua)	長樂（五華）

Netherlands Indies

Here only a few Chinese names are given that appear in the text.

Old Dutch name	Modern name	Chinese characters
Atjeh	Aceh	
Ban(g)ka	Bangka	
Batavia	Jakarta	吧城，咬留吧，噶喇吧
Billiton	Belitung	
Borneo	Kalimantan	木梁
Buitenzorg	Bogor	
Celebes	Sulawesi	
Cheribon	Cirebon	
Deli	Deli	日裡，日里
Makassar	Ujung Pandang (1971-99)	
Medan	Medan	棉蘭
Muntok	Mentok	
Padang	Padang	巴東
Riouw	Riau	廖府
Samarang	Semarang	三寶壟
Soerabaja	Surabaya	泗水

APPENDIX N.

EXPLANATION OF SOME NETHERLANDS INDIES ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGAL TERMS

Dutch	English	Explanation
Afdeeling	Division	Administrative entity under a region (*gewest, Residentie*)
Ambtenaar voor Chineesche Zaken	Official for Chinese Affairs	Title of the sinologists from 1896 on; effectively abolished in 1942
Assistent Resident	Assistant-Resident	Administrative official, sometimes in charge of a division (*afdeeling*) or a special task (police); number in 1870: 64, in 1890: 74
Binnenlandsch Bestuur (BB)	Interior Administration	Regional and local government, number of officials in 1870: 250
Boedelkamer	Estate Chamber	Institution for managing estates of native and Chinese minors and bankrupts, established in 1640 in Batavia; *see* Orphans Chamber (*Weeskamer*)
Buitenbezittingen	Outer Possessions	Regions outside of Java and Madura, with special regulations, fewer colonial officials and less government interference, such as Borneo, Banka, Sumatra, Riau, Sulawesi, etc.
Chineesche officieren	Chinese Officers	Unsalaried Chinese headmen appointed by the Dutch to perform administrative and judicial functions among the Chinese: *kapitein* (1619), *luitenant* (1633) and *majoor* (1837)
Chineesche Raad	Chinese Council	Kong Koan, council of Chinese Officers in large towns such as Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya; responsible for adjudication of simple civil and criminal cases among the Chinese, marriage registration, etc.
commies	clerk	Administrative official of low rank
Controleur	Controller	Grass-roots colonial official; at first supervising the native authorities, later actually ruling; number of *controleurs* in 1870: 111, in 1890: 116
Departement van Binnenlandsch Bestuur (BB)	Department of Interior Administration	Established in 1866; concerns regional and local government, but not the central government in Batavia; in 1870 comprising 250 regional and local officials; from 1912 on the Officials for Chinese Affairs were under this Department
Departement van Justitie	Department of Justice	Established in 1869; the Director of the Department of Justice was the direct chief of the interpreters (Officials for Chinese Affairs) from 1870 to 1912
Europeesche tolk voor de Chineesche taal	European interpreter of Chinese	The first European interpreters were appointed in 1860; in 1896 their title was changed to Official for Chinese Affairs
gewest	region	Region ruled by a Resident or Governor

