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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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# Part II

# NOTES

## *Notes to Chapter One*

[1] This was not a social revolution, although the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels was published in the same year. They wrote in their Manifesto that "A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of Communism," but this did not influence the democratic revolutions.

[2] Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie der Chinezen*, 84, note 73.

[3] *Algemeene bepalingen van wetgeving voor Nederlandsch Indië, Reglement op de regterlijke organisatie en het beleid der justitie in Nederlandsch Indië, Burgerlijk wetboek, Wetboek van Koophandel, Bepalingen betrekkelijk misdrijven begaan bij faillissement, kennelijk onvermogen en surséance van betaling. Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 3, Rechtswezen, 391 [1902], vol. 4, Wetgeving, 762 [1905], vol. 4, Strafstelsel, 127 [1905]. *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1847, no. 23, 1848 no. 10, p. 16.

[4] *Bepalingen tot regeling van enige onderwerpen van strafwetgeving die eene dadelijke voorziening vereischen*. *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1847, nos. 40, 52, 57, 1848 nos. 2, 6, 10, 16.

[5] *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1847, no. 23, art. 7.

[6] In the Netherlands, the first Dutch Penal Code (*Wetboek van Strafrecht*) was promulgated much later, in 1881, and came into effect on 1 September 1886, replacing Napoleon's (revised) *Code Pénal*.

[7] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1915, no. 732. *Beknopte encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1921, Strafrecht, 523, Unificatie, 582.

[8] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1917, no. 27. Containing special rules for adoption for the Chinese.

[9] Full title: *Regulation of Netherlands Indies Government Policy* (*Reglement op het beleid der regering van Nederlandsch-Indië*). Abbreviated: RR.

[10] *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1855, no. 79, effective from 1 March 1856.

[11] Pieter Johannes Veth (1814–95) was appointed in 1838 as lecturer in the Malay language at the Royal Military Academy in Breda, in 1842 professor of Oriental languages at the Athenaeum Illustre, the predecessor of the University of Amsterdam, from 1864 teacher at the National Institute for Education in the Languages, Geography and Ethnography of the Netherlands Indies (Rijks-instelling voor onderwijs in de taal- land-, en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië), the training college for East Indies officials in Leiden, in 1877 professor at Leiden University. He was the first president of the Royal Netherlands Geographical Society (KNAG) in 1873 (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, part 4, [1905], 540-1). Van der Velde, *Een Indische liefde, P.J. Veth (1814–1895)*; English translation: *A Lifelong Passion: P.J. Veth (1814–1895)*.

[12] P.J. Veth, "Over de noodzakelijkheid om de beoefening der Oostersche talen aan de Nederlandsche Hoogescholen uit te breiden," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Nederlandsche Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde en Schoone Kunsten* (1849), 62-85, especially 77-80.

[13] "… zoolang hunne taal en vreemdsoortig schrift een' onoverkomelijken slagboom tusschen hen en ons stellen, zoolang ons de middelen ontbreken om hun geheimzinnig wezen te doorgronden." Veth, "Over de noodzakelijkheid," 78.

[14] Wolter Robert *baron* van Hoëvell (pronounced as in Dutch Heuvel) (1812–79) first worked as a Protestant minister in Batavia from 1836 to 1848. He was very influential in scholarship and after his return to the Netherlands also in politics. As (vice) president of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, from 1843 on he revitalised this scholarly society, established in 1778 and thus the oldest of its kind in Asia.

[15] Van Hoëvell, "De uitbreiding van het hooger onderwijs in de Oostersche talen aan de Nederlandsche Akademieën." *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* 11 (1849), vol. 2, pp. 68-78, especially 73-6.

[16] From 1848 the title was *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*.

[17] *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, II [1900], 45-6. Slavery was abolished in the East Indies in 1860.

[18] K. ter Laan, *Letterkundig woordenboek voor Noord en Zuid* (Den Haag / Djakarta: Van Goor, 1952).

[19] "De wijze waarop de Chineezen de drukkunst uitoefenen, is zeer eenvoudig. Zij snijden de letters of liever woorden in eene weeke houtsoort, bestrijken die met inkt, leggen er een blad Chineesch papier op, wrijven er een of tweemaal over, en de bewerking is afgeloopen. Er is daarvoor geen werkplaats, geen toestel, geene afzonderlijke inrigting noodig. Alles geschiedt in stilte, zonder dat iemand er iets van merkt. Ook op Java worden op die wijze stukken gedrukt," Van Hoëvell, "De uitbreiding van het hooger onderwijs," 74.

[20] This probably refers to the Chinese revolt in Krawang (near Batavia) that began on 8 May 1832. All European houses in Purwakarta were burnt down and the collection on natural history of Dr. H.Chr. Macklot (1799–1832) was lost. Macklot himself was murdered with lances by the Chinese on 12 May (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1918), vol. II, p. 632).

[21] R.J.M.N. Kussendrager wished to study Chinese on a government stipend, but this was refused. *See* below.

[22] W.R. van Hoëvell in "De uitbreiding van het hooger onderwijs," 68-78, in particular 73-6.

[23] *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* (1855), I, pp. 260-2.

[24] Karl Gützlaff (1803–51), German missionary, who was sent to the Indies by the Netherlands Bible Society in 1827, but soon turned to China. He also worked on Bible translations and as an interpreter and secretary for the British. He was very influential because of his charisma, both in China and in Europe, where he caused an early China hype, but was also controversial and was criticised by learned missionaries such as James Legge. In 1850 he was given an honorary doctor's degree at the University of Groningen.

[25] Henricus Christiaan Millies (1810–68), Protestant minister, from 1847 professor at the Lutheran Seminary, member of the board of the Netherlands Bible Society, and from 1857 professor of Oriental languages in Utrecht.

[26] Nicolaas Beets (1813–1903), clergyman and writer, author of the famous collection of short stories *Camera obscura* (1839).

[27] *China: verzameling van stukken betreffende de prediking van het evangelie in China en omliggende landen* (Nijmegen: Ten Hoet, 1852–1864). The regulations of the association were approved on 7 November 1850.

[28] Copy of the letter from the Trustees of Leiden University to the Minister of Home Affairs dated 23 February 1855 quoting this letter, kept in V 28/2/1855 no. 75 (Geheim) inv. 5867, and in AC 2 inv. 119 II/2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. The original letter was to be returned to the Ministry. Unfortunately, it could not be located in the archives of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

[29] Email from Ton Kappelhof (Netherlands Missionary Archives, Het Utrechts Archief) to Cheng Weichung, 24 Feb. 2010.

[30] *Gützlaff's Geschiedenis van het Chinesche Rijk van de oudste tijden tot de vrede van Nanking* ('s Gravenhage: Fuhri, 1852), p. XVII. Preface (*Voorrede*) dated 15 December 1851.

[31] A Resident was the head of regional government. Originally, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Resident had a diplomatic function, but this gradually developed into a governing role. Pieter van Rees (Rotterdam, 1806 – The Hague, 1865) began as a clerk in the Indies in 1820, and was from 24 August 1847 to 1 May 1854 Resident of Batavia. Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren B 73. The report and all related documents are in V 17/1/1854 no. 19 inv. 311.

[32] Type of Indonesian boat (Dutch *prauw*).

[33] Number 1 of the supplement appeared on 12 March 1852. In the beginning the Chinese title was *Lang Ko-lan* 蘭高囔 (Semarang Newspaper) (1852–1854). During the first year it comprised one page in Chinese and one page in Javanese and Malay, lithographically reproduced. From 1853 on, only the Chinese version appeared, now on two pages. Quite a few copies from 1852–7 are in the KITLV Collection (microfilm of an Indonesian archive). Evidently the contents are only translations from the Dutch version, such as an-

nouncements of auctions; nothing subversive could be found. It was later called the Chinese supplement (*Chineesch bijblad*), appearing until 1859. Starting in 1863, this weekly was continued as *De Locomotief* (1863–1903), which became one of the most important newspapers in the Indies. Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 361-414, 816-8.

[34] In contrast to the situation in the Netherlands, from that time on there was no freedom of the press in the Indies, although censorship had been abolished. Paradoxically, these regulations resulted in an even more critical and lively press, and there were many lawsuits on account of 'defamation of the Governor General' and 'sedition.' Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 75-82, etc.

[35] Carel Sirardus Willem, Count (*graaf*) van Hogendorp (1788–1856), was then a member of the Council of the Indies. He was a nephew of G.K. van Hogendorp, president of the drafting commission of the first Dutch Constitutions in 1813 and 1815.

[36] Reinder Jan Lambertus Kussendrager (Groningen, 1805 – Batavia, 14 September 1846), teacher in Batavia from 1838 on, is known for his description of Java (*Natuur- en aardrijkskundige beschrijving van het eiland Java* (Groningen, 1841)) (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren G 396). His son had won an honour prize at the Drawing School of the First Primary School in Weltevreden, Batavia (*Javasche Courant*, 9 July 1845).

[37] "… heeft uit eigen beweging lust betoond tot de studie der Chinesche taal."

[38] All that is known about his Chinese studies is that he owned a copy of Morrison's dictionary. In a note pasted in his personal copy of Medhurst's *Chinese and English Dictionary*, Hoffmann mentioned that the bookseller E.J. Brill offered vol. 1 of Morrison's dictionary for sale with the name Kussendrager and the date 5 September 1845 on the title page (SINOL. 15.810.34 in Van Gulik Room, East Asian Library).

[39] In the VOC period (1617–1799) this Council together with the Governor-General was the highest governing body. In the nineteenth century it became a purely advisory body, but in some cases the Governor-General was obliged to hear its advice first before he could make a decision.

[40] Letter of 4 August 1846 no. 2372.

[41] Letter of 7 August 1846. Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857), missionary and eminent sinologist, regularly resided in Batavia from 1822 until 1843, when he moved to Shanghai. To mention just two of his many scholarly works, he published the first Hokkien dictionary in 1832 and was one of the main translators of the Delegates' Bible of 1850–55. *See* obituary by H.C. Millies.

[42] "De Chineezen gaan vrij wat daadzakelijker mede in de vorderingen van onzen tijd, vernemen en leeren of zien die af van ons, waarvan de gevolgen merkbaar! Doch wij in onze betrekkingen tot hen, verzoeken op de hoogte te blijven waar wij zijn en twee eeuwen geleden waren."

[43] Letter of 19 August 1846 no. 1666. A little more than a month later, the father R.J.L. Kussendrager passed away. On 4 October 1854, Kussendrager jr. made another request, probably to be sent to Canton, but this was rejected again (IB 10/10/1855 no. 3, inv. 7175). He worked as an official in the lower ranks of the East Indies administration, and also was translator for Malay for some time (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren K 445, II (rom) 137). In 1889 he translated the article on Chinese cemeteries by J.W. Young into Malay (*see also* bibliography of J.W. Young).

[44] Literally 'Penal Sanction,' in English usually designated as 'indentured labour,' defined by Purcell as follows: "the engagement of coolies … under contracts enforceable by penal sanctions; that is to say, labourers were liable to arrest and punishments if they broke their contract or left their work. This system of contract and recruitment gave rise to severe criticism not only in the world at large, but in Holland also." Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, 541.

[45] Jean Louis Ernest Schepern became translator for the French language in Batavia in 1837, but in the same year he began to work in a government office. In 1845, he obtained the *radicaal* (qualification) of second-class East Indies official. He was stationed as Administrator (*Administrateur*) of the tin mines in Soengei Liat from 14 December 1851 to 11 July 1852, and in Pankan Pinang from 11 July 1852 to 23 December 1852, whereupon he went on sick leave to the Netherlands. He retired in 1860. Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, E 404.

[46] Letter from the Resident of Banka, 28 July 1852 no. 1358.
[47] Letter of 29 December 1852 no. 2805/516.
[48] Letters of 29 June 1852 and 13 January 1853.
[49] IB 27/1/1853 no. 3. The High Court was to ask the opinion of the Resident of Banka and the Commission for Further Regulation of the Legislature (*rechtswezen*) in the Outer Possessions (IB 28/6/1849 no. 4) on the advice of the Procurator-General; it should also be generally known that, when imposing punishments because of minor offences (*overtredingen*) the Residents in the Outer Possessions were to comply with article 28 in the *Regulation etc. of penal law*. The latter had been published in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1848, no. 6. Actually, this regulation was already effective in the Outer Possessions, but the legislation for the Outer Possessions was generally less developed than that for Java and Madura. Article 28 allowed four kinds of punishments for certain minor offences which the Residents could impose: a maximum of 20 blows with the cane for men only, not in public, and less than 20 blows in case of possible injury to health; block arrest (solitary confinement) for a maximum of 3 days (not concurrent with blows with the cane) and imprisonment for a maximum of 8 days; labour for public works without pay but with board for a maximum of 3 months.
[50] With much needless bloodshed. *See* Yuan Bingling, *Chinese Democracies*.
[51] J.D.G. Schaap, since 1822 a clerk at the General Secretariat, in 1825 became 'pupil for the native languages in Malacca' (*élève voor de inlandsche talen te Malakka*), and four years later he continued his career in the General Secretariat. He passed away in Batavia on 30 September 1841 (Stamboeken C54, inv. 3093, toegang 2.10.01).
[52] This shows how little was known about the Chinese. From the Kong Koan Archives in Leiden University Library it is evident that there were many more literate Chinese in Batavia.
[53] Examples of these can be found in a collection of Chinese letters with Malay translations from Western Borneo in BPL 2186 M; *see Catalogue* 2005, 177-90.
[54] Translation: "Publication on behalf and in the name of the King. The Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies … makes known: That He, after having had experience with the existence of secret societies or brotherhoods among the Chinese population in the Netherlands Indies, makes known to all those whom this may concern, that such societies or brotherhoods, whose purpose is beneficial or harmless, can be tolerated by the government; but that all such whose object could in any measure entail an attack on or undermining of the legal authorities, either by the use of means that are contrary to the conditions on which the Chinese are admitted to these regions, or by endangering the peace of the population under the protection of the government, will be checked by force and the perpetrators will be evicted unconditionally from the Netherlands Indies; therefore everyone is now warned to refrain from taking part." (Publikatie. Vanwege en in naam des Konings. De Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indie. … doet te weten: Dat Hij, in ervaring gekomen zijnde van het bestaan van geheime genootschappen of broederschappen onder de in Nederlandsch-Indie gevestigde chinesche bevolking, bij deze allen, wien zulks mogt aangaan, bekend maakt, dat zoodanige genootschappen of broederschappen, wier doel weldadig of onschadelijk is, van regeringswege kunnen worden geduld; doch dat al dezulken, welker strekking maar eenigermate zou kunnen leiden tot aanranding of ondermijning van het wettig gezag, hetzij door aanwending van middelen, strijdig met de voorwaarden, waaronder de chinezen in deze gewesten zijn toegelaten, hetzij door in de waagschaal te stellen de rust der onder 's gouvernements bescherming staande bevolking, met klem zullen worden tegen gegaan, en derzelver deelnemers onvoorwaardelijk uit Nederlandsch-Indie zullen worden verwijderd; wordende mitsdien een iegelijk bij deze gewaarschuwd, zich van alle deelname daaraan te onthouden.) Published in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1851, no. 65.
[55] "Reeds sedert geruimen tijd is de wenschelijkheid ingezien van de aanstelling van Europesche tolken voor de *Chinesche taal*. / Zooals Uwe Excellentie bekend is, moet het bestuur, bij ontstentenis van dusdanige translateurs zich verlaten op Chinezen, die de hun voorgelegd wordende geschriften moeten overbrengen in het Maleisch, de eenige taal, die zij verstaan. Dat dusdanige overzettingen gebrekkig moeten wezen, ligt in den aard der zaak. / De behoefte naar vertrouwde Europesche tolken voor het Chineesch is dringender geworden naarmate het bestuur meer bekend geworden is met daden en verrigtingen

van in *Indië* gevestigde Chinezen, welke in eene geordende Maatschappij niet geoorloofd zijn. / Die behoefte deed zich vooral gevoelen bij de overwegingen die geleid hebben tot de uitvaardiging van een verbod omtrent de bekende geheime Chinesche broederschappen (hoei's) zie de Publicatie van den 8en November 1851 (*Staatsblad* no. 65). / Zij deed zich gevoelen tijdens de verwikkelingen met de Chinezen ter *Westkust* van *Borneo*, zoomede bij de behandeling der opzending van twee Chinezen van *Banka*, die volgens de vertaling van twee in hun bezit gevonden Chinesche brieven, behoorden tot een geheim genootschap te *Malakka*. / … / Eindelijk nog doet zich de behoefte aan eenen Europeschen translateur voor de Chinesche taal gevoelen, niet alleen bij de behandeling van regtszaken, waarin Chinezen betrokken zijn of als getuigen gehoord moeten worden, maar ook voornamelijk voor eene juiste beoordeeling van hetgeen door middel van de Chinesche drukkerijen openbaar wordt gemaakt: men beweert immers, dat te *Batavia* geregeld eene Chinesche Courant wordt uitgegeven;—maar het bestuur is niet in staat die bewering tegen te spreken of te erkennen;—veel minder het schadelijke of niet schadelijke van hetgeen daarin wordt opgenomen te beoordeelen." Letter from Governor-General Duymaer van Twist to Minister Pahud, 18 September 1853, in V 17/1/1853 no. 19 inv. 311.

[56] The exchange rate was apparently *f* 3 to $1, higher than the *f* 2.55 specified in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1854, no. 39 (1 May 1854).

[57] Hoffmann was often, out of courtesy, addressed as doctor and sometimes he also used this title himself. Serrurier stated that Hoffmann had obtained a doctorate at a German university in 1840 (Serrurier, "Hoffmann"). But no doctorate is mentioned in Kern's obituary, and there is no evidence relating to a doctorate in the archives of the Dutch Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences in Haarlem or in the Academy of Berlin.

[58] "Japansch translateur van het gouvernement van Nederlandsch Indië," as from 1 July 1846. Royal Decree 11 December 1846 no. 38, in V 19/12/1846 no. 13 inv. 1752 toegang 2.10.01.

[59] Leonard Blussé, "Of Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water: Leiden University's Early Sinologists (1853–1911)," in Willem Otterspeer, *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850–1940* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 317-53. Revised edition in Wilt L. Idema, *Chinese Studies in the Netherlands*, 27-68.

[60] Until into the twentieth century, in English the French word 'sinologue' was used instead of 'sinologist.'

[61] Robert Morrison (1782–1834), British missionary and Bible translator who came to Canton in 1807, and who also acted as interpreter for British delegations.

62 Harry Smith Parkes (1828–85), came to China in 1841 (he was a cousin of Mrs. Gützlaff), studied Chinese under J.R. Morrison (Robert Morrison's son), and started as an interpreter but, like many other interpreters, later had a career as consul (Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 425).

[63] This is a somewhat optimistic and simplistic view on the differences among the Chinese dialects. Actually, these 'dialects' should be called Chinese 'languages,' as they differ as much as the Germanic languages or the Romance languages differ among each other, but for cultural and political reasons they are felt to be dialects of one language.

[64] This grammar was the first endeavour at logical synthesis and reasoned construction of the Chinese language, independently of the framework of European grammatical tradition, and it is written in a clear and pleasant style; it remained the manual for beginning sinologists for almost forty years after its publication (Alain Peyraube, Introduction, reprint of *Élémens*, 1987). Hoffmann had also started to learn Chinese with this grammar in 1831. Jean-Pierre Abel Rémusat (1788–1832) originally studied medicine, but became interested in learning Chinese after he found a Chinese Materia Medica in a library. He published several articles on Chinese and Manchu, and in 1814 he was made the first professor of Chinese (and Manchu) in Europe at the Collège Royal, the later Collège de France. He studied and published on many Oriental subjects and languages. His grammar was published in 1822, and reprinted in 1857 and in 1987. The grammar begins with a general introduction to the writing system and the sounds of Chinese, followed by part I, the ancient style (*guwen*) and part II, the modern style (*guanhua*).

[65] This is the English translation of the original Latin text. This textbook has been called 'the foundation stone of European sinology' (Lundbaek, p. 11). It was not a systematic

grammar, but a textbook with 12,000 examples. Joseph de Prémare S.J. (1666–1736) was in China from 1698 until his death in 1736. His idea was that one could only learn the language by reading many examples, not by theory or grammar. He was the first to make a clear distinction between the modern and classical styles. He sent a manuscript of his *Notitia* to Fourmont in France in 1728, where it ended up in the Royal Library and was forgotten while Fourmont's very defective and misleading grammar was printed. Abel Rémusat rediscovered the manuscript, and it became the main source of his knowledge of Chinese. Rémusat's copy was again copied by his student Stanislas Julien, sent to Malacca and printed for the first time by the Anglo–Chinese College in 1831 (without mentioning its Roman Catholic origin). The English translation by J.G. Bridgman (1820–50), a cousin of the first American missionary to China, E.C. Bridgman (1801–61), was published in 1847. According to Lundbæk, it contained so many mistakes and omissions as to be of little use (Lundbæk, pp. 11, 24, 176-9). On Prémare *see also* Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 457-8.

[66] For example, Endlicher considered the particle *zhi* 之 a relative pronoun, and translated 道之不行也我知矣 as "Der Weg welcher nicht betreten wird, ich kenne ihn." (The Way which is not followed, I know it). This should be translated as "dat de weg niet begaan is, weet ik" (I know that the Way is not followed.) (*Zhongyong* 4, 1). For bibliographical data, *see* Hoffmann's biography in Appendix A.

[67] Stanislas Julien (1797–1873), the most brilliant student of Abel Rémusat and the indisputable master of sinology in the middle of the nineteenth century, was professor at the Collège de France in 1832–73, conservator of Chinese books at the Bibliothèque Nationale and professor at the École des langues orientales in 1862–9 (Demiéville, "Aperçu," 79-81). A new biography and bibliography is Walravens, "Stanislas Aignan Julien – Leben und Werk" (2014).

[68] In the Royal Academy (*Koninklijke Akademie*) in Delft, which included an institute for training East Indies officials (1843–64), future civil servants were taught Javanese and Malay in the same manner. They learnt much grammar and the literary languages, not the colloquial languages (Fasseur, *Indologen*, 159 etc.). This was the general method of teaching languages in the early nineteenth century. Like Hoffmann, most teachers had never been in the Indies. But from the 1870s onward, teachers of Javanese such as A.C. de Vreede, who had lived on Java for a long time, would like Schlegel use a different method.

[69] "Hij is zeer vlug in het schrijven der Chinesche karakters."

[70] V 11/1/1854 no. 6 inv. 309, letter to A.L. Weddik dated 9 January 1854.

[71] Henderikadius Zwaantinus Kloekers (Veenhuizen (Norg), 7 April 1828 – Nieuwe Pekela, 10 October 1894) had according to Nicolaas Beets "pure and warm-hearted evangelical convictions, but no special skills and qualities;" his personal motto was "With my God I can jump over a wall" (*Met mijnen God spring ik over een muur*). He was inspired by Gützlaff to establish a China Committee in 1850. He studied in Rotterdam starting in September 1851; he went to Shanghai in 1854 and, when the China Committee was abolished in 1858, he became a Baptist and went to England. From 1859 to 1865 he was again sent to China. In 1867, he established the first Baptist Church in the Netherlands. From then on he worked as a minister in Stadskanaal and Nieuwe Pekela (Wumkes: *Baptisme*, 131-5; Molhuysen, *Biografisch Woordenboek*, part 2, p. 687; Wylie, *Memorials*, 233-4).

[72] Henricus Christiaan Millies (1810–68), Protestant minister, from 1847 professor at the Lutheran Seminary, member of the board of the Netherlands Bible Society, and from 1857 professor of Oriental languages in Utrecht.

[73] Letter from Hoffmann to Millies dated 23 June 1851, copied in Hoffmann's report.

[74] It is not known whether he did return to Leiden. On 17 November 1855, Kloekers sent Hoffmann a letter and a copy of the new Delegates' translation of the Old Testament from Shanghai; both are now in SINOL. VGK 1977.1.2, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[75] "Noms indigènes d'un choix de Plantes du Japon et de la Chine, determinés d'après les échantillons de l'herbier des Pays-Bas, par MM. J.J. Hoffmann et H. Schultes, Paris 1853," *Journal Asiatique* (1852), no. 10. Based on the collection of plants brought along from Japan by Von Siebold in the National Herbarium. A Dutch translation appeared in 1864. For his other works on botany, *see* his list of publications.

[76] "Aanteekeningen omtrent het geneeskrachtig gebruik van de papaver getrokken uit de Chinese Materia Medica Pèn-ts'aò Kâng Mŏ 本草綱目 van Lì Schî tschîn," in: *Bijdra-*

*gen tot de TLV van NI*, 1 (1853), 195-9. Hoffmann would continue to publish on these subjects.

[77] At this time, Schlegel was not yet officially assigned to become a translator in the Indies. V 11/1/1854 no. 6 inv. 309.

[78] B.W.A.E. *baron* Sloet tot Oldhuis (1807–84) was a spokesman for both the small farmers in Gelderland and Overijssel and the native population in the Indies. He had been a member of the Commission for the Revision of the Constitution in 1840–48, and was a member of Parliament in 1848–60 (www.historischcentrumoverijssel.nl). He was sometimes styled a 'baron in wooden shoes.' He was a younger brother of the later Governor-General L.A.J.W. *baron* Sloet van de Beele (1806–90).

[79] Von Siebold had collected a large Japanese library in Leiden, but Chinese sources were meagre compared to those in some other European countries.

[80] In Kazan Mongolian languages were taught, not Japanese.

[81] For instance, on the Netherlands Indies Government Regulation of 1854, and the establishment of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië (KITLV, Royal Institute for Linguistics, Geography, and Ethnography of the Netherlands Indies) in 1851.

[82] Japan had been forced to open its doors by the American Commodore Perry in a treaty earlier that year.

[83] *Handelingen der beide kamers der Staten-Generaal, 1854–1855*, vol. 1, Zitting van den 5den December, II Staatsbegrooting voor 1855, pp. 265-6, 269, 271-2.

[84] V 18/12/1854 no. 525 Geheim (secret) inv. 5866.

[85] V 22/11/1854 (Exh.) no. 4, inv. 382. *See* Chapter Two. However, in V 18/12/1854 no. 525 Geheim (secret) inv. 5866 only the decisions of January 1854 were mentioned, and not the plea in Parliament or Hoffmann's request.

[86] The original letter was to be returned to the Ministry. Unfortunately, it could not be located in the archives of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

[87] Copy of the letter from the Trustees of Leiden University to the Minister of Home Affairs dated 23 February 1855, in V 28/2/1855 no. 75 Geheim, inv. 5867. Also in AC 2 inv. 261, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Hoffmann was naturalised by the law of 5 July 1855, *Staatsblad* 1855 no. 53. At the time, naturalisation was only possible by way of a special law accepted by Parliament for each naturalised person.

[88] V 28/2/1855 no. 75 Geheim inv. 5867.

[89] V 5/3/1855 no. 82 Geheim inv. 5867.

[90] Actually the King's approval was a mere formality; it was the Minister who decided by Royal Decree.

[91] "Aan den Heer J. Hoffmann, woonachtig te Leijden, bij Koninklijk Besluit van den 11 December 1846, benoemd tot Japansche Translateur van het Gouvernement van Nederlandsch Indië, te verleenen den titel van Hoogleeraar." Royal Decree (KB) 21 March 1855 no. 70, in V 5/4/1855 no. 12 inv. 413. Also in AC 2 inv. 120/2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library, and in inv. 908, toegang 2.02.04, Kabinet des Konings, Binnenlandse Zaken, NA.

[92] V 5/4/1855 no. 12, inv. 413.

[93] "… de jaarwedde van *f* 1.800 … te verhoogen met *f* 1.000 en mitsdien toe te kennen tot een bedrag van *f* 2.800 's jaars, ingaande den 1 April 1855, onder verpligting om tevens gratis onderwijs te geven in de Japansche en Chinesche talen aan degenen, die daartoe van Regeeringswege, hem zullen worden aangewezen." Royal Decree 9 April 1855 no. 55. In: V 16/4/1855 no. 1 inv. 415.

[94] V 16/4/1855 no. 1 inv. 415. Hoffmann's letter dated 21/4/1855, in V 23 April 1855 no. 22 (Exh.) inv. 416.

[95] These documents are all in V 22/11/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[96] Albert Hendrik Wendelin *baron* de Kock was born in Surabaya in 1808. He became a member of the Council of the Indies by IB 1/3/1855 no. 1. Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren F 51, F 402.

[97] Unfortunately, such reports are not in the archives of the Ministry of Colonies.

[98] Albertus Petrus Gerardus Abels was about 27 years old at that time. He was born about 1827 and passed away on 10 December 1883, 56 years old, probably in Haarlem (Abels,

Familieberichten, CBG). He was appointed as English translator in November 1852 and resigned in October 1856 (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren K 169).

[99] This Royal Academy (which opened in 1843) consisted of the training college for East Indies officials and a school for engineers. After 1864, the latter continued as the Polytechnical School of Delft. It was the predecessor of the Technical University of Delft.

[100] Fasseur, *Indologen*, 60-3, 74-6, 93-7, 101-30, 138-45 and passim.

[101] In 1877 the not very successful Leiden institution was also converted into a municipal one, which was abolished in 1891. Many of its teachers were also on the staff of Leiden University.

[102] *Instelling voor onderwijs in de taal- land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, which existed from 1864 to 1900.

[103] This Society is different from the KITLV van Nederlandsch-Indië, established in 1851 in Delft, which was concerned with the languages, geography, and ethnology of the Netherlands Indies. The KITLV moved to The Hague in 1864 and to Leiden in 1966; its library was abolished and incorporated in the Leiden University Library in 2014.

[104] "Aanprijzing om de zoogenaamde inlandsche kinderen op Java te bezigen tot het beoefenen der Chinesche taal," in: *Handelingen en geschriften van het Indisch Genootschap te 's Gravenhage* 1854, pp. 159-68.

[105] Against this argument, others have said that the students from Delft had a good reading knowledge and could learn to speak the language easily in the Indies. J. Pijnappel (1822–1901), later professor of Malay in Leiden, argued that practical knowledge of these languages could only be obtained in the Indies (Fasseur, *Indologen*, 149-50).

[106] *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1855), I, pp. 261, 266.

[107] "… die niets in zich heeft tot boeijing of veraangenaming van den arbeid." This opinion is not very reassuring as to the possible results of Abels' Chinese studies.

[108] Tonco Modderman (1813–58) had been sent by the Governor-General from Batavia to become the first Consul in Canton in 1843 (appointment on 21 March 1843). Leonard Blussé, "Dutch Consular Representation on the Southeast Coast of China during the Nineteenth Century," in: *Sailing to the Pearl River,* 63-75, 65. *Nederland's patriciaat*, no. 38, p. 237.

[109] This was not an unrealistic thought, as will become apparent later.

[110] Herwijnen was the first secondary school in the Indies. It was a private boarding school near Buitenzorg (Bogor), far away from the enticements of Batavia and other towns, and existed from 1851 to 1856, when Gastmann left for the Netherlands. In 1860 the first government secondary school was established, the Willem III Gymnasium (*Gymnasium Willem III*) in Batavia. From 1867, this was actually a HBS, not a *gymnasium*, but it kept its name (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*; *see also* the article by M. von Faber about Herwijnen).

[111] Letters of 14 December 1854 and 26 August 1855. For Albrecht, whose parents had died in 1851, these were his stepparents or guardian(s).

[112] Jan des Amorie van der Hoeven (Rotterdam, 1825 – Utrecht, 18 March 1877). *See also* Chapter Five, De Grijs and the Treaty of Tientsin (1863).

[113] George Seel jr. (Buitenzorg, 9 February 1836 – Batavia, 3 July 1857) was originally a clerk in the Navy Department; in 1854 he became extraordinary third clerk (*derde commies*) at the Chamber of Audit (*Algemene Rekenkamer*). On 7 May 1857 he was honourably discharged (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren L 30. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[114] IB 10/10/1855 no. 3 inv. 7175.

[115] *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* (1856), I, p. 160.

[116] Letter dated 10 October 1855 in V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[117] Their coming departure from Batavia and, on another page, the departure of "Master M. von Faber" were announced in the *Java-bode* of 16 January 1856.

## *Notes to Chapter Two*

[1] Blussé, "Leiden University's Early Sinologists," 328.

[2] V 7/6/1854 no. 8 inv. 342. On the beginning of De Grijs' studies *see* V 12/4/1854 no. 24, inv. 330.

[3] V 22/11/1854 no. 4, inv. 382.

[4] In the nineteenth century, many sinologists learnt Manchu for this reason. The first professor of Chinese in the Western world, Abel Rémusat, was also professor of Manchu. *Cf.* Haenisch, *Mandschu-Grammatik*, 17-18.

[5] V 6/8/1855 no. 2/586 inv. 444.

[6] "ten einde zich te laten dienstbaar maken aan de uitbreiding onzer kennis van de kunst en natuur voortbrengselen van China." V 19/6/1855 no. 1 inv. 430.

[7] V 19/6/1855 no. 1 inv. 430.

[8] A list of the books is in the letter from Hoffmann to the Minister of Colonies dated 21 July 1855, V 6/8/1855 no. 2/586, inv. 444. This list and other lists of books will be analysed in Chapter Three, Studying in China.

[9] Stamboeken officieren KNIL 1814–1940, vol. 396 p. 59 and vol. 667 p. 75, NA, The Hague.

[10] He would be in office until 22 May 1856, and was succeeded by the former Minister of Colonies Pahud. The Governors-General were often later appointed as Minister of Colonies and vice versa. *See* the lists of Ministers of Colonies and Governors-General in Appendix O.

[11] Letter from the Governor-General to the Minister 16 January 1856, in V 21/4/1856 no. 19/373, inv. 509.

[12] Verwijnen, *In memoriam*, 170. This obituary contains many minor mistakes, in particular in dates, but the general meaning seems to be correct.

[13] IB 26/9/1856 no. 2, in V 8/12/1856 no. 10, inv. 562.

[14] V 2/2/1857 no. 5, inv. 578.

[15] *Voorbericht* in his *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek*. The 'consul in Canton' J. des Amorie van der Hoeven wrote to the Governor-General that he had advised De Grijs to go to Amoy. Letter dated 6 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[16] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister of Colonies dated 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5, inv. 734.

[17] Dr. Carl August Xaverius Gottlob Friedrich Sicherer (Rottweil, 1807 – Goes, 1886) had come to the Netherlands as a private teacher and attained a doctorate in Utrecht in 1840. He published new editions of W.G. Brill's German school grammar (*Hoogduitsche spraakleer voor gymnasia en hoogere burgerscholen*, 1861, 1867 etc.), wrote a book of anecdotes about the Netherlands (*Lorelei, Plaudereien über Holland und seine Bewohner* (2 vols.), Leiden: Sijthoff, 1870) and compiled a Dutch–German and a German–Dutch dictionary (1883–5, together with A.C. Akveld) (Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. III 1914, p. 1168).

[18] One moved elsewhere and the other would perhaps join them later. Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister 15 December 1855 in V 22/1/1856 no. 6, inv. 484.

[19] Hoffmann wrote that they were 16-17 years old, but in July 1855 they were only 16 and 14.

[20] Dr. J.J. de Gelder (The Hague, 1802 – Alkmaar, 1888) opened his private school, preparing students for the University, in Leiden in 1832. In September 1856 he became director of the *gymnasium* in Alkmaar (*Jaarboekje 1985*, Historische Vereniging Oud Leiden, 86-7).

[21] This technical secondary school was established in Leiden in 1785; at that time, the lessons were given at the Latin School (Lokhorststraat); in 1990 the school was merged with the Secondary Technical School in Leiden. Schaalje went to this school before the establishment of the HBS (*Hoogere Burger School*, Civil High School) in 1863, which would exist for more than a century.

[22] Letters from Hoffmann to the Minister, 31 May 1855 in V6/8/1855 no. 2/586 inv. 444, 15 December 1855 in V 22 January 1856 no. 6 inv. 484, 3 February 1856 in V 12/2/1856 no. 6, inv. 490. It is assumed both students were attending the same secondary school in May 1855 as in February 1856.

[23] Before 1894, their names did not appear in Leiden University's *Album Studiosorum* (of 1575–1875 and 1875–1925), except for J.J.M. de Groot and J.A. van de Stadt (*see* below).

[24] From 1845 to 1859, correspondence between the Indies and the Netherlands took about 55 days (Termorshuizen, "Indië is eigenlijk Europa geworden," 166).
[25] V 22/1/1856 no. 6, inv. 484.
[26] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister, 15 December 1855 in V 22/1/1856 no. 6, inv. 484.
[27] V 12/2/1856 no. 16, inv. 490.
[28] Letter from Hoffmann, 30 January 1857 in V 16/6/1857 no. 1/662, inv. 613.
[29] A few months later, he passed the *admissie* examination giving entrance to the University.
[30] "… een der knapste beoefenaars der Chinesche taal en letterkunde."
[31] Willem Frederik Reinier Suringar (1832–98), botanist, became extraordinary professor in 1857 and ordinary professor in 1862. He is best known for his *Zakflora* (Pocket Flora, many editions).
[32] "de onmisbare ruime blik in het wezen der etymologie en der logische taalvorming."
[33] Letter from Hoffmann 30 January 1857 in V 16/6/1857 no. 1/662, inv. 613.
[34] "… ter beschikking gesteld van den gouverneur-generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië tot verdere opleiding tot tolk in de Chinesche taal." V 16/6/1857 no. 1/662, inv. 613.
[35] This refers probably to the Anglo–French war with China (Arrow War or Second Opium War) which took place from 1856 to 1860. It resulted in the general opening up of China (Fairbank, Reischauer, *East Asia: The Modern Transformation*, 168-71).
[36] V 30/5/1857 no. 8, inv. 608. Francken never received any stipend (V 9/2/1861 no. 33/172 inv. 1029).
[37] V 6/10/1857 no. 17 inv. 646.
[38] The books bought with the *f* 300 government allowance would remain government property; those bought with the advance payment were the students' own. V 6/10/1857 no. 17 inv. 646.
[39] Lists are kept in V 23/10/1857 no. 6 inv. 651. Prices of books varied somewhat.
[40] Letter of 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.
[41] "… om de zuivere uitspraak te krijgen." V 28/9/1857 no. 4 inv. 644.
[42] On 12 January 1858, and on 22 and 24 July 1858, he bought these books (two copies of the latter). *See* his list of books in V23/5/1859 no. 23/562 inv. 833.
[43] By this time, Hoffmann also knew that the choice of dialect would decide the place of stationing. Those who studied Cantonese would be placed in the less popular Outer Districts or Outer Possessions (*buitengewesten*, *buitenbezittingen*), while those who learned Hokkien would be stationed on Java (V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734, decision of the Minister, art. 5 and 6).
[44] List of books in V 23/5/1859 no. 23/562 inv. 833.
[45] V 22/2/1859 no. 35 inv. 792.
[46] V 11/3/1859 no. 3 inv. 797. After Napoleon had at the beginning of the nineteenth century introduced general conscription in the Netherlands, a system of drawing lots with the possibility of paying for a substitute for those who did not wish to serve was in force until 1898. There were two kinds of substitutes: a 'replacer' (*remplaçant, plaatsvervanger*) who had not participated in the drawing of lots, and a 'number changer' (*nummerverwisselaar*) who had drawn a lot exempting him from service. E.W.R. van Roon, "De dienstplicht op de markt gebracht. Het fenomeen dienstvervanging in de negentiende eeuw," *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis van Nederland* 109 (1994), 613-37.
[47] Schaalje acted as witness at the Vice-Consulate in Amoy on 12 July 1859 (Or. 26.273 no. 89, *Catalogue* 2005, 41).
[48] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister, 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.
[49] L.W.Ch. Keuchenius (Batavia 1822 – The Hague 1893), worked as a lawyer in the Indies, then became an East Indies official; in 1854–9 he was Secretary General of the Ministry of Colonies, in 1859–66 a member of the Council of the Indies, later a member of Parliament and in 1888–90 Minister of Colonies.
[50] V 24/8/1858 no. 3 inv. 739.
[51] V 1/10/1858 no. 8 inv. 750.
[52] V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234. One wonders if the elimination of Mandarin from the curriculum of his students in China may have been another reason for him (*see* Chapter Three).

