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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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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 oils³ 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 honghs 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 Grijns 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 Grijns.¹³ Earlier that year, De Grijns 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 f150; 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 Grijns 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 Grijns arrived in Amoy on 6 May 1857.²¹ His allowance was almost twice as high as that of the other students: \$175 per month (f446,25).²²

Around that time, in any case before 23 January 1858, De Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grij's 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 Grij's 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 Grij's 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns, and in letters in Chinese. In the beginning, De Grijns 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 Netherlands⁴³ and called their own government offices *Kongsie* (*gongsi*).⁴⁴ Finally, De Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns' 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 Grijns: 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 Grijns also introduced them to local Mandarins according to his plan.

The students made excursions to the mainland, accompanying De Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns' linguistic qualities and the privileged 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 Grijns (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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns. 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 GRIJS⁵³

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 Grijns 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 Grijns in Amoy, “in order to put its remarks to the test of their experience.” De Grijns 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 Grijns’ 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 century⁵⁷ 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 Grijns, 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 f400 per month with biennial increases of f50 until a maximum of f800 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 f200 or f225, to which should be added about f75 for their free housing, amounting in total to f300. 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 f300 per month but with the same biennial increases of f50 to a maximum of f800, 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 Kjoë 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 Grijns, 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 kledingstukken*), 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 rations⁷⁹ 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 Grijns 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 inexpressible 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 1861⁹³ and probably settled down in Wong Sha (Huangsha 黄沙); 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 f70 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns (1863). At some time, De Grijns 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 Vrujer [?] 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 Grij's 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 Grij's 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 Grij 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 Grij 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 Grij 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 Grij, 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 Grij 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grij's 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 Grij's 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 Grij's 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 Grij's for a Commissionership ..." Three days later he wrote: "Glower has written to Vanderhoeven to inquire for De Grij's whereabouts; I must try and get hold of a couple of people; perhaps the Spanish Consul at Shanghai, 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 Grij's already had left China in October 1864.

The previous year, in May 1863, De Grij's 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 Grij's. 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 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns, 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 Grijns consulted Rudolf Lechler¹⁴⁶ and answered Van der Hoeven that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the population of Hong Kong spoke Cantonese (*punti*) and $\frac{1}{4}$ 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns with finding another Hakka teacher and sending him to Amoy.¹⁵¹

When Schaalje heard from De Grijns that he had not succeeded in making proper arrangements, he appeared to be full of reproaches. Nevertheless, De Grijns understood Schaalje's impatience.¹⁵² Groeneveldt also felt resentment, but for another reason. De Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns, 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 Tsin Kin Sioe (on the introduction of Kup, Dutch Consul in Hong Kong), and Groeneveldt the Hakka Tsioe 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 f600 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 f200 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 of 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 Riau¹⁸³ 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 Grijns and Schaalje,¹⁹⁴ from De Grijns' 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 Grijns.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 Lâ; 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 Sin; in Mandarin *Yang Bichen*, from 23 March 1859 to 14 November 1861);
Ang In Liong 汪寅亮 (with tones: Âng In Liông; in Mandarin *Wang Yinliang*, from 27 July 1859 to 29 February 1860);
Tê 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 Tε I Sin 鄭雨辰 appears under 'adres,' in the illustration of a Chinese envelope, with his surname 鄭 Tε, 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 Grijns 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 範駕 *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 Bîk-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-kèèn 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.