Dutch	English	Explanation
Gouverneur-Generaal	Governor-General	Highest administrative official in the Neth. Indies government, appointed by Royal Decree, directly answering to the Minister of Colonies; often switching places with the latter
grootambtenaars-examen	Higher Officials Examination	Passing this examination was a requirement for all higher Indies administrative and judicial officials from 1864 until 1910
gymnasium	grammar school	Six-year secondary school teaching classical languages etc., preparatory to university; name existing from the 1830s, formally established in 1877; in the Indies only existent in 1860–1867 in King William III Gymnasium (later a HBS)
HBS (Hoogere Burger School)	Civil High School	Five-year (or three-year) secondary school, established in 1864; gradually abolished from 1968 on
Hooggerechtshof	High Court	There were a civil and a military High Court of the Neth.-Indies in Batavia; the highest courts of appeal and cassation
Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken	Bureau for Chinese Affairs	Office of the Agency for Chinese Affairs (*Dienst der Chineesche Zaken*); situated in Batavia; established in 1916; name changed in 1933 and 1935; effectively abolished in 1942
Landraad	Court for Natives	Court of first instance for natives and Chinese, as far as native law was applicable to them; in 1883 totalling about 100 on Java and Madura; proceedings in Malay
Onderafdeeling	Subdivision	Administrative entity under a Division (*afdeeling*)
Opiumregie	Opium Monopoly	Government monopoly for the production and sale of opium, established on Java in 1894-1904, later also in the Outer Possessions, replacing the system of opium tax-farming
pacht	tax-farming	System of indirect taxation common in the Netherlands until the eighteenth century; in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century it was still used in the Indies; there was tax-farming for opium, alcoholic beverages, gambling, pawnshops, slaugther, birds' nests, tolls etc.; the privileges of taxation were auctioned and usually acquired by wealthy Chinese; the system was gradually abolished
politierol	Police-roll	Single-judge court for minor offences by natives and Chinese, presided over by the regional administrative official (Resident or Assistent-Resident); no possibility of appeal; abolished in the 1910s
Raad van Indië	Council of the Indies	Five-member advisory body for the Governor-General, who was in many cases obliged to ask the Council for advice, but took decisions himself
Raad van Justitie	Council of Justice	Court of first instance for Europeans, from 1855 on including the Chinese as far as European law was applicable to them; there were usually five such courts, situated in Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya, Padang and Makassar; proceedings in Dutch
referendaris	Referendary	Administrative official of middle rank in the central government

Dutch	English	Explanation
Resident	Resident	Originally the name of a diplomatic representative, later the name of a head of regional government; number of Residents in 1870: 21, in 1890: 20
Residentie	Residency	Region ruled by a Resident
schout	police-chief	Police officer under Assistant-Resident of Police; gradually abolished in the 1900s
Weeskamer	Orphans Chamber	Institution for managing estates of European minors and bankrupts, first established in Batavia in 1625; in 1808 (in Batavia 1885) combined with the Estate Chamber (*Boedelkamer*); all towns with a *Raad van Justitie* also had an Orphans Chamber

Numbers of officials are based on Van den Doel, *De stille macht* (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië*).

APPENDIX O.

MINISTERS OF COLONIES AND GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

Ministers of Colonies 1842–1918

Name	First day in office
J.Th. Baud	1 January 1842
J.C. Rijk, *ad interim* (hereinafter a.i.)	25 March 1848
J.Th. Baud	21 November 1848
E.B. van den Bosch	18 June 1849
Ch. F. Pahud	1 November 1849
P. Mijer	1 January 1856
J.J. Rochussen	18 March 1858
J.S. Lotsy, a.i.	1 January 1861
J.P. Cornets de Groot van Kraaijenburg	9 January 1861
J. Loudon	14 March 1861
G.H. Uhlenbeck	1 February 1862
G.H. Betz, a.i.	3 January 1863
I.D. Fransen van de Putte	2 February 1863
P. Mijer	30 May 1866
N. Trakranen	17 September 1866
J.J. Hasselman	20 July 1867
E. de Waal	4 June 1868
L.G. Brocx, a.i.	16 November 1870
P.P. van Bosse	4 January 1871
I.D. Fransen van de Putte	6 July 1872
W. *baron* van Goltstein	27 Augustus 1874
F. Alting Mees	11 September 1876
P.P. van Bosse	3 November 1877
H.O. Wichers, a.i.	26 February 1879
O. van Rees	12 March 1879
W. *baron* van Goltstein	20 Augustus 1879
W.M. de Brauw	1 September 1882
W.F. van Erp Taalman Kip, a.i.	23 February 1883
F.G. van Bloemen Waanders	23 April 1883
A.W.P. Weitzel, a.i.	25 November 1883
J.P. Sprenger van Eyk	27 February 1884
L.W.C. Keuchenius	21 April 1888