[53] Request by Buddingh and Groeneveldt dated 14 February 1862 in V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234.

[54] "stoffenwinkel." Personal communication from Mr. Reinier D. Groeneveldt, Velsen, in June 2009.

[55] Letter by Hoffmann to the Minister 25 September 1858 in V 1/10/1858 no. 8 inv. 750.

[56] V 29/7/1861 no. 5/9641 inv. 1082.

[57] Letter accompanying the first report by Hoffmann in V 18/1/1859 no. 29, inv. 780.

[58] V 18/4/1859 no. 14 inv. 808.

[59] He was living with his aunt Cornelia Buddingh and her husband Herman Schlegel, probably in Gustaaf's room (Bevolkingsregister Leiden, 1854–1861, buurt 2 fol. 174).

[60] L.A. te Winkel, *De Nederlandsche spelling onder beknopte regels gebracht*, 1859. In 1866, he and M. de Vries published their well-known word list in standard Dutch spelling.

[61] In 1848, Evert Jan Brill (1810–71) took over the printing office and bookshop called Luchtmans, which had been established by S. and J. Luchtmans in 1683.

[62] Hendrik Adrianus Kramers (1816–98) was a well-known bookseller and publisher in Rotterdam.

[63] The basic Confucian classic with commentary by Zhu Xi (1130–1200), consisting of the *Great Learning*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Analects* of Confucius and the *Mencius*.

[64] The fee (*collegegeld*) for one course of lectures of at least three hours per week during one Academic year was *f* 30 (*Almanak van het Leidsche Studentencorps* (1876), 125).

[65] Petrus Leonardus Rijke (1812–99) was extraordinary professor in Leiden starting in 1845 and professor from 1854 to 1882. He taught what is now called experimental physics; he was famous for his research in electricity. His students included the Nobel prize winners H.A. Lorentz (1902) and J.D. van der Waals (1910). He was succeeded in 1882 by H. Kamerlingh Onnes (Nobel prize 1913).

[66] "Hem in handen gegeven voor eene vacantie van 14 dagen (zonder mijn geleide)" (V 15/10/1861 no. 6 inv. 1109). The financial reports are kept in V 8/1/1859 no. 29 inv. 780, V 18/4/1859 no. 14 inv. 808, V 21/7/1859 no. 17 inv. 850, V 26/10/1859 no. 3 inv. 881, V 16/1/1860 no. 4 inv. 905, V 26/4/1860 no. 5 inv. 936, V 24/7/1860 no. 10 inv. 966, V 15/10/1860 no. 7 inv. 992, V 9/2/1861 no. 6 inv. 1029, V 17/4/1861 no. 9 inv. 1055, V 24/7/1861 no. 6 inv. 1081. For De Breuk alone: V 15/10/1861 no. 6 inv. 1109, V 23/1/1862 no. 10 inv. 1142, and V 17/4/1863 no. 20 inv. 1326 and V 22/2/1864 (Exh.) no. 18 inv. 1442 with Meeter.

[67] He was born in Echteld, Gelderland, on 19 November 1827, and married Amarentia Susanna Burghgraef(f). Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren M 437. Register of Dutch Japanologists, East Asian Library (Japanological section), Leiden.

[68] Schott, *Chinesische Sprachlehre: zum Gebrauche bei Vorlesungen und zur Selbstunterweisung* (1857).

[69] Because at that time the Japanese only had Japanese–Dutch interpreters, Dutch was used as the language of diplomacy in contacts with Japan. Thus the Americans engaged a Dutch interpreter, Henry Heusken. From the 1860s on the Dutch lost their advantageous position in Japan. V 22/2/1859 no. 35 inv. 792. Blussé et al., *Bewogen betrekkingen, 400 jaar Nederland–Japan*, 184-93.

[70] Letters by Hoffmann 18 February 1859 and by St. Aulaire 16 March 1859 in V 15/4/1859 no. 3 inv. 807.

[71] J.H. Donker Curtius (1813–79), one of the last East Indies officials in Japan, was originally a judge at the High Court in Batavia.

[72] Mentioned in an internal report of the Ministry, 21 February 1859 in V 8/3/1859 no. 16/283 inv. 796.

[73] V 15/4/1859 no. 3 inv. 807.

[74] V 26/4/1860 no. 5 inv. 936, V 24/7/1860 no. 10 inv. 966.

[75] In the end, this student was prevented from doing so because of special circumstances. Request by Buddingh and Groeneveldt, 14 February 1862, in V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234.

[76] V 14/2/1860 no. 25/195 inv. 915.

[77] As stated in IB 31/7/1860 no. 11.

[78] Letter from Governor-General to Minister 9 August 1860 in V 9/1/1861 no. 5 inv. 1020.

[79] For the first time, the places to be assigned to the interpreters were mentioned: one in each of the three main cities on Java (Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya), and one each in Banka, Western Borneo, South Eastern Borneo, Riau, Padang, Makassar, and Ambon. The Minister of Colonies added question marks before South Eastern Borneo, Padang, and Ambon. It would not be advisable to appoint less than ten, because the interpreters would be obliged to train others.

[80] V 18/1/1861 no. 45 inv. 1023.

[81] V 21/2/1861 no. 35 inv. 1033.

[82] Bertha Maria Dina was born on the ship *Dina* on 19 May 1861 (V 31/7/1865 no. 24 inv. 1635). A daughter, Hermana Maria, was born in Nagasaki on 4 September 1862, but she probably died young (Register of Dutch Japanologists).

[83] IB 15/8/1861 no. 25 inv. 7313.

[84] KB 23/7/1862 no. 64 (Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 40-1).

[85] Blussé et al., *Bewogen betrekkingen, 400 jaar Nederland–Japan*, 184-93.

[86] V 26/2/1863 no. 25 inv. 1305, V 24/7/1863 no. 45/909 inv. 1361.

[87] V 24/7/1863 no 45/909 inv. 1361.

[88] V 4/6/1864 no. 26 inv. 1479.

[89] IB 29/7/1864 no. 2.

[90] V 31 /7/1865 no. 24 inv. 1635. His library of 272 items was auctioned in The Hague in 1872; there was a printed catalogue entitled *Catalogue d'une collection de livres en langue Japonaise et Chinoise, suivis d'ouvrages de linguistique, d'histoire, de géographie etc. du Japon et de la Chine, provenant de la succession de M. R.-J. de Saint-Aulaire, interprète pour la langue japonaise à Nagasaki; en vente aux pris marqués chez Martinus Nijhoff, à la Haye, Ramstraat, 49. La liste des livres japonais et chinois est dressée par Mr. le Prof. J.-J. Hoffmann. La Haye, Martinus Nijhoff, 1872; Février 1872. Cat. no. 128* (with manuscript list of titles in characters in BPL 2186 J: 2, *Catalogue* 2005, 162, 164).

[91] Letter by Hoffmann dated 24/4/1861, in V 10/6/1861 no. 13 inv. 1069.

[92] "Liu Noni sinsiang 劉奴年先生" (or Lau Noni, *Liu Nunian*). Also in Chinese characters in Hoffmann's letter, but the character *Liu* 劉 is written without the 'knife' radical. Liu Noni (Non-ni) stayed for more than half a year in Amsterdam. Liu Noni was the first Chinese visitor to the Netherlands in thirty years. P.H. Witkamp, "Een Chineesch letterkundige te Amsterdam," *Nederlandsch Magazijn* (1861), 183-4. A Chinese visitor was a rare occasion, and this article was quoted fully or in part by many national and local Dutch newspapers, also in the Indies and Suriname, including *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, *Leidsch Dagblad*, *Padangsch nieuws- en advertentieblad*, *Surinaamsche courant en advertentieblad* etc.

[93] "Hij is een eerlijk, opregt, goedig en humaan karakter, soms geestig; eene zuivere type van het Chinesche menschenras, naar onze begrippen niet schoon, maar in zijn manier van doen vriendelijk, dienstvaardig, en zelfs beminnelijk."

[94] V 10/6/1861 no. 13 inv. 1069.

[95] V 29/7/1861 no. 5/9641 inv. 1082.

[96] Letters from J.A. Buddingh to Herman Schlegel dated 13 May 1862, 4 June 1862, 8 December 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[97] Letters from Buddingh to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[98] Lists in V 24/10/1861 no. 2/1319 inv. 1111.

[99] Aart Cornelis Groeneveldt (1826–1903). *Nederland's Patriciaat* 79 (1995/96), 237-9.

[100] V 7/9/1861 no. 26 inv. 1096. Groeneveldt requested exemption from active service, which was granted. He was therefore officially posted (*gedetacheerd*) on Java, and did not pay for a substitute.

[101] Buddingh wrote a letter to his uncle on 3 October 1863 stating that he had left Leiden exactly two years earlier (Letters to H. Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden). This date would be easy to remember for him, as it is the date of the festival commemorating the liberation of Leiden from the Spaniards in 1574.

[102] "Onze Chinees is reeds in China, hij is eerder vertrokken dan wij, aan boord heeft hij zich charmant gedragen." (Letter from Singapore, 21 February 1862, Museum Naturalis,

Leiden). For the time being, the Governor-General made no decision on the gratification (Letter of 4 February 1862, V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234).

[103] IB 4/2/1862 no. 11 based on IB 12/11/1860 no. 8 art. 1, in V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234.

[104] Letter of 4 February 1862, in V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234. There would be six places for stationing eight interpreters, so in some places there would be more than one.

[105] "Binnen acht dagen gaan we per mail naar *Hongkong* en dan naar *Macao*, want ze willen ons tot Chinesche translateurs gebruiken, wij hebben echter hiertegen geprotesteerd. De schuld ligt aan ons, wij hadden niet mogen vertrouwen op mondelinge gezegden van Mr. Dr. Hoffmann, maar moeten zorgen dat onze aanstelling op papier stond, in dier voege: 'Ter verdere opleiding tot Japansche translateurs,' en niet 'tot Chinesche en daarna tot Japansche tolken.' Zooals ons aanstelling luidt, ik verwacht dat ZHGl [Zijne Hoog Geleerde] het noodige zal aanwenden om ons naar Japan te doen zenden. Anders zullen wij ons zelve moeten redden." Letter to Herman Schlegel of 21 February 1862, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[106] Letter from Buddingh to his uncle Herman Schlegel from Amoy, 13 May 1862, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[107] Boot, "J.J. Hoffmann – the First Japanologist," 35-7.

[108] In contrast to many others, Hoffmann always correctly distinguished 'translator' and 'interpreter.'

[109] Hoffmann often stressed this argument. This was exactly what happened.

[110] The members of the delegation of 1862 were impressed by De Breuk's qualities and made this suggestion (V 19/3/1864 no. 18 inv. 1451).

[111] "Ik wensch op deze gedane zaak niet terugtekeren en niet nauwkeurig te onderzoeken of de verdienstelijke Dr. Hoffmann door zijne opvatting, een gevolg zijner warme belangstelling in de Japansche taalstudie, verder is gegaan dan in de dezerzijdsche bedoeling lag, maar ik moet bekennen dat er bij die opvatting wel eenige grond bestaat voor de bezwaren." (V 29/8/1864 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234).

[112] Letter from Hoffmann dated 2 March 1864 in V 19/3/1864 no. 18 inv. 1451.

[113] His official title was 'Japansch translateur van het gouvernement van Nederlandsch-Indië.' Royal Decree of 11 December 1846 no. 38, in V 19/12/1846 no. 13 inv. 1752, toegang 2.10.01.

[114] "hoogleeraar belast met de opleiding van tolken voor de Chinesche en Japansche talen."

[115] "omdat het toch mogelijk is dat uwe diensten daartoe in vervolg van tijd weder zullen worden ingeroepen en meer nog omdat ik, bij uwen ijver voor de Japansche taalstudie, vermoed dat u dit aangenaam zou zijn." (V 29/8/1862 no. 6 inv. 1234).

[116] Letter of 4 September 1862, V 26/9/1862 no. 73 inv. 1243.

[117] Royal Decree (*Koninklijk Besluit*) of 30 September 1862 no. 84, V 15/10/1862 no. 6/1295 inv. 1250.

[118] Boot, "J.J. Hoffmann – The Founder of Japanology," 37.

[119] Blussé, *Bewogen betrekkingen*, 181 etc.

[120] V 19/3/1864 no. 18 inv. 1451.

[121] V 4/4/1864 no. 6 inv. 1457.

[122] Lists of books in V 22/6/1864 no. 17/679 inv. 1485.

[123] V 11/5/1864 no. 17 inv. 1470.

[124] This was before the Suez Canal was opened in 1869. Termorshuizen, "Indië is eigenlijk Europa geworden."

[125] Letter of Hoffmann dated 2 May 1864 in V 11/5/1864 no. 17 inv. 1470.

[126] V 31/5/1864 no. 26 inv. 1477.

[127] V 30/8/1864 no. 42 inv. 1512. The Dutch merchant Anthonie Wouter Pieter Kup (Rotterdam, 30 August 1829) became Chancellor at the Consulate in Canton by decision of 2 March 1856 (V 8/5/1856 no. 16 inv. 512) and was the first Dutch Consul in Hong Kong from 25 March 1857 to 1866 (Blussé, *Sailing to the Pearl River*, 67).

[128] V 9/1/1862 no. 14 inv. 1138; V 12/2/1862 no. 14 inv. 1150.

[129] Established in Leiden in 1859, it became the National Ethnographical Museum in 1864. A. Hakbijl (1812–98) had worked for Von Siebold from the 1830s, taking care of

the material collection, while Hoffmann took care of the Japanese books. Hakbijl remained *custos* in the Ethnographical Museum until 1881 (Effert, *Volkenkundig verzamelen*, 191, 146 etc.).

[130] Request dated 6 December 1860, possibly a copyists' error for 1861. V 12/2/1862 no. 14 inv. 1150.

[131] V 13/6/1862 no. 29 inv. 1205.

[132] V 18/8/1859 no. 5/9641 inv. 860. He wished to study "the Chinese or Japanese language." The Governor-General was then asked how many Chinese interpreters were to be trained. The Minister commented that the number was still undecided.

[133] G.C. Kuneman (Alkmaar, 20 August 1840 – Amsterdam, 21 January 1908) later became a surgeon and obstetrician (*vroedmeester*).

[134] "… bloote taalkennis kan niet volstaan."

[135] "Ik moest roeien met de riemen die ik heb om een bepaald doel te bereiken."

[136] On 27 January 1863, De Grijs wrote a letter from Amoy to Jan Francken in Surabaya, joking: "How is your brother Henri? Has he become a Chinaman or should he become something else?" (*Hoe gaat het met Uw broer Henri, is hij Snees geworden of moet er wat anders van komen*.) (BPL 1782:28, p. 6). The word *Snees* is first attested in Dutch in 1681. It is probably derived from *Sinees* (Chinese); slang for 'haggler, huckster, fence.'

[137] V 13/6/1862 no. 29 inv. 1205.

[138] Henri Francken (Leiden, 11 March 1845 – Interlaken, 23 August 1893) studied law in Leiden from 1863 and worked as a barrister (*advocaat*) in the Indies starting in 1868.

[139] V 7/7/1862 no. 59 inv. 1213. Abraham Hakbijl (born Leiden 3 June 1844) passed away in Leiden on 26 October 1874, 30 years old.

[140] V 25/4/1863 no. 20 inv. 1328. He paid for it in January-March 1863.

[141] V26/2/1864 (Exh.) no. 41 inv. 1443. A.H. van der Boon Mesch (1804–74) was titular professor of chemistry in Leiden from 1829, and full professor from 1837 on.

[142] At the end of his first year, in April-June 1863. V 22/2/1864 no. 18. inv. 1441.

[143] V 26/2/1864 (Exh.) no. 41 inv. 1443.

[144] Letter by Meeter's father dated 29 March 1864. V 2/4/1864 no. 4 inv. 1456.

[145] V 2/3/1865 no. 11 inv. 1577.

[146] List of books in V 24/5/1865 no. 2 inv. 1611. In Hoffmann's accompanying letter these were called the books bought with the allowance, but on the list itself Meeter wrote it was from his advance payment. As the total sum (not calculated on the original list) amounted to *f* 317.75, it was probably a combination of both.

[147] Letter from the Consul dated 11 February 1867 in V 15/8/1867 no. 30 inv. 1955.

[148] "adspirant tolk voor de Chinesche taal." Letter from Hoffmann 12 February 1865, V 2/3/1865 no. 11 inv. 1577.

[149] The only exception would be a case of proven mental or physical defects. V 15/3/1865 no. 7 inv. 1583. This policy was proclaimed by Royal Decree 9 May 1865 no. 49, which was published in the *Staatscourant* and in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* (no. 78, 1865). East Indies civil servants had to repay allowances for equipment, passage fees and costs of training if they left their office within five years after appointment (Art. 2).

[150] Letter from P. Meeter to J.J. Hoffmann dated Macao 12 August 1865, Or. 26.971, East Asian Library, Leiden. His stipend was paid from July (Financial overview on earlier students in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900).

[151] Funds were allotted for the year 1868. V 11/4/1867 no. 22, inv. 1900.

[152] V 18/4/1867 no. 14, inv. 1902. E.A. Cabell worked as a notary in Suriname from 1875 until his death in 1904 (Benjamin and Snelleman, *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië* , 514). He was owner/director of the Voorburg sugar plantation in 1893–6.

[153] V 29/4/1867 no. 2 inv. 1905.

[154] V 3/6/1867 no. 6 (Exh.) inv. 1922.

[155] Hoffmann's report dated 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[156] Blussé, *Bewogen betrekkingen*, 181.

[157] This is parts 8 and 9 of *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, first published in 1321. Von Zach asserted in 1929 that Willem Vissering's main source was not the original Chinese text but De Mailla's French translation (Von Zach, *Gesammelte Rezensionen, Chinesische Geschichte*, 87). Many years after this thesis was published, Willem's brother Gerard (1865–1937), a

banker, president of the Java Bank (*Javasche Bank*) in 1906–12, and president of the Netherlands Central Bank in 1912–31, wrote a book with almost the same title: *On Chinese Currency:* I. *Preliminary Remarks on the Monetary Reform of China;* II. *The Banking Problem*, published in 1912–4. G. Vissering's biography is in Dr. J. Charité, *Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland*, Den Haag 1989, vol. III, 628.

[158] Vos, "Japanese Studies until 1940," 369-70. Also Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie* (1877), 19.

[159] He also wrote an obituary "Dr. J.J. Hoffmann," *Het Vaderland*, 23 January 1878.

[160] *Nederland's Patriciaat* 75 (1991) 267. Schlegel's and Hoffmann's report (May 1873) in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Album Studiosorum*, 1875, 1410.

[161] From the rather critical obituary by Schlegel, "Nécrologie Lindor Serrurier," *T'oung Pao* 2 (1901), 279-82.

[162] *Jaarboek Rijks-Universiteit Leiden*, 1888–1896.

[163] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries.

[164] "Johannes Josephus Hoffmann." Obituary in Dutch by L. Serrurier dated Leiden 29 January 1878, *De Nederlandsche Spectator* 16 Feb. 1878 no. 7, 50-2 (offprint in BPL 2186 K:20).

[165] V 22/11/1854 no. 4 inv. 382.

[166] Letter from Hoffmann 15 December 1855, V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[167] Letter dated 15 December 1855 by Hoffmann in V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[168] Letter to the Minister of Colonies dated 2 March 1856, in V 14/3/1856 VA no. 147 Geheim inv. 5876.

[169] These are the modern house numbers (Volkstelling 1849, Bevolkingsregister 1854–61, Huisnummerboek, ELO). The front of the present house at Hogewoerd 124 is probably not the original one. *See also The Honorable Visitor, Japan in Leiden*, Wandelgids, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, 2000, 43.

[170] Gezinskaarten 1812–63, ELO.

[171] BPL 2106 II: 1A-B, *Catalogue* 2005, 136.

[172] V 12/4/1854 no. 24 inv. 330.

[173] 'Enkele Chinesche taalsnippers,' kept in the Hoffmann Collection (II E 2), Special Collections, Utrecht University Library.

[174] "Hij is thans met deze studie zeer ingenomen en dit strekt mij tot waarborg dat hij voor de beoefening van het Chineesch gewonnen is" (letter of 11 April 1854 in V 12/4/1854 no. 24 inv. 330).

[175] "De ondergeteekende heeft langzamerhand eene zoo groote voorliefde voor de beoefening dezer taal opgevat, dat hij voornemens is na zijne komst op Java al den tijd die hem na de vervulling van zijn beroepsplichten overblijft aan studie van genoemde taal te besteden …." Letter from De Grijs to the Minister dated 29 May 1854, in V 7/6/1854 no. 8 inv. 342.

[176] "… zijne buitengewone ingenomenheid met dit vak" (Letter Hoffmann 17 November 1854, V 22/11/1854 no. 4 inv. 382).

[177] "Zij waren spoedig met het schrift en de taal der Chinezen ingenomen …." (Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister, 15 December 1855 in V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484).

[178] BPL 2180, 2186, *Catalogue* 2005, 154-201.

[179] "Het Edikt van Schao hing foe" (The edict of Shaoxing Fu 紹興府) (1 f.; 34x63 cm). Edict of toleration of Christianity. Chinese lithographic copies are kept in Or. 4997: 1 and BPL 1782: 12 J. Four other copies are kept in the East Asian Library, Leiden (Archiefkast 3D [ = Or. 27.031] and SINOL. VGK 1982.3). Hoffmann received the original from K. Gützlaff. His Dutch translation was published in *Staatscourant* 131, 5 June 1850.

[180] This is the normal form for printed characters, traditionally called 'Song-style.' Actually, this style was developed during the Wanli period (1573–1620) at the end of the Ming dynasty.

[181] Preface to *A Manual of Chinese Running-hand Writing, Especially as it is Used in Japan, Compiled from Original Sources* by R.J. de St. Aulaire and W.P. Groeneveldt; Printed for the authors; Sold by G.M. van Gelder, Amsterdam; Printed by J.C. Drabbe, Leyden; 1861, IV, 60 p.

[182] In this dictionary and thesaurus, the words were arranged in *iroha* sequence and then divided into categories. A different edition of this book and another dictionary which they used are kept in Leiden University Library (Ser. 8, 6; Kerlen, *Catalogue*, 20, 15-16).

[183] "Treaties of Peace 和約章程," in *The Chinese Repository*. Also published in offprint (BPL 1782: 25. *Catalogue 2005*, 112).

[184] Introduction, 2. [J. Hoffmann, ed.,] *The Japanese Treaties, Concluded with the Netherlands, Russia, England, the United States and France in 1858 at Jedo. Fac-simile of the Japanese Text. De Japansche traktaten met Nederland, Rusland, Engeland, de Vereenigde Staten en Frankrijk in 1858 te Jedo gesloten. Facsimile van den Japanschen tekst* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1862).

[185] For his earliest students, such as De Grijs, this transcription was again adapted somewhat to the Dutch spelling: 'u' was written 'oe', and 'ü' as 'u', but these sounds were sometimes mixed up.

[186] The earlier Western dictionaries of Chinese used the Southern Mandarin or Nanking pronunciation. These were also given in Chinese dictionaries: they were based on ancient rhyme tables retaining older (or even fictitious) pronunciations. The Southern Mandarin pronunciation was more in accordance with these than the Northern pronunciation of Peking, also called the 'Court dialect,' which had gone through more linguistic changes. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Peking dialect was already gaining ground. Morrison wrote in the introduction to his *Dictionary*: "A Tartar–Chinese Dialect is now gradually gaining ground, and if the Dynasty continues long, will finally prevail" (p. X). The destruction of Nanking during the Taiping revolt in 1864 dealt the final blow to Southern Mandarin. In 1867, Thomas Wade was the first to use the actual Peking pronunciation in his *Tzu-erh-chi.* In 1874, Samuel Wells Williams also indicated the Peking pronunciation (next to the standard Southern Mandarin) in his dictionary. The publication of H.A. Giles' dictionary in 1892 with the Wade-Giles system marked the change to Northern Mandarin in English transcriptions. In this dictionary, the Southern Mandarin pronunciation was not even indicated. Afterwards the Southern Mandarin transcription was retained by the Chinese Postal Service in the spelling of place names such as Peking, Chungking, Chekiang, Tientsin, Kinmen, etc. The spelling characteristics of Southern Mandarin were also retained in B. Karlgren's etymological transcription and in the standard French transcription (E.F.E.O., École Française d'Extrême-Orient), although the words were pronounced as in Northern Mandarin, e.g. *king* and *tsing* were both pronounced *jing*. In *Mathews' Chinese–English Dictionary* (1931, many reprints) these differences are still indicated, for instance *chin (k)* [金] versus *chin or tsin (ts)* [津], *hsi (hi)* [喜] versus *hsi or si (si)* [西], and the ending *–h* for the *rusheng* or entering tone. This was based on the official Chinese pronunciation as given in the standard *Guoyin zidian* 國音字典 (1920), used until 1932 when Peking Mandarin pronunciation was adopted. ("Introduction on pronunciation" in *Mathews' dictionary*; Karlgren, *The Romanization of Chinese*; W. South Coblin, "Notes on the Sound System of Late Ming *guanhua*," *Monumenta Serica*, 45 (1997), 261-307; W. South Coblin, "A Diachronic Study of Míng *guānhuà* Phonology," *Monumenta Serica*, 49 (2001), 267-335; Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education*, 66-76).

[187] Southern Mandarin also retained the traditional four tones, which Hoffmann indicated with the usual diacritics: *pingsheng* ˆ (now 1st or 2nd tone), *shangsheng* ` (now 3rd tone), *qusheng* ´ (now 4th tone), *rusheng* ˇ (now 2nd and other tones). Most other sounds were as in modern standard Mandarin, e.g. Hoffmann wrote tschî (*zhī* 之), tsí (*jì* 際), yeù (*yǒu* 有), rl (ér 而). Aspiration was indicated by a *spiritus asper* ' (not by *spiritus lenis* ').

[188] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister dated 5 December 1855, in V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[189] BPL 2106 I: 2-4, *Catalogue* 2005, 134.

[190] SINOL. 15.600.19b.

[191] Edkins, *Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language Commonly Called the Mandarin Dialect*. Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister dated 14 January 1859 in V 29/1/1859 no. 52 inv. 786. De Grijs sent him a copy from Amoy on 1 January 1858 (now kept as SINOL. 15.610.11A).

[192] Letter from Groeneveldt to Foreign Affairs, The Hague, 23 December 1898, in no. 338, inv. 67, toegang 2.05.90.

[193] "Het eigenaardige van onderscheidenen takken van Chinesche letterkunde leren kennen, i.h.b. wat iemand dient te kennen om met vrucht Chinesche werken over natuurkunde te kunnen gebruiken" (V 22/11/1854 no. 4 inv. 382).

[194] "Hoffmann, die nooit in China geweest was en geen enkel dialect der spreektaal kende." Letter from Groeneveldt to Foreign Affairs, The Hague, 23 December 1898, in no. 338, inv. 67, toegang 2.05.90.

[195] Liu Noni (Non-ni) only spoke a few words of Dutch, Spanish, and English. Kamphuis, "Chineesch letterkundige," 184.

[196] Hoffmann's and St. Aulaire's copies are now kept in the Hoffmann collection (III, IV), Special Collections, Utrecht University Library. St. Aulaire's copy has the title: "*Wên tszé yáo-liŏ [Wenzi yaolüe]* 文字要略, *Chineesch handwoordenboek bewerkt door Dr. J. Hoffmann*, Leiden 1849–1859." Both copies once belonged to Willem Vissering. *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries.

[197] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 28 August 1866, 209-11; 25 September 1866, 230-1. It is probably still kept in the National Library in Jakarta.

[198] "… reeds bezig met de beoefening en boekstaving van het Chineesch woordenboek." Letter of 15 February 1864, in V 26/2/1864 (Exh.) no. 41 inv. 1443.

[199] The price was *f* 79.90. V 21/7/1859 no. 17 inv. 850.

[200] Letter from Hoffmann dated 11 April 1854, in V 12/4/1854 no. 24 (Exh.) inv. 330.

[201] It is still popular in Taiwan. Free copies of at least two editions can be found in the temples, and there is even a cartoon film version of the stories on the internet (2008).

[202] Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 1902, xxxvi.

[203] According to Julien's introduction, the *Taishang ganying pian* was first published in *Chrestomathie chinoise* by Moinier del Maynis in 1820 (Julien, *Le livre des recompenses et des peines*, Paris 1835).

[204] BPL 1784, *Catalogue* 2005 116.

[205] Letter from Hoffmann 15 December 1855, V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[206] BPL 1782: 13D, *Catalogue* 2005, 106-7 and 208. A fourth copy which belonged to W. Vissering is in the Hoffmann Collection (II G), Utrecht University Library.

[207] John Francis Davis (1795–1890) went to China with Lord Amherst's embassy in 1816, and worked many years for the East India Company. He was governor of Hong Kong in 1844–8. He published many translations of Chinese literature.

[208] "Moge dan onze nieuwe bewerking van Davis' verzameling onze jeugdige beoefenaars der Chin. taal tot eene leidsvrouw verstrekken, die hen te gelijk menig aangenaam uur zal doen herdenken." BPL 2044.

[209] In his notes, Hoffmann explained that it was an elliptic sentence, because *rou* 揉 should be followed by the demonstrative particle *zhi* 之. The predicate could also be replaced with 從小可揉, "one can bend them from youth" (*men kan ze van jongs af aan buigen*). If *rou* 揉 were a mistake for *rou* 柔, 'pliant,' then the translation would be: "The twigs of the mulberry tree are pliant from youth" (*De takken van de moerbezienboom zijn van jongs af aan buigzaam*).

[210] BPL 2044, *Catalogue* 2005, 116-8. Hoffmann made another copy for W. Vissering, dated December 1873 to April 1874, now kept in the Hoffmann Collection (II C), Special Collections, Utrecht University Library.

[211] "Hij vertelt van Hoffmann o.a. dat hij zijn leerlingen op een goeden dag naar den minister stuurde met de spreuken van Davis onder den arm. Om ze een goed figuur te laten slaan gaf hij ze eerst een lesje. Groeneveldt speelde voor minister en Hoffmann voor Groeneveldt. Alles in ernst." (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 15 april 1880).

[212] Von Siebold brought a copy of this encyclopaedia dating from 1713 (preface) to the Netherlands. It is no. 1 in both Hoffmann's and Serrurier's catalogues of Japanese books (Kerlen no. 1821). Title also 倭漢三才圖會.

[213] Or. 6943 b-c (St. Aulaire's handwriting), BPL 1782: 13C (De Grijs), BPL 2106 II: 12 (Schaalje), *Catalogue* 2005, 10, 106, 136.

[214] The introductory part of the story "Wang Jiaoluan bainian chang hen" 王嬌鸞百年長恨, not the story itself.

[215] BPL 1782: 15, *Catalogue* 2005, 107.

[216] Collection "Schaalje, tolk voor de Chineesche taal, Riouw," no. 28.5, NEHA, IISG, Amsterdam.

[217] The title of Schlegel's manuscript is: "Wang Jiaoluan bainian chang hen 王嬌鸞百年長恨 *Wâng Kiâo luan pĕ niên tschang han oder die Blutige Rache einer junger Frau*, Chinesische Erzählung mit einer hochdeutschen Uebersetzung, Leiden, 1857" (in Archiefkast 3D, EAL; = Or. 27.030). *See also* Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. xxxiv.

[218] Listed in Kuiper, "Hoffmann as a Sinologist: Teacher and Librarian." This was the number of books he owned at his death in 1878, and the number in Leiden University at that time. In the 1850s the numbers would have been even smaller.

[219] F.H. von Siebold, *Catalogus librorum et manuscriptorum Japonicorum* … (Leiden, 1845).

[220] On 23 February 1855, by Royal Decree (no. 1), the Department of Arts of the Royal Institute had been established, and Hoffmann and others became members (KNAW Archief, inv. 78, Noord Hollands Archief, Haarlem). The Royal Institute was the predecessor of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[221] Taco Roorda (1801–74) was professor of Javanese in Delft (1842–64) and Leiden (1864–74); he was the founder of Javanese studies in the Netherlands. A. Rutgers was professor of Semitic languages in Leiden (1837–75), where he also taught Sanskrit. The archaeologist Conradus Leemans (1809–93) was director of the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (1835–91); from the 1840s to 1864, he was also responsible for the Von Siebold Collection. Proposal and report in *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde* (1856), 14-15, 49-60.

[222] Together with many books in other Oriental languages. Described in De Jong, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Regiae Scientiarum*. The descriptions of Chinese and Japanese books were made by Hoffmann. Later described in *Catalogue* 2005, 68-83.

[223] In the nineteenth century, Hoffmann and many other sinologists often had their Chinese (and Japanese) books bound in hard covers in Western fashion.

[224] "Den Heer … F. de Grijs, van zijnen vriend, Dr J. Hoffmann, Leiden den 1e Junij, 1855." Hoffmann gave De Grijs *Jieyuan Sanzijing, Huiyuan Qianziwen, Zhuangyuan Youxueshi* (Guanghuatang) 解元三字經、會元千字文、狀元幼學詩，光華堂藏板 (SINOL. KNAG 164).

[225] Hoffmann gave Schlegel *Jiaozheng jianyun fenzhang fenjie Sishu zhengwen (Xiameng)* 較正監韻分章分節四書正文 (下孟) (SINOL. KNAG 17b). Probably he also gave him the first volume, containing the rest of the *Four Books*, which is bound in an identical cover and entitled: *Meifeng shuyuan jiaozheng Guozijian Sishu zhenben* (Wenruitang, Wenlintang) 梅峰書院校正國子監四書真本, 文瑞堂, 文林堂 (SINOL. KNAG 16).

[226] V 16/1/1860 no. 4 inv. 905.

[227] V 25/4/1863 no. 20 inv. 1328.

[228] In the second quarter of 1863, during his first year of study. V 22/2/1864 no. 18 Exh. inv. 1441. It may have been Julien's edition.

[229] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister, 30 March 1856, in V 8/5/1856 VA (Geheim) no. 252/13 inv. 5879.

[230] Alcock, *Elements of Japanese Grammar* (1861). V 25/4/1863 no. 20 inv. 1328.

## *Notes to Chapter Three*

[1] His salary was *f* 1,200 yearly in 1859 (Letter 3 November 1859 in Consulaten in China 1830–1870, inv. 3030, toegang 2.05.01). His appointment is mentioned in V 23/8/1855 no. 1 inv. 449. Tonco Modderman (1813-1858) had this function from 1854 to 1855, but he had earlier been in Canton in the 1840s.

[2] Jan des Amorie van der Hoeven (1825–77) was 'Consul in Canton' from 1855 to 1866 (*Nederland's Patriciaat*, no. 16 (1926), 161).

[3] Letter from De Grijs to Francken dated 7 May 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, p. 13.

[4] Printed document dated 15 July 1855, in Consulaten in China, inv. 3030, toegang 2.05.01.

[5] Muller, *Azië gespiegeld: Malakka en China*, 165.

[6] This so-called 'Arrow Incident' took place after many conflicts and irritations. After protests and an ultimatum by the newly appointed British Consul Harry Parkes, British forces attacked Canton on 23 October and entered the city on 29 October, but retreated the same day. This was the beginning of the so-called Arrow War or Second Opium War between Britain and France (later joining the British because of the murder of a French missionary in Guangxi) and China. The war ended with the Treaty of Tientsin of 26 June 1858, but as this could not be ratified, hostilities continued during the Franco–British expedition to the North, culminating in an attack on Peking. The treaty was finally ratified in the Convention of Peking in 1860. As a result, diplomatic relations could be established, more harbours were opened to trade, and the interior of China was opened to Christian missions. The Chinese were forbidden to use the word 'barbarians' (Yi 夷) for foreigners in official correspondence (Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 557-8).

[7] Report on the hostilities from the Consul in V 2/2/1857 no. 5 inv. 578.

[8] This letter dated 8 November was first sent by sailing ship; a later version with additions dated 10 November was sent by regular mail (V 3/1/1857 no. 54 inv. 568). De Grijs himself wrote that he had arrived on 2 November (Report of 20 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 59).

[9] Later the Dutch requested compensation from the Chinese, which was refused. Then the British Consul Parkes told Van der Hoeven that a request for compensation from the British would probably be successful, and this was tried by way of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but it was also to no avail; this affair dragged on for two years, but no compensation was given for the time being (V 15/7/1857 no. 14 inv. 621, V 23/8/1858 no. 22 inv. 939, V 14/11/1859 no. 22 inv. 886). However, in the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) and Convention of Peking (1860) it was stipulated that huge indemnities were to be paid to the British and French.

[10] A.J. Baudouin, "Verslag wegens zijne reis naar China, aan de factorij der Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij te Batavia," quoted in Muller, *Azië gespiegeld: Malakka en China*, 160 note 3, 165, 210-1. The original report is probably kept in the Arsip Nasional in Jakarta. *See also* Blussé, *Sailing to the Pearl River*, 65-7.

[11] The next year the *Bali* was sent to Japan. V 14/10/1858 no. 8 inv. 753 (to Macao), V 11/3/1859 no. 16 inv. 797, V 21/4/1859 no. 33 inv. 809 (to Japan). On 6 July 1859, Van Capellen signed a treaty between the Netherlands and Ryūkyū (*Catalogue* 2005, 192, 194, BPL 2186 Q: pp. 14-15).

[12] In his correspondence with the Governor-General and the Minister of Colonies, Van der Hoeven never mentioned that the students returned to Canton.

[13] Bridgman, *Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect*; S. Wells Williams, *A Tonic Dictionary of the Canton Dialect*. De Grijs mentioned these books in his letter on dialects dated 19 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734. Four other Cantonese textbooks are mentioned in Williams' dictionary, including his *Easy Lessons*.