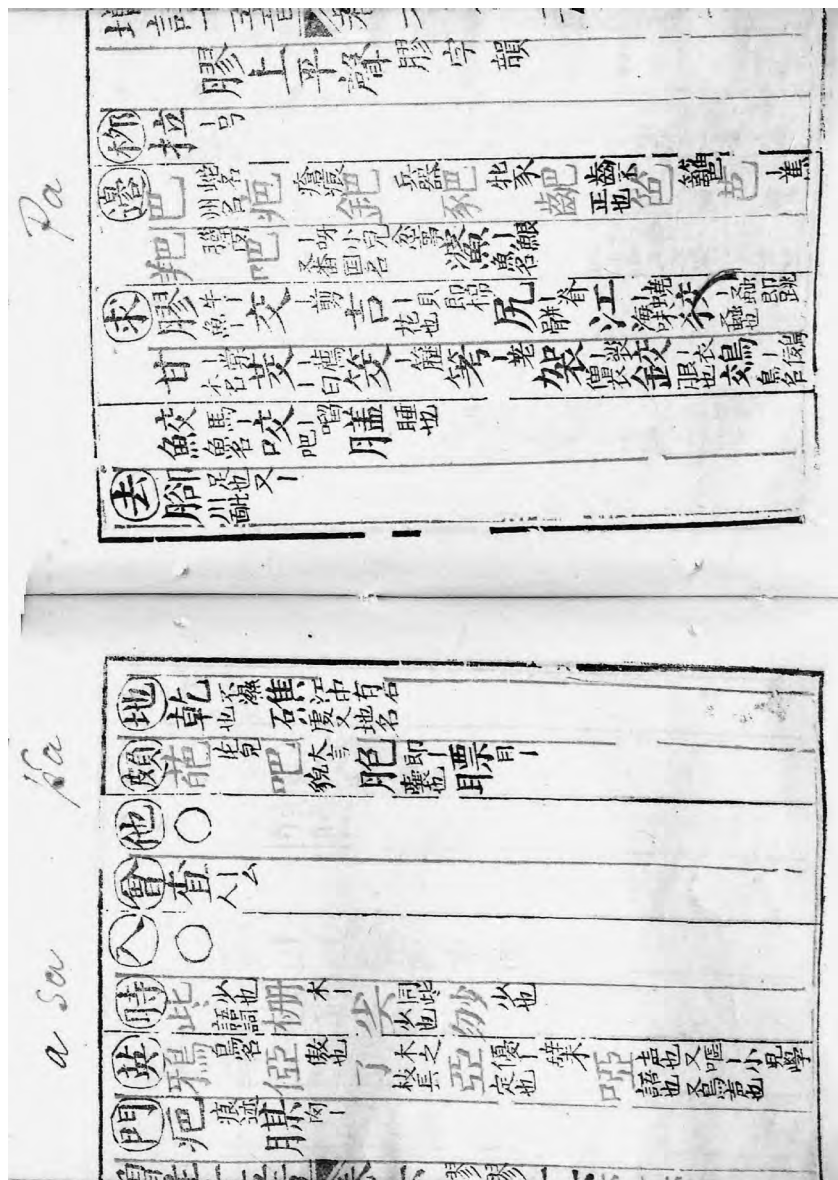
Medhurst’s Hokkien dictionary was a translation and rearrangement of the rhyme dictionary *Huiji Yasu tong Shiwu yin* 彙集雅俗通十五音, “The fifteen initials accessible to both the refined and the vulgar in one collection,” first printed in 1818, often abbreviated as *Shiwu yin* 十五音, in Hokkien *Síp-ngó-im*.²¹² 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 *tê*, the Hokkien word for ‘tea,’ one ‘cut it up’ into *t-* and *ê*, searched under the rhyme *ke* 嘉 (the fifth final), in the lower level tone (^, *xiaping sheng* 下平聲, fifth tone) and finally the initial of *tê* 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 *kùn*, (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 *Huigi yasu tong Shiwu yin* 彙集雅俗通十五音 (Wendatang 文德堂, 1861) *juan* 6, pp. 15v, 16r (KNAG 160). The words rhyming 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 'Pai' the character 吧, with the example 番国名 "name of a foreign country," and four columns to the left 哎留吧 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 relationships²²⁶ 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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'á* ('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,

<i>Ga hem nupen</i>	爾去叫他來	<i>Ngi thi ham ki lo</i>
<i>Brannvottpi eni</i> <i>Shanghha: gekung</i>	幾時在上海來	<i>Ki thi bi k'hang hoi loi</i> <i>na</i>
<i>Allo Ligo nu Canton</i> <i>gekung.</i>	大眾人都係廣東來的	<i>coi si tau nien tu he kong</i> <i>tung loi kai.</i>
<i>Shau is en mit men te</i> <i>deknup.</i>	今日未咁多寫	<i>Kim njet meo kau to si</i>
<i>Pis eni and eni tip is en</i> <i>men uel.</i>	另時就較多	<i>Lau thi win kau to</i>
<i>Allogu ga is mit en shu</i> <i>Shan shau pao nam nupis Voro</i>	明日我愛坐船去	<i>Shu kopao njet ngoi de bi</i> <i>shon ki!</i>
<i>Shu nupen te bui shon si</i> <i>Hoping uit Wanchen.</i>	古浪嶼朋友彼處我就	<i>Ki lo long sye pin kin ka! ki.</i>
<i>Ok outmacth eni Vnauit</i> <i>En. Nid mit Waid by hem</i> <i>ging</i>	今早六點鐘。我就起身去山上遊耍。	<i>Kim kau hao lik him tung</i> <i>ngui kwin</i> <i>hong shun ki! san hong lau si</i>
<i>Shau is en en shauk m.</i> <i>Hongkong to hem ang shou.</i>	遇到一婦人。不知何處去了。	<i>Ngi lai kit kae fu hoi nien</i> <i>pin ki lai ki! shu ki.</i>
	昨日有一船在香港	<i>Tok pui njet kin kit kopao shu</i> <i>bi k'hang tung loi lau ha nien</i>
	港來到廈門	

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 yí*] “why”? and 如此 [Hakka: *yí ts’ú*] “therefore” are pronounced *nióng pan* [樣邊] en *kan lí* [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 *San-guo 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 Grijns 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 Grijns 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 Grijns and a teacher together copied part III, containing sentences with tone exercises, and De Grijns 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 *yue* 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 dzi 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 minéraux 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 Grijis, 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 atlases, 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 and 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 Grijis' 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 Grijis and 9 of Schlegel, and also a lot of later sinologists. De Grijis' 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.