Name	First day in office
A.E. *baron* Mackay	24 February 1890
W.K. *baron* van Dedem	21 Augustus 1891
J.H. Bergsma	9 May 1894
J.T. Cremer	26 July 1897
T.A.J. van Asch van Wijck	1 August 1901
J.W. Bergansius, a.i.	10 September 1902
A.W.F. Idenburg	25 September 1902
D. Fock	17 August 1905
Th. Heemskerk, a.i.	12 February 1908
A.W.F. Idenburg	20 May 1908
J.H. de Waal Malefijt	16 August 1909
Th.B. Pleyte	29 August 1913
A.W.F. Idenburg	10 September 1918

Dates from *Regeeringsalmanak* 1938, *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*, [1900] and 1917.

Governors-General of the Netherlands Indies, 1845–1921

Name	First day in office
J.J. Rochussen	30 September 1845
A.J. Duymaer van Twist	12 May 1851
Ch. F. Pahud	22 May 1856
A. Prins, acting	2 September 1861
L.A.J.W. *baron* Sloet van de Beele	19 October 1861
A. Prins, acting	25 October 1866
P. Mijer	28 December 1866
J. Loudon	1 January 1872
J.W. van Lansberge	26 March 1875
F. s'Jacob	12 April 1881
O. van Rees	11 April 1884
C. Pijnacker Hordijk	29 September 1888
C.H.A. van der Wijck	17 October 1893
W. Rooseboom	3 October 1899
J.B. van Heutsz	1 October 1904
A.W.F. Idenburg	18 December 1909
J.P. *graaf* van Limburg Stirum	21 March 1916
D. Fock	24 March 1921

Dates from *Regeeringsalmanak* 1938, *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië* [1896–1905], 1917, and *Winkler Prins Encyclopedie* (1952).

APPENDIX P.

A CHRONOLOGY OF DUTCH SINOLOGY MAINLY WITH RESPECT TO THE INDIES (1830–1954)

1830	Hoffmann meets Von Siebold and starts his Chinese (and Japanese) studies
1846	Hoffmann is appointed as translator of Japanese for the Netherlands Indies government
1849	Veth's plea for a professor of Chinese and Japanese in the Netherlands; Schlegel starts studying Chinese with Hoffmann
1853	Request for training Chinese interpreters from the Resident of Batavia; Master Plan for sinology by Hoffmann
1854	Hoffmann officially begins teaching Chinese to Schlegel and De Grijs
1855	Hoffmann becomes titular professor of Chinese and Japanese in Leiden
1856	Two students from Batavia (Albrecht, Von Faber) start studying Chinese (Cantonese) in Canton; two students assigned to Hoffmann
1857	First Dutch student (De Grijs) starts studying Hokkien in Amoy
1858	Schlegel and Francken arrive in Amoy; elimination of Mandarin studies in China
1860	First two interpreters (Albrecht, Von Faber) appointed in the Indies
1862	Hoffmann charged with compiling a Japanese–Dutch–English dictionary; Schlegel and Francken appointed as interpreters; shift from Cantonese to Hakka as dialect for the Outer Possessions; responsibility for relations with China and Japan shifts from Minister of Colonies to Foreign Affairs
1863	Directive for the interpreters proclaimed; Sino–Dutch Treaty of Friendship and Trade signed in Tientsin
1864	First interpreter dies (Francken); first student (De Breuk) studies Hakka in Macao (1864–6)
1865	Last of Hoffmann's eight students (Meeter) leaves Leiden for Macao
1866	Interpreters become extraordinary members of the Orphans Chamber
1870	Ordinance for training new interpreters in Batavia proclaimed
1871	Schlegel starts training first student (Roelofs) in Batavia
1872	Schlegel returns on sick leave to the Netherlands
1873	Ordinance for training in Leiden proclaimed; Schlegel starts teaching first group of three students (1873–6)
1875	Schlegel starts training second group (1875–8); he becomes titular professor of Chinese in Leiden
1877	Chair for Chinese created in Leiden; Schlegel becomes professor of Chinese; Groeneveldt leaves interpreter corps
1878	First moratorium on training in Leiden (1878–88)
1881–83	Largest number of active interpreters ever (12)
1881	First two instalments of Hoffmann's Japanese–Dutch and Japanese–English dictionary published
1882	Francken and De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch dictionary published in Batavia
1882–91	Schlegel's Dutch–Chinese dictionary published in Leiden
1885	J.Th. Cremer's plea in Parliament for training interpreters in Hakka
1886–90	De Groot on study mission in China, also promoting emigration of workers