[14] Letter from the Consul to the Governor General dated 6 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 7341.

[15] However, J.G. Bridgman's English translation of Prémare's *Notitia*, printed in Canton, was no longer available, the entire stock having been destroyed during the fire in the European factories in Canton in December 1856. Hoffmann suggested that it would probably be possible to order the Latin edition in Malacca. He added that although the *Notitia* was an excellent book, it was now superseded by J. Edkins' *Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language Commonly Called the Mandarin Dialect* (Shanghai 1857). Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister dated 14 January 1859 in V 29/1/1859 no. 52 inv. 786. De Grijs sent Hoffmann a copy of this book from Amoy (SINOL. 15.610.11A).

[16] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated 18 July 1858 in V 17/11/1858 no. 2 inv. 762.

[17] At present many schools in Hong Kong are gradually adopting the system used in Mainland China, teaching Chinese in Mandarin. In this system Chinese characters are taught in Mandarin pronunciation, not in Cantonese. This undoubtedly stimulates the propagation of Mandarin, but it may be hazardous for the status of Cantonese as one of the official and cultural languages of Hong Kong.

[18] V 8/12/1856, no. 10, inv. 562, containing IB 26/9/1856, no. 2.

[19] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated 6 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[20] Introduction (*Voorbericht*), in Francken and De Grijs: *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt*.

[21] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister of Colonies dated 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[22] As from 1 October 1856, the Consul would complement his military salary (which was paid by the civil government) to a total of $175 (IB 24/8/1860 no. 5 inv. 7289).

[23] Letter from De Grijs to Johnston 25 June 1863 in BPL 1782: 28, p. 30. No information can be found on the date and conditions of De Grijs' appointment, but it was probably in 1857. In his book of minutes, De Grijs always signed as 'acting Vice-Consul,' so he probably had never been officially appointed as full 'Vice-Consul' by the Governor-General. In the *Staatsalmanak* of 1864 and 1865, De Grijs was also mentioned as 'acting Vice-Consul,' although he already left Amoy in May 1863, but the year of first appointment was represented by dots, showing that at that time already no documents could be found on this subject in the Dutch archives.

[24] IB 25/3/1851 no. 12. He was in office from 1851 until 1863 (*Koninklijke Almanak*, from 1860 entitled *Staatsalmanak*).

[25] Cf. letter to Schaalje dated 17 June 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, p. 20. After De Grijs left Amoy, Schaalje took care of the vice-consulate, and in this letter De Grijs wrote that the fees received until then were of course for him ("De Consulaatsgelden die Gij totnogtoe gemaakt hebt zijn natuurlijk voor U.").

[26] *Cf.* letter to Schaalje, 17 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 19-20. Johnston remained *acting* Vice-Consul (Letters 26 June 1863 and 29 November 1863, inv. 3030, 2.05.01, Consulaten in China). Two years later, in 1865, J. Paterson (Tait & Co.) became Vice-Consul until 1875 (*Staatsalmanak*). On De Grijs' work as acting Vice-Consul, see Blussé, "Wills, Widows and Witnesses" (2004).

[27] This misunderstanding was probably due to the ambiguity of the name 'Canton,' which could designate both the province (Guangdong) and the capital (Guangzhou).

[28] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated 6 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[29] This was also somewhat optimistic, but many Chinese in Southern China know more than one dialect.

[30] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries.

[31] De Grijs perhaps learned some Cantonese when he was in Macao. He probably meant that one could to some extent guess the pronunciation of cognate words in another dialect, if one knew the cognate sounds. Cf. S. Wells Williams' Cantonese dictionary, Introduction. Letter from De Grijs to the Consul dated 19 October 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734. For the advanced student, this method is obviously unreliable. For a modern comparison of the sounds of cognate words in Mandarin and Cantonese, *see* Wang Li 王力, *Guangzhouhua qianshuo* 广州話淺說. Cantonese and Hokkien are more closely related to each other than to Mandarin.

[32] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated 20 November 1857 in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[33] IB 21/2/1858 no. 2 inv. 7229.

[34] This is the modern name of the island. Gulangyu was formerly called Kulangsu, Kulang-su or Ku-lang-hsü (Gulangxu), in Hokkien Kolongsu. The Hokkien name Amoy (old Dutch spelling Emoi) is now in Mandarin Xiamen (Wade Giles spelling: Hsia-men). *See also* the description of Gulangyu in 1878 in Chapter Ten.

[35] One of these was probably his servant Ung Hau Leng, "only 18 years old of age, yet he appears to have savingly experienced the power of the Gospel, and professes his determined resolution to live henceforth as a servant of Christ. He joins the Church with the full approbation of his employer who is himself a brother disciple." Letter by Stronach and Lea dated 15 June, Missionary Magazine for October 1858, *The Scottish Congregational Magazine*, 223.

[36] "Wat mijn spreken van het Amoysch aangaat, hierover zal Thieme (een stuurman) en

vele hollandsche kapiteins U kunnen vertellen. Ik spreek tegenwoordig beter Chineesch dan Maleisch, hoewel ik vrij vlot Maleisch spreek. Mijn huishouden bestaat uit twee bootslieden, een kok, een koeli; twee bedienden en drie leermeesters; allen zijn Chinezen. Ik geef al mijne orders zelf, en niemand van mijne onderhorigen spreekt Engelsch, behalve een jongen, die de boodschappen etc. van schepen aanneemt. Met timmerlieden, metselaars etc. doe ik alles zelf af en vermeen zeer duidelijk Chineesch te spreken, daar ik den *toon van elk woord ken*. Bij mijne reizen in het binnenland spreek ik Chineesch en vervul meermalen de rol van tolk voor de vrienden die met mij gaan. / Mijne bezigheden als waarnemend vice-consul brengen mij in aanraking met Chinezen, als advocaat, notaris, procureur. Nu eens moet ik een bewijs van leven of van dood zijn geven, dan weder 8 of 10 getuigen verhooren, die alle hun verklaringen in het Chineesch geven; dan weder komt een Chinees met een稟 [*pin*, offic. kennisgeving], dat ik deftig aanneem, voorlees, en beantwoord. … / 's morgens bij zonsopgang heb ik mijne bedienden, die Christenen zijn, bijeen, lees een hoofdstuk uit den Bijbel of eenig goed boek en ga er over spreken. Het is merkwaardig wat voor uitdrukkingen ik op al die verschillende manieren verzamel." Letter to the Minister dated 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[37] Quoted indirectly in Hoffmann's letter to the Minister dated 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[38] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister (9 July 1858) mentioning Kup's letter dated 3 May 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5 inv. 734.

[39] On that date, he acted as a witness for the Vice-Consulate (Or. 26.273, no. 89, *Catalogue* 2005, 41).

[40] Letter to the Governor-General dated 20 June 1858, in V 23/9/1858 no. 6 inv. 747.

[41] Both were in Amoy in October 1859 (letter from the Consul 10 December 1859) and in May 1860 (letter from the Consul 18 May 1860, both in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334, inv. 1005). And Albrecht was in Amoy on at least two other dates, 31 August 1859 and 18 February 1860; on the former he acted as witness at the Vice-Consulate, and on the latter date an *attest de vita* was drawn up for him by De Grijs (Minutes of (notarial) certificates issued by the Vice-Consulate in Amoy 1858–62, nos. 45 and 67, Or. 26.273).

[42] Letter by Hoffmann dated 29 April 1861, in V 10/6/1861 no. 13 inv. 1069. Later also called the Hoklo dialect.

[43] In the Indies, the name of the Netherlands was usually written 和蘭 instead of 荷蘭. Both of these are pronounced the same in Hokkien (hô-lân or hô-lan), just as in Mandarin (Hélán). In the *Gong'anbu* 公案簿, the records of the Chinese Council of Batavia, until 1912 always the archaic name 和蘭 was used instead of the modern name 荷蘭. *See* Kuiper, "The Chinese name for 'Holland.'"

[44] The Dutch colonial government was often called *gongbanya*, another word for 'Company,' originally denoting the Dutch East India Company (VOC) which ruled the Indies until 1799.

[45] Letter to Francken dated 3 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 12. "He [Ang] formerly wrote a eulogy on you to be carved in wood and placed in the Netherlands gê mên here in Amoy." (Hij heeft indertijd eene éloge op U geschreven om in hout te snijden en hier in Emoi te plaatsen in de hollandsche gê mên.)

[46] *See* Blussé, "Wills, Widows and Witnesses."

[47] Or. 26.273. Described in *Catalogue* 2005, 40-1.

[48] This information is based on the diary of the later student Jacobus van der Spek (1879–80).

[49] *Java-bode*, 23 April 1859, no. 33.

[50] *Java-bode*, 20 April 1859, no. 32, "Aangekomen vreemdelingen" (Arrivals from foreign countries).

[51] "Een reiziger, onlangs van Amoy (China) gekomen, deelt ons mede, dat de Nederlanders aldaar met buitengewone onderscheiding worden bejegend. Gelijk men weet, zijn aldaar gevestigd de Heer C. F. M. de Grijs (laatst militair apotheker bij het Indische leger) en twee Hollandsche jonge lieden, die uitsluitend tot de aanleering der Chinesche taal, waarvan eerstgenoemde Heer reeds in Europa een ijverige studie gemaakt heeft, bestemd zijn. De Heer de Grijs bekleedt daarbij de betrekking van Nederlandsch vice-consul. Door zijn loyaal karakter en aangename manieren, heeft hij de achting en het vertrouwen zijner

Chinesche landgenooten gewonnen, wier taal hij reeds met het meeste gemak spreekt en schrijft. Als zoodanig is hij vaak de raadsman en de vraagbaak der Chinezen, die zich, met voorbijgang der Engelschen, tot hem wenden, terwijl hij, bij alle voorkomende gelegenheden, steeds tot tolk dient bij hunne zamenspreking met Europeanen. Terwijl het schieten aan de Engelschen volstrekt verboden is, werd 's Konings laatste verjaardag door de Hollandsche koopvaardijschepen, die zich ter reede van Amoy bevonden, met donderende salvo's begroet en de Nederlandsche vice-consul herdacht ten zijnen huize op feestelijke wijze den geboortedag van zijn koninklijken meester. De zich aan den wal bevindende Hollandsche zeelieden worden door de Chinezen met de meeste voorkomenheid behandeld, terwijl de Engelsche zich, na zonsondergang, niet in het publiek kunnen vertoonen, zonder gevaar te loopen, van zich aan moeijelijkheden en beleedigingen blootgesteld te zien." *Java-bode*, 23 April 1859, no. 33.

[52] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 July 1859, "Nederlandsche Koloniën," *Dagblad van Zuidholland en 's Gravenhage*, 8 July 1859, "Koloniën"; *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, 11 July 1859.

[53] "*Mijnheer de Redacteur*, Ik verneem dat in den Javabode van 23 April, no. 33 door een reiziger onlangs van Amoij (Emoi) gekomen, over de Nederlanders aldaar gesproken wordt. Met den noodigen eerbied voor het goede hart van dien goedhartigen reiziger (mij onbekend) heb ik de eer eenige punten ter overweging en inlichting mede te deelen. / 1. De Nederlanders in Emoi worden volstrekt niet met buitengewone, doch slechts met gewone onderscheiding bejegend. / 2. Ik bezit niet meer het vertrouwen van mijne *Chinesche landgenooten* ?! dan elk ander Europeaan, dat wil zeggen, zoo wat niets. / 3. Ik dien nooit voor tolk en de engelsche en amerikaansche sinologen hier in Emoi weten er veel meer van dan ik. / 4. Ik schrijf en spreek Chineesch *volstrekt* niet met het meeste gemak; de Europeaan, die dat doet, moet nog geboren worden. / 5. Ik heb in Emoi op koningsverjaardag nimmer een kanonschot, nog minder een salvo en nog veel minder een donderend salvo gehoord. / 6. De zich aan de wal bevindende Hollandsche zeelieden worden zoo lief aan den wal bejegend, dat ik verlof bekwam, om naar beste weten te verhinderen, dat de Hollandsche zeelieden aan wal gingen. Een matroos is en blijft in het oog van een Chinees een roodharigen barbaar [noot: Sic!!! *Redactie*] die aan wal komt om dronken te wezen, hoe onwaar ook zulke eene definitie ook zij, de Chinezen denken het toch. / 7. Wie onzen goedhartigen reiziger vertelde, dat de Engelschen na zonsondergang zich niet in 't publiek kunnen vertoonen weet ik niet, maar iemand die gezond verstand heeft en het gebruikt kan het niet gezegd hebben. / 8. Ik verzoek beleefdelijk van welgemeende loftuitingen verschoond te blijven. / C.F.M. DE GRIJS." *Java-bode*, 3 August 1859.

[54] "Vervolgrapport omtrent het wezen der Chinesche taal in geschrift en uitspraak." Mentioned in V 23/9/1858 no. 6 inv. 747.

[55] "Vergelijkend overzigt der Mandarijnsche en der Tšoan tšeu [Quanzhou] klanken."

[56] Letter to the Governor-General in V 23/9/1858 no. 6 inv. 747.

[57] Actually it was an edict from the Yongzheng Emperor (1728). *See* Kaske, *Politics of Language*, 48.

[58] Based on Antoine Bazin, *Mémoires sur les principes généraux du chinois vulgaire* (Paris 1845), 5-19. Hoffmann owned a copy of this book. Bazin, a student of Rémusat and Julien, was professor of modern Chinese at the School of Oriental Languages in Paris in 1843–62 (Angel Pino, Isabel Rabut, "Bazin aîné et la création de la chaire de chinois vulgaire à l'école des langues orientales," in Bergère, Pino, *Un siècle d'enseignement du chinois*, 29-51). The edict had been translated into English by Robert Thom in 1840 in his *Esop's Fables Written in Chinese by the Learned Mun Mooy seen-shang, and Compiled in their Present Form by his Pupil Sloth*, VIII. Chinese text in *Guangdong tongzhi* 廣東通志, *juan* 1, Yongzheng liunian 雍正六年.

[59] Bazin, *Mémoires*, 12.

[60] Bazin, *Mémoires*, 13.

[61] De Grijs would later ironically refer to Van der Hoeven as "such an expert on Chinese" (*zulk een Chineesch-kenner*) in a letter to Francken dated 7 May 1863 (BPL 1782: 28, p. 13).

[62] He did not mention that Mandarin was also important in commerce and culture, for

instance the theatre. Nor did he mention that Thom compared the position of Mandarin in China with that of French in Europe, while English—granted that it was spoken only in the British Isles—would resemble one of the Chinese dialects (*Esop's Fables*, IX). These could have been Hoffmann's arguments. Leiden University has a copy of this book donated by Thom (1807–46).

[63] This opinion would dominate Dutch sinology for the next fifty years. Apart from Hoffmann's students who learnt Mandarin pronunciation and could perhaps speak a little Mandarin, in particular De Grijs and later Groeneveldt, all Dutch sinologists from this period spoke only dialects of Guangdong and Fujian, and only from 1909 on, when the Chinese Movement had become active in the Indies, did the government allow (and later order) some of them to study Mandarin.

[64] At the same time he asked to be sent De Grijs' comparative sound table, which he had not yet received. Letter from Hoffmann to the minister dated 27 September 1858 in V 2/10/1858 no. 9 inv. 750. A few months later, De Grijs' table was sent to Hoffmann by the Governor-General (V 24/3/1859 no. 22 inv. 801).

[65] No reference can be found that the texts were returned to the Minister.

[66] Archief van het KITLV, H 1406 nos. 93 (Bestuursvergaderingen), 236 (Brievenboek 1851–1863), 242 (Brieven 1860), KITLV Collection, Leiden.

[67] IB 21/4/1860 no. 19 inv. 7281.

[68] The Consul's letter has not been found; Diepenheim's letter is in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334, inv. 1005.

[69] Abraham Benjamin Cohen Stuart (1825–76) studied for a short time in Leiden and then in Delft, where he received the *radicaal* of East Indies official in 1846. On the advice of his teachers, he did not enter government service, but dedicated himself to scholarly studies, being assigned to assist the Javanologists C.F. Winter (1799–1859) and J.A. Wilkens (1813–88) (both 'native children') in Surakarta. They were to translate Dutch ordinances and compile a Javanese–Dutch dictionary (*Encyclopaedie*, pt. I [1896], 361-2).

[70] The teachers' (clerks') salary was at the same time set at *f* 30 per month, one tenth of the interpreters' salary, with five-yearly increases of *f* 5 to a maximum of *f* 50 (IB 31/7/1860, no. 11, inv. 7287; also in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005). Two years later it was already clear that this salary was too low, and it would be more than doubled to *f* 63.75.

[71] IB 23/6/1860, no. 9, inv. 7285.

[72] IB 9/8/1860, no. 38, inv. 7288. For Albrecht's teacher this was not comforting enough; he refused to proceed to Mentok (*see* Chapter Six). Both were transferred to Java soon; Von Faber came to Batavia in 1862 and Albrecht to Surabaya in 1864.

[73] "Het is bovendien niet aangenaam of vlijend voor jonge lieden van eenen zekeren leeftijd, die zich met zulk eene ernstige studie, als die der Chinesche taal, bezig houden, om als kinderen of schooljongens, die te onberaden zijn hunne eigene zaken te beheeren, behandeld te worden." Advice to Governor-General Sloet by Schlegel and Von Faber on the training of interpreters in Batavia, 1 September 1864, in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[74] V 9/2/1861 no. 33/172 inv. 1029.

[75] "… want men moet hier leven en voor den dag komen als een fatsoenlijk man, als een door het gouvernement bezoldigd ambtenaar, en bovendien worden ons 5 dollar gelijkstaand met *f* 5 hollands 's maands aan ons (*sic*) uitgekeerd voor het koopen van sigaren en andere zaken, doch niet voor weelde; de geringste benoodigde zaak is hier peperduur." The official exchange rate was $1 = *f* 2.55.

[76] "Het is de geheele dag werken, studeren; 6 uur per dag houdt (*sic*) ik mij bezig met de Chinesche leermeesters. Spoedig gaat het leeren niet, alles van het Chineesch is moeijlijk, tot zelfs het schrijven toe, en ik durf u verzekeren dat er zonder bluffing voor ons wel 4 jaaren nodig zullen zijn om als Gouvernementstolk te kunnen optreden." This proved to be a too optimistic estimate; Schaalje finished his studies in China after five years in 1864.

[77] "… indien ons dit in tijde bewust mogt worden, dan zullen wij *trachten* een der in de haven liggende schepen te bereiken."

[78] "… die door hem des te meer gevoeld werd, naarmate hij de schoonste jaren zijner jeugd nagenoeg op eene eenzame, ongezellige en alles behalve aangename plaats moest slijten."

[79] All students received a printed copy of the "Regulation of rations and the menu (*schaftorde*) of private ships carrying troops or passengers to Java" together with their ship-

ping contract (*akte van verbintenis*). The weekly rations were: 7.5 ounces of meat, 7.5 ounces of bacon (*spek*), 2.5 ounces of hake (*stokvisch*), 2.5 ounces of cheese, 3.75 ounces of butter, 2 pounds of bread. The menu was: Sunday: 3.75 ounces of meat with yellow peas (*graauwe erwten*), gherkins (*agurken*) or other pickles; Monday and Friday: 1.25 ounce of hake with peas or groats (*gort*); Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday: 2.5 ounces of smoked bacon with sauerkraut; Wednesday: 3.25 ounces of meat with yellow peas. "Moreover every morning groats and daily six measures (*maatjes*) of beer (as long as available), and two nips (*zoopjes*) of *genever*, one of them with *kina* (quinine; each containing 5 thimbles), and drinking water as needed. The shippers (*Reeders*) should also prepare sufficient quantities of salt, vinegar, pepper, mustard seed, dried onions and garlic, and molasses (*stroop*), to add to the morning groats at least twice a week; and the necessary light and fire." V 28/9/1857 no. 1/1108 inv. 644.

[80] V 9/2/1861 no. 33/172 inv. 1029. He referred to the law of 3 October 1843, *Staatsblad van het Koningrijk der Nederlanden* 47, the Stamp Duty Act (*Wet op het regt van zegel*); article 8 forbade government officials to make a decision on any document without legal stamp or without payment of stamp duty.

[81] V 18/11/1861 no. 3 inv. 1120.

[82] "Het is voor een vader op gevorderde leeftijd eene groote opoffering zijnen eenigen dubbelomranden zoon voor jaren te moeten missen, of welligt niet weder te zien." Schaalje's father was at the time 55 years old.

[83] Letters of Schaalje's father of 11 December 1861 and of Francken's mother of 20 December 1861 in V 17/1/1862 no. 7, inv. 1140.

[84] IB 27/7/1861 no. 32 inv. 7311.

[85] Introduction, 1-17, in *Le Vendeur-d'huile qui seul possède la reine-de-beauté* (Leyde, Paris, 1877).

[86] Xue Tao 薛濤 (circa 770–832) was a famous courtesan and woman poet in the Tang dynasty, who exchanged poems with Bai Juyi and other well-known Tang poets. This story is the first part of *Nü xiucai yihua jiemu* 女秀才移花接木, in *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀, and was translated by Schlegel in this introduction.

[87] The Chinese title of the latter is *Maiyoulang duzhan huakui* 賣油郎獨佔花魁. A Dutch translation by W.L. Idema appeared 99 years later in Feng Menglong, *De drie woorden* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1976).

[88] Henri Cordier, "Nécrologie, Le Dr. Gustave Schlegel," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 409.

[89] IB 10/10/1855 no. 3, art. 2, inv. 7175.

[90] IB 21/2/1858 no. 2, art. 5.

[91] IB 12/11/1860 no. 8 inv. 7294.

[92] Report of Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies (pp. 4-5), 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[93] Cordier, "Nécrologie" of Schlegel, *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 410.

[94] Letter in Chinese to De Grijs and Schaalje in Amoy by Runan 汝男 dated 六月廿七日 (3 August 1861) (BPL 2106 II 13A). Runan is probably the same as Ang Dzu-lam 洪汝嵐 (Hong Rulan), presumably Schlegel's teacher.

[95] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, vol. II, p. 455, entry 'klapperman' (night watchman).

[96] The contract for the concession was signed by all three sides on 3 September 1861.

[97] Préface, VII. *Le Vendeur-d'huile qui seul possède la reine-de-beauté* (Leyde, Paris, 1877).

[98] Schlegel, "A Canton Flowerboat," 7.

[99] For instance in vol. II, p. 36 (*handschoen*), p. 193 (*hoorn*); vol. IV, p. 1242 (*worst*), p. 1309 (*zeug*), p. 1349 (*zoo*), p. 1377 (*zulk*).

[100] Schlegel, "A Canton Flowerboat," 7. With a drawing by Schlegel as illustration.

[101] This account was published in French in the Préface to *Le Vendeur-d'huile* (pp. VI-IX) and later in English in "A Canton Flowerboat" (pp. 2, 3). In the French version the incident is described as happening three months after arrival in Canton, which would be in October 1861, but that was not in the summer and at that time their Cantonese may not have been good enough for this conversation on the boat—assuming that they spoke Cantonese.

[102] Note by Schlegel: "Allusion to a saying of Confucius: Among the men of the West there is (or are) a Sage (or Sages)." This is a quotation from *Liezi* 列子 (Zhongni juan 4 仲尼卷四): 西方之人有聖者焉.

[103] Schlegel, "A Canton Flowerboat," 2-3.

[104] Letter to Herman Schlegel, dated Amoy 13 May 1862, Museum Naturalis, Leiden. "Wij arriveerden per stoomboot in Hongkong, vertrokken daarop naar Macao en logeerden daar bij den u wel bekende Consul J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, van daar nam ik mijne reis opzettelijk over Canton naar Hongkong terug, terwijl Groeneveldt direct doorging naar Hongkong om van daar gezamentlijk naar Emoi te stoomen. Ik had slechts eenige dagen ter mijne dispositie, maar die heb ik dan ook genotvol doorgebracht bij Gustaaf. Eerst had ik moeite hem te herkennen, ik meende de melancolische, kleine neef van vroeger te zullen zien, maar neen! die is in hem niet meer te herkennen, ik zag hem gunstiger dan hij er ooit uitzag, met een van vrolijkheid, opgeruimdheid en levendigheid stralend gelaat, voorzien van zware bakkebaarden, hij is daarbij groot geworden met een' omvang om van te schrikken, onmiddellijk was ik met China ingenomen, nu ik het welvaren van Emoi zag (dit is namelijk de naam die ik Gustaaf voor mij zelve toedacht). Francken ziet eruit alsof hij met Schaalje zoo even uit Holland per spoor was aangekomen, ze zijn wat grooter geworden maar hebben kleur noch geur verloren. Dagelijksch gingen wij de stad rond om alles te zien, beiden deden ze hun best om mij omtrent alles op de hoogte te helpen, het is mij van groot nut geweest, omdat ik Gustaaf ken en weet dat ik op hem kan afgaan, genotvol was het onverhoopt wederzien, zoowel voor hen als voor mij, het speet mij dat ik niets medegebracht had voor hen, maar hoe konde ik verwachten ze te zullen ontmoeten."

[105] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated Macao 24 May 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[106] Cordier, "Nécrologie," 410.

[107] Schlegel IB 20/8/1862 no. 25, inv. 7333; Francken IB 22/9/1862 no. 9, inv. 7334.

[108] Letter to Herman Schlegel dated Amoy 13/5/1862, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[109] George Phillips (1836–96) entered the Chinese Consular service as a student-interpreter in Hong Kong in 1857, and held various positions, including acting Consul in Amoy. "Nécrologie" by G. Schlegel in: *T'oung Pao* A 7 (1896), 593-5.

[110] "Nu zijn wij in Emoi, waar iedere Europeaan aangename herinneringen aan Gustaaf aan mij verhaalt, ook de Chinezen kunnen hem niet vergeten; Kolongsu is mij zeer meêgevallen. 't is dan ook de laatste tijd zeer verfraaijd, wij gaan er misschien later wonen, in geval wij in China blijven om later naar Japan te gaan. / Op het oogenblik woonen wij in 't Engelsche Consulaatsgebouw, bij den Interpreter die een der vleugelgebouwen voor zich heeft. 't is hier dus Engelsch van top tot teen, van den vroegen morgen tot den laten avond, ik kan er mij zeer goed mede vereenigen, bovendien is onze huisheer een charmant mensch, jong en ongetrouwd, zijn naam is G. Phillips. Ik heb mij hier overal laten introduceeren, een en ander maakt ons het leven hier zeer aangenaam."

[111] This should be interpreted in a positive way: the Chinese are very sympathetic and accommodating.

[112] "De studie van 't Chineesch is alles behalve makkelijk, in Europa heeft men volstrekt geen idee van China, land, volk en taal. De Chinezen zijn de beste menschen van de wereld, groote kinderen in alles, je kunt ermeê doen wat je wil, nu ik er eenmaal ben, zou ik wel in China willen blijven, vooral in Emoi. En in ons huis dat even buiten de stad ligt, met een prachtig uitzigt buiten alle Chinesche vuiligheid, want de Chinezen zijn verschrikkelijk vuil in huis, op straat en in de stad."

[113] Letter in English to "My Dear Mac" dated 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 3-5.

[114] Letter from Buddingh to Herman Schlegel dated 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[115] Letter from De Grijs to Schaalje, 29 June 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, p. 32. When he wrote this letter, there were still eight months to go of his one-year contract.

[116] Boating was a popular sport in the foreign community in Amoy (Coates, *China Consuls*, 98). Inventory list in BPL 1782: 28, pp. 28-9, 31-2, 36-7, 46-7.

[117] Letters to Schaalje dated 25 and 29 June 1863, to N. Peter dated 28 July 1863, BPL 1782: 28.

[118] "Door de terugkomst van Schaalje hebben wij weder een eerste tenor & bas bekomen, het zal u dus niet bevreemden dat de muziek hier vrij hoog is: Mrs Pedder heeft sedert een jaar de nagel van haar pink in de war en kan niet spelen. Onlangs toen Mrs Vanker [?] hier was is zij weer begonnen." Letter to Francken dated 27 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 7.

[119] Van der Spek, *Diary*, about Schlegel (p. 11), and the entry for 9 May 1879.

[120] "De zendelingen hier zijn al vrijwel 't zelfde als overal, helaas, zij laten veel te wenschen over, maar het zal wel zijn met de zendelingen als altijd, men ziet de splinter bij anderen en niet de balk in ons eigen oog." Diary on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 62.

[121] Letter to "My Dear Mac," 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 4-5. On the embassy, *see* Chapter Five.

[122] Coates, *China Consuls*, 100.

[123] "Freeman's vrouw komt over vier weken uit en de mijne, Gij weet zij is gelukkig getrouwd en dus een zorg minder." Letter to Francken, 27 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 7.

[124] Letter to Van der Hoeven, Leiden, 22 December 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 77 (end).

[125] *See* the biography of De Grijs in Appendix A.

[126] "Gij zult onlangs ontvangen hebben de thee per Kim-thai-hien. Ik zal U nu iets anders opdisschen, wat misschien nog meer na Uw smaak zal zijn: het gebeurt hier gedurig dat Chinezen geld moeten ontvangen van de weeskamer te Batavia. Dan benoemen zij anderen om dat geld per procuratie te ontvangen, iets waarop dikwijls veel geld verloren wordt. Zo Gij nu gevolmagtigde wilt worden dan zou ik nu en dan nog wel eens een chineesje aan je consigneren en mij dunkt zoo Gij vijf percent der te ontvangen gelden rekent namelijk voor u 2½ percent en voor mij 2½ dan zouden wij alligt de schatten van Peru kunnen verzamelen: onlangs heb ik nog twee maal gelegenheid gehad om U tusschen 2 à 300 gulden te laten verdienen, maar moest ervan afzien daar ik niet wist of Gij er trek in hadt. Schrijf mij per omgaande opdat ik u rijk make." Letter to 'Amice' [Schlegel] dated 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 2.

[127] "Alhoewel ik nog geen antwoord op een paar vorige brieven heb, zal ik U echter heden weder moeten schrijven. Ook al omdat ik Uwe opinie over eene dollar affaire wil vragen. / Het gebeurt namelijk gedurig dat Chinezen mij vragen om als gevolmagtigde te fungeren in zaken de weeskamer betreffende. Dat heb ik steeds van de hand gewezen omdat ik geene agenten op Java had, maar het zou best gaan dat bv: Gij agent zijt voor mijne zaken in Sourabaja & Samarang en dan valt er bij geld inzamelen 5% te verdienen die wij zamen deelen kunnen. Ik maak dan de chinesche volmagten in Uwen naam, terwijl ik op mij neem de verantwoordelijkheid en deugdelijkheid der uit China gezonden documenten. Denk hier eens over na en vertel mij Uwe opinie." Letter to Francken dated 27 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 6.

[128] Schlegel told this to Johan Gram in 1902. Gram, "Een bezoek aan Schlegel," 88.

[129] "Kunt Gij een goed baantje in China krijgen, goed neem het aan, maar zal het gouvernement u vrijlaten, dat is de quaestie; denk er wel over na. Gij weet Francken heeft 't geweigerd." Letter to Schaalje dated 25/6/1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 29.

[130] V 15/3/1865 no. 7 inv. 1583. *See* Chapter Two, section on Meeter. Later regulated in Royal Decree 9 May 1865 no. 49, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indië* no. 78, 1865.

[131] Richard J. Smith, John K. Fairbank, Katherine F. Bruner, *Robert Hart and China's Early Modernization; His Journals, 1863–1866* (Cambridge (Mass.), 1991). Van der Hoeven's name was misspelled in the transcript as 'Vanderhavin.' Robert Hart (1835–1911) came to China in 1854, was student-interpreter, joined the Consular Service in 1859, and was Director of Chinese Maritime Customs from 1863 to 1907 (Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 227).

[132] In 1896, the most widely spoken dialects were Hokkien (Fujianese dialects), not only on Java but also in the commercial towns in the Outer Possessions, and Hakka (in Western Borneo, Banka, Billiton, and Deli). Only recently had immigrants arrived from the Chaozhou region (including Swatow). Cantonese was not even mentioned as a dialect spoken in the Indies at that time. *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië*, vol. I (1896), 349. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were Cantonese or 'Macao Chinese' in Deli, but they were all working in special niches; they were gold- and silversmiths, cabinet-makers, tailors and silkmerchants; in addition, all women prostitutes were Cantonese (De Bruin, *De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra*, 44).

[133] Report of Schlegel and Hoffmann, 9 April 1873, pp. 4-5, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[134] "Schets van Montrado in 1861," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde,* 13 (1864), 457-91. It seems to have originally been a *nota* written for the government.

[135] When in Western Borneo, Von Faber did his best to learn Hakka. In 1866 he offered a vocabulary and other materials that he had compiled on the Hakka language as spoken on Borneo, for publication to the Batavian Society. He probably meant to use these as teaching materials for other interpreters. But in 1870, he acknowledged that his Hakka was not good enough for him to teach Hakka to new students (Statement by Von Faber, 10 February 1870, in V 15/8/1870 no. 21 inv. 2339).

[136] IB 27/8/1861 no. 8 inv. 7313.

[137] Letter from the Consul dated Macao 24 May 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[138] IB 9/11/1862 no. 6 inv. 7337. This was the first decision about the Chinese interpreters to be (in part) published in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1862 no. 136).

[139] On the Hakka *see* Sow-Theng Leong, *Migration and Ethnicity in Chinese History: Hakkas, Pengmin, and their Neighbours*.

[140] It would take several weeks before Sloet's decision would reach China, and Schaalje's copy of a letter in Chinese dated 9 December 1862 to Van der Hoeven may indicate that Schaalje was then still in Canton or Macao (BPL 2106 I: 5 A, *Catalogue* 2005, 134).

[141] "Schaalje woont tegenwoordig bij mij en zal beginnen aan het Hakka dialekt. Geluk ermee, maar Maurits heeft het kruid (*sic*) ook al niet uitgevonden." Letter to Schlegel dated 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 2.

[142] Letter to Van der Hoeven dated 23 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 25.

[143] BPL 2106 II: 23, *Catalogue* 2005, 146. Illustration on p. 147.

[144] The first missionary arrived in Zhangcun 樟村 in Tsong Lok (Changle 長樂, now Wuhua 五華) in 1862 ('Basel Mission' in Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 44).

[145] "Wij zijn nu tamelijk op de hoogte van dit dialect, maar aangezien het ons hoofdvak niet is, geven wij het op en gaan nu naar eene andere provincie, …, ik zie er zeer tegenop, 't is in Emoi zoo heerlijk, het volk is zo goed en geschikt en de landstreek zoo gezond, en nu we eenmaal zoover zijn met de landstaal, acht ik het zonde die optemoeten geven en aan iets anders te beginnen." Letter to Herman Schlegel dated Amoy 4 June 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[146] Rudolf Lechler (1824–1908) came to China at the invitation of Gützlaff in 1847 as one of four missionaries, and first joined Gützlaff's Chinese Union, which stressed indiginisation and accommodation to the Chinese way of life. From 1854, he worked for the Basel Mission, concentrating on the Hakka population in Guangdong. In the 1860s, many Hakkas had fled to Hong Kong and sought refuge with him. He was the first to translate the Gospel of Matthew into romanised Hakka, and established mission posts in Meixian and Xin'an, laying the foundation of the very successful Hakka Church. He worked in China for 52 years. Lutz, "The Legacy of Rudolf Christian Friedrich Lechler (Biography)."

[147] "Daarbij komt dat de drie heeren toch nooit zullen harmoniëren en in een boarding house vrij van elkander zijn." Letter to the Consul, 20 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 24.

[148] Gerhard Tiedemann, "Die Missionsmethoden Gützlaffs," in Klein, *Karl Gützlaff*, 219.

[149] This would be 2½ times the price which Schaalje had paid in Canton in 1862!

[150] Letter from De Grijs to the Consul dated 23 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 25.

[151] Letters from De Grijs to Schaalje 17 June 1863 and to Groeneveldt dated 24 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 20, 26.

[152] Letter from De Grijs to Schaalje dated 29/6/1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 31.

[153] "Verleden week kreeg ik een brief van Groeneveldt waarin hij mij bedankte voor mijn vriendschap en niets meer met mij te doen wilde hebben: het was omdat ik hem vroeger beloofd had het beheer der zaken te hebben en Schaalje het nu heeft. Ik heb hem geantwoord dat het mij wel speet & dat ik hem aanraad om maar liever niet boos te wezen maar dat als hij volstrekt boos wilde blijven hij het maar in Godsnaam doen moest. Ik hoop dat hij bijdraayen zal want hij is een knappe jongen en zal een der sieraden der tolkerij wezen." Letter to Francken dated 18 July 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 34. Groeneveldt had been 'acting' before on 27 October 1862 (Or. 26.273, *Catalogue* 2005, 40-41).

[154] Letter from De Grijs to Francken dated 18 July 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 34.

[155] The spelling 'Sauga' is uncertain. Letter from De Grijs to N. Peter dated 4 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 39.

[156] "Heden is het juist twee jaren geleden dat ik Holland verliet en weldra zullen wij

China ook verlaten, want er is een besluit gekomen dat wij in plaats van in Hongkong, het Hakka dialect aanteleren, dit zullen doen op onze toekomstige standplaatsen in Indië zelve, aangezien er zich op die plaatsen (Bandjermassing, Montrado, Pontianak) meer Chinezen bevinden die dit dialect spreken dan in Hongkong, 'bovendien is de Hakka bevolking van Hongkong het allergemeenste en laagste rot van volk,' het is geheel tegen ons begaan en aldus door den grooten man uit Macao (de couranten noemen hem *angular carcase*) voorgesteld aan de Gouverneur Generaal en *atque ergo* hebben we nu China te verlaten, zeer ten onzen nadeele of liever ten nadeele van onzen studie en bruikbaarheid in Indië, nu ontbreken ons nog goede meesters ook, want die wij nu hebben gekregen uit Hongkong door bezorging der zendelingen zijn *uilskuikens*. Waarschijnlijk zal het wel 1865 worden eer wij betere mensen krijgen om ons naar Borneo te vergezellen, want die wij nu hebben verstaan geen enkel boek behalve de classieke boeken die ze op school in hunne jeugd hebben van buiten geleerd." Letter to Herman Schlegel dated 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden. The word "angular carcass" is poorly legible.

[157] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister dated 2 March 1864, in V 19/3/1864 no. 18 inv. 1451.

[158] IB 25/3/1864 no. 3, in V 28/10/1864 no. 10/1305 inv. 1534.

[159] Letter to Herman Schlegel dated 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[160] Letter from De Grijs to Francken dated 3 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 10.

[161] Report by Buddingh dated 23 August 1865 in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[162] Then spelled Lilong. Now in Bao'an Xian, Shenzhen, and written 李朗. It lies near the railroad just north of the city of Shenzhen.

[163] Lilang (Lilong) was (intermittently) a major Basel Mission post starting in 1852. Ernst Johann Eitel (1838–1908), missionary and sinologist, was sent to China for the Basel Mission in 1862, worked for the London Missionary Society from 1865 to 1879, and later concentrated on sinology. He told Van der Spek that Groeneveldt was his fellow student for three months (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 21 February 1879). Obituary by Cordier in *T'oung Pao* 10 (1909), 92-4.

[164] He was expected to leave on 26 July. Letters from the Consul dated 26 June, 10 and 25 July 1864, in V 28/10/1864 no. 10/1305 inv. 1534.

[165] V 28/10/1864 no. 10/1305 inv. 1534.

[166] IB 16/8/1864 no. 2 inv. 7374.

[167] IB 20/8/1864 no. 5 inv. 7374.

[168] Biennial increases of *f* 50 up to *f* 800 (IB 31/7/1860 no. 11 inv. 7287. Also IB 4/2/1865 no. 5, inv. 7385).

[169] This was in accordance with IB 9/11/1862 no. 6, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1862 no. 136.

[170] V 24/5/1864 no. 22/563 inv. 1475, and V 30/8/1864 no. 42 inv. 1512.

[171] Letter from Consul N. G. Peter to the Governor-General, dated Macao 26 July 1866, in V 29/11/1866 no. 85 inv. 1837.

[172] IB 9/9/1866 no. 4 inv. 7423.

[173] Letter from Hoffmann to Minister Fransen van de Putte, 12 February 1865, in V 2/3/1865 no. 11 inv. 1577.

[174] V 1/4/1865 no. 6 inv. 1590.

[175] Letter from the Consul dated 28 May 1865 in V 19/7/1865 no. 2 inv. 1630.

[176] Letter from P. Meeter to J.J. Hoffmann, dated Macao 12 August 1865, Or. 26.971 (letters and manuscripts of J.J. Hoffmann, originally Schlegel, *Catalogue*, no. 214), East Asian Library, Leiden.

[177] "Toen kwam er een tijd, die mij niet veel amusants opleverde. Ik had nog niets te doen daar ik nog geen meester had, zat den geheelen dag in een groot hol vertrek met kale witte muren en 2 ramen die het uitzigt gaven op eene nog kalere witte muur. Niets hebbende dat mij bezighield, dacht ik onwillekeurig aan ouders en vrienden en ik werd wat men onder jongelui "landerig", bij andere gelegenheden "zwaarmoedig" noemt. —Doch weldra kreeg ik werk daar de 10 Junij mijn meester Then 典先生 [*Dian xiansheng*, meester Dian] genaamd arriveerde. Ook ben ik later verhuisd naar een soort van torentje boven op het dak gebouwd met 8 ramen zoodat ik het niet alleen zeer luchtig maken kan, maar ook een fraai uitzigt heb op zee, bergen, Macao en de omliggende dorpen." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, Macao 12 August 1865.

[178] Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, dated Macao 29 December 1859, Or. 26.971, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[179] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXXV, XXXVI," *Java-bode*, 20 and 28 December 1898. Meeter's main argument in these articles was that opium smoking did not always lead to damage or addiction, and was not as harmful as alcoholism in the West.

[180] Van der Hoeven engaged his brother-in-law N.G. Peter as a clerk starting in 1860; later he became his business partner. Peter officially succeeded him as Consul on 28 May 1866 (Letter by Van der Hoeven dated 30 March 1865 and other documents, Consulaten in China, inv. 3030, toegang 2.05.01).

[181] "Over het algemeen is onze toestand hier vrij dragelijk; alleen is het mij moeijelijk gevallen, gewend aan het vertrouwen en de liberale leiding onder wetenschappelijke en bejaarde mannen zooals dit in Leiden en in Alkmaar het geval was, thans elken maand op eene niet zeer delicate wijze gedwongen te worden tot het verantwoorden der kosten van haarsnijden en tandpoeder en dergelijke muizennesten aan een jong mensch van 26 jaren, die zeker oneindig veel weet van picols en rijst en schepencharters en bankdisconto's maar in wiens ervaring en levenswijsheid ik voldoende reden heb niet veel vertrouwen te stellen." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, dated Macao 29 December 1859, Or. 26.971, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[182] Letter from Peter to Governor-General Mijer, in V 15/8/1867 no. 30 inv. 1955.

[183] IB 28/6/1867 no. 17, in V 15/8/1867 no. 30 inv. 1955.

[184] IB 27/8/1861 no. 8 inv. 7313.

[185] Letter dated 18 September 1867 in V 6/4/1868 no. 25 inv. 2061.

[186] Letter dated 20 November 1867 in V 6/4/1868 no. 25 inv. 2061.

[187] Letter by Tonco Modderman, 13 November 1854, in V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484.

[188] Starting in 1854, most British consular officers were first trained at King's College in London, where they were taught Chinese by a missionary named James Summers (1828–91), who spoke some Cantonese and Shanghai dialect, but was supposed to teach Mandarin as well. Summers taught there from 1853 to 1873. As textbooks, they only read parts of the New Testament in Chinese translation. It was later acknowledged that this preparatory teaching was useless, and their Chinese could not be understood by anyone when they came to China. From 1856 on, Thomas Wade (1818–95), who was both a zealous sinologist and a government officer, and later a compiler of textbooks and British ambassador to China, gave the education of student-interpreters as all entrants were then called, a sounder base in China (Coates, *China Consuls*, 75-6, 83). One problem the British had to face was that in Southern China, Mandarin was practically a 'dead language' (p. 82), which could only be practiced with the teachers, who themselves were not native speakers of Mandarin. Later, when students could study in Peking, the situation changed drastically. Wade wrote that in Peking students could learn in 18 months what they learned in the South in 8 years (p. 85).

[189] Coates, *China Consuls*, 82.

[190] Note by Schlegel: "I was at the time only 18 years old." Actually he was only 17 in February-May 1858, when he was in Macao and Hong Kong.

[191] Schlegel, "Nécrologie James Legge," *T'oung Pao* A 9 (1898), 59-63, 60.

[192] On the other hand, one should take into account that Legge must have learned Chinese from Chinese teachers who did not have any grammatical awareness in the Western sense.

[193] My italics. Schlegel, "Nécrologie James Legge," 60.

[194] BPL 1780-1782, BPL 2104-2106.

[195] For instance, books of De Grijs and Schlegel are kept in the KNAG Collection.

[196] *See* Chapter Eight, Schlegel and His Students in Leiden (1873–1878).

[197] Book of minutes dated 1858-1862, Or. 26.273. *Catalogue* 2005, 40-1.

[198] Schlegel, *Thian ti hwui. The Hung-League*, 236. John Stronach (1810–88) from Scotland worked as a missionary mostly in Amoy from 1844 to 1876. Together with W.H. Medhurst, W.C. Milne and E.C. Bridgman, he was one of the Delegates who translated the famous Delegates' Version of the New Testament (1850–2).

[199] "Correspondance," *T'oung Pao* 1 (1900), 397.

[200] Under 'naam' it is transcribed in the Literary Tsiang-tsiu pronunciation as Hông

Dzí-lâm (Vol. II, 1027), while under 'voornaam' the colloquial Amoy pronunciation Âng Dzú-lâm is given (Vol. IV, 913).

[201] Transcribed in Mandarin as Tching-yu-chin (Vol. I, 128); the envelope is dated 19 September 1862, Batavia, two months after Schlegel arrived in Batavia.

[202] Letter from De Grijs to Schaalje 17 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 19.

[203] "deze menschen, geheel eenzijdig ontwikkeld, hebben wel eene groote practische kennis van hunne taal, maar kunnen zich voor de mededeeling hunner kennis aan anderen geene methode denken, dan die welke zij zelf als kinderen in de school hebben doorgemaakt en die voor aan de kinderschoenen ontwassen Europeanen geheel onbruikbaar is. Zulke leermeesters staan geheel lijdelijk tegenover hunne leerlingen, wat men noodig heeft zit er wel in, maar men moet zelf weten hoe te doen om het er uit te halen. / De Chineesche meester kent geene vreemde taal, waarin hij zich met een buitenlandschen leerling zou kunnen onderhouden; wanneer deze nu geheel onvoorbereid tot hem komt, dan zal de meester voor den leerling een gesloten boek zijn en er zal heel wat tijd verloopen, eer eene geregelde mededeeling en overneming van kennis tot stand kan komen." Letter from Groeneveldt to W.A.P. Verkerk Pistorius, Secretary General of Foreign Affairs, dated 23 December 1898, p. 3, inv. 1324, toegang 2.05.38 (another copy in no. 338, inv. 67, toegang 2.05.90). An interesting guide for finding a good Chinese teacher (one who actively corrects pronunciation and can explain the meaning of words) can be found in Th.T.H. Ferguson's "Leiddraad bij de praktische studie van de Chineesche taal," 33-50.

[204] Compare the randomly chosen Chinese names of foreign companies in the Indies in Schlegel's dictionary. Schlegel noted that these names were often ludicrous and unrecognisable (*Woordenboek*, Vol. I, 1184-5).

[205] A red Chinese name card and a name stamp can be found in SINOL. KNAG 139, East Asian Library, Leiden. This name is also stamped on KNAG 138, v. 4. The name is also used in *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末. The name Kai laoye 凱老爺, 'old gentleman Kai,' was used in a letter from his Chinese teacher (BPL 2106 II 13, *Catalogue* 2005, 140).

[206] In this certificate no. 9 dated 6 July 1858, the Chinese captain 甲丁 Be Biao Tsoan 馬淼泉 of Semarang was assigned as proxy for Be Song Poan 馬雙泮.

[207] Written or stamped on SINOL. KNAG 20 and 21, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[208] Letter by Runan 汝男 to De Grijs and Schaalje dated 1861, BPL 2106 II: 13A p. 3, *Catalogue* 2005, 140. Perhaps this Runan was the same as Hong Rulan (Âng Dzú Lâm 洪汝嵐), since the names are homophonous in Hokkien (*lâm*). Therefore, he may have been the teacher from Amoy who came to Canton.

[209] *Catalogue* 2005, 129, 132, 140.

[210] In a translation by De Grijs from 1879, *Catalogue* 2005, 95-6.

[211] Medhurst, *A Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dialect of the Chinese Language, According to the Reading and Colloquial Idioms: Containing about 12,000 Characters, the Sounds of Tones of which are Accurately Marked; and Various Examples of their Use, Taken Generally from Approved Chinese Authors.*

[212] The compiler was Xie Xiulan 謝秀嵐. The East Asian Library in Leiden has five different editions, which are all reprints of the same work; some of them are rather defective. In 1820, there appeared a supplement entitled *Zengbu huiyin* 增補彙音 (6 juan) ("Additions to the collected initials") without distinction in colour between literary and colloquial readings (*see below*). Other rhyme dictionaries had been published earlier for the Fuzhou (1749), Canton (Guangzhou, eighteenth century), and Quanzhou (1800) dialects.

[213] "使農工商賈，按卷而稽，無事載酒問字之勞。" Introduction to a rhyming dictionary of the Quanzhou dialect *Huiyin miaowu* 彙音妙悟 (1800; SINOL. KNAG 158), also quoted in Yuan Jiahua et al., 袁家骅等著 *Hanyu fangyan gaiyao* 汉语方言概要 (2nd ed.), *Wenzi gaige chubanshe* (1989), 237.

[214] Actually it was the closely related Zhangpu 樟浦 variant. It consists of 8 *juan* (sections) and was often in 8 volumes. This system of 'cutting up in rhymes' (*qieyun*) was originally inspired by Indian works on phonology and was used for the first time in the famous rhyming dictionary *Qieyun* 切韻 in the sixth century. Although the original *Qieyun* was lost, similar dictionaries from the eleventh century (*Jiyun* 集韵 and *Guangyun* 廣韻) were still extant.

[215] On many pages at the end of the book, only one colour was printed and the literary readings are indicated by the addition of the words 'red character' (*hongzi* 紅字), probably for economising on blocks.

[216] His copy is now in SINOL. KNAG 160, compiled by Xie Xiulan 謝秀嵐, published by Wendetang 文德堂 in 1861, with the alternative title: *Zengbu zhuzi Shiwu yin* 增註硃字拾伍音. Apparently, he bought it after three years of study in Amoy.

[217] V 12/1/1874 no. 12 inv. 2652. *See* Chapter Eight, Schlegel and His Students in Leiden (1873–1878).

[218] BPL 2106 II: 5 and 12 A, illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 143, ill. 45. The second and sixth tone (both *shangsheng* tones) are identical.

[219] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction (in English), 2. At some time, Francken also drafted a Dutch–Chinese dictionary, the manuscript of which was also presented to the Batavian Society (*Notulen*, 1866, p. 210).

[220] "daar elke uitdrukking, elk woord, uit den mond van Chineezen moest worden opgeteekend." (Francken, De Grijs, *Woordenboek*, voorbericht).

[221] *Emoisch Hollandsch woordenboek* (Amoy–Dutch dictionary), now in BPL 2104 I, *Catalogue* 2005, 119-21. Illustration on p. 120.

[222] Written on slips of paper with character text in normal and cursive script, Amoy transcription, literal translation and free translation. About 250 items have transcriptions and translations, 38 only have the Chinese text. Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.038; original shelf number SINOL. 5160.4. *Catalogue* 2005, 138.

[223] BPL 2106 II: 11; illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 141.

[224] This was never published (Schlegel's report, 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589), but it may have been incorporated in the dictionary.

[225] "*Hollandsch–Chinesche & Chineesch–Hollandsche Woordenlijst der Familiebetrekkingen. Alphabetisch gerangschikt*. G. Schlegel. Kolongsu (Emoi) 1860" (Dutch–Chinese and Chinese–Dutch vocabulary of family relations, alphabetically arranged. G. Schlegel. Gulangyu (Amoy) 1860). Small manuscript booklet (8 ff., 9.6x6.6 cm). Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.036.

[226] *Benamingen der familiebetrekkingen onder de Chinezen* (Names of family relationships among the Chinese), BPL 2106 II 4 B. Short list with characters in BPL 2106 II 4 A, illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 137.

[227] "De geslachtsnamen der Chinezen gerangschikt naar de Klassenhoofden en Aphabetisch." BPL 2106 II: 12.

[228] *Mi* 謎, "riddles". BPL 2106 II: 7. Illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 139.

[229] No title. BPL 2106 II: 10.

[230] This suggestion was made several times, for instance around 1860 by J. Pijnappel, professor of Malay in Delft. Fasseur, *Indologen*, 96, 149.

[231] The Dutch word *colloquializeeren* was later used in the Diary of J. van der Spek (11 March 1879).

[232] In Hokkien, this word could be written with the character 伊. Schaalje Collection, no. 28.5, NEHA archives, IISG, Amsterdam.

[233] BPL 1782: 13A, B. *See* the example in "Studying written Chinese" below.

[234] Diary of J. van der Spek, 10 and 29 December 1879. Van der Spek met their teachers in Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou).

[235] BPL 2106 II: 12A (Illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 143); BPL 2106 II: 20B. At that time, no distinction was made between the two *yinru* 陰入 tones, now called *shangru* 上入 and *zhongru* 中入.

[236] BPL 2106 II: 19, 20A.

[237] BPL 2106 II: 20C. Illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 145.

[238] BPL 2106 II: 18.

[239] Report by Buddingh dated 23 August 1865, in V24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[240] Buddingh complained later that this was the only study aid they had (Report 23 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757). *Das Evangelium des Matthaeus im Volksdialekte der Hakka-Chinesen* (*Ma thai tšhong fuk yim šu Hak ka syuk wa*). Translation by Rudolf Lechler, Berlin 1860. Translations of other Gospels were published soon afterwards.

[241] In characters probably 打工人. BPL 2106 II: 23B. Illustration in *Catalogue* 2005, 147. Other word lists are in BPL 2106 II:22 B-G.

[242] BPL 2106 II: 22A, p. 4.

[243] Schaalje Collection, no. 28.5, NEHA Collection, IISG, Amsterdam.

[244] BPL 2106 II: 23A and 25. Some of the original, unsimplified, stories are also in S. Wells Williams, *Easy Lessons*.

[245] Later several Bible translations in Hakka were published in characters.

[246] "Mijne studie bepaalt zich tot nog toe geheel tot het memoriseren en repeteren van conversatie-woorden en zinnen, waarvan ik nu ongeveer 700 mij eigen heb gemaakt zoodat ik reeds aardig begin te spreken." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, dated Macao 12 August 1865, Or. 26.971, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[247] BPL 2106 II: 22A.

[248] "Men noemt [de spreektaal van] het Hakka's 白話 [*baihua*, spreektaal] [… uitspraa]k verschilt somtijds zeer veel van het *sjoe*-wá [書話 boekentaal]. b.v. 何如 en 如此 Waarom? en Daarom worden uitgesproken *nióng pan* [樣邊] en *kan lî* [咁裡]." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, dated Macao 12 August 1865. This letter is slightly damaged. Missing words are reconstructed and written between brackets. The characters for the colloquial expressions are also reconstructed. One of these expressions appears in Schaalje's manuscript: "Dat is zoo zeer goed. ('That is very good so') 如此至好 Kan lî tsî haò ne" (p. 2), but *kân lî* is written there also in colloquial characters as 咁裡 (p. 12) (BPL 2106 II, 22A).

[249] "Overigens bevalt mij de studie zeer wel; ik volg geheel mijn eigene methode, en beoefen in mijn ledigen tijd het schrijven met penseel, het cursief-schrift en maak een soort van hollandsche woordenlijst met de chinesche karakters er achter om gemakkelijker met mijnen Sen-sang te kunnen spreken door te schrijven. Anderen mogen gezegd hebben dat het Chinees [*sic*] leeren in Leiden niets geeft, ik kan opregt verklaren dat ik vooral in den beginne veel nut gehad heb van de teekens in het vaderland onder Uwe leiding geleerd. Verder heb ik de gewoonte om als ik uitga alles op te schrijven wat ik op aanplakbilletten, uithangborden enz. vind, hetgeen ik dan thuis op mijn gemak ga zitten vertalen." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, Macao 12 August 1865.

[250] "Met mijne studies ga ik steeds naar wensch voor uit. Het koudere jaargetijde heeft hierop vooral eenen gunstigen invloed. Bij het lezen van de 三國志 [*Sanguo zhi*, De Drie Rijken] komen mij dikwijls zeer goed te pas de monographien over de partikels 所以而者 enz. vroeger van de Uwe gecopieerd. De chinesche stijl is en blijft het ons zeer lastig maken. Ik heb nu ongeveer 2000 colloquial phrases in 't hoofd die ik door het veelvuldig repeteren niet ligt weer vergeten zal." Letter from Meeter to Hoffmann, Macao 29 December 1865, Or. 26.971.

[251] Wade, *The Hsin Ching Lu* [尋津錄], *or, Book of Experiments.*

[252] These manuscripts are kept in Archiefkast 3; = Or. 27.037; the book itself (originally containing these manuscripts) is now in Compactus II A 7, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[253] Also titled *Zhengyin cuoyao* 正音撮要, Wenxuanlou 文選樓藏板, originally printed in 1852, now SINOL. KNAG 157.

[254] Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 329; Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 87-8.

[255] BPL 2106 II: 14C, D.

[256] BPL 1782: 13A, pp. 12a, 23b. Colloquial Cantonese can be written with characters better than Hokkien, and it is more common to do so, although it is still considered vulgar.

[257] BPL 1782: 13B.

[258] On Chinese festivals and customs, possibly from a local gazetteer. BPL 1782: 14.

[259] BPL 1782: 17.

[260] Translation dated Gulangyu 18 September 1858 (BPL 1782: 19). De Grijs' original Chinese book is in SINOL. KNAG 46.

[261] "Munten met Chinesche stempels uit Cheribon," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 5 (1856), 487-8.

[262] *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 9 (1860), Bestuursvergaderingen, 4 June 1859, pp. 237-8.

[263] IB 12/11/1860, no. 8 inv. 7294, containing a summary of the letter of the Consul dated 10 October 1860.

[264] Staunton, *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*.

[265] Preface, BPL 1871: 1.

[266] "Index van de Composita voorkomend in de Chineesche text van het Wetboek Tai Tsang Lut Li [*Da Qing lüli*], door C. de Grijs" (26 ff.), BPL 1781: 6.

[267] Preface to De Grijs' *Geregtelijke geneeskunde*, which is dated 28 February 1862.

[268] De Grijs learnt all this much later. By the end of the year, he asked Schlegel to inquire of J.A. van der Chijs if this translation had arrived. Letter dating before 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 1.

[269] Letter of De Grijs 25 June 1862, decision in *Notulen* 1, 1862, meeting of 20 September 1862 (p. 13). At the same meeting, De Grijs was made a corresponding member of the Batavian Society (p. 30).

[270] On the cover is written: "Het Strafwetboek Tai-Tsing-loet-lee, uit het Chineesch vertaald en met aanteekeningen voorzien door C.F.M. de Grijs, Amoy 1863," but the preface is dated Amoy 1861. BPL 1781: 1.

[271] Meeting of 10 February 1865, *Notulen* 3, p. 10.

[272] He wrote a supplement about Chinese inheritance law, now in BPL 1781:3 or 4. *Notulen* 1865, 7 April 1865, p. 42.

[273] *Notulen* 3, 1865, p. 66 (meeting of 30 April 1865).

[274] Archief van het KITLV, H 1406, Notulen Bestuursvergaderingen, No. 94, 24 July 1866, 15 September 1866, 17 November 1866; Brievenboeken, No. 239, letters nos. 683, 704, 729, 732 (KITLV Collection).

[275] P. Meeter, "Mr. J.W.T. Cohen Stuart over den regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 28 and 30 October 1882. Also published in: *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 39 (1882), 316-25. W.P. Groeneveldt, Letter to T.H. der Kinderen dated 28 February 1886, p. 34, in V 19/4/1892 no. 33 inv. 4567.

[276] It has 406 pages of text and 12 pages of notes. BPL 1781:1 (*Catalogue* 2005, 91).

[277] Lan Dingyuan came from Zhangpu 漳浦 near Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou); he passed the district examinations and was therefore a *xiucai* (graduate). He worked as a teacher and scholar for some time. In 1721 he accompanied a relative on the expedition suppressing rebels on Taiwan. In 1724 he was chosen as a student at the Imperial Academy in the capital and he later became an editor. Finally he became magistrate in Puning and Chaozhou, in the Hoklo-speaking region in Eastern Guangdong, where "his wisdom in settling legal cases led the common people to believe he had supernatural aid." (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 440-1). De Grijs' translations are in BPL 1780: 3, 7, 8. These were copies that he made later. On the first page a Dutch comment is written in pencil: "worthy of revision and publication." Schaalje's translations are in BPL 2106 II: 16.

[278] The cases of Judge Bao are collected in *Longtu gong'an* 龍圖公案, but Judge Dee's cases only form part of the novel *Wu Zetian Si da qi an* 武則天四大奇案. The detective part was translated by R.H. van Gulik as *Dee Goong An: Three Murder Cases Solved by Judge Dee*, first edition 1949 (*see* p. 230). After the example of this translation of Chinese detective stories, Van Gulik later wrote his well-known Judge Dee stories (*Rechter Tie*). All these original Chinese detective stories are fictional, but may have been based on fact, as is common in fiction, and can therefore bear comparison to *Lan gong'an*.

[279] H.A. Giles, *Historic China and Other Sketches* (London 1882), 141-232. Giles became a student-interpreter at the British consular service in 1867.

[280] De Grijs had a copy of Lan Dingyuan's collected works *Luzhou quan ji* 鹿洲全集 in 21 vols., now SINOL. KNAG 175. The cover of the volume containing *Lan Gong an* was used as a blotter for a letter dated Kolongsu (Gulangyu) 1863.

[281] BPL 1780: 2, 4, 9A. In some notes he referred to De Groot's *Jaarlijksche feesten* (1883). Still other translations were made by him in the 1890s.

[282] The book lists are in V 6/8/1855 no. 2/586 inv. 444 (De Grijs), V 23/10/1857 no. 6 inv. 651 (Francken, Schlegel), V 29/1/1859 no. 52 inv. 786 (Albrecht, Von Faber), V 23/5/1859 no. 23/562 inv. 833 (Schaalje), V 24/10/1861 nov. 2/1319 inv. 1111 (Buddingh, Groeneveldt), V 22/6/1864 no. 17/679 inv. 1485 (De Breuk), V 24/5/1865 no. 2 inv. 1611 (Meeter).

[283] Groeneveldt and Buddingh bought the books for their gratifications together, in total 54 titles, four of which in two copies. So the average of 29 books should be added to the number of books purchased by each from their advance payment.

[284] Only one list of Meeter's could be found, but this was probably all that he bought.

285 Or the German original *Das algemeine linguistische Alphabet: Grundsätze der Übertragung fremder Schriftsysteme und bisher noch ungeschriebene Sprachen in europäischer Buchstaben* (Berlin, 1854). This alphabet was an early version of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA, 1888).

[286] A collection of about 250 Chinese books belonging to the Royal Dutch Geographic Society (KNAG) was kept in a depot of Amsterdam University Library, and was discovered in the 1990s. They were very fortunately donated to the Sinological Institute in 2004, where they constitute the KNAG Collection.

[287] *See* the KNAG Collection list, East Asian Library, Leiden. This list is also available on the University Library catalogue and the Library blog of the East Asian Library, Leiden.

[288] *A descriptive Catalogue of a rare and valuable collection of CHINESE PRINTED BOOKS constituting the libraries of the late Mr. W.P. Groeneveldt* [... and others], auction on Friday, May 27th, 1921, [compiled by A.G. de Bruin] E.J. Brill, Leyden. Containing at least 114 titles from Groeneveldt, including voluminous works such as the 24 dynastic histories.

## *Notes to Chapter Four*

[1] Schlegel said that De Grijs was posted in China to study the Chinese pharmacopeia (*Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 13), but this was not mentioned in the decision of the Governor-General (IB 26/9/1856, no. 2, in V 8/12/1856, no. 10, inv. 562).

[2] Bretschneider, *History of European Botanical Discoveries in China*, 532-3.

[3] Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 222.

[4] Hance had also been collecting here in 1857. This Nan Taiwu 南太武 (562 m) dominates the entrance to the waters around Amoy. There used to be a stone pagoda on the top of this hill dating from the Song dynasty (960–1279), that was used as a navigation aid by sailors; it was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution in 1968. Nan Taiwu is still a well-known scenic area. It is called Nan or Southern Taiwu in contrast with the Northern Taiwu (Bei Taiwu 北太武 or Taiwu Shan 太武山, 253 m) on Jinmen (Quemoy, Kinmen) island, now governed by Taiwan, dominating the other side of the entrance.

[5] Letter in English addressed "My dear Mac" and dated Amoy, 26 January 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 4.

[6] Two were described by C.J. Maximowicz, to whom Hance used to send duplicates (Bretschneider, *History*, 1067).

[7] Bretschneider, *History*, 533-4.

[8] H.F. Hance, "Spicilegia Florae Sinensis," *Journal of Botany* 1878, new series, vol. VII, pp. 10, 112, 226, 233. 1879 vol. VIII, p. 9.

[9] *See* description in J. Robert Sealy, *A Revision of the Genus Camellia* (London: The Royal Horticultural Society, 1958), 92-3.

[10] Camellia Grijsii, published by Yuri Panchul, March 13, 2008, on the website Sazanka, The Flower of the autumn sun (http://Sazanka.org/2008/03/13/grijsii/).

[11] No reference to De Grijs can be found in the on-line catalogue of the Nationaal Herbarium. In contrast, the collection of 2,477 specimens of plants collected by Von Siebold in Japan is accessible on-line. According to a personal communication by the head of collections, Dr. G. Thijsse, no specimens were delivered by De Grijs (8 May 2009).

[12] Described in BPL 1780:2-8, 1781:1, 1782:19, in *Catalogue* 2005.

[13] "Over de bereiding en het gebruik der groene Chinesche verfstof 綠糕 of 綠餻, *Lŏ Kaô* (groene koek)." The article is dated Amoy, 30 May 1857, a few weeks after he arrived there; it was published in *De Volksvlijt* (1857), 313-9.

[14] Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 152. By 1917 it had been almost totally superseded by aniline dyes.

[15] J.A. van Eijk, "Over de groene verfstof *lukoe*," 411-7; Prof. S. Bleekrode, "Nog iets over de Chinesche plantaardige verfstoffen lukoe (*lo-kao*) and weifa (*wei-wha*)," 418-522; De Grijs' article; Prof S. Bleekrode, "Verdere bijzonderheden over het Chinesche groen

*lŏ-kaô*," 321-3; Natalis Rondot te Parijs, medegedeeld door Prof. S. Bleekrode, "Het Chinesche groen *lŏ-kaô*," 193-218.

[16] According to Professor S. Bleekrode in 1858, De Grijs' article did not solve the problem. And in 1857, a French article with the same contents was published by Hélot in the Report of the Chamber of Commerce in Lyons (*De Volksvlijt* (1858), 321).

[17] Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, Introduction, no. 70.

[18] Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 30 (3).

[19] His copy of this edition is now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden (SINOL. KNAG 142). This edition has 5 *juan* (sections). De Grijs translated *juan* 1-4 and only the two lists at the end of *juan* 5, not the text in *juan* 5, of which the first two pages are missing in his copy. This copy contains De Grijs' corrections of misprints, and explanations of rare characters written by his teacher.

[20] Hoffmann, *Catalogus van matrijzen*, 1860. These instructions were probably meant for the printer. Around this time, the Landsdrukkerij in Batavia obtained Chinese type from Leiden and could print Chinese characters.

[21] R.H. van Gulik, *Crime and Punishment in Ancient China: T'ang-Yin-Pi-Shih* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1956), 18 note 4. Later, H.A. Giles published a translation of *juan* 1 and 2 under the title "The 'Shi Yüan Lu' or Instructions to Coronors" in *The China Review*, vol. III (1874).

[22] Wang (In-hoai), *Gerichtliche Medizin der Chinesen. Nach der holländische Uebersetzung des Herrn C.F.M. de Grys herausgegeben von Dr. H. Breitenstein* (Leipzig: Grieben 1908), vii, 174 p. Dr. Breitenstein (1848–1930) worked in the Indies as a military physician for many years. For him, this book was only important as a guide to Chinese manners, not as a technical handbook of forensic medicine. He added some notes. *See also* his *21 Jahre in Indien*, vol. 2, *Java*, 296-301. Modern scholars highly appreciate this handbook of forensic medicine; *see* Brian McKnight (translator), *The Washing Away of Wrongs: Forensic Medicine in Thirteenth Century China*: Science, Medicine, & Technology in East Asia 1 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1980).

[23] *Natuurkundig tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* 29 (1867), 157 (meeting of 24 March 1866).

[24] There were three books on algae and several on related subjects on his book list. V 23/10/1857 no. 6 inv. 651.

[25] Originally in 6 volumes; reprinted in 1860, 1868 (popular edition) and 1878.

[26] Schlegel, "Levensschets van Herman Schlegel," *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 1884 (off-print), 75 note. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, birds were usually collected by shooting them.

[27] "Levensschets," 79. When Gustaaf later read Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859), he was therefore very enthusiastic about it, but after his return to the Netherlands in 1872, he discovered that his father was opposed to this theory, and finally was even convinced by his father that the theory was not correct.

[28] Probably the following edition: Charles Robert Darwin, *Naturwissenschaftliche Reisen nach den Inseln des grünen Vorgebirges, Südamerika, dem Feuerlande, Falkland-Inseln, Chiloe-Inseln, Galapagos-Inseln, Otaheiti, Neuholland, Neuseeland, Van Diemen's land, Keeling-Inseln, Mauritius, St. Helena, den Azoren etc.* (Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1844). A Dutch translation appeared in 1845.

[29] V 23/10/1857 no. 6 inv. 651; V 24/10/1861 no. 2/1319 inv. 1111.

[30] Robert Swinhoe (1836–77) entered the British Consular Service in 1854 and came to Hong Kong. From 1855 to 1860 he was stationed in Amoy, where he learned the dialect and studied the local fauna; he also kept some animals as pets. He travelled to Formosa in 1856 and 1858, and was appointed as the first British Consular official on Formosa in 1860 (Samuel Stephenson, "Robert Swinhoe," in http://academic.reed.edu/formosa/texts/swinhoebio.html). He described and named innumerable species and laid the basis of all later studies of Chinese ornithology.

[31] "Toen ik, ten behoeve van het Museum van Natuurlijke Historie te Leiden, in China dieren en vogels schoot en insekten verzamelde, behoefde ik den Chineeschen boeren slechts wijs te maken, dat ik die dieren verzamelde om er geneesmiddelen van te maken,

en ik werd onverlet doorgelaten." Schlegel, "De oorsprong van den vreemdenhaat der Chineezen," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, September 1901 (on off-print p. 12). The subject of this speech was Chinese hatred of foreigners, for which according to Schlegel there were reasons, but it could also be gotten around.

[32] "Zij wisten ook dat, wanneer des nachts Chineesche zeeroovers eene landing op het eiland beproefden, wij met onze jachtgeweren den boeren te hulp kwamen, en het bloote gerucht, dat zes blanken het dorp beschermden, was voldoende om de zeeroovers te doen afdeinzen." Schlegel, "Vreemdenhaat," 12.

[33] Mees, "Historisches über *Anthus Gustavi* Swinhoe," *Mitteilungen aus dem Zoologischen Museum in Berlin, Annalen für Ornithologie* 14, Band 66 (1990), Supplementshaft, 137-41. Lists by Gustaaf with these numbers (including duplicates) can be found in the letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[34] "Eene groote doos met insecten waarbij een zeer groot aantal nieuwe soorten schijnen te zijn, vooral onder de nachtvlinders of soorten zonder opzichtige kleuren, welke beide door de Chinezen niet verzameld worden." List dated 2 November 1859, letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[35] "Levensschets," 64 note. Letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden. Here, "Holosceptrum" has been corrected to "Halisceptrum."

[36] "Ingezonden stukken" (letters to the editor), signed "X," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 21 December 1870.

[37] Most of them were stuffed later (Mees). Until 1900, collected specimens (hides) of animals in the Museum of Natural History in Leiden were usually stuffed in natural poses. After 1900 they were usually kept in stretched-out form to facilitate research (measuring etc.). Nowadays specimens are no longer actively collected by the Museum (personal communication from S.D. van der Mije, Senior Collection Manager Aves & Mammalia, November 2010).

[38] Schlegel, "Levensschets van Herman Schlegel," *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen 1884*. In off-print pp. 63-4, note.

[39] Barbara and Richard Mearns, *Biographies for Bird Watchers: The Lives of Those Commemorated in Western Palearctic Bird Names* (London etc.: Academic Press, 1988), 337-9. Nowadays, the *Anthus Gustavi* has also been observed passing the northwest coast of the British Isles.

[40] Described by Swinhoe in *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, 90-1.

[41] Mees, "Historisches über *Anthus Gustavi* Swinhoe."

[42] These could not be located. E-mail from Ms Caroline Pepermans, Head of Collections Administration, Naturalis, October 2010.

[43] Dr. Eduard Carl (Karl) von Martens (1831–1904) took part in the Prussian expedition to East Asia (1860–2) which concluded treaties with Japan, China (1861), and Siam (6 February 1862). There were four ships, the steamship (steam corvette) *Arkona*, the sail frigate *Thetis*, the schooner *Frauenlob,* and the clipper *Elbe*. In August 1860, the *Frauenlob* was lost with all hands on board on the way to Japan.

[44] "Waarde Oom, / Niettegenstaande eene slechte verlichting mij ter beschikking staat (bestaande in een nachtlichtje), wil ik, daar morgenvroeg de mail vertrekt, u toch een en ander mededeelen aangaande onze reis. Onze behouden aankomst op Java zal Papa u zeker reeds medegedeeld hebben, de reis leverde weinig belangrijks op. Wij hebben geen enkele visch of vogel kunnen vangen op zee, land hebben wij onderweg ook niet gezien, maar hebben veel windstilte en slechte voeding en behandeling aan boord gehad. Storm hadden wij slechts eens, buiten het kanaal, alles liep evenwel goed af, en de geheele reis hadden wij de nachten een prachtig gezicht op de phosphoriseerende zee; de verstandhouding tusschen de 36 passagiers was zeer goed, dit vergoedde de slechte behandeling van de zijde des kapiteins, die anders een goed zeeman is en nooit boos wordt. / Java is een prachtig land, ik heb er maar weinig van gezien, de omstreken van Batavia vielen mijne verwachtingen niet tegen, vogels en insecten in groote menigte. Ik zag er ook het zoogenaamde wandelend blad, dat de stoutste verbeelding overtreft; ik heb *f* 5,00 geboden per stuk, ze waren van Buitenzorg, ik heb ze echter niet gekregen; het verzamelen van insecten gaat met veel moeijlijkheden gepaard, de hitte van den dag massacreerd [*sic*] den Europeaan. / Onze reis naar Singapore per mail schroefboot hebben wij in 5 dagen volbracht. Wij deden Muntok

aan op Banka en Riouw, beide heerlijk gelegen eilanden; op deze reis weder 2 dagen hevige val-winden die zeer gevaarlijk zijn, het mistige weder in de Chinesche zee verhinderde land te zien om goede koers te houden en de menigte van gevaarlijke droogten en eilanden te vermijden, 3 dagen is de gewone overtogt. / Singapore is eene beroerde plaats, de stad namelijk, de bevolking bestaat uit Klingen of Cingalezen en Chinezen, enkele Maleijers, en verder Europeanen, die meestal buiten wonen; gisteren zijn wij aangekomen, en logeeren op 't oogenblik in 't Hôtel de l'espérance; heden middag aan tafel hoor ik opeens Duitsch spreken door een bekende stem tusschen al dat Engelsch door, en naast mij ziende en hem aansprekende herkende ik von Martens, eene aardige ontmoeting; morgen spreek ik hem weder, zijne reis met de Thetys is tot nog toe goed volbracht, het verlies van de Frauenlob ging hem zeer ter harte, zijne verzendingen zijn nogal talrijk, hij prees Japan zeer, China beviel hem niet; 't speet hem zeer Gustaaf niet ontmoet te hebben, hij verzocht aan allen zijne vriendelijke groeten. …" Letters from J.A. Buddingh to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[45] "En nu iets over de verzamelingen, ik ben druk bezig met een en ander, ik vrees echter dat Gustaaf reeds alles gezonden heeft wat hier zooal is, gisteren stikte ik weêr twee slangen in een der blikken met Chinesche brandewijn, dit is een excellent middel om ze te dooden, binnen weinige uren zijn ze dood; tot mijn leedwezen is het arsenicumpotje gebroken onderweg, ze behandelen de goederen zoo beestachtig aan boord der schepen, ik zal echter nieuwe prepareeren om huiden te maken, anders is alles goed aangekomen." Letter dated Amoy 13 May 1862.

[46] "Door onvoorziene gebeurtenissen is de helft van hetgeen ik in de 3 [*sic*] zomermaanden Mei-September verzameld had bedorven en voor verzending ongeschikt geworden, moge de rest geapprecieerd worden, daar het een zwaar werk is in een warme of liever gezegd verzengde luchtstreek in vrije uren eenige voorwerpen te verzamelen, die hier waarachtig niet gezaaijd liggen, zooals men wel in Europa meent; ons eiland is daarentegen zeer arm, men kan lang zoeken om wat te vinden." Letter dated 15 September 1862.