1888	Schlegel starts training third group of interpreters (1888–92)
1891	De Groot becomes professor of ethnology in Leiden
1892	Schlegel starts training fourth group of interpreters (1892–5)
1892–1910	De Groot's *Religious System of China* published
1895	Second moratorium on training in Leiden (1895–1907)
1896	Reorganisation of the interpreter corps; new regulations; title changed to Official for Chinese Affairs (*ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken*)
1904	De Groot succeeds Schlegel as professor of Chinese in Leiden
1907	De Groot begins training first group of students (1907–10)
1909	Borel begins studying Mandarin in Pontianak and continues in Peking
1910	Regulation for training interpreters for Foreign Affairs; De Groot starts training Duyvendak
1912	De Groot leaves Leiden for Berlin; Van de Stadt's Hakka dictionary published in Batavia
1916	All Officials concentrated in Bureau for Chinese Affairs in Batavia (*Dienst der / Kantoor voor Chineesche zaken*); new regulations
1917	New curriculum for Leiden proclaimed; Mandarin becomes the main language
1919	Duyvendak becomes lecturer (*lector*) of Chinese in Leiden
1930	Duyvendak becomes professor of Chinese in Leiden; Sinological Institute (*Sinologisch Instituut*) is opened in Leiden
1931	Training of tax-sinologists in Leiden proclaimed
1933	Agency for Chinese Affairs and East Asian Matters in Batavia (*Dienst voor Chineesche zaken en Oost-Aziatische aangelegenheden*)
1935	Agency for East Asian Affairs in Batavia (*Dienst der Oost-Aziatische zaken*)
1942	Japanese invasion; effective abolition of the function of Official for Chinese Affairs
1947	Sinological Institute (*Sinologisch Instituut*) in Batavia is established
1954	Last Dutch sinologist (Meijer) leaves Jakarta

APPENDIX Q.

THE INTERPRETERS' DIRECTIVE AND STANDARD FEES OF 1863 (DUTCH)

Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië 1863, no. 39 (IB 15/4/1863 no. 12)

De instructie en het tarief voor de Europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië.

A. INSTRUCTIE voor de Europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië.

Art. 1. De beëdigde Europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal verleenen hunne dienst tot het doen van schriftelijke of mondelinge vertolkingen, uit de Nederlandsche in de Chinesche taal en omgekeerd, zoo dikwijls die door regterlijke of administratieve autoriteiten wordt gevorderd.

Zij hebben voor de van hen gevorderde dienst geen aanspraak op salaris, dan alleen in strafzaken, bijaldien een veroordeelend vonnis wordt uitgesproken, in welk geval het salaris op den veroordeelde kan worden verhaald volgens het hieronder bedoelde tarief.

Art. 2. Zij dienen het hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur van berigt, zo noodig, na een door hen, op daartoe van dezen bekomen last, vooraf ingesteld onderzoek en van consideratien en advies ten aanzien van aangelegenheden, de Chinezen betreffende.

Zij vergezellen het hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur op zijne inspectiereizen, zoo dikwijls deze dit noodig oordeelt.