[47] Letters from J.A. Buddingh to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden. Short biography in: Mees: *A List of the Birds Recorded from Bangka Island, Indonesia*, Zoölogische verhandelingen uitgegeven door het Rijksmuseum voor Natuurlijke Historie te Leiden, no. 232 (Leiden, 1986), 158.

[48] "Ik heb hier weinig kunnen verzamelen wegens te veel studie, onaangenaamheden met ploerten, en eene warme winter die uitstapjes onmogelijk maakten." Letter dated 4 June 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden

[49] "Ik heb tot nog toe geene gelegenheid gehad om een groote kist met vogels etc. met een schip mêe te geven, de kapteins zijn soms zulke beroerlingen, dat ik ze niet vertrouw, en buitendien gaan al zoo zeldzaam schepen direct naar Nederland via Java." Letter dated 4 June 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[50] From Grimmen near Stralsund. Albert Pasedag perhaps later emigrated to the United States; a person with the same name, born around 1840 in Prussia, was living in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1880 (internet, 1880 US census). He was possibly related to the Amoy merchant C.J. Pasedag (Pasedag & Co.), who would later become the Netherlands' Consul in Amoy from 1874 to 1884.

[51] "Zooeven vertrok een mijner vrienden uit Emoi voor goed naar Duitschland terug, omdat het hem in de koophandel niet naar wensch ging. Deze gelegenheid heb ik natuurlijk niet laten voorbijgaan om een en ander meêtegeven naar Leiden, slechts een klein kistje werd mij toegestaan te brengen en ik heb derhalve het kleinste en voornaamste er in gedaan dat gereed was voor verzending." Letter 5 June 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[52] "2 uilen (van groote waarde) / 1 Alcedo lugubris (keurig exemplaar) / 1 Alcedo bengalensis (dito) / 1 zee eend (dodaars, die heel moeilijk te krijgen zijn; deze is geschoten door Schaalje en mij tegelijkertijd, ieder vuurden wij twee maal op dit dier; een keurig exemplaar waarvan ik de eer als schenker afsta aan mijn vriend Schaalje, die hem u aanbiedt) …" Letter 5 June 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[53] "Ik ben nu voornemens de huid te prepareren van mijn wezel, die ik nog steeds in leven heb, hij is echter achterlijk in groei en minder donker gekleurd als de exemplaren in de vrije natuur, die men wel zien maar niet vangen kan, reeds heb ik nieuwe proeven genomen, die tamelijk wel gelukt zijn." Letter 5 June 1863.

[54] De Grijs, Schlegel, and Albrecht also donated to this museum and Hoffmann often made descriptions of coins. *See* Van der Chijs, *Het munt- en penningkabinet der Leidsche Hoogeschool in 1867*, 113-5, 122. In 2007 this museum merged with two other museums into the Geldmuseum (Money Museum) in Utrecht. On 1 November 2013 this museum was abolished because of lack of financial resources. The collection and archives were to be entrusted to De Nederlandsche Bank in Amsterdam.

[55] "… eindelijk twee huiden, een van eene rat en een van de getemde wezel, door een ongeluk om 't leven gekomen, zijn staart is verongelukt bij 't villen." Letter 3 October 1863.

[56] "Het is jammer dat wij uit Emoi weggaan, want men moet altijd eenige tijd lang ergends geweest zijn om bekend te worden en bekend te zijn. Daarvoor heb ik dikwijls uitgaven gedaan, die mij nu niets zullen opleveren, want men moet alles door Chinezen laten verzamelen, zelf verzamelen gaat niet, 't zou behalve in den wintertijd het leven kosten aan een Europeaan." Letter to Herman Schlegel, 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[57] "Het zal u misschien verwonderen dat ik dit jaar zoo weinig verzameld heb in vergelijking van de collectie van 1862 die nu op reis is, maar zooals ik u geloof ik reeds eerder geschreven heb, ben ik verhuisd en woon nu in de stad aan de haven, vis à vis Kolangsu, sedert Maart heb ik het oude Engelsche consulaat verlaten moeten, en derhalve tuin en omgeving, het is weêr in Chinesche handen, anders had ik er van tijd tot tijd toch heên kunnen gaan, maar alles is nu afgesloten. Zoo heb ik ook dit jaar geen vogeleieren kunnen verzamelen, ook geene kapellen of insecten." Letter to Herman Schlegel, 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[58] *Euplocamus Swinhoii* Gould or Formosan Wakoe (Wá-koë) is an "exceedingly beautiful species" (Gould), now an endangered species from the mountains of Taiwan. Swinhoe wrote that after he heard of a beautiful bird which the Chinese colonists called Waköe (perhaps hoa-koe 花雞, 'piebald hen'), he offered a reward for live specimens. He obtained two specimens: one was shot and had been skinned because of the hot climate; the other was caught alive "but it battered itself so, that they were obliged to kill it to save its feathers." He did not observe it in the wild (*The Ibis* (1863), 401-3). Described by John Gould in *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* (1862), 284-5 (25 November).

[59] "Onlangs ben ik naar Formosa geweest, 3 dagen binnenslands, maar de omstandigheden en de tijd hebben mij verhinderd daar iets te verzamelen, slechts een vogel en een paar nesten, benevens zwavel en steenkool uit de mijnen heb ik meêgebracht, het is een goddelijk land, niets minder dan Java: Formosa is niet genoeg, het land moest Formossisima heeten, ik was geheel verrukt van de vruchtbaarheid, schoonheid en natuurrijkdom en pracht in dit eiland, de rivieren zijn ook wonderschoon, zoo als wij ze niet in Europa hebben. Nog meer verbaasd over de schoone natuur was ik, omdat Formosa zoo digt onder de Chinesche kust ligt, en deze zoo armoedig, stiefmoederlijk bedeeld is, vooral ons kale Emoi, dat eigentlijk Kolangsu in 't groot is, maar in evenredigheid minder boomen heeft, dus dat hier weinig vogels zijn is niets vreemds. Maar het verwonderde mij ten zeerste dat ik zoo weinig vogels op mijn uitstapjes gezien heb op Formosa, en toch geloof ik dat er genoeg zijn, juist door de weelderige bosschen komen ze niet te voorschijn, voedsel behoeven ze niet ver te zoeken en onrust kennen ze er niet; die fazant door Swinhoe in Engeland gebracht en naar hem genoemd, heeft hij geschenk van de Engelsche consul op Tamsui en deze had hem van een Chinees gekocht die uit het bovenland kwam op Formosa, slangen heb ik in menigte gezien op Formosa, maar niet hetzelfde soort, vlinders zijn er prachtig, ook geheel verschillend van de Emoi en Kolangsu kapellen, apen en vooral schildpadden zijn er in allerlei soort, in 't geheel ben ik slechts 5 dagen aan wal geweest, en 10 dagen van huis." Letter to Herman Schlegel, 3 October 1863, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[60] "… eene zoogdier-huid, dezelve is afkomstig uit het binnenland dezer Provincie, de Chinezen noemen hem steen-tijger [石虎]. Ik beschouw hem als een soort van civetkat of wilde kat, misschien is het iets nieuws, hij is geheel door Chinezen gevild en gedroogd, er mankeert evenwel niet veel aan behalve de pooten en de slecht geconserveerde staart." Letter 3 October 1863.

[61] In Dutch: "geweren en pistolen." These were sold after he left Amoy. Letter to Schaalje 25 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 28.

[62] "Wolf van de Emilie zal nu wel op Java zijn en zoo Gij mogt hooren dat hij in moeilijke omstandigheden zit, of misschien wel dood is of zooiets, schrijf het mij dan: Gij weet dat

Groeneveldt hem een kogel in zijn voorhoofd gejaagd heeft waardoor Wolfs oog verloren was bij zijn vertrek van Emoi, maar daar de kogel nog niet uit 't hoofd is maak ik mij ongerust ….” Letter dated 3 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 12.

[63] Letter dated 14 June 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, p. 17-18.

[64] Mees, *Birds from Bangka*, 10, 158. This new species, *Macrobrachium geron* Holthuis, is not mentioned in Fransen et al., “Type Catalogue of the Decapod Crustacea,” *Zoölogische Verhandelingen Leiden* 311 (1997).

[65] “Verslag omtrent 's lands Plantentuin over het Jaar 1868,” quoted in *Java-bode*, 23 June 1869.

## *Notes to Chapter Five*

[1] Pieter de Gooyer and Jacob de Keyzer (1655–7), Pieter van Hoorn (1666–8), Vincent Paets (1685–7), and Isaac Titsingh (1794–5).

[2] Duyvendak, *Wegen en gestalten*, 241-50, 273-8. Vixseboxse, *Een Hollandsch gezantschap*, 1-3.

[3] Cai Hongsheng, “Dutch Enterprise in the Pearl River Delta during the 17th and 18th Century,” in Blussé, *Sailing to the Pearl River*, 7.

[4] Blussé, “Wills, Widows and Witnesses,” 318.

[5] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 44.

[6] This is one of Van Dongen's conclusions.

[7] Prince Gong (Kung, 1833–98) 恭親王 was a half-brother of the Xianfeng Emperor (1831–62, ruled 1850–61). The full name of the Zongli Yamen (Tsung-li ya-men) was *Zongli geguo shiwu yamen* 總理各國事務衙門 (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 380-4).

[8] Royal Decree 23 July 1862 no. 64. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 40.

[9] Xue Huan 薛煥 (Hsüeh Huan, 1815–80) was Governor of Jiangsu province in 1860–3 and Commissioner of Trade in 1861–3 (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 744).

[10] IB 23/2/1862 no. 13 inv. 7323. Draft texts dated 28 November 1862 by Van der Hoeven and 12 December 1862 by the Minister of Foreign Affairs are kept in Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126 toegang 2.05.01, Foreign affairs, NA, The Hague.

[11] Correspondence inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01. Summary of the Chinese letters with De Grijs' translation in BPL 1782:24 F pp. 1a-2a. Chinese memorials in *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末 (1972 edition) Vol. 8, Index, pp. 350-1.

[12] “内稱伊主為大皇帝，將來尚須設法令其更改.” This was followed by: “其餘詞氣，均尚恭順.” (The tone of the rest of the words is altogether respectful and submissive.) *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末 (1972 edition) Vol. 5, pp. 255-6 (同治朝 *juan* 10, pp. 7-9).

[13] A copy by Schaalje of one of Xue Huan's letters is kept in the Leiden University Library, letter of 9 December 1862 giving approval of a treaty to copy the Belgian one (BPL 2106 I: 5 A, *Catalogue* 2005, 134). And on his list of standard translations of Dutch and East Indies officials, *Koning* (King) was translated as *Huangdi* 皇帝 and *Huangshang* 皇上 (Emperor) (BPL 2106 II: 35, p. 1).

[14] Lobscheid, *English and Chinese Dictionary*, Vol. III, p. 1076 footnote. Nowadays both words are still confused by Cantonese speakers in Hong Kong. In Cantonese *wang* and *huang* are both pronounced *wong*.

[15] He was Minister from 12 March 1862 to 15 March 1864 (*Staatsalmanak*).

[16] Chinese and Dutch letter dated 11 August 1863, in BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 1a-2a.

[17] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 40-5.

[18] In Dutch: *schroefstoomschip*. Named after Jan Coenraad Koopman (1790–1855). In 1832, during the Belgian Revolution and its aftermath, he courageously burned his ships rather than capitulate to the French and Belgians near Antwerp.

[19] Instructions of 27 December 1862, Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 40.

[20] A copy book of De Grijs' letters from January to December 1863 including a diary of the mission written on 10 November 1863 is kept in BPL 1782: 28, and his draft article is in BPL 1783: 1D and 2. Some copies of Chinese diplomatic letters with his Dutch trans-

lations dated August 1863 to May 1864 are in BPL 1782: 24 F, and three original letters in Chinese from September 1863 are in inv. 74, toegang 2.05.90. Chinese correspondence is published in *Li Wenzhong gong quanji* 李文忠公全集 and summarised in memorials in *Chouban yiwu shimo* (Tongzhi) 籌辦夷務始末 (同治朝).

[21] "Vroeger sprak ik U over Peking, maar weet Gij wel dat Ang met mij gaat: hij krijgt van mij $ 35 's maands zoolang als de expeditie duurt en hij is mij dit wel waard daar ik hem vertrouw zooveel als een Chinees te vertrouwen is." Letter to Francken dated Amoy 3 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 12.

[22] De Grijs mentioned the indignation of the Chinese in 1891, almost thirty years later, when answering questions from the member of Parliament A.J.W. Farncombe Sanders. BPL 1781: 9, p. 1. Another reason for the anger of the Chinese was probably that the change of Van der Hoeven's Chinese name had made him unrecognisable; *see* below.

[23] "De Grijs who knows a little Mandarin" (die een weinig de … Mandarijnsche taal … magtig is). Letter Schlegel to Director of Justice De Pauly dated 27 May 1872, V7/8/1872 no. 40 inv. 2515. In his draft article and letters, De Grijs sometimes mixed up Mandarin and Hokkien pronunciations, writing Tangchow for Tungchow 通州 (draft article, p. 32) etc.

[24] De Grijs probably meant: to be responsible for their livelihood. Beef was popular among Europeans but it was rarely eaten by the Chinese.

[25] "Wat de tractaten-boel betreft, ik kan er niets van zeggen: vroeger had ik mij ingebeeld dat een fatsoenlijk mensch uit Holland of Java zou gezonden worden en dus bleef ik tegen mijn belang in China, nu is vdHoeven het en ik merk dat hij er al lang op gerekend heeft: zoo ik mij nu terugtrek zal het domme vee en ook de verstandige hoop opgestookt door een ultra-conservatief koopman in Gember kruiderijen, spijsolie etc. denken dat ik mij terugtrek daar ik bang ben om een tractaat te maken onder oogen van zulk een chineesch-kenner als de onderhavige ambassadeur. / Zooal de Goden en godinnen mij hunne spreektrompetten leenden om te vloeken, ik zou nog te kort schieten om uit te drukken mijne woede, maar helaas zooals Thomas Carlyle zegt, om in een houten hoofd iets te trommelen is eene lastige operatie. De infatuatie van het gouvernement gaat zoo ver dat zij uit alle schepen ter wereld hebben gekozen een schip genaamd *V.A. Koopman* met een *koopman* als ambassadeur, zonder secretaris zonder tolk zonder iets, daar ik maar toegevoegd schijn te zijn om menschen Gû-bah [牛肉] te koopen enz. Het ergste is dat ik er niets aan kan doen! Voordat het tractaat echter gesetteld wordt zal ik met Van der Hoeven een praatje houden en ik beloof U het zal zoo fatsoenlijk mogelijk zijn." Letter to Francken dated Amoy 7 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 13.

[26] "… ik ben vrij zeker dat ik mij aan den ambassade zal trachten te onttrekken!" Letter to the students in Amoy, Hong Kong 1 June 1864, BPL 1782: 28, p. 14.

[27] "Ik wilde nu naar Java maar vdH houdt mij terug zeggende [dat] ik in de volgende week met hem naar 't noorden ga, en waarschijnlijk snel 't tractaat naar huis zal brengen." Letter to Francken dated Hong Kong 10 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 15.

[28] In Chinese characters: 黃埔. These docks were in Hung Hom 紅磡 on the Eastern side of Kowloon. Not to be confused with the harbour of Whampoa (Huangpu) near Canton or the Huangpu River 黃浦江 in Shanghai.

[29] Letters to Schaalje dated Hong Kong 17 June 1863 and to Groeneveldt 24 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 19, 26.

[30] "De VA Koopman kwam dus hier aan en heeft 15 officieren en 175 man aan boord, de overste is een ultra-Conservatief Hollander wiens hart & boezem kloppen op 't woord Holland en die mij verweet toen ik hem een half uur gezien had dat ik beschaamd was over Holland & geen Hollander was, de officieren zijn alle ware hollandsche jongens (bollebuizen) en het eten aan boord is ultra-conservatief. Van der Hoeven zal er zich geheel tehuis gevoelen maar ik eene bastaart voel er mij vreemd." Letter to Schaalje dated 17 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 19-20. J.E. Buys was Captain Lieutenant-commander (*Kapitein-Luitenant ter zee*).

[31] No reference concerning this decision could be found.

[32] Letter to Schaalje dated Hong Kong 25 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 29.

[33] Letters to Schaalje dated Hong Kong 17 June 1863 and 25 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 19, 28. The full name of this Ang is not given, but he was probably Ang In Liong 汪寅

亮. The students had two teachers named Ang, but pronounced with different tones: Ang În Liōng and Âng Dzú Lâm 洪汝嵐 (*see* Chapter Three, section on teaching methods). In his letters De Grijs always indicated the tones on words and names. Now he perhaps was calling him "the cross-eyed one" to avoid any misunderstanding.

[34] "… de spiegel bloemen." De Grijs had a copy of this novel, now in SINOL. KNAG 199.

[35] Letter to Schaalje dated Hong Kong 29 June 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 31. His second servant, his "boy," must also have arrived then (Letter from Mossel to Van der Hoeven, 24 July 1863, inv. 74, toegang 2.05.90).

[36] Letter in English to "My dear fellow," dated Tientsin 31 August 1863, BPL 1782: 28, between pp. 48 and 49.

[37] De Grijs' draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 10.

[38] "[Dan] gaan er altijd een paar maanden voorbij, eer dat er chinesche onderhandelaars benoemd zijn, terwijl ik vrees dat het sluiten, het teekenen van het tractaat wel ad calendas Graecas zal verdaagd worden." Letter to Francken dated Hong Kong 18 July 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 33.

[39] In his letter of 11 August 1862 to Xue Huan, Van der Hoeven had announced that the Dutch would arrive with two warships (BPL 2601 I: 5A, p. 2a; Li Hongzhang's version of this letter only mentions one ship, 奏稿, 卷四, p. 12r). This ship, in Dutch also a *schroefstoomschip*, was named after a famous battlefield in the Dutch–Belgian War in 1832. This war ended with the independence of Belgium from the Netherlands, which was a traumatic experience for the Dutch.

[40] Letter to "My dear fellow," dated Tientsin 31 August 1863, BPL 1782: 28, loose A5 leaves after p. 49. De Grijs heard a common Dutch curse meaning "God damn." Jardine was one of the largest British firms in China. It would pay the publication costs of Legge's *Chinese Classics*.

[41] The Belgian Treaty was dated 8 August 1862 and consisted of only four articles, but included the most-favoured nation clause. French text in inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01, NA. Chinese text in *Zhongwai jiuyue huibian* 中外舊約章彙編 (北京三聯書店, 1957, vol. 1) pp. 207-8 (Dutch Treaty of 1863 on pp. 208-13). According to De Grijs, it could not be considered a real treaty, and the interpreter was to be blamed for this, not the Belgian Consul General (BPL 1783: 2, p. 13). The Belgian treaty was never ratified, but a full treaty was signed in 1865.

[42] Draft article by De Grijs, p. 13, BPL 1783: 2.

[43] Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (Li Hung-chang, 1823–1901) became a *jinshi* in 1847 and took part in the suppression of the Taiping revolt. He was Governor of Jiangsu and Commissioner of Trade in the Southern Harbours in 1863–71. Later he became Commissioner of Trade of the Northern Harbours (1872–1901) and for thirty years was the foremost Chinese diplomat. In 1896 he made a tour around the world, visiting St. Petersburg, Berlin, The Hague, Brussels, Paris, and America (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 464-71; *see also* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Schlegel and Li Hongzhang in 1896").

[44] "Later toen wij al te Tientsin waren kregen wij een brief van den commmissaris waarin hij zeide dat wij het toch in Shanghai moesten doen, dat wij gekomen waren om een tractaat *aftesmeeken* en wij dus maar het belgische tractaat moesten copieren enz. enz. en hij eindigt met eene allerbeleefdste phrase verzoekende hem wel te willen antwoorden in onderwijs alias de gewone brieventerm van een inferieur aan een superieur: ik vind de stijl lomp & onbeschaafd en 't kan best zijn dat de heer Commissaris den brief niet gelezen heeft. Hoe 't ook zij, er is niet verder op geantwoord." Letter to Francken dated Tientsin 7 September 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, pp. 49-50.

[45] "今 貴國照比國章程立約，自應仍在上海辦理，毋庸赴京. 若冒昧前去必致無人接待料理.貴大臣亦必致仍回上海方可與本大臣會議立約." Chinese letter and Dutch translation in BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 4a-5b.

[46] 李文忠公全集，奏稿，卷四, pp. 9a-13a.

[47] Schaalje made a copy of the letter from Xue Huan of 9 December 1862 (BPL 2106 I: 5 A, *Catalogue* 2005, 134), and "King" was translated as "Emperor" on his list of officials in the Indies (BPL 2106 II: 35, p. 1).

[48] “其國名荷字改用和字，似取音同之故。其去年申陳内稱伊主為皇帝，兹文内則稱爲君主。是此一層，不煩力爭而先已更易。將來立約，自當以該使此文為定。” 李文忠公全集，奏稿，卷四, pp. 9a-9b (punctuation added).

[49] The name 和蘭 had been used in the Ming dynasty, for instance in the *Dongxi yangkao* 東西洋考 (1617) *juan* 6, p. 15 and in the *History of the Ming dynasty* 明史 (1368–1644), printed in 1739, which has a chapter about the Netherlands (和蘭傳). From the 1650s on, when the first Dutch envoys visited Peking, the modern name 荷蘭 (or 荷蘭國) had been used in China in all official contacts with the Dutch. It had become well established as the standard name in China by the beginning of the nineteenth century. But in the Indies the older Ming-dynasty name 和蘭 continued to be used until well into the twentieth century; for instance in the Kong Koan archives of Batavia it was used exclusively from 1787 to 1912. In Japan the archaic name 和蘭, pronounced *Oranda*, was often used in book titles until 1945, and afterwards replaced by katakana オランダ (Kuiper, “The Chinese name for ‘Holland.’”).

[50] As Consul in Canton, Van der Hoeven was called 大荷蘭國欽命駐劄廣州總理本國事務領事方 (J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, Consul General of the Netherlands in Canton). As plenipotentiary he was called 大和國君主特派欽差駐劄中華便宜行事全權大臣礬 (J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, extraordinary plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands in China). De Grijs probably chose the new Chinese name Fán 礬 for Van der Hoeven because its large number of strokes (20) showed more authority than the simple name Fāng 方 (4 strokes); for a Dutchman, it also better represented the Dutch sound of ‘Van.’ Van der Hoeven’s full Chinese name used in Tientsin was Fan Da Hewen 礬大何文.

[51] In the nineteenth century, these were the most common names for England and France, appearing for instance in the modern geography schoolbook by Zhang Shiying 張士瀛, *Diqiu yunyan* 地球韻言 (*juan* 3, pp. 5a, 10a; many editions in 1898–1905). These names were later superseded by the modern names *Yingguo* 英國 and *Faguo* 法國, which had also been used in the treaties. By contrast, *Heguo* 和國 never became the common name for the Netherlands.

[52] Kuiper, “The Chinese name for ‘Holland.’”

[53] “Shanghai de 12 Augustus verlaten, vielen wij ter reede van Taku op 19 Augustus en de volgende morgen ging ik naar wal om van Taku naar Tientsin te trekken: aan wal gekomen ging ik bij den franschen Commandant van het fort die mij allerbeleefdst ontving & eene huurboot bezorgde met welk fraai vaartuig ik ’s avonds om negen uur vertrok en de volgenden nacht ten ½ 2 te Tientsin arriveerde. Ik had dus meer dan 24 uur in de boot gezeten en ruimschoots gelegenheid gehad om de rivier te zien en kan u verzekeren het is wel der moeite waard. De rivier maakt zoo vele en wonderlijke bogten dat de reis daardoor overmatig verlengd wordt, terwijl de regtlijnige afstand tot Tientsin zoowat de helft van de rivierweg beslaat. Nu had ik wel met kar en paard kunnen gaan, maar door de veelvuldige regens waren de wegen zoo slecht dat ik mij niet van een postchaise met twee muilezels bediend heb. ’s Morgens verliet ik den boot en ging Fred Pedder opzoeken.” BPL 1782:28, p. 50.

[54] Later Frederick Pedder (Bo Feili 伯飛鯉) was Vice-Consul for the Netherlands in Tientsin from 1864 to 1866.

[55] “De dag daarop vertrok ik met vanderHoeven, Colonel Mossel & H vdWijck attaché naar Tientsin waar wij zaturdagavond 29 Aug arriveerden tot groot vermaak der heeren, die zich er maar niet genoeg over konden uitlaten, dat het huis mooi & goed gemeubeld & gearrangeerd [was]. Ik had aan een Cantonkok gezegd dat het eten tegen zeven uur moest klaar wezen en had de scheele thuis gelaten om te zien dat mijn orders werden uitgevoerd. Het eten was sumptueus en steeds zoo gebleven en daar ik directeur des huizes & kas-houder ben en Tsaì laî mij terzijde staat is alles perfect naar mijn zin.” Letter to Francken dated 7 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 51.

[56] De Grijs’ draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 18.

[57] Letter dated 21 August 1863, in BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 6a, 6b.

[58] Chonghou 崇厚 (Ch’ung Hou or Tsung Hau, 1826–93) was a Manchu. He was Commissioner from 1861 to 1870, later led diplomatic missions to France (1871) and Russia (1879), but after unsuccessful negotiations with the Russians, leading to loss of territory, he was sentenced to imprisonment awaiting decapitation, which was later com-

muted to imprisonment. He was released after making a contribution to the government of 300,000 taels (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 209-11).

[59] "In de vertaling is Tientsin zoo opgegeven alsof 't op 's Konings bevel geschiedde en er aldus geen sprake van Shanghai kan wezen." BPL 1782: 24 F, p. 6a, b. Chonghou's Chinese version to the Emperor even added Peking as second destination (天津京城) (*Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, p. 476 (*juan* 18, p. 49a)).

[60] Letter dated 26 August 1863, in BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 7a,b. De Grijs' draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 20. Li Hongzhang was worried that the Dutch would (otherwise) rush on to Peking.

[61] De Grijs' draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 20.

[62] Possibly the pawnshop (*dangpu* 當鋪), in China a highly respected place often functioning as a bank (Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, 445).

[63] De Grijs' draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 18.

[64] "Wij kwamen dus in een prachtig gebouw bijeen, ik als tolk en hoewel ik gedacht had geen woord mandarijnsch er uit te zullen brengen ging het beter dan ik dacht." Letter to Francken dated Tientsin 7 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 51. Unless otherwise specified, the account given here by De Grijs is based on this letter. In the nineteenth century all diplomacy with China was conducted in Chinese (Demiéville, "Aperçu," 85).

[65] A copy of the Dutch and Chinese text is in BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 12v, 13r.

[66] Letter to Francken dated Tientsin 7 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 51.

[67] "Ja, ik weet wel dat Gij een geleerd man zijt en geen koopman, terwijl Mr. van der Hoeven handel drijft." "Steeds werd ik met onderscheiding behandeld, terwijl van der Hoeven volstrekt niet zoo gezien was als Kolonel Mossel van de Marine." De Grijs answered questions of A.J.W. Farncombe Sanders, member of parliament, probably in 1891. BPL 1781: 9, pp. 1-2 (*cf.* the preceding and following nos. 8, 10 and 11). The Chinese also wished to foster De Grijs' sympathy; Chonghou mentioned this policy in his memorial of 10 October.

[68] N.G. Peter was a clerk with Van der Hoeven from 1860 and later became his partner in business. He was also his brother-in-law. When Van der Hoeven returned to the Netherlands in 1866, Peter succeeded him as Consul (Letters from Van der Hoeven to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 30 March 1865 and 12 May 1866, inv. 3030, Consulates in China, toegang 2.05.01).

[69] "Ons leven hier gaat voort als dat van den nijveren landman, dat wil zeggen wij laten Gods water over Gods akker loopen, en daar het onbetwistbaar is dat alles teregt komt behalve Lapidoth's beenen, zoo willen wij hopen dat ook het tractaat wel schikken wil. Wij leven in *the lap of luxury*, en alhoewel het dames personeel niets te wenschen overlaat, omdat er geene dames zijn, zoo is het toch meer dan waarschijnlijk dat zelfs Gij hier U eigen zich zelleve lekker zoudt gevoelen: eten is zoo overvloedig dat wij koelies er op na houden om de gebraden kalkoenen aftehouden die ons in de mond loopen. vdHoeven is vrijwel tevreden geloof ik en *in fact as good as could be expected under the circumstances*. De groote vlootvoogd is bezadigd liberaal, eet veel, slaapt veel en verveelt zich niet al te veel." Letter to N.G. Peter (then in Macao) dated 4 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 40.

[70] Hâm (Kâm) [含] means "to hold in the mouth." De Grijs probably found the matter too embarrassing to use the Dutch word. *Hâm* is the literary Hokkien pronunciation, while *kâm* is the colloquial one.

[71] "Tientsin is eene welvarende plaats met eene buitengewone vlugge ontwikkeling bewijze het aantal chinesche winkels die europeeschen goederen verkoopen. Er is een straat genaamd High street, misschien een mijl lang die vol is met winkels van allerlei kostbare waren, zijden stoffen, bontwerken, porcelein, yadestone, plaatwinkels, eethuizen enz. enz. Ik heb Canton gezien maar dat haalt niet bij de rijkdom van die straat en denk er bij dat bijna de geheele straat een 1½ jaar geleden is afgebrand zoodat de winkels allen nieuw zijn. Eenige winkels verkoopen aarden poppetjes die zoo mooi zijn dat zij in eene étagère hooren en tegen 12 voor 1 dollar te krijgen zijn. Mikroskopische zaken, photographien in duizenden vooral nakende meyden. Dan zijn er een aantal tempels waar jeugdige neophyten ik meen Katamieten te krijgen zijn en alhoewel het hier als gemeen wordt beschouwd om bij meiden te loopen, heeft bijna iedere chinees zijn jongen: in allerlei openbare speel & tooneelhuizen zijn afgeschoten hokken waarheen de jongens U leiden en zoo het op deze

manier niet gaat dan op gene: zoo zelfs dat men er niets in vindt om te Hâm (Kâm) Uw geval. Nu dat is een smerig praatje, maar 't is de waarheid. De woningen der vreemdelingen zijn chinesche huizen en aan de rivier op het settlement wordt nu gebouwd, dus zullen daar binnen 2, 3 jaar een tal europeesche huizen zijn." Letter to Francken dated Tientsin 7 September 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 52.

[72] "onder de europesche voorwerpen vindt men heele pakken met photographiën die een zeer ongelukkig idee van Europesche zeden en smaak geven, het ware te wenschen dat men ten minste niet met *zulke* prentjes aan 't beschaven der chinezen ging." On the other hand, among the Chinese clay puppets, there were also "extremely immoral figurines that are in high demand" (maar ook hoogst onzedelijke beelden die gretig verkocht worden), BPL 1783: 2, p. 28.

[73] "Om de eentonigheid van vdH[s] leven wat te variëren hebben wij chinesche kunstenaars aan huis gehad: ik had er wel veel tegen maar 't hielp niet. De gymnastische toeren van een kind van negen jaar waren zeker zeer fraai maar overigens was het naar!" Diary on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 62.

[74] Draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 29.

[75] "Dit laatste geschiedde op den tienden September met al de deftigheid en formaliteit die men van twee natiën op eenen voet van gelijkheid wenschen kan: de volmagt des keizers was geschreven op geel papier in eene geele doos omwonden met geele zijde; de beide volmagten in orde bevonden stelde Tsung How voor twee kommissarissen om de voorloopige behandeling der verschillende artikelen af te doen, waarop de heer Van der Hoeven, de schrijver dezes benoemde tot nederlandsche kommissaris. De nederlandsche gevolmagtigde bood al dadelijk eene chinesche vertaling van een concept traktaat aan, ten einde te voldoen aan den wensch van het chineesch gouvernement dat eene spoedige afdoening der zaak beoogde." Draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 31.

[76] This is no. D of the four draft texts of the treaty kept in the Leiden University Library in BPL 1782: 24 A-D. *Catalogue* 2005, 112-3. Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 62-3.

[77] "Tsung Hou de benoemde gevolmagtigde is een Tartaar die reeds bij meerde[re] tracta-ten als gevolmagtigde gediend heeft. Hij is zeer goed gezind jegens de Europeanen en een van de meest beschaafde en welgemanierde menschen der wereld: hij is een uitmuntend voorbeeld van een natuurlijk beschaafd man en terwijl hij niet altijd zeer spraakzaam is, komt dit misschien meer uit een soort van natuurlijke beschaamdheid dan aan gebrek aan conversatie: hoewel hij zeer geslepen is, kleurt hij toch al zeer gemakkelijk als hij uitgevonden wordt iets in 't zin te hebben dat niet regt is. [p. 62] Tsung Hou deelde zijne benoeming tot plenipo mede aan alle vreemde Consuls. Hij wordt geassisteerd door een tweetal Chinezen die zeer wel bij hem passen. Een klein kereltje rang van Tao-tai die zeer brutaal, zeer slim en zeer vlug ter tong is en een groote goede lobbes die eigenlijk meer verstand heeft dan de kleine maar als een mediateur dient wanneer de kleine een beetje te ver gaat. Het waren deze twee presentjes [persoontjes] die van de kant der Chinezen belast waren om te onderhandelen terwijl ik van de kant der Hollanders benoemd was om met hen te werken. Wij zullen dus met ons drieën artikel voor artikel afpraten en als dat afgeloopen is ze ter goedkeuring voorleggen aan de gevolmagtigden." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 61-2.

[78] "Daar hij er altijd op uit is om op goeden voet met vreemdelingen te zijn, laat hij bij minder aangename onderwerpen de bespreking over aan twee personen die hem altoos ter zijde staan en als zijne gelastigden optreden: [doorhaling: deze twee personen verdienen wel afzonderlijke vermelding] de jongste Tsiu-kia-hiun [Zhou Jiaxun] die den rang van Tao-tai (resident of directeur) heeft is zeer geslepen, zeer spraakzaam, zeer brutaal, deinst echter terug voor iemand die hem aan durft; hij was het die altijd de attaque begon bij moeijlijk te verdedigen positiën, werd hij afgeslagen dan kwam de tweede persoon Kao-tsung-wang [Gao Congwang] hem te hulp; deze heer gouverneur van Tien-tsin fu en onderhoorigheden heeft veel met Europeanen omgegaan, is voorzigtiger dan zijne collega en tracht het effekt van de wat al te scherpe tong van den eersten wat te verzachten. Ik bedoel hier de aard van die heeren in officieel verkeer: zoodra het werk is afgeloopen zijn zij innemend, vrolijk, gul en zelfs goedhartig en opregt." BPL 1783: 2, p. 19. Characters of Chinese names in BPL 1782: 24 F nos. 6, 7; *Catalogue* 2005, ill. on p. 113. Gao Congwang accompanied Chonghou to France in 1871.

[79] De Grijs mentioned another name: Gao Congwang 高從望. He had name cards of all three (BPL 1782: 24F (nos. 6-8); *Catalogue* 2005, 111, ill. no. 32).

[80] The Treaties of Tientsin of 1858 with Britain and France contained respectively 104 and 42 short articles, and were about twice as long as the final Dutch Treaty in 16 articles.

[81] "[崇厚]委派天津府知府費學曾、候補知府周家勳、與隨該使前來能通中國文字語言之翻譯官凱士商論。當據凱士面稱，此次該使特來天津，議立條約，擬照英法各國條款辦理，以示一體優待之意。當答以凡在通商章程內，兩國取利防損之處，均可斟酌允准，惟不能照英法各國，分別數十款之多，祇須得其大意，包括一切，立有數款，即可完峻等語。詎意該翻譯官訂期，先與委員等面語。據稱現在擬送條約稾本." *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 511-2, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, p. 7b).

[82] *Catalogue* 2005, 112-3. BPL 1782: 24 A-D. No. D was De Grijs' earliest version in 19 articles, No. C De Grijs' second version, no. B was Prince Gong's version and no. A the final version by the Chinese.

[83] "Op 14 September had de eerste zamenkomst der nieuwbenoemde kommissarissen plaats, en begon er een reeks van [p. 32] schermutselingen die soms hoogst onaangenaam waren. De twee vroeger genoemde chinesche beambten Tsiu-kia-hiun [Zhou Jiaxun] en Kao tsung wang [Gao Congwang] kweten zich dapper van hunnen taak en trachtten steeds door allerlei omwegen, van zaken in kwestie af te dwalen, tot onderwerpen die geheel buiten de zaak lagen, het was dus een voortdurend streven om hen voet bij stuk te doen houden: daar de zamenkomsten zonder streng ceremonieel plaats hadden, was het nog al gemakkelijk om de opinie van den Nederlandsche gevolmagtigde aan die heren te doen kennen, zonder zijn toevlugt te moeten nemen tot allerlei fraaije zinswendingen. De bijeenkomsten die gewoonlijk tegen half tien begonnen en ten een uur afgeloopen waren, werden meestal besloten met een collation waar de drie kommissarissen onder champagne en chineesch gebak hunnen animositeit vergaten en ruimschoots gelegenheid hadden aan allerlei vragen over europa en china te wisselen." BPL 1783: 2, pp. 31-2.

[84] This draft text is not among De Grijs' BPL documents and also not in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Consulates in China, inv. 3030 and 3216, toegang 2.05.01; Treaty of 1863, inv. 74 toegang 2.05.90).

[85] One copy is now in BPL 1782: 24 C.

[86] The question was about the import duty for this woolen cloth produced in Leiden, which was imported from the Netherlands at a high tariff. The Chinese name was *yuduan* 羽緞.

[87] "14 sept: Heden had de eerste zamenkomst plaats tusschen de twee Chinezen, 高 [Gao] & 周 [Zhou] en mijn persoontje: zij hadden ons concept tractaat in 19 artikelen nagezien & bragten nu een concept in 10 artikelen voor den dag. De onderhandelingen waren *desultory* en na eene lange redenering tot een uur besloot ik het concept aan vdH ter inzage te geven. vdH keurde het af omdat steeds tot tractaten met andere natiën gerefereerd wordt. Deze aanmerking is volkomen juist. / Bleef middag, avond & een gedeelte van de nacht doorbrengen met de aanmerkende verschillen tusschen de beide concepten [p. 63] overeen te brengen en zoo eene versie van texten te maken ten einde te toonen dat wij waarlijk niets meer of minder kunnen hebben dan ons eigen tractaat. / 15 sept: Toonde mijn papier met de hoofden van elk artikel, had de grootste moeite ter wereld om ze aan 't verstand te brengen dat wij geen lang tractaat wenschen maar alleen kort & zakelijk alles opgeven zonder tekort te doen aan de duidelijkheid, kwam tot het resultaat dat ik een concept tractaat zou maken uit de twee tractaten, ging naar huis, toonde mij een beetje boos tegen de chinezen en werkte de geheelen middag en avond en schreef eigenhandig het nieuwe tractaat in 16 artikelen, waarvan een tweetal copieen gereed waren op 17 sept. … / 17 sept. Heden morgen onderhandeld met de twee chinesche Comm: die bijgestaan werden door nog een tweetal. Mijn nieuwe concept werd doorgegaan en na veel praten & nog meer praten kwamen wij eindelijk tot het resultaat om alles aan te nemen behalve de polemieten, 't gaan naar Peking en 't teekenen van 't tractaat te Peking. Het laatste zullen wij toegeven, het andere zal te kiezen staan bij een bezoek van Tsung Hou & vdH. Na afloop van de discussien zijn wij aan tafel gegaan en hadden een alleraangenaamst discours over allerlei." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 62-3.

[88] "Waarlijk geloof ik niet dat er zooveel te zeggen valt op chinesche diplomatie, zij zijn

slim en heel slim ook bv: toen ik opmerkte dat een tractaat uitvoerige aanwijzingen moest bevatten over de pligten van schepen & schippers, vroegen zij of dan de schepen die af & aankomen altijd tegen de lamp loopen of niet & hoe of die achter de bestaande wetten komen zoolang er geen tractaat met China bestaat." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 63.

[89] A complete reconstruction of the negotiations based on Dutch and Chinese sources and draft texts goes beyond the scope of this book and cannot be made here.

[90] "嗣據凱士前來，呈出所擬條約十九款." *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, p. 511, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, p. 8a). Here and below "19" has been corrected to "16," since this must have been De Grijs' second version.

[91] Several of these were already dropped in De Grijs' 16-article second draft.

[92] "據稱現在擬送條約彙本，係按照英法各國，及參用續立之布西丹國等條約章程，分別各款，請為商酌會議。該委員等即持定前說，仍答以現在各口通商，均有定章，無庸多列條款，祇須將大意敍明。若開列多款，難以允准。再三切屬，該翻譯官允以從簡開送。嗣據凱士前來，呈出所擬條約十九款。並云此次所列各款，較他國刪去三分之二，格外從簡，再不能刪減短少。當告以所列之款，雖較他國減少，而大意並無稍異。和國既定十九款，我處仍當酌量併歸。祇須簡明了當，不在款目多寡。並將該國所擬各款內緊要關鍵，當面逐款指駁，如前往京師南京通商，並內地傳教、減稅，以和文為正義，既在京互換條約各節，先行刪改。彼此各執意見，辯論一番。去後當將該使所開條款，照錄咨呈總理各國事務衙門王大臣查照." *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 511-513, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, pp. 7b-8b).

[93] Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 130-4.

[94] "Twee punten bleven echter onbeslist, namelijk het aanstellen van Consuls zonder bezoldiging en het verblijf van eenen nederlandschen gemagtigde in Peking: de twee gevolmagtigden kwamen dus te zamen om die zaak te bespreken en hoewel die zamenkomst niet geheel couleur de rose was, gaf Tsung-how toch eindelijk toe." Draft article, p. 32.

[95] "22 sept. Hadden zamenkomst met Tsung Hou. Hij had ook een concept in 16 artikelen en trachtte ons op alle mogelijke wijzen te vangen. Het discours duurde vijf uur lang en ik had mijn hoofd ter dege noodig." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 64.

[96] "旋准總理衙門函覆，開示緊要各節，一併參酌，分別是六款。即令委員送交閱看。旋據該使訂期，率同凱士前來面議，內有不肯應允之處，堅執不下，復經當面逐款商議，或婉言開導，或侃論駁斥，塗改數次，該礬使不通漢文，但覺詞氣怏怏，而凱士巧黠異常，每挾布西各國條約力爭，嘵瀆不休。奴才竊思從來事涉外國，無不費盡唇舌。洋人索性巧詐。如拒之太峻則償事，許之過輕，又恐意存奢望。遂令委員等從旁與凱士再四曉喻，以作騰那，令其就我範圍。" *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 511-3, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, pp. 8b-9a).

[97] Muller, *Azië gespiegeld*, 167; Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 43.

[98] Several letters were written about this item, and Chonghou also reported extensively on it. The technical details cannot be discussed here. *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 511-3, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, p. 9a).

[99] De Grijs' elaborate arguments are in his draft article. BPL 1783: 2, pp. 32-3. Probably on De Grijs' advice, Van der Hoeven considered Peking as a place of diplomatic residence "tormenting" (*kwellend*) to the Chinese (Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit* , 55).

[100] *See* illustration 12. *Also* in *Catalogue* 2005, 111, ill. 31.

[101] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 42-3. Article 15 of the Treaty.

[102] This letter is dated 23 September; a copy is kept in BPL 1782: 24 F, p. 10b.

[103] Here De Grijs personally sympathised again with the Chinese standpoint. "23 sept. Zagen 't tract: na, vonden een paar dingen niet goed, schreven over polemieten: ik vind de kwestie niet kiesch en mij dunkt het had er moeten uitgelaten worden. / Niets geslapen, ziek. / 24 sept. Werkte verder aan 't tractaat, geen antwoord van T.H. ziek, zenuwachtig, koorts. / 25 sept. Ant. van T.H., ziek en verdrietig: twaalf uur zamenkomst met Zhou, Gao, geheel opgeruimd kwam ik terug, amuseerde mij perfect. kwestie over polemieten. *Zij hadden gelijk*." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 64.

[104] "稟經數易，始將緊要各節，刪改無遺，大致尚無出入。" *Chouban yiwu shi-*

*mo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 511-3, no. 575, memorial of 10 October 1863 (同治朝 *juan* 20, p. 9a).

[105] These words were crossed out in version A (BPL 1782: 24 A). Final Chinese text in 中外舊約章彙編, 北京三聯書店 1957, vol. 1, pp. 208-13. Dutch text in Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit,* 377-83.

[106] De Grijs' draft article, BPL 1783: 2, p. 34.

[107] "Droomde dat ik tehuis kwam en dat toen mij gevraagd werd wat ik dan wilde. Ik zeide: erwten met rundvleesch en later stokvisch & zuurkool. Eindelijk kwam dan de dag dat het tractaat zal geteekend worden en natuurlijk was ik al heel vroeg uit de veeren. Ik had dan eindelijk mijn doel bereikt en verlangde nu niets meer dan om maar weg te wezen. Om half tien 's morgens werden de soldaten geïnspecteerd, twaalf man een korporaal & een sergeant. Daarop gaf ik directie hoe de soldaten moesten loopen en klokke half een begaf de stoet zich op marsch: voorop kwam Mr de Grijs in een draagstoel, waarachter een korporaal met mijn cassette & de zegels, daarop volgde een viertal soldaten dan de stoel van vdH gedragen door 4 man en ter zijde vier soldaten, daarachter weder 4 soldaten. Dan de Colonel en drie officieren allen in draagstoelen; binnenkomende werden de soldaten in 't gelid geschaard en presenteerden hunne geweren. De Chinezen hadden pakkie-an-deftig en wij gingen in de zaal zitten; vdH & T.H. aan een tafel, 高 [Gao], 周 [Zhou], een officier & ik aan een tafel: de Colonel 2 off: en de ser aan een tafel, dan nog een tal mandarijntjes regts & linksch. Nu werden tractaten, zegels, casettes enz. voor den dag gehaald & alles geteekend, terwijl ik de Chinesche datums invulde. [p. 66] Daarop werden de soldaten in een afzonderlijke zaal onthaald op eten en drinken." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 65.

[108] Additions from the draft article. "Ook ons werd een groot diner opgedischt, waaraan behoorlijk eer werd bewezen, terwijl wij echter bij gewone visites champagne dronken, kregen wij nu sherry-cordial in bierglazen." "maar het lezen van de spijskaart zou nu teveel gevergd zijn van onze lezers, wij merken alleen aan dat de vogelnestjes, haaijenvinnen en dergelijke niet ontbraken." BPL 1783: 2, p. 35.

[109] "vdH stelde een toast in op den keizer & T.H. op den koning en wij scheidden beste vrienden. De troep marcheerde nu af, en om drie uur was alles afgeloopen en begon ik preparaties te maken voor mijn vertrek naar Peking." Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 65-6.

[110] On 13 Oktober 1863, the Minister refused permission: sending by mail would be sufficient (inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01).

[111] Letter Van der Hoeven to Minister 30 October 1863, Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01.

[112] Diary of 13 September written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 61.

[113] Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 64.

[114] The original passport, with one side in English and the other in Chinese, is kept in the Leiden University Library. On the English side, it was issued to "M. de Gris," while the words "the American businessman" were crossed out; but on the Chinese side, the name and function of the holder were "the American businessman Fei Lijiu" 美國商人費禮就. BPL 1782: 27. *Catalogue* 2005, 112, 115 (illustration).

[115] Diary written on the *Caledonian*, 10 November 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 65.

[116] Mongol prince who was charged with the defences around Tientsin in 1858-1860 (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 632-4).

[117] "[Ik] passeerde de rivier, de marmeren brug. Sankalensin's muur. Het rollen van de wagen was afgrijselijk en 't zou mij niet verwonderen dat er menschen geweest zijn die na een uur rijden terugliepen." Diary 10 November, BPL 1782: 28, p. 66.

[118] "het lijden in die wagen: eerst dacht ik te kunnen slapen, wat in de laatste twee nachten niet gebeurd was, maar het bonzen van hoofd en armen was zoo geweldig dat er zelfs zittende niet aan te denken viel, eindelijk was mijn geduld uitgeput, maar de ezeldrijver uit zijn mijmeringen ontwakende had medelijden met mij en raadde mij aan op den disselboom te gaan zitten, waarlijk de man had gelijk, ik zat wel met de knieën tegen den muilezel aan, maar het hossen is veel minder;" Draft article, p. 37 (text crossed out).

[119] "Het eten dat de chinesche Vatel opdischte [p. 39] was nog al smakelijk en sterkte

mij in de overtuiging dat de Chinezen van nature goede koks zijn." Draft article, pp. 38-9. François Vatel (1631–71), legendary French chef.

[120] "Vrij vermoeid sliep ik al spoedig na het middagmaal in maar werd tegen tien uur wakker door stemmen in mijn kamer, denkende dat het dieven waren greep ik naar het kistje met zilver dat bij mij stond en vond het onaangeroerd, nu luisterde ik naar het discours van de heeren indringers en begreep er niets van. Op mijne vraag wat zij verlangden, kreeg ik in 't chineesch ten antwoord dat zij mij kwamen bezien, daar zij nog nooit een Europeaan in hun land (Mongolië) gezien hadden: het gesprek met de Mongoolsche visiete [*sic*] werd al meer en meer geanimeerd vooral toen ik verzocht mij eenige chinesche uitdrukkingen in 't mongoolsch te vertalen, wat ik dan opschreef, binnen kort was er eene tamelijk voldoende verzameling van woorden en uitdrukkingen bijeengebracht, die mij op reis door Mongolië goed konden te pas komen." (p. 39 is crossed out by De Grijs) Draft article, pp. 38-9.

[121] "dit gebouw … was tot nu toe steeds gesloten voor een ieder buiten den keizer en zijn gevolg [p. 46] het is dus niet vreemd dat een Europeaan die door langdurig verkeer met chinezen en chinesche boeken met eenigen eerbied de plaats binnentreedt waar de keizer eenmaal 's jaars als hoogepriester zich in het stof buigt." De Grijs referred in a note to his translation of the *Qing Code*. BPL 1783: 2, pp. 45-6.

[122] "Vrijdagmorgen [9 October] bezocht ik den tempel des Hemels en vond dat alle gebouwen en de bosschen in goeden orde gehouden werden, daarentegen nemen sommige vreemde bezoekers de vrijheid gaten te breken in de met loofwerk uitgesneden deuren en geven als hun excuus op dat zij anders de tempel niet kunnen binnengaan. Als men bedenkt dat de tempel des hemels de plaats is waar de keizer als Pontifex Maximus eenmaal 's jaars voor het geheele volk offert, dan is het te verwonderen dat het chineesch gouvernement nog vreemdelingen dult [*sic*] in zulke plaatsen. [p. 55] De gordijnen die in de tempel gebruikt worden zijn gemaakt van blauwen glazen buizen die op de wijze van bamboe gordijnen met touw worden aaneengehouden, er zijn vreemdelingen hier die die glazen buizen afbreken en meenemen om er pennehouders van te maken!!" Letter to Van der Hoeven, Peking 13 October 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 54-5.

[123] "Toen de buit uit de zomertuinen des keizers geroofd, publiek verkocht werd, beliepen de prijzen van vele voorwerpen dikwijls het dubbele van de oorspronkelijke waarde: een ieder in de havens van China wijst met trots op 't een of ander potje of pannetje dat hij in bezit heeft weten te krijgen, vergetende dat het alles gestolen goed is." BPL 1783: 2, p. 47.

[124] Draft article, BPL 1783: 2, pp. 49-50. "These gardens were partly demolished by French and British troops in 1860, but there is enough left to get an idea of what it was like." (Deze tuinen werden in 1860 door de fransche en engelsche troepen gedeeltelijk verwoest, er is [p. 50] echter genoeg overgebleven om een idée te krijgen hoe het eens moet geweest zijn).

[125] "Zaturdag [10 October] bezocht ik het zomerpaleis des keizers *yuen ming yuen Ronde heldere tuinen*: Dit fraaye zomerverblijf is systematisch verwoest door de engelsche & fransche soldaten. Prachtige lanen van ceders & pijnboomen zijn hier & daar geschonden door het verbranden van een paar boomen. Steenen leeuwen zijn geschonden met verlies van staart, oor of poot: marmeren zonnewijzers omvergeworpen of gebroken: fraaye steenen trappen zijn geschonden doordat hier en daar een hoek of een brok afgeslagen is. Een tempel met reusachtige koperen Boeddha en 16 grote Lohan beelden totaal verbrand, de groote Boeddha's omver gevallen, sommige Lohan's zonder hoofd, arm of been en de kleur van het koper, ijzerrood verspreid tusschen marmer, fraayen kalksteen en veel verglaasde dakpannen. Maar dit beeld van verwoesting bereikt zijn klimax als [p. 56] men het oog slaat op het reusachtige gebouw dat onmiddellijk achter den verwoesten tempel staat. Dit gebouw is zeer hoog en heeft ter weerszijden trappen en galerijen van groen & geel verglaasd aardewerk: de trappen opgaande, iets wat niet gemakkelijk is daar men zich een weg moet banen door al het puin waar de trappen onder bedolven zijn, komt men aan eene groote verdieping met gesloten ijzeren deuren. De muren hier zijn bekleed met tigchelsteenen een voet in 't vierkant & geel verglaasd: elk dezer steenen is een Boeddha beeld in steenen lijst. Hooger opgaande worden de verdiepingen lager en de tigchels kleiner, bereikt men de top dan ziet men aan de eene kant een meer met een kunstmatig eiland, aan den andere kant

tallooze dorpen. Ter weerszijden van dit hoofdgebouw staan twee lama pagoda's en beneden, iets verder op, aan de voet is een koperen huisje: alles in dat huisje is koper, de vloer, de balken, de deuren, een waar juweeltje van geduld & netheid—" Letter to Van der Hoeven, Peking 13 October 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 55-6.

[126] Letter to Van der Hoeven, Peking 13 October 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 58.

[127] Joseph Edkins (1823–1905) arrived in Shanghai in 1848, in Tientsin in 1861, and in Peking in 1863. Edkins is known for his works on Chinese religion and on aspects of Chinese grammar and etymology.

[128] A gig is a light ship's boat with oars and sail, that was usually reserved for the commanding officer. "Zondagmorgen bragt de Kapitein mij aan boord van een giek met twaalf hollandsche matrozen, het was eene eervolle uittogt waar ik nooit op had durven hopen." Diary 10 November, BPL 1872: 28, p. 68.

[129] Demiéville, "Aperçu," 85. For instance, the British interpreter Thomas Francis Wade (1818–95) had played a crucial role during the 1858 negotiations with the Chinese (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 133, 428, etc.), and he later became the first British ambassador to China; in 1888 he became the first professor of Chinese in Cambridge.

[130] "Ten slotte voel ik mij gedrongen Uwe Excellentie te betuigen, dat een groot aandeel in het gunstige van den uitslag mijner onderhandelingen aan de kennis en den tact van den Heer C.F.M. de Grijs verschuldigd is, wiens voor Chinezen innemende en overredende wijze van vertolking mijner betoogen, en algemeene vertrouwdheid met hunne denkbeelden en vormen van hoffelijkheid, mij daartoe tot een hoogstnoodigen steun hebben verstrekt." Letter 6 October 1863, Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01.

[131] Letter to Van der Hoeven dated Leiden, 22 December 1863, BPL 1782: 28, pp. 76-7.

[132] Letter 15 January 1864, Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01.

[133] BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 13b, 14a.

[134] BPL 1782: 26 A. De Grijs was still in military service.

[135] Letter by Uijttenhooven in BPL 1782: 26 B.

[136] Letter from De Grijs to the General Secretary in Batavia dated Macao 2 May 1864, in V 19/10/1864 no. 15/1265 inv. 1531.

[137] One copy is in inv. 74, toegang 2.05.90.

[138] "ook ditmaal tijdelijk te belasten met de functiën van Chineesch Secretaris en Tolk, door hem gedurende de onderhandelingen te Tientsin met bijzondere vaardigheid en zaakkennis waargenomen. Het gemis zijner diensten zou mij afhankelijk maken van de meerdere of mindere bereidwilligheid der Engelsche of Fransche autoriteiten te Canton, om mij de hulp van een der hun toegevoegde tolken voor die onvermijdelijk noodzakelijke dienst aftestaan; eene afhankelijkheid, waaraan ik vooralsnog de Nederlandsche belangen ongaarne zou onderworpen zien, vooral daar de kennis dier vreemdelingen van onze bijzondere verhouding tot het Chinesche gouvernement niet juist kan wezen, en ook hunne vaardigheid in het Chineesch zeer veel te wenschen overlaat." Letter to the Governor-General dated Macao 10 May 1864, in V 19/10/1864 no. 15/1265 inv. 1531.

[139] IB 17/7/1864 no. 19, in V 19/10/1864 no. 15/1265 inv. 1531.

[140] V 19/9/1864 no. 4 inv. 1521.

[141] V 19/10/1964 no. 15/1265 inv. 1531. At the time in the Indies an urgent need was felt for Chinese interpreters.

[142] BPL 1782: 24 F, pp. 13b, 14a. Dutch original dated 20 May, Chinese translation dated 21 May. Memorials by Chonghou (28 August) and by Prince Gong (30 August 1864) in *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 675-6, no. 735-6 (同治朝 *juan* 27, pp. 22b-24a).

[143] Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾 (Kuo Sung-t'ao, 1818–91), statesman, scholar, and diplomat, governor of Guangdong in 1863–6; in 1877, he would be the first Chinese ambassador stationed in a Western country (Great Britain) (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 438-9).

[144] Letter 22 October 1864, Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01. Cremers was Minister from 15 March 1864 to 30 May 1866.

[145] This is probably the large copy now kept in inv. 74, toegang 2.05.90.

[146] This temple dating from the Tang dynasty (618–907) is in the old centre of Canton just north of Shamian.

[147] "de geratificeerde tractaten uit te wisselen" (art. 16).

[148] Memorial 13 March 1865 by Guo in *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, p. 762, no. 836 (同治朝 *juan* 31, pp. 15b-16b).

[149] "Tijdens zijn verblijf in Nederland heeft de heer C.F.M. de Grijs, naar hij mij verzekerde, er herhaaldelijk op gewezen, dat de Chinezen de oorspronkelijke stukken voor de uitwisseling bestemden; doch Z.Exc. de Minister oordeelde dat men den vorm in de diplomatie gebruikelijk moest volgen.—Dit laatste kan ook zeer goed geschieden, zonder te kort te doen aan de Chinesche gewoonten, door namelijk de ratificatie-acte met het oorspronkelijk document te vereenigen." Letter Macao 14 December 1864, Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01.

[150] Letter 18 July 1865, in Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01.

[151] "De heer Joh. de Breuk, Aspirant tolk voor de Chinesche taal in Ned. Indische dienst, heeft mij bij deze gelegenheid als Chineesch secretaris en tolk terzijde gestaan en zich op voldoende wijze van zijn taak gekweten. Zwarigheden hebben zich daarbij trouwens niet voorgedaan. Tijdens een voorafgaand vriendschappelijk bezoek vroeg de Gouverneur Kuo opheldering van het lange tijdsverloop sedert onze vorige samenkomst. In antwoord heb ik alleen doen opmerken, dat er ongerekend het uitstel door den grote afstand veroorzaakt, natuurlijk meer tijd toe noodig was geweest voor mij om het Nederlandsche Gouvernement tot een inschikkelijkheid te bewegen dan voor hem om bevestiging uit Tientsin te verkrijgen van hetgeen hij op grond der Chinesche gebruiken had meenen te moeten verlangen." Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01. Memorial by Guo Songtao (16 September 1865) in *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末, vol. 5, pp. 826-7, no. 926 (同治朝 *juan* 34, pp. 26b-27b).

[152] Tractaat 1863, inv. 3126, toegang 2.05.01. Mentioned in V 16/11/1865 no. 41 inv. 1679. The original treaty could not be found in the National Archives (toegangen 2.05.02; 2.05.03; 2.05.38).

[153] Henry David Levysohn Norman (1836–92), then Government Secretary and Secretary of the Council of the Indies, became a member of the Council of the Indies in 1877, and member of the Dutch Parliament in 1888.

[154] *Notulen bestuursvergaderingen* 1865–1870, B 94, KITLV archief, Leiden.

[155] Brievenboek 18 October 1865 – 7/7/1875, C 239, KITLV archief, Leiden.

[156] BPL 1783: 1D (original) and 2 (copy with corrections by De Grijs). *Catalogue* 2005, 116.

[157] Note in the margin, in V 7/8/1872 no. 40 inv. 2515.

[158] Letter from Schlegel to Director of Justice 27 May 1872 and letter of Director of Justice to Governor-General 4 June 1872. V 7/8/1872 no. 40 inv. 2515.

[159] IB 5/8/1872 no. 9, in V 5/10/1872 no. 46 inv. 2531. Revised decision IB 22/9/1872 no. 6, in V 1/11/1872 no. 67 inv. 2539.

[160] V 27/7/1872 no. 22 inv. 2512. V 3/10/1873 no. 45 inv. 2626.

[161] *See* Chapter Seven, section about Roelofs, and Chapter Thirteen, section about the weak position of the interpreters. From 1875 to 1892, the primary schoolteacher Jan Rhein would be secretary and interpreter. Only two Dutchmen were working at the Legation (Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 63-4 etc.).

[162] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 51, 54.

## *Notes to Chapter Six*

[1] Albrecht also wrote that the choice of documents was rather unfortunate, as there were only three different documents, of which very similar translations had been made in three different years. But still it was enough to form a judgement. Letter from the Consul Van der Hoeven to Governor-General Pahud 10 December 1859 quoting Albrecht's letter of 21 October 1859 from Amoy, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1335 inv. 1005.

[2] The archives of the Chinese Council of Batavia are presently kept in the East Asian Library, Leiden University Library. Part of the minutes of the Council (公案簿) have been published by Leonard Blussé en Zhuang Guotu in Gong An Bu 吧城華人公館（吧國公

堂）檔案叢書 (vols. 1-13). Scanned original text is online available in Leiden University library (search Kong Koan).

[3] Comment by Prof. L. Blussé. Fortunately, more or less the same transcriptions were used throughout the nineteenth century; after 1880 there was more variation (Personal communication from Dr. Chen Menghong, February 2008 and September 2013). For a list of such terms, *see* Appendix L and *Gong An Bu* 吧城華人公館（吧國公堂）檔案叢書, in particular vol. 9.

[4] Letter from the Consul to the Governor-General dated 10 December 1859 quoting Albrecht, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005. For details of Albrecht's comments, *see* Chapter Twelve, section "The Techniques of Translation."

[5] IB 10/10/1855 no. 3 inv. 7175.

[6] "… dat zij het hoogst wenschelijk vinden dat zij in den beginne worden bijgestaan door meesters uit China, zoowel tot voortzetting hunner studiën als met het oog op de omstandigheid dat zij anderen moeten opleiden hetgeen bezwaarlijk kan geschieden zonder hulp van eenen Chineschen Meester vooral wat het spreken betreft." Letter from the Consul 10 December 1859, as quoted in IB 21/4/1860 no. 19 inv. 7281.

[7] IB 21/4/1860 no. 19 inv. 7281.

[8] Letter from the Consul, 18 May 1860, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005.

[9] The characters of both names were carefully copied in the letter from the Consul to Governor-General Pahud dated 18 May 1860, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334, inv. 1003. The latter name is also spelled Han Bong Kie. Both names are spelled in Hokkien pronunciation.

[10] According to the decision of 1 May 1854 in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1854, no. 39, the exchange rate of a Spanish dollar had been fixed at *f* 2.50, and a Mexican dollar at *f* 2.55, but in a later decision of 1873, only Mexican dollars were mentioned (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1st ed., vol. 4. p. 43 [1905]). During these years, in China the Spanish dollars were gradually being replaced by the Mexican dollars (Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, Currency, p. 168). Both currencies were mentioned in the Colonial correspondence of the 1860s, but later the Spanish dollars (*Spaansche matten*) devaluated considerably, and from the 1890s on finally went into disuse.

[11] Letter Von Faber 8 September 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3, inv. 1310.

[12] With five-yearly raises of *f* 5 to a maximum of *f* 50, and including passage to and from the Indies. IB 31/7/1860 no. 11 inv. 7287.

[13] In particular, the Javanese who had finished the teachers' college in Surakarta. *Staatsblad* 1858 no. 53, quoted in V 12/11/1860 no. 1 inv. 1002.

[14] Letter from the Consul, 14 May 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[15] IB 31/7/1860 no. 11 inv. 7287.

[16] "Han Bongkie is een beschaafd en geletterd man die in China de naaste Akademische waardigheid voor den doctors graad heeft verkregen en is daarbij uit eene aanzienlijke familie." Request by Von Faber 9 August 1864, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548.

[17] *Cf.* Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, vol. I, p. 899, "Doctor."

[18] "… een man van karakter, alleszins het vertrouwen waard." Letter by Von Faber, 9 August 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[19] IB 9/8/1860 no. 38 inv. 7288.

[20] "… spoedig, zo moogelijk voor eigen rekening, en indien dat niet kan, op de goedkoopste wijze voor rekening van den lande naar China terugkeert." Letter to the Resident of Batavia, IB 21/11/1860 no. 13, inv. 7295.

[21] Report by Albrecht 30 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. The date of taking over Oei is not mentioned.

[22] Letter by Von Faber 18 August 1860, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[23] Oei's contract included the special condition that he could take along a cook. Letter from the Consul (and contracts) 24 May 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[24] Teacher's letter, accompanying letter by Von Faber, 8 September 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[25] Letter by Von Faber to the Resident, 8 September 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[26] "Wel klinkt het vreemd, dat élèves na hunne definitieve promotie en aanstelling tot tolken steeds noodig hebben eenen onderwijzer aan zich te zien toegevoegd, ten einde de

taal te onderhouden. / De eigenaardige moeijlijkheden aan de Chinesche taal verbonden, schijnen evenwel die toevoeging onmisbaar te maken. Althans wordt dit betoogd in het geleide schrijven van den tolk von Faber ....” Letter by the Resident to the Director of Finance, 10 September 1862, in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310. Schaap was in function from 1 January 1862 on.

[27] IB 9/11/1862 no. 6 inv. 7337.

[28] From a report dated 4 December 1862, quoted in Schlegel’s letter, 1 September 1864, in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[29] “De som van *f* 30 ’s maands … voor bezoldiging van de Chinesche taalmeester is inderdaad voor eenen geletterden Chineesch al zeer gering. Op de hoofdplaatsen, inzonderheid te Batavia, kan men daarvan onmogelijk overeenkomstig zijne stand leven. De Chinesche ambachtslieden en zelfs de koelies verdienen in den regel meer. De ondervinding heeft trouwens ook geleerd dat voor dien prijs geen Chinesche leermeesters meer te bekomen zijn.” Minister of Colonies quoting letter by the Governor-General, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548.

[30] Decision of the Minister of Colonies, letter to the Governor-General, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548. Lo Ling Kaai was allowed the same salary.

[31] For these three teachers, $10 of their salaries went directly to their families in China; for Tsen Kin Sioe this would be paid to his family in Hong Kong at the end of each Chinese month; for Tsjoe Tsjoe Kong the Dutch Consul in Canton would pay this to his family, and for Tsioe Tot Koan the Dutch Vice-Consul in Amoy would pay his family in Amoy. Letter by Groeneveldt 16 August 1864; letter from the Consul 16 June 1864, contract 15 June 1864, in V 28/10/1864 no. 10 inv. 1534. The spelling of Chinese names has been standardised, e.g. Tsjoe-tsjoek-kong is here spelled Tsjoe Tsjoek Kong.

[32] Three years or shorter in case of illness. IB 4/2/1865 no. 5 inv. 7385.

[33] Three years or shorter in case of illness or for important reasons. If he left or if otherwise necessary, he was to be replaced by another teacher. IB 9/9/1866 no. 4 inv. 7423. De Breuk would be stationed in Cirebon on Java; this was perhaps the reason why he engaged a Hokkien teacher.

[34] On the same conditions as Li Phoe Nien. IB 28/6/1867 no. 17 inv. 7442, art. 2.

[35] “… nu ontbreken ons nog goede meesters ook, want die wij nu hebben gekregen uit Hongkong door bezorging der zendelingen zijn *uilskuikens*. Waarschijnlijk zal het wel 1865 worden eer wij betere mensen krijgen om ons naar Borneo te vergezellen, want die wij nu hebben verstaan geen enkel boek behalve de classieke boeken die ze op school in hunne jeugd hebben van buiten geleerd.” Letter dated Amoy, 3 October 1863, Letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[36] Schlegel, *Woordenboek* (English) Introduction, pp. 7-8, in which “India” has been changed to “the Indies.”

[37] Report by Schlegel and Von Faber, 9 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[38] *Catalogue* 2005, ill. on frontispiece and pp. 95, 97, 151; Ms Hoetink H 421a, KITLV Collection. There are also several manuscript translations by Hoetink in the East Asian Library in Leiden, which must have been copied by his teacher/clerk. *See* his list of translations in his short biography.

[39] Summary of IB 24/9/1864 no. 5 art. 1, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548.

[40] Letter Von Faber 9 August 1864, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548.

[41] Decision art. 3, in V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548. Han Bong Kie used to send *f* 10.20 or $4 monthly to his wife and children in Canton, so Han Jaúwan was perhaps the name of Lo Ling Kaai’s wife.

[42] In October 1864, the Taiping leader Li Shixian 李世賢 attacked Zhangzhou with an army of several hundred thousand men. After he occupied it on 14 October 1864, he established his headquarters there. He retreated from Zhangzhou on 15 April 1865 (Guo Yisheng 郭毅生, *Taiping Tianguo lishi dituji* 太平天国历史地图集, 145, 146; internet).

[43] Letter by Schlegel dated 15 December 1864, in V 9/5/1865 no. 13 inv. 1606.

[44] Schlegel’s *Woordenboek* vol. IV, p. 993, entry on “vrij,” 4) vrij (open, openbaar) “eene vrije school” 義學 *gī hák* (colloquial pronunciation *Gi Oh*). This was probably the Beng Seng Sie Wan 明誠書院 (*Mingcheng shuyuan*), the school subsidised by the Chinese Council (Kong Koan) (Chen Menghong, *Chinese gemeenschap*, 36, 54).

[45] Report by Albrecht 30 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[46] Letter by the Government Secretary 2 August 1865, mentioned in V 25/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[47] V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[48] He then also took along his Chinese teacher Ang with him to Tientsin and paid him $35 monthly (letters 3 May 1863, 17 June 1863 etc., in BPL 1782:28). *See* Chapter Five, "De Grijs and the Treaty of 1863."
[49] De Grijs' report of 9 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[50] Schlegel and Von Faber's report of 9 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[51] Johan Cornelis de Kock van Leeuwen (Batavia, 20 May 1820) had a career as an East Indies official from 1838 on. He was Resident of Batavia from 22 January 1859 (IB no. 1) to 2 December 1861 (IB no. 1), when he was allowed two years of sick leave to the Netherlands. He was reappointed on 5 May 1864 (IB no. 3), succeeding D.F. Schaap, and was again allowed two years sick leave on 2 May 1866 (IB no. 46) (Stamboeken before 1837, F 190).
[52] Letter of 15 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[53] Albrecht's report of 23 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[54] Schaalje's report of 26 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[55] E. Netscher (1825–80) was Resident in Riau in 1861–70, and a member of the Council of the Indies in 1878–80.
[56] Letter dated 28 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[57] At the time there was a change of Residents; the previous Resident C. Bosscher had left and the new Resident F.M.G. Callenburgh had just been appointed on 22 July 1865.
[58] Buddingh wrote more than once to his uncle Herman Schlegel that he and Groeneveldt would be sent to Hongkong to study Hakka, which was postponed each time (letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden). Later only Groeneveldt went to Lilong near Hong Kong to study Hakka for three months.
[59] Arguments which have no direct bearing on the teacher are omitted here. *See* Chapter Twelve.
[60] *Das Evangelium des Matthaeus im Volksdialekte der Hakka-Chinesen* (*Ma thai tšhong fuk yim šu Hak ka syuk wa*). Translation by Rudolf Lechler, Berlin 1860. Lechler was one of the first to use the romanisation system by C.R. Lepsius, inventor of the International Phonetic Alphabet. Other Gospels were soon published afterwards. You Rujie, *Xiyang chuanjiaoshi,* 81, 119, 199.
[61] Buddingh's report of 23 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[62] *See also* Chapter Twelve.
[63] In the instructions for the interpreter of 1863, this was already stated explicitly, so there was no need for humbleness on the side of Groeneveldt, unless it was to show the government it was not abiding by its own rules. *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië,* 1863, no. 39 art 2. The question whether the interpreters should also be advisors in Chinese affairs would remain moot for the next thirty years.
[64] "… die ziet waar hij zelf niet meer kan zien."
[65] Report of 5 September 1866, signed together with Assistant-Resident at disposition C. Kater, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[66] He was in function until 22 September 1865.
[67] "… mits de taalmeesters niet als eenen nul in het cijfer gebracht worden, maar voor het doel waarvoor zij bezoldigd worden." Letter 10 September 1865 no. 2889, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[68] Letter 10 September 1866 no. 2889, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[69] Council meeting of 20 October 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. The Council suggested appointing the interpreters as extraordinary members of the Orphans and Estate Chambers, which happened later that year (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1866, no. 103 etc.). *See also* Chapter Thirteen, section about the Orphans and Estate Chamber.
[70] IB 18/3/1866 no. 10, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. To bridge the gap, Albrecht's teacher Oei Tsoe Khing, whose employment was to end after three years (after 1 April 1862), was allowed to stay for another year (IB 13/12/1865 no. 1, in V 27/3/1866 no. 26 inv. 1735).

[71] "Ik neem echter de vrijheid hierbij te voegen, dat de hulpbehoevende toestand, waarin de Europesche tolken ten aanzien van Chinesche schrijvers en taalmeesters schijnen te verkeeren [crossed out: eenige bevreemding bij mij heeft opgewekt, en dat die toestand] weinig getuigt voor het welslagen van de maatregel, om Europeanen tot Chinesche tolken op te leiden. Ook de Raad van Nederlandsch-Indië schijnt, blijkens zijn advies van de 30e Junij 1865 no. IX dit gevoelen te zijn toegedaan." Dated 24 May 1866, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. The latter advice of the Council could not be found in the archives.

[72] This permission was given to them by the Director of Justice in Batavia, e.g. Young on 14 February 1877 (for three years); Hoetink, De Groot, and Stuart on 5 January 1878; and Van der Spek, Moll, and De Jongh on 22 January 1880 (inv. 2, 3, toegang 2.05.93, Consulaat Amoy 1874–95). Just before he left China, Van der Spek wrote in his diary that he had finalised the contract with his teacher (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 February 1880). Borel, Ezerman, and Van Wettum were allowed travel fees and teacher's fees by the Director of Justice on 27 July 1894 (I.S. 100, inv. 6, toegang 2.05.93).

[73] Another reason that their names are not mentioned may be that starting in 1869 only abstracts of the decisions of the Governor-General were sent to the Netherlands (N.N. en F.J.M. Otten, *Inventaris van het archief van het Ministerie van Koloniën, 1850–1900 (1932)* (toegang 2.10.02), p. 17, The Hague 1997).

[74] Personal communication from Tan Siu Eng's great-great-granddaughter Conny Tirtaman MD (Tan Kam Nio), Loma Linda, USA. Kuiper, "Du nouveau sur la mystérieuse mission de Batavia à Saïgon en 1890," *Archipel* 77 (2009), 27-44.

[75] Image database, KITLV, caption of photo of "Tan Sioe Ing," no. 6551. The names of these interpreters are mentioned on the reverse side of this photograph ("Cohen Stuart" is here corrected into "Stuart"). There also exists a photograph of Tan with his family.

[76] In 1895 his name (Tan Sioe Ing) was mentioned in two decisions by the Governor-General. He was assigned to De Jongh for work in the Orphans Chamber (assignment in IB 19/9/1895 no. 35) and discharged ten days later (IB 29/9/1895 no. 2, both inv. 8118).

[77] Personal communication from Conny Tirtaman. Kuiper, "Mystérieuse mission."

[78] This diary (13 March – 12 May 1890) is kept as SINOL. VGK 3545.52.1 in that library. The diary was published and translated into French by Claudine Salmon and Ta Trong Hiêp, "De Batavia à Saigon – Notes de voyage d'un marchand Chinois (1890)," *Archipel* 47 (1994), 155-92. For the identification of Groeneveldt and Tan Siu Eng as the protagonists, *see* Kuiper, "Mystérieuse mission." An English summary of both articles is in Claudine Salmon and Ta Trong Hiep, "*Wang Annan riji:* A Hokkien Literatus Visits Saigon (1890)" in *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies*, vol. 4 (2010), 74-88 (also on the internet).

[79] IB 3 October 1879 no. 19 inv. 7735. The precise date of engagement could not be found.

[80] "開堤在唐生長, 前又曾為和蘭翻譯官幕賓, 亦嘗為教讀先生數年, 學問閱歷較源祿似為稍優。" *Kong tong Notulen* (*Gongtang anbu* 公堂案簿), no. 21021 (19/1/1881 – 19/9/1884), 11 August 1884 (p. 247), Kong Koan Archief, East Asian Library, Leiden. The other candidate was named 陳源祿 Tan Goan Lok.

[81] "舊為華字翻譯官幕賓陳開堤" *idem*, 15 October 1883 (p. 269).

[82] IB 29/6/1883 no. 13 inv. 7824.

[83] Tan Kaij Thee's appointment is in IB 11/9/1883 no. 14 inv. 7829.