Art. 3. Zij verleenen hunne dienst mede op verzoek en ten behoeve van particulieren, tegen berekening van salaris, overeenkomstig het hieronder bedoelde tarief.

Art. 4. De tolken voor de Chinesche taal leggen voor het aanvaarden hunner betrekking en, voor zoover zij reeds werkzaam zijn, zoodra deze instructie ter hunner kennisse zal gekomen zijn, in handen van het hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur den volgenden eed of belofte af:

"Ik zweer (beloof), dat ik houw en getrouw zal zijn aan den Koning en aan den Gouverneur-Generaal van *Nederlandsch-Indië*, als des Konings vertegenwoordiger; dat ik middellijk, noch onmiddellijk, onder welken naam of voorwendsel ook, tot het verkrijgen mijner aanstelling als tolk voor de Chinesche taal te … aan niemand, wie hij ook zij, iets heb gegeven of beloofd, noch geven of beloven zal;

dat ik alle mij opgedragen mondelinge of schriftelijke vertolkingen met de meeste getrouwheid en naauwgezetheid zal overbrengen;

dat ik geheim zal houden, hetgeen uit den aard der zaak geheim behoort te blijven of waarvan mij de geheimhouding krachtens mijn ambt is opgelegd;

en dat ik mij voorts met ijver en naauwgezetheid in de uitoefening mijner bediening zal gedragen, zoo als een braaf en eerlijk ambtenaar betaamt."

B. TARIEF voor de Europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië.

Voor schriftelijke vertaling:

Uit het Chineesch in het Nederduitsch:	
eene bladzijde van 28 regels in de Nederduitsche vertaling	*f* 8
voor elke volgende bladzijde	4
Uit het Nederduitsch in het Chineesch:	
voor het eerste honderdtal karakters	10
voor elk volgend honderdtal	5

zijnde de zegelgelden niet onder het salaris begrepen.

Voor afschriften van vertalingen mag een vierde van het salaris in rekening worden gebragt.

Voor mondelinge vertolking op denzelfden dag:
voor vacatiën:
voor het eerste uur of minder ..... *f* 8
voor het tweede uur of minder 4
voor ieder volgend uur of gedeelte daarvan 2
Voor het nazien van boeken, memoriën en rekeningen, voor de wees- en boedelkamers:
Voor elk honderdtal karakters of minder een vacatie-loon van ..... *f* 5
Voor afschriften van of extracten uit boeken, memoriën of rekeningen:
voor elke honderdtal karakters of minder .....*f* 2.50

APPENDIX R.

TRAINING REGULATIONS OF 1873 (DUTCH)

Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië 1873, no. 123 (IB 18/7/1873 no. 3)

Voorwaarden, *te verbinden aan de bijdragen van Staatswege voor de opleiding van tolken voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië*.

Art. 1. Naarmate van de behoefte der dienst worden, in *Nederland* door den Minister van Koloniën, in *Nederlandsch-Indië* door den Gouverneur-Generaal, de personen aangewezen, die zullen worden opgeleid voor de betrekking van tolk voor de Chinesche taal in *Nederlandsch-Indië*.

Art. 2. Voor die aanwijzing komen alleen in aanmerking jongelieden, niet ouder dan twintig jaren, die in Nederland of in Nederlandsch-Indië voor eene kommissie, door den Minister van Koloniën of door den Gouverneur-Generaal benoemd, een vergelijkend examen hebben afgelegd in de volgende vakken:

1º. de Nederlandsche taal;
de Fransche taal;
de Engelsche taal;
de Hoogduitsche taal;
Van der twee eerstgenoemde talen wordt eene grondige kennis van de grammatica vereischt.
2º. de rekenkunde;
3º. de beginselen der delfstof-, aard-, planten- en dierkunde;
4º. de beginselen der natuurkunde en kosmografie;
5º. de aardrijkskunde;
6º. de geschiedenis;
7º. het Italiaansch boekhouden.

Art. 3. De élèves vangen hunne studiën aan in *Nederland* of in *Nederlandsch-Indië* en voltooijen die in *China*, volgens de aanwijzingen van den Minister van Koloniën of van den Gouverneur-Generaal.

Het maximum van hun studie-tijd bedraagt vijf jaren, waarvan in de regel één in *China* wordt doorgebragt.

Art. 4. Gedurende hun studie-tijd ontvangen de élèves eene maandelijksche toelage, ten bedrage van *f* 50.– wanneer zij in *Nederland*, *f* 150.– wanneer zij in *Nederlandsch-Indië*, 125 Spaansche matten wanneer zij in *China* worden opgeleid.

Zij genieten vrijen overtogt naar *Nederlandsch-Indië* en naar *China*, zoomede van *China* naar *Nederlandsch-Indië* terug. Gedurende de reis blijft de laatst ontvangen toelage doorloopen. Uit *Nederland* gezonden wordende, ontvangen zij eene gratifikatie voor uitrusting, ten bedrage van *f* 1000.–

Art. 5. Zij, die, volgens den uitslag van het vergelijkend examen, bij art. 2 bedoeld, worden aangewezen om tot de betrekking van tolk te worden opgeleid, moeten zich schriftelijk verbinden tot de onverwijlde teruggave aan 's lands kas van alle gelden, welke hun ten behoeve hunner opleiding, uitrusting of van hun overtogt zijn voldaan, bijaldien zij binnen den tijd van vijf jaren na de voltooiing hunner opleiding, anders dan ten gevolge van wel bewezen ziels- of ligchaamsgebreken, buiten eigen toedoen ontstaan, uit de Indische dienst worden ontslagen.

APPENDIX S.

REGULATIONS FOR THE OFFICIALS FOR CHINESE AFFAIRS IN 1896 (DUTCH)

Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1896, no. 96 (IB 21/5/1896 no. 43)

Bepalingen tot aanwijzing der standplaatsen en regeling van den werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken

I. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken, ressorteerende onder het departement van Justitie, zijn aan het hoofd van dit departement ondergeschikt.

II. De werkkring van ieder hunner strekt zich uit over een der volgende ressorten:

1e. de residentiën *Bantam, Batavia, Krawang, Preanger-Regentschappen, Cheribon, Tegal, Pekalongan* en *Banjoemas*; het gouvernement *Sumatra's Westkust*; de residentiën *Benkoelen, Lampongsche Districten* en *Westerafdeeling van Borneo* en de assistent-residentie *Billiton*;
met de standplaats *Batavia*;

2e. de overige sub 1 niet genoemde residentiën van Java: de residentiën *Madoera, Bali en Lombok* en *Zuider- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo*;
met de standplaats *Soerabaja*;

3e. de residentiën *Banka en Onderhoorigheden, Riouw en Onderhoorigheden* en *Palembang*;
met de standplaats *Tandjong Pinang*;

4e. de residentie *Oostkust van Sumatra* en het gouvernement *Atjeh en Onderhoorigheden*;
met de standplaats *Medan*;

5e. het gouvernment *Celebes en Onderhoorigheden* en de residentiën *Menado, Ternate en Onderhoorigheden, Amboina* en *Timor en Onderhoorigheden*;
met de standplaats *Makasser*.

Is het getal der actief dienende ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken tijdelijk grooter of kleiner dan vijf, dan wijzigt de Directeur van Justitie het getal en den omvang dezer ressorten, naar gelang van omstandigheden.

III. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken dienen de rechterlijke en administratieve autoriteiten en colleges in hun ressort rechtstreeks van advies in aangelegenheden Chineezen betreffende, zoo dikwijls dit van hen wordt verlangd.

Zij kunnen aan deze autoriteiten en colleges omtrent dergelijke aangelegenheden zelfstandig voorstellen en vertoogen indienen.