[84] Short biography dated 1895 in Franke, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia*, vol. 3, pp. 255-6. His name also appears on some wooden tablets described on pp. 251, 282, 283, 285 (dated 1890–4), that probably did not survive the burning of the temple in 1997.

[85] Strangely, in the Governor-General's decision his name was misinterpreted as "J.O. Hoa E Giok." IB 29/5/1896 no. 24, inv. 8134. This wrong name was taken over in the *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*.

[86] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 12 November 1897.

[87] Reprinted in *De Locomotief* of 27 March 1899.

[88] "Jo Hoae Giok zal altijd in mijn herinnering blijven als een door en door fatsoenlijk en beschaafd Chinees, met wien het voor mij, Europeaan, een genoegen was, op warmer dan officieele wijze om te gaan. En ik twijfel niet of al mijn collega's, die hem gekend hebben, zullen van mijn meening zijn." Borel, "Een Chineesch Officier," *De Locomotief*, 27 March 1899.

[89] Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-Kak-Sie" te Cheribon*, 34 note.
[90] Reproduced in Franke, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials*, vol. 3, p. 258. The date of these verses (1896) is perhaps mistaken, since it is before Van Wettum's stationing there in 1898–9.
[91] "Tolken en taalmeesters," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24 April 1894, Avondblad, tweede blad. *See* Chapter Nine, section on the reorganisation of the interpreter corps.
[92] "Bepalingen tot aanwijzing der standplaatsen en regeling van den werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken," published in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1896, no. 96, on 28 May 1896.
[93] Letter from Haver Droeze to the Governor-General. Based on a letter from Van de Stadt. No. 1052/447, 25 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.
[94] Letter 1 February 1915, inv. 72, toegang 2.05.27.02.
[95] In 1916 the three officials who were in active service were transferrred to Batavia, but in 1917 they were joined by three others.
[96] Article 2c, "Reglement van de Dienst voor Chineesche Zaken," IB 16 May 1916, no. 16, in: *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1916, no. 377.
[97] Letter 1 December 1916, inv. 72, toegang 2.05.27.02. J.Th. Moll was the first sinologist in more than fifty years to study Cantonese in China. Possibly an Official for Chinese Affairs knowing Cantonese was considered necessary after the riots instigated by the Cantonese ("Macaoers") in Surabaya in 1912.
[98] "Aan den tolk … te Pontianak … Meeter … voor den tijd van één jaar toe te kennen eene toelage van *f* 25.- 's maands ter bestrijding der kosten verbonden aan het bestuderen van het Amoy dialect." IB 4/7/1871 no. 30 inv. 7534.
[99] IB 3/6/1877 no. 25 inv. 7679. Also IB 8/2/1877 no. 46 inv. 7671.
[100] According to Schlegel's "Nécrologie" of Young, he chose to study Hakka, the most common dialect of the rest of Western Borneo. The need to learn Hoklo was not so great since he had studied the closely related Hokkien. Schlegel also wrote that Young could speak Hakka very well.
[101] IB 13/4/1878 no. 7 inv. 7699.
[102] In 1894 he was transferred to Makassar, in 1896 to Surabaya and in 1898 to Batavia. Stuart's report dated 15 April 1907, in V 15/8/1907 no. 44 inv. 484 toegang 2.10.36.04. Stuart was from 1878 until 1892 stationed in Hakka-speaking Mentok and Pontianak. After 1894 he was stationed in Hokkien-speaking Makassar, Surabaya (1896), and Batavia (1898).
[103] No. 654, 12 July 1897, Letter from Government Secretary Nederburgh to Consul General Haver Droeze in Hong Kong, dated Buitenzorg 25 June 1897, No. 1500a, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.
[104] Schlegel, "Nécrologie. J.W. Young," *T'oung Pao* 10 (1899), 223-5. Request mentioned in *De Locomotief*, 16 October 1885.
[105] Borel's requests (Semarang 29 March and 4 April), Stuart's report (15 April), letters of Director of Justice A.L.E. Gastmann (25 April) and Governor-General Van Heutsz (13 June 1907) in V 15/8/1907 no. 44 inv. 484 toegang 2.10.36.04. The criminal case against Borel was dismissed in 1908 (*Cf.* IB 9 February 1908, Borel Archives, uncatalogued, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).
[106] Borel's request is dated Pontianak, 14 December 1908. IB 4/2/1909 no. 7 inv. 8439. He was later allowed *f* 60 per month for a Mandarin-speaking clerk (IB 21/3/1912 no. 29) This was continued after his transfer in a decision of the Director of Justice dated 21 June 1912 (both in Borel Archive, uncatalogued, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).
[107] Letter from Borel to Director of Justice, Pontianak 15 June 1909, and IB 28 August 1909 no. 8, in Mailrapport 1909 no. 1465.
[108] Borel, *Het daghet in den Oosten* (second edition, 1926), 23.
[109] He later wrote a book about his stay in Peking, *Het daghet in den Oosten* (Dawning in the East), which became a bestseller and was reprinted several times. An English translation appeared as *The New China: A Traveller's Impressions* (1912). He wrote about Mandarin and his Mandarin studies on pp. 16, 23, 63-74, 159 (Dutch second edition of 1926).
[110] Borel, *Het daghet in den Oosten* (second edition, 1926), 63.
[111] IB 30/3/1910 no. 53 inv. 8466. IB 12/12/1910 no. 15 inv. 8483. Wang Fung Ting was perhaps the same person as his first Mandarin teacher in Peking, whose surname

was Wang (*Het daghet in den Oosten*, 1926, 63). This salary was continued for 1912 (IB 23/12/1911 no. 53 inv. 8508). Wang took three months' leave to Peking in November 1911 (Borel, uncatalogued no. 233, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague). It is not clear whether Wang later returned to the Indies or Borel engaged another teacher.

[112] The dates of the beginning and end of his engagement are unknown. Borel, ongecatalogiseerde stukken (uncatalogued documents), Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. There is a photograph of Borel with Wang Fung Ting in B 00745 II 004, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[113] Notebooks I-IV, vol. I entitled "Mandarijn-Chineesch, Soerabaja – Peking," and two notebooks based on Henri Boucher's *Boussole du langage Mandarin* etc. In B 745 H 3 Vertalingen etc., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[114] The discussion about the need to study Mandarin would be continued and would ten years later lead to a revolution in Dutch sinology. In 1910 De Groot was still opposed to studying Mandarin; he denied that Mandarin could be of any use for an Official for Chinese Affairs in the Indies (Letter Leiden 20 January 1910, in V 26/2/1910 no. 28 inv. 711 toegang 2.10.36.04). But in 1914 and 1916 one Official and one former Official went to China to study Mandarin (H. Mouw, De Bruin), and in 1916 De Groot's student A.D.A. de Kat Angelino was the first Candidate-Official to study Mandarin in Peking for one year, after studying one year of Hokkien in Amoy. Ezerman went on a study tour to China in 1916, also visiting Shanghai and Peking. From 1919 all Candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs in Leiden were to study both Mandarin and Hokkien. (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1918, no. 82, article 4). And the new lecturer of Chinese appointed in Leiden as from 1919, J.J.L. Duyvendak, only knew Mandarin and no Hokkien.

[115] Receipt of Wang's membership fee of *f* 1, dated 20 July 1911, in Borel, uncatalogued no. 232, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[116] IB 30/3/1910 no. 53 inv. 8466.

[117] "… de afschaffing van den gewonen schrijver, hetzij Hokkian, Kheh-Chinees of van welken landaard ook, [komt] mij hoogst ongewenscht voor, aangezien het juist deze persoon is, met wien de ambtenaren voor chineesche zaken, om zoo te zeggen, dagelijks aanraking hebben, door wiens gesprekken zij de door hen gesproken taal blijvend onderhouden en die van plaatselijke toestanden beter dan een outsider op de hoogte zijnde, in de meeste gevallen desgewenscht de beste nasporingen doen en de meest juiste inlichtingen verstrekken kan." Stuart's report dated 15 April 1907, in V 15/8/1907 no. 44 inv. 484 toegang 2.10.36.04.

## *Notes to Chapter Seven*

[1] Letter from Duymaer van Twist dated 18 September 1853 and master plan by Hoffmann dated 9 December 1853, in V 17/1/1854 no. 19 inv. 311.

[2] Letter from the Consul dated 10 December 1859, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005.

[3] Franciscus Josephus Crefcoeur was born on 29 January 1838 in Den Bosch. It is not known what name his second initial A stands for.

[4] Details about his background from Schlegel's report to the Minister of Colonies dated 9 April 1873, p. 17, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[5] Copies of both requests are in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[6] Letter dated 6 July 1864 in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[7] Classical languages (Latin and Greek) were hardly taught in the Indies, and the so-called Willem III Gymnasium (*Gymnasium Willem III*), which was established in 1860, was unsuccessful as a *gymnasium* and became an HBS in 1867.

[8] Letter dated 12 July 1864, in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[9] "De wijze waarop tot nu toe de opleiding van tolken voor de Chinesche taal plaats vond, is even gebrekkig als kostbaar. Nu er eenmaal tolken zijn, die spoedig door meer zullen gevolgd worden, om bestemd te worden voor die plaatsen waar de beoefende taal

(geen dialect) gesproken wordt, is het verreweg verkieslijk dat de gronden der Chinesche taal door hier aanwezige tolken worden gelegd."

[10] Advice no. XXXII, in V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900. All following documents are in this Verbaal.

[11] In answer to letters of the Government secretary of 15 August 1864 and the Resident of 17/8/1864.

[12] "Tariff for the European interpreters of the Chinese language," *Staatsblad van Ned. Indië* 1863, no. 39 (B).

[13] In the appendix, only "Medhurst: Chinese Dictionary (Batavia)" is mentioned. This probably refers to Medhurst's dictionary of 1842, which was a translation of the Kangxi dictionary, and not to his Hokkien dictionary of 1832 published in Batavia and Macao, nor to his *English and Chinese Dictionary* (Shanghae, 1847–1848) which Schlegel considered a failure.

[14] Schlegel spelled *Notitiae* instead of *Notitia*. He did this consistently, also in his inaugural lecture of 1877 (p. 5) and in his dictionary, but in 1892 he used the correct form ("Téghin Giogh," 49).

[15] This short title probably referred to the Romance of the Three Kingdoms (*Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義), not the official history. The language of the novel was simple literary language, not classical Chinese.

[16] Otto van Rees (1823–92) was a member of the Council of the Indies from 1864 to 1867 and, after two-years' leave, again from 1869 to 1872; he was vice-president from 1873 to 1878. He became a member, and later the president of Parliament; Minister of Colonies for some months in 1879, and Governor-General in 1884–8.

[17] V 11/4/1867 no. 22 inv. 1900.

[18] This means 5 years and 9 months.

[19] Ambrosius Johannes Willebrordus van Delden (1819–87) was the first president of the Batavian Chamber of Commerce in 1864–74 (short biographies in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië* (1917 edition) and *Tijdschrift voor Nijverheid en Landbouw in Nederlandsch Indië*, 35 (1887), 464-8).

[20] "Crefcoeur zette een galanteriewinkeltje op, ging daarna naar Australië, waar hij den Heer Van Delden, bij gelegenheid zijner reis aldaar, om geld bedelde om een pistool te koopen om zich dood te schieten, maar … daarvoor brandy kocht om zich te bedrinken." Report by Schlegel 9 April 1873, p. 17, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[21] Report by Schlegel 9 April 1873, p. 17, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[22] *Javasche Courant*, 1896 no. 87. Stamboeken Oost-Indische ambtenaren, H' 125.

[23] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, vol. 4, 1866, 31 October 1866 (pp. 255-6), 27 December 1866 (pp. 274-5); vol. 9, 1871, 26 March 1871 (p. 23). Probably Hakka dialect characters that were considered indispensable were missing.

[24] Arthur Leopold George Gobée (Batavia, 9 October 1845) was a son of the German military physician August Heinrich Adolf Gobée, who had been stationed in the Indies in 1836–53. A.L.G. Gobée enrolled as a 17-year-old student in the Faculty of Arts of Leiden University on 4 May 1863 (*Album Studiosorum*, 1392); he was a member of the Student Corps and lived with his parents in Leiden; he probably studied classical languages (*Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps*, 1864–6). But on 20 April 1866, he joined the army as a volunteer, and on 27 April he left for the Indies as a soldier, disembarking in Batavia on 11 July 1866 (f. 23, inv. 403, toegang 2.13.07, Stamboeken Officieren Landmacht en KNIL; f. 2340, inv. 9, toegang 2.10.50, Stamboeken en pensioenregisters Militairen Oost Indië en West Indië, 1815–1954).

[25] The names and initials of Gobée and Reeder are mentioned in the letter of the Director of Interior Administration (BB) Waanders to the Governor-General dated 4 October 1869, in V 15/8/1870 no. 21 inv. 2339.

[26] Three names without initials are mentioned in Schlegel's report of 9 April 1873, p. 18, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[27] "Alleen wezenlijke voorliefde voor de beoefening der Chinesche taal moet dus de drijfveer zijn zich aan die te wijden, bij voorkeur boven die, welke den aspirant, na afgelegd Grootambtenaarsexamen, den weg tot alle rangen opent. De studie der Chinesche taal verwacht dat men ten minste zooveel voorstudiën gemaakt hebbe en intellectuele ontwik-

keling bezitte als verwacht wordt om tot afdeeling B van het Grootambtenaarsexamen te worden toegelaten." Advice 14 September 1868, in V 15/8/1870 no. 21 inv. 2339. Hoogeveen's letter is not included in this Verbaal.

[28] "Met weinige uitzonderingen: *gelukzoekers*, *Sinjo's* en *luilakken* die het Grootambtenaarsexamen schuwen en vermeenen dat Chineesch te leeren makkelijker is." Report of Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies, pp. 18-19, 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[29] The candidates could prepare themselves for the examination at the newly established Indies Institute in Delft or at Leiden University. Fasseur, *Indologen*, 201-6. "Appointment regulations for civil officials in the Netherlands Indies" (Ambtenaren bij de burgerlijke dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië), *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1864 no. 194 (Royal Decree 10 September 1864 no. 47).

[30] Examination rules are in *Staatscourant* 1865 no. 66 (resolution of 14 March, edition 19-20 March 1865). Part A was abolished in 1871 (*Staatsblad* 1871 no. 72 and 1872 no. 106).

[31] Article 5, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1864, no. 194.

[32] Article 4, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1864, no. 194. The subjects of part B were: the history, geography, and ethnology of the Netherlands Indies, knowledge of Netherlands Indies government institutions, basic Javanese or Malay, and two of four optional subjects: (1) one or more other native languages of the Indies, (2) religious (Islamic) laws, popular institutions and customs in the Indies, (3) surveying, and (4) bookkeeping. The subjects of the Lower Officials Examination for positions with a monthly salary not higher than *f* 150 were: Dutch language, arithmetic, and demonstration of good penmanship (art. 6). On the Higher Officials Examination, *see also* Fasseur, *Indologen*, 202-6.

[33] Article 12, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1864, no. 194.

[34] Entrance examinations for the university in languages and mathematics for students without a *gymnasium* diploma.

[35] No reason was given for his exemption.

[36] "Het Chineesch is eene keel- en neusklankige taal en op lateren leeftijd zijn de stembanden niet meer lenig genoeg om zich tot het vormen dier klanken met gemak te leenen. De omstandigheid echter dat rekwestrant zich sins [*sic*] jaren met de beoefening van het spreken van andere oostersche talen bezig houdt, kan welligt bij hem de spreekorganen in eenen soupelen toestand gehouden hebben, zoodat zij zich gemakkelijker zullen leenen tot het aanleeren der gesprokene Chinesche taal dan anders verwacht kan worden." Advice dated 14 September 1868, V 15/8/1870 no. 21, inv. 2339.

[37] According to Waanders. Von Faber's formulation is not clear; he probably meant that Gobée (and Reeder?) could be exempted only after finishing university.

[38] In 1866, four new government departments had been established, including that of Interior Administration; before 1866, there was only a Department of Finance (*Encyclopaedie van NI* [1896], vol. I, pp. 436-437).

[39] This decision (no. 14) repeated the Minister's decision of 11 April 1867.

[40] Appointed on 23 July 1869. One member of the Council, O. van Rees, had shown a lack of sympathy to the interpreters before, and had just been reappointed on 25 September after two years' leave.

[41] Although *f* 4,800 was yearly earmarked for training interpreters, this would only be sufficient for stipends and teachers' fees of two students in the Indies, and not for their stipends in China, passage to and from China, passage of the new teacher, and books.

[42] "De ondergetekende, M. von Faber, tolk voor de Chinesche taal te Batavia, heeft zich te kort met de spreektaal van het Kè-Jing-tjioe dialekt kunnen bezighouden en heeft na dien korten tijd bijna geene gelegenheid gehad zich verder daarin te bekwamen of zelfs het daarvan aangeleerde te onderhouden, om de noodige kennis van genoemd dialekt te bezitten tot het geven van onderwijs daarin of tot het doen van mondelinge vertolkingen daarin of daaruit voor eene regtbank, weshalve hij niet alleen in gemoede *kan*, doch zelfs *moet* verklaren, dat hij het Kè-jing-tjioe dialekt niet spreken en niet onderwijzen kan." Von Faber consistently used the spelling "Kè-Jing-tjioe," while Schlegel wrote "Kay Ying Tsiu." Both are Hokkien (Tsiangtsiu) pronunciations of Kia Ying Chow, respectively in Dutch and English spelling. Letter by Von Faber dated 10 February 1870, in V 15/8/1870 no. 21, inv. 2339.

[43] "Het is zaak voor een en ander nog in den loop van dit jaar te zorgen, opdat de twee élèves na hun aanstelling aan 't werk kunnen." Levysohn Norman to Mijer, 30 March 1870, in V 15/8/1870 no. 21, inv. 2339

[44] Based on *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 78, 1865, Art. 2 (Royal Decree no. 49, 9 November 1865).

[45] "Chinesche tolken. Voorwaarden te verbinden aan de bijdragen van Staatswege voor de opleiding van tolken voor de chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië." A later version of this ordinance of 1873 is in Appendix R.

[46] In 1867, Gobée was promoted to corporal, in 1868 to sergeant, and from April 1870 to 1872 he went to the Military School. In April 1872, he was made second lieutenant and paymaster (*kwartiermeester*) of the military administration (f. 23, inv. 403, toegang 2.13.07). In 1872–5, he was stationed in Atjeh (Aceh), in 1875 he became first lieutenant, and in 1883 returned on two-year sick leave to the Netherlands. In 1885, he was honourably discharged because of physical defects not caused by his service, and granted a pension (f. 2340, inv. 9, toegang 2.10.50).

[47] Their initials are not known, but they could be G.Ch. Twijsel, clerk (*klerk*) in the General Secretariat (born 11 May 1844 in Semarang), who received a pension from 1900 (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren Q434); C.E.H. Wollweber, student telegraphist in Batavia, appointed in 1870, in function until 1880 (S313); and Carel Willem Groenewald, third-class clerk (*commies*) in 1866, who passed away in May 1881 (R237). An appointment as interpreter at *f* 300 per month could be attractive for lower officials with salaries not exceeding *f* 150.

[48] Groeneveldt was transferred from Pontianak to Padang to take Buddingh's place, and Meeter was appointed in Pontianak as successor to Groeneveldt. IB 14/9/1870 no. 27.

[49] *Javasche Courant* 1871 nos. 2, 3, 5 (5, 10, 13 January).

[50] Schlegel's report dated 9 April 1873, p. 17, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. A person named H.E. Busscher later had a career in the military administration and was honourably discharged in 1901 (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren I' 740).

[51] The report by the examination committee (dated 7 April 1871) was published in *Extra Bijvoegsel der Javasche Courant* 1871 no. 34 (a printed copy is in V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625). In the printed version the names of the candidates were left out.

[52] V 18/2/1873 no. 26, inv. 2563.

[53] Schlegel's report 1873, p. 20. J.J. Roelofs' younger brother Johannes Gerard would later pass the Higher Officials Examination and have a career in the Indies (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren Z75).

[54] IB 20/4/1871 no. 35, in V 14/6/1871 no. 62 inv. 2405.

[55] "… daar er geene bronnen, behalve levende, voor het aanleeren van dit dialekt bestonden." Schlegel's report 9 April 1873, p. 26.

[56] Schlegel's report 1873, p. 26.

[57] With slightly varying titles. Five copies are known to exist: those by B. Hoetink, H.N. Stuart, A.A. de Jongh, B.A.J. van Wettum, and an unknown student. *See* Chapter Eleven.

[58] The Department of Justice was established in 1870 (*Encyclopaedie van NI* [1896], vol. I, pp. 436-7).

[59] Mr. Timon Henricus der Kinderen (1823–98) had a doctorate in Law from Leiden University and arrived in the Indies in 1848. From 1854 he had a career in the High Court as clerk, from 1861 judge, from 1866 Procurator General. From 1869 he was Director of Justice; from 1871 President of both High Courts; from 1872 he was a member of the Council of the Indies. He contributed greatly to the establishment of secondary education in Batavia and the codification of law in the Outer Possessions. He retired in 1889, returning to the Netherlands.

[60] The committee was first appointed in IB 10/8/1871 no. 26. V 16/10/1871 no. 91 inv. 2434.

[61] Schlegel's letter to the Director of Justice 27 May 1872, in V 7/8/1872 no. 40 inv. 2515.

[62] IB 8/6/1872 no. 12 inv. 7556. IB 18/9/1875 no. 9 inv. 7636. Date of departure in *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 1872, p. 72.

[63] IB 5/8/1872 no. 9, in V 5/10/1872 no. 46 inv. 2531.

[64] Copies are in V 1/11/1872 no. 67 inv. 2539.

[65] During the second year of his study in China, he had to do without the support of De Grijs, who went to Northern China and the Netherlands.

[66] "De élève Roelofs is bezig met het aanleeren van het Hokien dialect, dat te Emoi en omstreken wordt gesproken; mijn bestemming is, voor zover ik weet, Shanghai, waar men eene geheel andere taal hoort, in dit opzigt zou dus Emoi voor hem de beste plaats zijn, ja Batavia zelfs boven Shanghai te verkiezen wezen. / Maar een tolk voor de Chinesche taal moet meer kennen dan de spreektaal, hij moet ook in de schrijftaal bedreven zijn en op de hoogte zijn van wetten en gebruiken, in een woord van het geheele Chinesche leven. Voor het gedeelte zijner studie dat zeker het moeijelijkste is biedt China gunstiger gelegenheid aan dan Batavia en is vooral de leiding van een deskundige een groot voordeel, tijdens mijn verblijf in China heb ik het gemis ervan in vele opzigten gevoeld. / Bovendien kan het bezwaar dat ik tegen Shanghai heb ingebragt, voor een groot deel verholpen worden. De élève Roelofs neemt zich natuurlijk een meester en een bediende uit Emoi en is, met mij zamen zijnde, bovendien nog in dagelijksche aanraking met andere personen die het door hem beoefende dialect spreken, terwijl er te Shanghai zeker een aantal kooplieden enz. uit Emoi zijn, met wie hij zooveel verkeeren kan als hij goed vindt. / Ik ben niet genoegzaam bekend met den aanleg en de vorderingen van de meergenoemde élève; van den heer Schlegel heb ik echter steeds gunstige berigten over hem gehoord. Hierop vertrouwende durf ik beweren dat hij, na een jaar te Shanghai onder mijne leiding geweest te zijn, ten volle in staat kan wezen op zich zelven te staan en zich door een verblijf van nog een jaar in de provincie Hokiën geheel voor zijne taak te bekwamen." V 1/11/1872 no. 67 inv. 2539.

[67] "Hier in Indië worden in hoofdzaak slechts twee dialecten gesproken: het zoogenaamde Hokiën en het Hakka of Kheh dialect. Chinezen van anderen landaard komen slechts op weinige plaatsen en in kleinen getale voor. Die twee dialecten ken ik en voor mijnen werkkring in Indië zou het dus geen nut hebben er nog een bij te leeren. / Wat het dialect van Shanghai betreft, zoo is er, voor zoover mij bekend is, in geheel Indië geen Chineesch die dat spreekt. / Eindelijk moet ik de aandacht vestigen op de omstandigheid dat [tussen] de Chinesche dialecten, bij groot verschil, ook veel overeenkomst bestaan en [dat] het al vrij moeijelijk is en veel oefening vereischt er twee te leeren zonder ze vaak met elkaar te verwarren. / Ook al kan ik het hier in Indië gebruiken, dan zou ik nog aarzelen van een derde dialect eene geregelde studie te maken. / Ik ben met mijne zending naar China zeer ingenomen. Omdat ik mij daaruit veel voordeel voor mijn studiën beloof. Maar ik hoop dat de Regering op grond van het bovenstaande zal afzien van de meergemelde aanbeveling en het aan mijn eigen oordeel overlaten hoe ik van de mij geboden gelegenheid zal partij trekken." V 1/11/1872 no. 67 inv. 2539.

[68] IB 22/9/1872 no. 6, in V 1/11/1872 no. 67 inv. 2539. In China, Groeneveldt would later study Mandarin (Hoffmann's report, 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589), which was necessary for diplomacy, but at that time considered of no use in the Indies. He would also study the history of Sino–Malay contacts; the result was his publication *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from Chinese Sources* (1880).

[69] IB 22/9/1872 no. 6 inv. 7563.

[70] All travel costs etc. were to be refunded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. V 15/8/1873 no. 3 inv. 2611.

[71] V 3/10/1873 no. 45 inv. 2626. Royal Decree in IB 29/10/1873 no. 25 inv. 2634.

[72] The German merchant Carl Junius Pasedag was Consul from the establishment of a Dutch Consulate in Amoy on 23 April 1874 to 25 November 1884 (letter of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, August 1917, in inv. 1329, toegang 2.05.38, NA). He had been appointed on the first day by J.H. Ferguson.

[73] "Hij lijkt me een kerel met een vluggen geest, maar zonder zucht naar het hogere, edlere; en geeft nu en dan te kijken dat hij in Amoy met minder fijne lui verkeerd heeft." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 30 March 1880. Van der Spek had just arrived in Batavia after one year of study in Amoy.

[74] IB 17/6/1875 no. 12, inv. 7630. Correspondence and telegrams about Roelofs' financial affairs in Amoy are kept in inv. 2, toegang 2.05.92 Consulaat Amoy.

[75] IB 17/6/1875 no. 14, inv. 7630.

[76] V (Exh.) 18/10/1872 no. 52 inv. 2535.

[77] IB 7/9/1873 no. 3 in V 1/11/1873 no. 67 inv. 2539.
[78] Schlegel's report, 9 April 1873, p. 17. Also in Schlegel's review of Young's *Uit de Indo-Chineesche samenleving*, in *Het leeskabinet*, juli 1895 (in Schlegel, *Varia*, Overdrukken (off-prints), East Asian Library).
[79] Schlegel, "Nécrologie" [of] J.W. Young, *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899), 223-5.
[80] IB 2/1/1873 no. 7; examination results in marks with commentary are in V 18/2/1873 no. 26 inv. 2563.
[81] Schlegel, "Nécrologie," 225, quoting J.J.M. de Groot.
[82] Probably also in Zhangzhou. Van der Spek mentioned that he met a Chinese friend of Young's in Zhangzhou (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 January 1880).
[83] IB 22/12/1875 no. 26 and correspondence with Pasedag, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93, Consulaat Amoy 1874–1895.
[84] Letter from the Department of Justice 7 October 1876, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93, Consulaat Amoy 1874–1895. He was perhaps inspired by Schlegel's teaching programme in Leiden.
[85] Letter from Pasedag to the Director of Justice in Batavia, dated 3 February 1877, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.
[86] De Groot, *Notizen*.
[87] IB 8/2/1877 no. 46, inv. 7671. Young engaged the teacher before official permission was given.
[88] IB 16/3/1877 no. 16, inv. 7674.
[89] Schlegel, "Nécrologie," 223. Approved by the Governor-General in IB 3/6/1877 no. 25 inv. 7679.
[90] This is from an appendix probably belonging to Schlegel's letter dated 2 March 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. The second argument was more applicable to the Netherlands than to the Indies.
[91] Schlegel's report, 9 April 1873, p. 16, V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. Appointment in IB 24/8/1870 no. 2.
[92] The main exceptions were that from 1893 onwards, two years of study in China were allowed instead of one, and in 1910 De Groot used another system of selection and examination.

## *Notes to Chapter Eight*

[1] Mr. Gerardus Theodorus Hendrik Henny (1828–84) was Secretary General from 1 July 1872 to 12 February 1876. After studying in Delft, he went to the Indies in 1852 as 1st class official to work in the judiciary. From 26 July 1862 to 1872, he had been lawyer at the High Court in Batavia (*advocaat en procureur*) (Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren K 120. Van der Hoeven, *Familie Henny*). In that capacity he often came into contact with Schlegel. In his obituary of Serrurier, Schlegel called Henny his 'friend' (*T'oung Pao* 2 (1901), 280). In 1876–82 Henny was again in Batavia, now as Director of Interior Administration.
[2] "Nota omtrent de opleiding van élève-translateurs voor de Chinesche taal."
[3] In total 12 lined, thread-bound pages. These documents are without any reference as to their origin. Therefore they are assumed to have been handed over personally. They are kept together with Schlegel's letter of 2 March 1873 in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. All documents mentioned in this and the next section are from this *Verbaal* unless otherwise specified.
[4] "De opleiding in Nederland onder den hoogleeraar Hoffmann, bleek al ras voor de dienst in Nederlandsch Indië onvoldoende te zijn. Want hoewel het genoemden hoogleeraar volkomen toevertrouwd is zijn élèves in de Chinesche schrijftaal te onderrigten, zoo was het echter voor hem, uit den aard der zaak, minder doenlijk hen in de, in Nederl. Indië gesproken dialekten te onderwijzen. De Heer Hoffmann verstaat namelijk alleen het onder den naam van Mandarijnsch in de noordelijke provintien van China gesproken wordende dialekt, terwijl in Ned. Indië dialekten uit de zuidelijke provintien Fokian en Kwangtoeng gesproken worden."
[5] Schlegel did not mention any names.

[6] "… het toch reeds zo kleine corps tolken voor de Chinesche taal loopt gevaar spoedig uit te sterven." This can be seen in the table of the numbers of active interpreters in Appendix H.

[7] Schlegel did not mention that another student, Young, was being trained in Batavia by his colleague Von Faber.

[8] This title is similar to the *chaire de chinois vulgaire* used by Bazin and his successors at the École des langues Orientales in Paris from 1843 to 1930. From 1871 on, this chair was occupied by former interpreters in the French consulates in China, assisted by Chinese teachers (Bergère, Pino, *Siècle d'enseignement 1840–1945*, passim).

[9] On 12 June 1869 for his dissertation *Chinesische Bräuche und Spiele in Europa*. Schlegel did not mention its shortness (32 pp.).

[10] Ministerial resolution of 15 August 1870, in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1870 no. 151. Dutch text *cf*. Appendix R.

[11] This national institution (*Rijksinstelling*) was established as part of Leiden University, officially replacing the training at the Royal Academy in Delft when that was discontinued in 1864. It was in its turn closed in 1877, and succeeded by a municipal institution in Leiden that existed until 1891 (similar to the one in Delft). Students prepared here for the Higher Officials Examination.

[12] A different title from the one in his previous document. Perhaps Schlegel changed it on the advice of Henny.

[13] In the original letter it can be seen that Schlegel had first written 6,000, which he later changed to 5,000. His arguments for this salary were that his last yearly salary in the Indies was *f* 6,000, to which should be added *f* 1,200 as extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber, while his maximum salary would after another eight years amount to *f* 9,600.

[14] Three months after Julien's death, on 11 May 1873, d'Hervey de Saint-Denys was temporarily charged with the course for a probation period of one year, and on 1 June 1874 he was officially appointed, being the only candidate recommended. He remained in function until his death in 1892. Angel Pino, "Abrégé dûment circonstancié de la vie de Marie Jean Léon le Coq, baron d'Hervey, marquis de Saint-Denys, professeur au Collège de France en membre de l'Institut, sinologue de son état, onironaute à ses heures: une enquête à l'usage, non exclusif, des futurs biographes," in: Bergère and Pino, *Siècle d'enseignement 1840–1943*, 95-129, specially 108-9.

[15] Full name: *Bureau Oostindische algemeene zaken* (Bureau for general East Indies affairs). Since 1861 it was headed by the *referendaris* Jhr. F.E.M. van Alphen, who later succeeded Henny as Secretary General in 1876.

[16] Of course, this was the original function of these archives. Later historians make grateful use of them.

[17] The discussion about the need to study Mandarin between Hoffmann, De Grijs, and Van der Hoeven in 1858 was not mentioned. Perhaps most of the documents could then already not be found. *See* Chapter Three, Studying in China (1855–1867), section "The elimination of Mandarin studies."

[18] Note in the margin: "Dr. Hoffmann will die soon, therefore he did not come with the Japanese envoys. H[enny]." ("Dr. Hoffmann zal spoedig dood gaan, daarom kwam hij ook niet met de Japaneesche gezanten. H.")

[19] No reference about this could be found in V 15/8/1870 no. 21 inv. 2339.

[20] *Dwarskijkers* was during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Dutch name for the highest rank of Japanese–Dutch interpreters, who also functioned as inspectors or inquisitors, and were considered snoopers or busy-bodies by the Dutch (Blussé, *Bewogen betrekkingen*). The word *dwarskijker* became popular after the first Japanese delegation to the Netherlands in 1862 (Van der Sijs, *Calendarium*, 205).

[21] Actually, these numbers had already been decided in 1860 and 1862, around the time when the first interpreters were appointed. It seems that Schlegel was referring to the two letters from two Governors-General, first stating that "ten" and later that "eight" interpreters were needed (dated 9 August 1860 in V 9/1/1861, no. 5 inv. 1020 and 4 February 1862 in V 29/8/1862 no. 7 inv. 1234).

[22] In fact, De Grijs continued to work for another ten years. In 1885 he went to the Netherlands on a two-year leave, and in 1887 was given a pension.

[23] "En van dit voor Indië zoo belangrijk element weten de Indische ambtenaren *niets af*. Omtrent hun zijn de waanzinnigste denkbeelden in omloop; men heeft noch begrip van hunnen godsdienst, noch van hunne eigenaardige zeden en gebruiken, noch van hunne huishouding, en het allerminst van hunne taal. En dientengevolge worden grove misslagen ten hunnen opzigte begaan en levert de regering over de Chinezen op vele plaatsen moeilijkheden op, terwijl toch anders de Chinees een het makkelijkst te regeren volk is. Verschillende conflicten die op *Riouw* en *Pontianak* alléén door de kennis van taal en zeden der Chinezen, door mijn collega's *Schaalje* en *Groeneveldt* zijn voorkomen, zouden *zonder* hunne tusschenkomst tot ernstige ongeregeldheden aanleiding gegeven hebben." Schlegel's letter of 9 April 1873, p. 23.

[24] Schlegel should have known by then that De Grijs had agreed to edit the dictionary, because he quoted from a letter by Der Kinderen dated 17 February 1873 (p. 25 of his report). De Grijs' acceptance was already mentioned in the *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* on 17 December 1872, p. 171.

[25] "De voormalige tolk voor de / Chinesche taal te Batavia / thans met verlof. / Dr. G. Schlegel."

[26] Also published in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1873, no. 123 (IB 18/7/1873 no. 3).

[27] Groeneveldt left the interpreters' service on 7 August 1877, two months before Schlegel definitively quit on 3 October 1877, but Schlegel already left the active service in 1872.

[28] V 26/6/1873 no. 47 (Exh.) inv. 2696, V 27/6/1873 no. 25 inv. 2597.

[29] *Staatscourant*, 1 July 1873, no. 153, and 4 July 1873, no. 156.

[30] V 24/6/1873 no. 36 inv. 2596.

[31] *Staatsblad* 1871, no. 72 (decision of 23/6/1871), and 1872, no. 106 (30/10/1872). Part A was abolished in 1871, but the examination could still be taken in 1871 and 1872.

[32] Ten Brink (1834–1901) became professor of Dutch literature in Leiden in 1884, and Van der Waals (1837–1923) was professor in Amsterdam from 1877 to 1907; he won the Nobel prize for physics in 1910. The other committee members were: L. Chatelain (French), J. Klein (German), F.S. Gomm (English), J.C. Mensing (arithmetic and bookkeeping, also secretary of the committee), Dr. W.F. Koppeschaar (natural history, minerology and geology), M. Salverda de Grave (geography and history) (V 20/8/1873 no. 45 inv. 2612).

[33] A large stack of documents is kept in V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625.

[34] Groeneveldt's *nota*, in Advice from the Council of the Indies, 12 October 1894, V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[35] V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625. '5' represents 'just satisfactory knowledge.'

[36] V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625, V 1/10/1873 no. 22/1793 inv. 2626.

[37] V 12/1/1874 no. 12 (Exh.) inv. 2652.

[38] "verlangt vurig in eenige betrekking in Nederlandsch Oost Indië te komen."

[39] For the 'technical forestry officials' a similar system of a competitive examination and fully paid three-year course including half a year of practical training in Germany had recently been established. Van Eijk, *De opleiding der technische ambtenaren bij het boschweezen in Nederlandsch-Indië (1865–1897)*.

[40] V 18/10/1873 no. 14 inv. 2630.

[41] A photocopy is kept in the Archiefkast 2, East Asian Library, Leiden; = De Groot Archief, Leiden. The original diary was kept in the Maurice Freedman Collection in the London School of Economics, but is now lost (Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 16 note 6).

[42] De Groot, *Notizen*, 8, 15.

[43] "Wil de wereld zien." De Groot, *Notizen*, 1.

[44] "Over de hooge, rotsige kusten van Havre rond te zwerven, was een buitenkansje, dat de lust om verre gewesten te zien krachtiger dan ooit deed ontwaken." De Groot, *Notizen*, 2.

[45] "Weet geen beteren uitweg om mijne neiging de wijde wereld in te gaan te voldoen, dan maar Oost Indisch ambtenaar te worden." De Groot, *Notizen*, 3.

[46] "Wil ijverig wezen, ten einde zoo gauw mogelijk weg te komen. Maar wat een winkel! De colleges schijnen er als uitgevonden om de idealen over Indië bij jongelieden uit te blusschen. Wat een overstelpende massa beuzelarijen, kleinigheden en nietswaardige bijzonderheden!" De Groot, *Notizen*, 3.

[47] J.M. van Vleuten (1837–after 1891) was appointed as East Indies official in 1857, later

became an Assistant Resident, and in 1871 he went on two (actually three) years' leave to the Netherlands (Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren M91, M524). He was not a regular teacher at the Institution. In 1885–9 he was Director of Interior Administration.

[48] J.J. de Hollander, *Handleiding bij de beoefening der land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië, voor de cadetten, bestemd voor den dienst in die gewesten*, first edition Breda, KMA, 1861, many re-editions. De Groot would refute De Hollander's prejudices about the Chinese in *Het Kongsiwezen van Borneo* (pp. 152, 154-5, note 2).