Zijn deze van algemeene strekking, dan geschiedt de indiening aan den Directeur van Justitie, hetzij rechtstreeks, hetzij door tusschenkomst van het Hoofd van het gewest, waarin hun standplaats gelegen is.

IV. Het Hoofd van het gewest, waarin de standplaats is gelegen van een ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken, raadpleegt dezen bij het nemen en het voorstellen van maatregelen en bij de behandeling van aangelegenheden, waarbij meer in het bijzonder Chineezen zijn betrokken of welke in het bijzonder voor de Chineesche bevolking in dat gewest van belang zijn.

De Hoofden der overige gewesten vragen de voorlichting van den in het betrekkelijke ressort bescheiden ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken, ten aanzien van Chineesche aangelegenheden van gewichtigen aard of van algemeene strekking, waarvan de beslissing het noodige uitstel lijden kan, onverminderd hunne bevoegdheid om het advies van dien ambtenaar in te winnen zoo dikwijls zij dit wenschelijk achten.

V. Waar daartoe gelegenheid bestaat, wordt door het Hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur van de diensten van den ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken gebruik gemaakt tot verzekering van de goede werking van regelingen en bepalingen betreffende Chineesche werklieden voor en van ondernemingen van land- of mijnbouw.

VI. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken verleenen hun dienst tot het doen van schriftelijke en mondelinge vertalingen uit het Nederlandsch in het Chineesch en omgekeerd indien daartoe, naar het oordeel van de autoriteit of het college dat hun eene vertaling opdraagt, gewichtige redenen bestaan.

VII. Dienstreizen binnen het gewest, waarin zijne standplaats is gelegen, worden door een ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken ondernomen op daartoe bekomen last van het Hoofd van dat gewest.

Voor dienstreizen buiten dat gewest wordt de voorafgaande machtiging van den Directeur van Justitie vereischt.

VIII. Op de standplaatsen van ambtenaren van Chineesche zaken, waar eene Weeskamer is gevestigd, zijn zij buitengewoon lid van dat College.

IX. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken kunnen hun dienst verleenen op verzoek van particulieren tegen berekening van salaris volgens een bij algemeene verordening vastgesteld tarief.

X. Aan ieder actief dienend ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken wordt een Chineesche schrijver toegevoegd, die onder zijne bevelen en naar zijne aanwijzing zal werkzaam zijn en door hem wordt aangesteld en ontslagen.

XI. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken leggen voor het aanvaarden hunner betrekking den volgenden eed of belofte af:

"Ik zweer (beloof), dat ik houw en getrouw zal zijn aan den Koning (de Koningin) en aan den Gouverneur-Generaal van *Nederlandsch-Indië*, als vertegenwoordiger van den Koning (de Koningin);

dat ik niemand, wie hij ook zij, middellijk, noch onmiddellijk, onder welken naam of voorwendsel ook, tot het verkrijgen mijner aanstelling als ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken te … iets heb gegeven of beloofd, noch geven of beloven zal;

dat ik alle mij opgedragen werkzaamheden met de meeste getrouwheid en nauwgezetheid zal verrichten;

dat ik geheim zal houden, hetgeen uit den aard der zaak geheim behoort te blijven of waarvan mij de geheimhouding krachtens mijn ambt is opgelegd;

en dat ik mij voorts met ijver en nauwgezetheid in de uitoefening mijner bediening zal gedragen, zoo als een braaf en eerlijk ambtenaar betaamt."

De eed (belofte) wordt door de benoemden, die te *Batavia* aanwezig zijn, afgelegd in handen van den Directeur van Justitie en door hen, die zich elders bevinden in handen van het Hoofd van het gewest, waarin hunne standplaats is gelegen.

XII. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken kunnen bij de uitoefening van hunnen dagelijkschen dienst of op dienstreizen de volgende distinctieven dragen:

a. een jas van donkerblauw laken met eene rij gouden knoopen met de gekroonde letter W;

b. een pet van dezelfde stof met goud galon ter breedte van 4 centimeter.

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