[49] "De helft der lessen telegrafeert hij af, daar hij Den Haag, waar hij woont, maar noode kan verlaten; en wanneer hij komt, verveelt hij zijn gehoor door stukken voor te lezen uit die treurige Handleiding van De Hollander, en die zoogenaamde lessen met allerhand flauwiteiten uit eigen ervaring aan te vullen. Geen enkele greep in de ziel of den geest der inlanders; alles handelt over den buitenkant." De Groot, *Notizen*, 3.

[50] Dr A.W.Th. Juynboll (1834–87) first taught Javanese, and after 1868 Islamic law and its influence on East Indies society.

[51] "Die weet zijn lui te boeien en een en ander te leeren; hij verstaat ook de kunst hen nu en dan te doen lachen, kortom, is een lichtpunt in dien donkeren boel." De Groot, *Notizen*, 3.

[52] This should be 13 and is clearly a misreading of his original diary.

[53] "Gelukkig komt tegen het einde van het eerste jaar verlossing. Op een schoonen dag lees ik, op mijn kamer boven den Banketwinkel van Gussenhoven, aan de Binnen-watersloot, de tijding, dat aspiranten worden verlangd om in Leiden te gaan studeeren voor tolk voor de Chineesche taal. Daar in die akademiestad drie of vier jaar te vertoeven, lacht mij toe; dààr zal men wat leeren en studeeren kunnen, en dan, behalve Indië, nog China zien op de koop toe, ja, wellicht een interessante carrière kunnen maken een geheel andere richting uit. De betaling is bovendien beter dan die bij het Binnenlandsch Bestuur. Van dralen dus geen quaestie; de stukken worden ingediend, en op het examen in Den Haag, onder 18 [should be: 13] sollicitanten, door mij het hoogst aantal punten behaald. Lid in de afnemings-commissie was o.a. Jan Ten Brink. / In September komt een schrijven van den Minister van Koloniën, dat ik mij ter beschikking van Schlegel heb te stellen. Veel aandrang van den kant der Delftsche vrienden, die aanstelling als leerling-tolk toch van de hand te wijzen; ambtenaar bij het Binnenlandsch Bestuur, zoo heet het, is veel deftiger dan tolk, enz. Eenige weifeling, natuurlijk, mijnerzijds; doch de gedachte dat elke betrekking eervol is, zoo zij maar eervol wordt bekleed, gepaard aan de zucht om een zeer onbekend stuk van de wereld te zien, en de kans om mijzelven misschien een merkwaardigen levensloop te banen, behouden de overhand. Zonder de geringste hartzeer scheid ik van de Indische Instelling en hare ongenietbare colleges." De Groot, *Notizen*, 3-4.

[54] V 12/1/1874 no. 12 (Exh.) inv. 2652.

[55] This salary was before the deduction of 2% for civil pension and 5% contribution to the Widows and Orphans Fund of Civil Officials in the Netherlands Indies.

[56] V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625.

[57] An *Exhibitum* is a simple *Verbaal*, just containing one incoming letter without any response. They are placed before the normal *Verbalen* of a certain date in the archives represented by numbers such as 'Exh. 25/3-73 no. 25.' If there is a later response from the Ministry, the *Exhibitum* is usually transferred to the later *Verbaal*. For each group there were 11 reports. No reports of January and April 1878 could be found.

[58] Published in *Verslag van den staat van hooge-, middelbare en lagere scholen in het Koningrijk der Nederlanden*.

[59] Address on a letter from Hoffmann to Schlegel dated 24 January 1873, in: dossier 144, inv. 180, toegang 2.04.26.02.

[60] The Schlegel family lived here from the 1840s to 1869. Originally Vliet 539, in 1875 the number was changed to Vliet 23; the house has been demolished since (Bevolkingsregister 1844–1861, buurt 2, fol. 174, ELO). Gustaaf's mother Cornelia Buddingh had already passed away in 1864. His father Herman Schlegel, his new wife Albertina Catharina Petronella Pfeiffer (Utrecht, 27 September 1829 – Leiden, 10 March 1894) and Gustaaf's brother and sister moved to Breestraat 109 in 1869 (Bevolkingsregister 1860–1870, buurt 2, folio 278, and 1870–1880, buurt 1, folio 123, ELO).

[61] He registered on Papengracht 10 on 27 March 1877, giving as his previous address "East Indies" (Bevolkingsregister 1870–1880, buurt 11, fol. 43, ELO).

[62] He was registered on Rapenburg 51 on 22 June 1878 (Bevolkingsregister 1870–1880, buurt 1, fol. 324, ELO).

[63] When he was teaching two groups at the same time in 1875–6, the day or time must have been different.

[64] V 29/8/1892 no. 1 inv. 4610.

[65] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 17 no. 12.

[66] "Wij waren pas aan het Chineesch bezig. Moll werd zat als een snip en liep aldoor te zeggen: kun, kún enz." (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 15). De Jongh's birthday was on 28 November 1875.

[67] Schlegel's reports in V 12/1/1874 no. 12 (Exh.) inv. 2652. V 14/4/1874 no. 21 (Exh.) inv. 2672.

[68] Schlegel's report in V 3/4/1876 no. 47 (Exh.) inv. 2872.

[69] Schlegel's report in V 3/7/1874 no. 45 (Exh.) inv. 2691.

[70] Davis, *Hien Wun Shoo* 賢文書 (A book of wise words), *Chinese Moral Maxims* (1823).

[71] De Groot's copy entitled *Hièn Bûn Si* is kept in his *Nachlass* (no. 19) in the archives of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. Schlegel's copy is in BPL 2044.

[72] Schlegel's report in V 8/10/1874 no. 5 (Exh.) inv. 2720.

[73] Schlegel's report in V 11/10/1876 no. 45 (Exh.) inv. 2926.

[74] Five copies with slightly different titles still exist, made by B. Hoetink, H.N. Stuart, A.A. de Jongh, B.A.J. van Wettum, and an unknown student. *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Manuscript Dictionaries."

[75] B.A.J. van Wettum's copy has on the first page the date 17 June 1888, one day after the course began on 16 June, and on the last page a date three years later, 15 August 1891. His group was much slower than the earlier groups and needed three years for what the others did in two years.

[76] Stuart's copy bears the date "July 1875," and De Jongh's has "14 October 1877."

[77] Schlegel's report in V 7/1/1875 no. 49 (Exh.) inv. 2747, V 12/4/1877 no. 33 (Exh.) inv. 2979.

[78] Schlegel's report in V 7/1/1875 no. 49 (Exh.) inv. 2747.

[79] This anthology dates from about 1640 and contains forty stories chosen from other collections of short stories (*huaben*).

[80] A copy of such a notebook with the story "Du Shiniang" from *Jingu qiguan* by Schlegel's later student Van Wettum survived in the Borel archive (B 745 H. 3 Vertalingen e.a., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).

[81] William Frederick Mayers (1839–78) came to China as student-interpreter in 1860. He wrote some books that became very useful, such as *Chinese Reader's Manual* (1874). He passed away in Shanghai on his way to England on leave of absence. Quoted in Schlegel's report in V 6/7/1875 no. 22 inv. 2798. Schlegel met Mayers as interpreter at the British Consulate in Canton in 1861 (Schlegel, *Chineesche taalstudie*, 10).

[82] V 6/7/1875 no. 22 (Exh.) inv. 2798.

[83] V 16/10/1877 no. 30 (Exh.) inv. 3035. More than ten years earlier, in 1862, Schlegel had himself translated this text into Dutch at the request of that Association. In 1884, he would publish it with the original Chinese text as "Eene Chineesche begrafenis- en huwelijksonderneming" [Soerabaja], *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 32 (1884), 517-59. It contained several related texts.

[84] V 7/10/1875 no. 7 (Exh.) inv. 2800.

[85] In 1875 Schlegel made a manuscript Dutch translation of this story, with the Chinese text (*Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Orientale … de feu Mr. le Dr. Gust. Schlegel* (1904), 1, no. 5).

[86] V 6/7/1875 no. 22 (Exh.) inv. 2798.

[87] "Hij maakte in Leiden een dictionaire en midden in den nacht stond hij soms op om er weer aan te gaan werken. Eens in Amsterdam een bezoek brengende bij iemand dien hij nooit gezien had vroeg hij na 5 minuten sprekens pen en inkt om weer iets betreffende zijn woordenboek op te teekenen." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9.

[88] V 17/1/1876 no 15 (Exh.) inv. 2853. Schlegel did not mention any title of a book by Confucius. They probably studied selections from the *Four Books*.

[89] V 10/7/1876 no. 35 (Exh.) inv. 2898. V 11/7/1878 no. 50 (Exh.) inv. 3113.

[90] *Kwang Sse Loui Fou* 廣事類賦, Recueil encyclopédique de Choses diverses où [*sic*] Bibliotheca Classica Sinensis, traduit du Chinois et compilé par Gustave Schlegel, Interprête pour la langue Chinoise. Manuscript kept in Archiefkast 3 D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.034.

[91] *Le Vendeur-d'huile qui seul possède la reine-de-beauté* (Leyde, Paris, 1877).

[92] Gabriel Devéria, interpreter at the French legation in China in 1860–89 and professor at the Ecole des languages orientales in 1889–99, considered it one of the best Chinese textbooks (Cordier, "Nécrologie," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 411). In the 1910s, Franz Kuhn was inspired by Schlegel's book to become a translator of Chinese literature (Kuhn, *Dr. Franz Kuhn, Lebensbeschreibung* (English version), 12-13).

[93] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Hoffmann's Japanese Dictionary."

[94] Schlegel, *Chineesche taalstudie* (1877), 11. S. Wells Williams, *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1874).

[95] Only in Mandarin was the pronunciation indicated for each character; for the Southern dialects possible pronunciations of groups of characters were given. Another dictionary would be needed to find the correct dialect pronunciation.

[96] "*Moll* verliefd op Bertha Cors. Zij gaat onder zijn raam voorbij en hij laat uit aandoening zijn pijp vallen. Den volgenden evenzoo met de groote dictionary van Williams." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 8.

[97] In 1857 James Legge had already told him that Chinese should not be studied with the help of grammars but by wide reading (*T'oung Pao* 9 (1898), 59-63, p. 60; *see* Chapter Three, Studying in China (1855–1867), section "Study Methods").

[98] "Vous, vétérans! ne gaspillez pas votre précieux temps à faire des grammaires plus ou moins complètes de la langue chinoise; le Nestor des Sinologues, James Legge, n'en a jamais fait une; et vous, jeunes de l'avant-garde! jetez vos grammaires au feu. Lisez, lisez, lisez—traduisez, traduisez, traduisez des auteurs Chinois jusqu'à ce que vous soyez entrés dans l'ordre-d'idées chinois, et que vous pensiez comme eux." Schlegel, "La stèle funéraire du Teghin Giogh" (1892), 48-9. Italics are added. Schlegel always stressed the importance for students of learning to think like a Chinese. In the nineteenth century Chinese characters were often considered to be directly representing ideas, not words.

[99] Here quoted from Bridgman's English translation *The Notitia Linguae Sinicae* (1847), 36.

[100] Legge, "Chronique," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1893), 88-9. And for example in 1938 Schlegel's motto was quoted by Lionel Giles, "Reviews of Books" (about J.J. Brandt, *Introduction to Literary Chinese*), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1938), 572-3.

[101] Julien, *Syntaxe nouvelle de la langue Chinoise fondée sur la position des mots* (1869-70). The title page has the motto: "The whole of Chinese grammar depends on position (Marshman)."

[102] Schlegel, *Chineesche taalstudie*, 7.

[103] "Meine Schüler bekommen erst dann eine chinesische Grammatik in Händen, wenn sie der chinesischen Sprache schon Meister sind." Schlegel, "Bulletin critique," review of Carl Arendt, *Handbuch der nord-chinesischen Umgangssprache* (1891), *T'oung Pao* 3 (1892), 196. Van Zijderveld, *Duitse familie*, 255-6.

[104] Now SINOL. 15.600.24b, East Asian Library, Leiden. It is not known whether he bought it during his studies in Leiden or later from his allowance for books. The second volume also contained some older works by Julien, such as *Examen critique* and *L'orpheline de la Chine*.

[105] Taking such courses became obligatory only after 1917 (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1918 no. 82 art. 4; Royal Decree 5 September 1917 no. 23).

[106] "en is het duidelijk dat zij de studie met liefde opvatten en beoefenen." V 3/7/1874 no. 45 (Exh.) inv. 2691.

[107] "De jongelieden blijven met liefde aan de studie der Chinesche taal voortwerken." V 18/7/1877 no. 15 (Exh.) inv. 3008.

[108] Based on the photocopy of the manuscript in Leiden and with help of the English translations by Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 16.

[109] "Schlegel kan mij maar weinig bekoren. *Altijd geeft hij ons op de lessen vieze erotische*

*praatjes te slikken, geneert zich niet ons de laagste* Chineesche scheldwoorden te leeren, onder voorwendsel dat de kennis daarvan ons in onze latere betrekking als tolk onmisbaar is, en is altijd vol van *de schuinste uien en platheden ten aanzien van het sexuele leven. Hij schijnt … …… zwakkere karakters al hun respect voor de vrouw uit het lijf te halen.*" *Notizen*, 5. Unreadable text is here represented by '…'

[110] "Bijna niets hebben we voor hem te doen. Chineesche syntaxis leert hij ons niet; wij moeten maar naar de beteekenis van Chineesche volzinnen leeren slaan als blinden naar een ei. … Waarom alle heil gezocht in het aanleeren van een zekere hoeveelheid woordjes per week, en een stuk of wat zoogenaamde spreuken, door Davis bijeengegaard, spreuken die niet eens spreuken zijn? Waarom ons voort laten wurmen met een plat-erotisch novelletje uit de 今古奇觀 [*Jingu qiguan*], geschreven in plat Pekingsch dialect, niet eens in behoorlijk literarisch Chineesch?," *Notizen*, 5-6.

[111] Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 34-6.

[112] "Waarom doet hij ons geen colleges bij andere professoren volgen? … Waarom ons nooit een woord ten beste gegeven over Chineesche letterkunde, geschiedenis, zeden, gebruiken, godsdienst? Niets, hoegenaamd niets, krijgen wij te hooren over aanverwante vakken, als Boeddhisme en Sanskrit, niets over aardrijkskunde, noch over Chineesche staatsinstellingen, of wat ook. Voor mijn twee mede-élève-tolken zijn dit dan ook drie jaren van echte leeglooperij; trouwens schijnt het opleidingssysteem à la Schlegel er met voordacht op ingericht te zijn om leegloopers te kweeken." *Notizen*, 6.

[113] De Groot, *Notizen*, 8-9.

[114] This was in order to finish the University courses in Ethnology and Law that he began to follow in September, and to further extend his language studies. Letter from De Groot to the Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 19 January 1899 (end), and from Groeneveldt to the Secretary General of Foreign Affairs A.P. Verkerk Pistorius, dated 23 December 1898 (end), in inv. 1324, toegang 2.05.38.

[115] "Hooggeleerde Schlegel, geachte Leermeester, onder wiens gewaardeerde leiding ik mijn eerste schreden op het veld van wetenschap heb gezet … Uwe ongeëvenaarde kennis toch van China's talen en geschriften …" De Groot, *Over het belang der kennis van China voor onze koloniën*, 31-2.

[116] "De Groot spoke Chinese badly but studied a lot" ("de Gr. [de Groot] [sprak] slecht [Chineesch] maar studeerde veel"). Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 March 1879.

[117] Franke, "Gedächtnisrede," p. CXVIII.

[118] De Visser was nevertheless happy with De Groot's clear and simple explanations, and disagreed with him only in this respect. De Visser, "Levensbericht J.J.M. de Groot," 12 (off-print). "Die chinesische Philologie, besonders die Grammatik verachtete er." Forke, "De Groots Lebenswerk," 275.

[119] About two weeks after their arrival in Amoy, he wrote a long section in his *Diary* comprising "Leiden memories." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 6-20 (17 March 1879).

[120] Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), German poet. Van der Spek often quoted lines of Heine in his *Diary*.

[121] "Schlegel. Deze heeft ons in Leiden voor het grootste deel, die ideën ingeprent over godsdienst en deugd en zedelijkheid, welke hij wederom ontleend had uit Heine en anderen. Hij is op onze geestesvorming van grooten invloed geweest." *Diary*, 11. However, in retrospect, in a later comment on his diary, Van der Spek also showed some regret about Schlegel's teachings. After the words 'spiritual education' in the quotation above, he added in pencil: 'Unfortunately' (*helaas*), suggesting that there were also negative effects.

[122] George Drysdale (1825–1904), *The Elements of Social Science: or Physical, Sexual and Natural Religion* (first impression 1854). The 1886 edition had the subtitle: *An Exposition of the True Cause and Only Cure of the Three Primary Social Evils: Poverty, Prostitution and Celibacy*.

[123] "Het zou moeilijk geweest zijn een prettiger leraar voor ons uit te zoeken. Zooals ik zei: veel hebben we van hem geleerd buiten Chineesch en van de twee uur college praatte hij minstens een half uur over andere zaken en soms veel langer. Hij vertelde ons honderden schuinsche histories, was de eerste die ons op de hoogte bracht van wat geschreven staat in de Elements of Social Science, en dat alles zeer onderhoudend. Hij vertelde ons veel van de slechtheden der menschen (zendelingen enz.) van de domheden der menschen (professo-

ren) enz. enz. Verder ook een belangrijk aantal interessante verhalen en anecdotes, uien; hij kende alle schandalen." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 11.

[124] "Een reiziger komt in Amoy en is bij een Engelschman ten eten. Daar komt op tafel een vleeschgerecht in papier gebakken en ziet er dus vreemd uit. Met een half benauwd gezicht proeft de reiziger er van en toen hij gegeten heeft, wordt hem gevraagd hoe het smaakt. 'Goed.' Ja[,] dat is een byzonder gerecht; men krijgt het zoo mooi, doordat de kok het eerst kauwt.' En het benauwde gezicht van den dupe ziende, die bijna kotst. 'O[,] maakt U je maar niet ongerust; ik heb goed gekeken of zijn tanden schoon waren.' / Een poosje later komen een twintigtal Chineezen schreeuwende aan en trekken een boot naar land. De boot kan men echter nog niet zien en de vreemdeling vroeg wat dat beteekende. Het was toevallig Chineesch nieuwjaar en hem werd verteld dat de Chineezen een touw in het water gooien en dan symbolisch het nieuwe jaar inhalen." *Diary*, 23 March 1879.

[125] Leiden: Brill, 1896, pp. 2-3.

[126] In his book Schlegel used this anecdote to illustrate how prefaces of Chinese books were written: the more obscure and the less intelligible they were, the more they were admired by the ordinary Chinese, in particular if one out of a thousand readers could grasp all the allusions with which the author stuffed it. The Chinese reader didn't wish to understand it, just as in the anecdote about the Dutch farmer who liked obscure preaching and did not appreciate the clear and understandable preaching of the famous Protestant minister Van der Palm. (Johannes Henricus van der Palm (1763–1840) was a theologian and writer famous for his oratory talent and clear speeches, professor in Leiden from 1806 to 1836.) Schlegel often compared apparently strange Chinese customs with Western ones to show basic similarities. Other examples of this can be found in his dictionary.

[127] "De Schlegels zijn even groot als de Humboldts en Grimms! en de ééne Schl. is even groot als Lessing!" *Diary*, 14 September 1879.

[128] "S. is m.i. geen schepper, maar volgt de woorden op. Was Du ererbt von Deinen Vätern hast, erwirb es, um es zu besitzen." *Diary*, 11. Quotation from Goethe's *Faust* I, pp. 682-3.

[129] Otterspeer, *Wiekslag*, 333-4.

[130] Catharina Elisabeth Gesina Buddingh (1857–97), daughter of Dr. Johan Buddingh, a brother of Gustaaf Schlegel's mother. She was a younger sister of the sinologist J.A. Buddingh (1840–70) and had become an orphan in 1874. She was the same age as the students and was 17 years younger than Schlegel. In 1890 they were divorced.

[131] "In Juni 78 trouwde S. met zijn nicht Buddingh en wij hadden 3 of 4 prettige theeavonden waarop hij en Mevr. beiden het woord hadden en last not least een allerkeurigst diner, waarbij de wijn niet gespaard werd. Na het diner speelde Mevr. piano en S. zong prachtig en behandelde ons, zoo mogelijk, nog meer dan anders als vrienden. Tamelijk gemonteerd togen wij naar huis." *Diary*, 11.

[132] "Voor den eten bij Groeneveldt, minder amusant door JdGr's tegenwoordigheid." *Diary*, 28 April 1880.

[133] V 27/9/1873 no. 28 inv. 2625.

[134] He was allowed two years of sick leave in June 1872, but this was later reduced to one year and eight months (a decision of the Minister of 7/8/1872 no. 4, not found in the archives).

[135] V 8/5/1874 no. 15/776 inv. 2679. Salaried leave could only be extended in case of important services to the Ministry of Colonies (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1862, no. 2). Schlegel's salary was subject to the usual reductions for pension and the Widows and Orphans Fund. He continued receiving his teaching allowance of *f* 1,200.

[136] V 7/7/1875 no. 15 inv. 2799, containing an old *Verbaal* 14/4/1875 no. 34.

[137] Repeated on 13 July no. 162 and 16 July no. 165.

[138] G.G. Balland, teacher at the *gymnasium* and University in Leiden, replaced L. Chatelain (French) (V 18/9/1875 no. 34 inv. 2819), and Dr. P.H. Schoute, teacher at the HBS in The Hague, was added to take over Arithmetic from Van der Waals who already did Physics and Cosmography (V 24/8/1875 no. 37 inv. 2812).

[139] V 22/9/1875 no. 25 inv. 2820. Wolter Robert *baron* van Hoëvell (Dordrecht, 1857 – Amsterdam, 1888) became 2nd class *controleur* in Sumatra's West Coast in 1880 (*Nederland's adelsboek*, 85 (1995), 240). The actual study time of the student-interpreters who

started in 1875 would not be longer, since they would also be appointed in the Indies in 1880.

[140] In a large stack of documents in V 22/9/1875 no. 25 inv. 2820.

[141] The Minister had on 15 September 1875 received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs an excerpt of a letter from J.H. Ferguson, Dutch Minister Resident in China, in which he criticised the way interpreters were trained in Europe (V 15/9/1875 no. 46 inv. 2818), but the letter was ignored and it did not influence the Minister's conclusion (*see* Chapter Thirteen, Section "The weak position of the interpreters as advisors.") For many years, Ferguson would miss no opportunity to criticise the Leiden sinologists. On the other hand, Schlegel would also often mock Ferguson because he did not know any Chinese.

[142] V 22/9/1875 no. 25 inv. 2820.

[143] V 7/10/1875 no. 7 (Exh.) inv. 2800.

[144] Paul François Hubrecht (1829–1902) happened to be the father of Ambrosius Arnold Willem Hubrecht (1853–1915), who had studied zoology in Utrecht and was curator for fishes at the Museum of Natural History in Leiden from 1875 to 1882; Gustaaf's father Professor Herman Schlegel was director of this museum. In 1882 A.A.W. Hubrecht became professor in Utrecht.

[145] "Een gewrocht van geestesarbeid in Indië" (*A creation of spiritual labour in the Indies*). Unsigned letter to the editor published on Thursday 29 April 1875. Kept in dossier 144 (1875), inv. 180, Kabinetsarchief, toegang 2.04.26.02, Ministerie van Binnenlandsche Zaken.

[146] These letters are kept in the same dossier without any reference as to their origin.

[147] The documents are kept in an envelope with the seal of the Ministry to "den Heer ref. Vollenhoven."

[148] "Omtrent de behoefte eener Kweekschool voor Elève-translateurs voor de Chinesche taal in Nederland."

[149] In his inaugural lecture of 1877 Schlegel only mentioned Medhurst's English–Chinese dictionary, which he considered a failure (p. 6). It has the title *English and Chinese Dictionary* (Shanghae, 1847–1848). He did not yet mention W. Lobscheid's newer and much larger *English and Chinese Dictionary, with the Punti* [Cantonese] *and Mandarin Pronunciation* (Hongkong 1866–1869) (in 4 volumes).

[150] "Ten slotte: indien Nederland het indertijd noodig heeft geoordeeld een hoogleeraar voor het *Japansch* aan te stellen, een land waarmede wij slechts handelsbetrekkingen hadden, dan mag een *leerstoel voor het Chineesch* niet overbodig schijnen, daar Nederland in zijne Koloniën over de tweehonderdduizend Chinesche onderdanen telt, wier belangen naauw met de onze verknocht zijn, daar zij geen gering aandeel toebrengen aan de baten der Indische Schatkist en de ontwikkeling der nijverheid en des handels in Nederlandsch-Indië." Schlegel did not mention that Hoffmann was titular professor for Chinese and Japanese, and that when he became titular professor in 1855, his Chinese teaching was just as important as his knowledge of Japanese.

[151] Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern (Poerworedjo, 1833 – Utrecht, 1917) was professor of Sanskrit in Leiden in 1865-1903. He was also an expert on Old Javanese, and was professor of Javanese at the Indies Institute in Leiden in 1874–7. At the time, Kern was a member of the board of the KITLV, and so was Schlegel.

[152] V 18/8/1875 no. X19 Secret (*Geheim*) inv. 6068.

[153] "aan Dr. G. Schlegel, tolk voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië met onbepaald verlof hier te lande, te verleenen den titel van hoogleeraar." V 15/10/1875 no. 17/2103 inv. 2827.

[154] *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps*, 1876 and 1877. Hoffmann was always mentioned.

[155] "De hoogleeraar, tolk voor de Chinesche taal met verlof, G. Schlegel." V 17/1/1876 no. 15 (Exh.) inv. 2853.

[156] "De hoogleeraar, G. Schlegel." V 3/4/1876 no. 47 (Exh.) inv. 2872.

[157] Otterspeer, *Wiekslag*, 412.

[158] "In September schrijft Prof. De Vries mij als jurist op het Akademisch Album in. Zonder die inschrijving kan men namelijk geen lid van het Studentencorps worden." Prof. Matthias de Vries (1820–92), who was then *rector magnificus*, registered De Groot in the

*Album Studiosorum* on 30 September 1873. De Vries is known for his *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (1864–1998) and his standard spelling of Dutch of 1863 (together with Te Winkel).

[159] "Ik loop groen en wordt [*sic*] met de rest op .. October geïnaugureerd."

[160] *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps voor 1874*, 176-8. They probably sang the student song *Pro Patria Marsch* composed by A. Grentzius.

[161] "Men had 's namiddags vóór onzen inauguratiedag in den tuin der societeit voor de groenen volksspelen op touw gezet, met bittertjes tot prijzen. Het was guur, miserig Octoberweer. Ik werd aangewezen om S.B., een zwak gestel, onder een balanceerende tobbe door te kruien, die hij met een stok te treffen had, opdat het water zich over mij zou uitstorten. Maar door een snelle terugwaartsche beweging, die ik op het kritieke oogenblik den kruiwagen gaf, daalde de watergolf op hemzelf neer. Dolle toejuichingen: maar naar den druipnatten knaap keek niemand om. Geen dacht eraan om hem naar huis te zenden en zich te verkleeden; kalm liet men hem tot aan het slot der feestelijkheid rondloopen, en hield hem daarop zelfs nog aan een studententafel te eten. Eerst laat kwam hij thuis. Niemand heeft hem ooit weer gezien. Na een paar dagen verspreidde zich de mare, dat hij ziek naar huis was gehaald en na een tweetal weken zijn doodsbericht." [De Groot], *Groenloopen. Een ernstig woord aan ouders en voogden van aanstaande studenten, door een hoogleeraar* (Amsterdam, 1904), 59. The Leiden University Library copy has the names of all persons concerned added. S.B. was short for Schuurbecque Boeije from Zutphen. De Groot, *Groenloopen*, 59. Quoted in Otterspeer, *Opvoedende kracht*, 22-3.

[162] *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps voor 1874*, 176-8.

[163] "Flink stel clubgenooten. Heb het vooral aan hunnen omgang te danken, dat de lust tot lezen en studeeren in mij levendig blijft. Lees bij voorkeur werken over godsdienstwetenschap en wat daarmede samenhangt. Dupuis' 'Origine des cultes', Strauss, Renan, Volney, enz. enz." *Notizen*, 4.

[164] Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 107-8. "Mythologising" here means giving a mythological meaning to the Gospels. Comparative mythology was a serious subject of study at that time.

[165] De Groot, *Notizen*, 6-7.

[166] 'Het Scherm- en Gymnastiekgezelschap Arena studiosorum' was a sub-association of the Student Corps.

[167] Adriaan Isebree Moens (1847–91) studied medicine in Leiden from 1872. His doctoral dissertation of 1877 was made into a monograph *Die Pulskurve* (1878), which was an important contribution to medical science. *See* Philip Dow, "Adriaan Isebree Moens (1847–91)," *The Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, vol. 12, no. 3 (1940).

[168] "Mijn voorliefde voor sport verlaat mij niet. Werk vrij geregeld minstens vier malen 's weeks op de Studenten-Gymnastiek-Vereeniging Arena, waar ik mij den naam verover van besten gymnast van het Corps, na Isebree Moens. Zomers beoefen ik ook trouw op Rhijnzicht de edele zwemkunst—van ouds mijn hoofdliefhebberij. 's Zondags worden met enkele vrienden lange wandeltochten gemaakt, en als er ijs is, zijn mij de schaatsen bijna niet van de voeten zoolang de dag van den hemel schijnt." *Notizen*, 6-7.

[169] Johan Christoph Gerhard Jonker (1857–1919) from Amsterdam was registered as student of law on 28 September 1876. He wrote a doctoral thesis *Over Javaansch strafrecht* (*On Javanese Criminal Law*) in 1882, and was appointed as 'official for the East Indies languages' in Makassar in 1885. From 1877 on, Leiden University had chairs for Javanese and Malay. Jonker later specialised in the languages of the Eastern Islands of the Indies; in 1901 he returned on sick leave to the Netherlands. He was professor of Javanese in Leiden from 1909 to 1919. (The chair for Javanese in Leiden was abolished in 2009.)

[170] Letter by Schlegel dated 17 October 1878, in V 7/11/1978 no. 15 inv. 3149. On Lind, *see also* Chapter Nine.

[171] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9.

[172] Jan Marinus Rienstra from 's-Gravendeel was registered as a student of theology on 30 September 1875 when he was 20 years old. He later became a protestant minister (*dominee*).

[173] Gerrit Jan Koopmans van Boekeren from Eelde was registered as a student of law on 2 October 1878 when he was 18 years old.

[174] "Wij kwamen op een vasten avond in de week bij elkaar om te kaarten; doch spoedig vonden we het beter en aangenamer een literarisch clubje daaruit te vormen. Voor ons allen is dat zeer nuttig en aangenaam geweest. Ik heb er geleerd te improviseeren, zoo goed of kwaad als ik het nu kan; bij of liever vóór het schrijven goed na te denken en mijn gedachten tamelijk goed uit te drukken; maar vooral heeft Insulinde onze liefde voor kunst en kunstkennis ontwikkeld en aangevuurd. Das Leben wäre ein ewiges Verbluten, wenn nicht die Dichtkunst wäre. Sie gewährt uns, was uns die Natur versorgt: eine goldene Zeit, die nicht rostet, einen Frühling, die nicht abblüht, wolkenloses Glück und ewige Jugend (Börne)." Quotation from Heine, *Harzreise* (1824), "Rede auf Jean Paul" of Ludwig Borne.

[175] For one year De Jongh was not a member, in order to save *f* 5 in membership fees (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 19).

[176] "In Leiden kwam ik 1 October 1875 als een tamelijke groen in veel zaken, zoo ook wat betreft de meisjes. Het is derhalve niet vreemd, dat ik spoedig verliefd raakte op *(Jose-) phine van Geenen*, een coquette, tengere brunette, die ik bijna den heelen dag zien kon als ik voor mijn raam zat. / Zij wist zich zeer net te kleeden en hoewel mager was ze tamelijk mooi en had ze een eenigszins elegant lichaam. Ik heb niet veel met haar gesproken, maar mijn scherts wilde zeer goed bij haar vlotten en al was het vrij oppervlakkig, toch levendig en aangenaam. Dat duurde zoo een paar maanden, toen kwam er reäctie en ik zag ze niet meer aan; naderhand was ik tegenover haar totaal gleichgültig. Tijdens die laatste periode heb ik haar ééns op een zomeravond, toen er niemand thuis was en zij alleen voor het open raam zat, wellustig gekust. De Jongh en ik deden het om beurten, wel een bewijs, dat het alléén wellust was, waar ik toen door bewogen werd." *Diary*, 6 no. 1.

[177] Although Poeloo was one of Van der Spek's best friends, his real name was not disclosed.

[178] For some time they often visited this family with three young daughters. When it became clear that De Jongh and Van der Spek would not fall in love with any of them, they were no longer invited. *Diary*, 6 no. 3.

[179] "Den tweeden dag dat we in Leiden waren, voerde deJ. mij voorbij een mooi meisje, die in de engelenbak der Pieterskerk, aan het eind der Nieuwsteeg woonde. Nu eens sprak hij over haar dikke billen, dan over haar hemelsche oogen en werd steeds verliefder. Met Poeloo samen maakte hij een brief, waarin stond hoeveel het tractement van een tolk bedroeg */ enz. Natuurlijk weigering en bij een tweeden brief evenzoo. Toen we bij Van Dijk aan huis kwamen wist Stine, de oudste dochter, de heele historie en deJ. vroeg haar of hij haar daar aan huis niet zou kunnen ontmoeten. Neen. Hij trok de stoute schoenen aan en ging bij den ouden Heer Hoogeboom vragen om aan huis te komen. Den volgenden Zondag ging hij er heen en kreeg een paar dagen later een formeele weigeringsbrief.
*/ Hij deed den brief op de post en den volgenden dag ging Betsy voorbij Poeloo. DeJ. o toppunt van stommiteit! vloog haar achterna en liep haar een paar maal voorbij.
Geh den Weibern zart entgegen, Du gewinnst sie, auf mein Wort; / Doch wer rasch ist und verwegen, kommt vielleicht noch besser fort (Göthe) / Not much he kens, I ween, of woman's breast / Who thinks that wanton thing is won by sighs: / Pique her and soothe in turn, soon Passion crowns thy hopes (Byron 129)" *Diary*, 7.

[180] "Veel Leidsche studenten schwärmten voor een meisje dat ze nooit gesproken hadden." *Diary*, 8 no. 9.

[181] "Nu moet ik nog iets melden, dat 't hart van de Jongh met weemoed zal vervullen. Café l'Amour in de Nes is afgebrand, weder in zijn vaderland teruggekeerd zal hij dus 't tooneel van een zijner vroegere heldendaden niet meer kunnen zien." Letter from Lind to Van der Spek, received in Amoy on 9 April 1879. Jonker wrote about the same incident to Van der Spek. Preserved with Van der Spek's *Diary*. *Cf.* Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9 April 1879.

[182] "In Leiden zijn vele vrij mooie wandelingen. De witte en andere cingels, Endegeest om, Poelgeest, Warmond, de Vink, Leierdorp. Meestal ging ik 's Zondags Endegeest om met M. of L. of meer." *Diary,* 12.

[183] "Een der aangenaamsten excursies was naar *Haarlem* in 77, op een schoonen Mei Zondag met *Lind en de Jongh*. Wij stopten hier en daar in de schoone dorpen, aten wat of dronken bitter en kwamen erg vrolijk in den Hout, waar we nog veel schoone Haarlemmerinnen zagen. [in the margin: Helpen in Lisse een dienstmaagd water dragen en straat schoonmaken] Wij gingen in de avondkerk, het schoone orgel hooren, maar onze aandacht

werd zeer gestoord door een paar lieve burgermeisjes, die daarna de kerk verlieten, gevolgd door ons. Wij pakten nog wat dienstmeisjes en gingen naar Leiden met den trein." *Diary*, 12. It is not clear if they walked all the way or took a carriage.

[184] "Zondagmorgen 8 uur gaan Stuart, deJ. en ik op schaatsen naar Delft, hoewel ze van thuis geschreven hadden dat het te gevaarlijk was. Het was slecht ijs en bij Leidschendam rijdt Stuart voorop en komt op een plank, die onder een brug hangt en vlak voor mij zakt deJ. door het ijs. Hij grijpt zich aan een touw, waaraan die plank hangt en wordt door toegeschoten hulp opgehaald. Stuart's positie was hachelijk, want de vier touwen die de plank ophielden waren zeer dun. Evenwel haakt hij heel pacifiek zijn schaatsen los en geeft ze aan de bijstanders benevens een lapje dat hij voor het knellen tussen de riem en zijn voet had gelegd. Daarna werd hij opgeheschen en werd door de lui met woedende blikken beschouwd, daar hij in plaats van op de knieën te zinken en God te danken, eenige krakende vloeken loslaat. Wij gaan in bij een boer en deJ. krijgt 'de Zundesche broek van Jan de knecht' enz. en verkleedt zich in de boes. Juist is hij bezig de bewuste broek aan te trekken, toen de heele boerenfamilie komt kijken met een lieve boerenmeid van 20 jaar voorop. In de confusie vergat deJ. een onderpantalon aan te trekken maar daar het zoo te koud is legt hij wat hooi op zijn buik. Verder wandelden we naar huis, bij elk heilig huisje aanleggende en brandewijntjes verschalkende en komen half zwaaiende in Delft nadat deJ. zoo vrij was geweest in Reijneveld in een kolenbak te pissen." *Diary*, 12-13.

[185] Also called Mephisto's Waltz, composed by Franz Liszt. The wild beginning of this piece probably maddened the drunken students even more.

[186] Marinus Constans Justinus Wanrooy from Den Bommel was registered as a student of theology on 28 September 1875 when he was 19 years old. He later became a protestant minister (*dominee*).

[187] A student of medicine (*Diary*, 10).

[188] "'s Avonds reden we naar Alphen en aan den overkant van het water zag ik lichten, klein en groot, en in mijn latere rede, drukte ik mijn hoop uit dat Jonker veel groote lichten, veel genoegens op zijn levenspad zou ontmoeten. Rienstra had naar gewoonte ruzie met den tolbaas, maar muntte 's avonds uit door geestigheid. Voor we gingen soupeeren wou hij, als ceremoniaal, nog een speech afsteken en terwijl hij deftig praatte, kotste Moll het heele tafelkleed onder. 'Het spijt me, Mr. Moll dat mijn woorden zoo'n indruk op je maken.' Even later kotste Moll weer wat en nog altijd waardig vervolgde het ceremoniaal en vlocht alleen deze kleine zinsnede tusschen zijn woorden in: 'om met den Hr. Moll te spreken' Vervolgens werd het woest. Moll kreeg voortdurend broodjes op zijn kop (Hij was weer bijgekomen door 3 kruikjes seltzerwater). Jonker ging pianospelen, de Faust-wals en nu werd iedereen dol inzonderheid Lind, Rienstra en Moll. Lind was op het punt van te vallen en kreeg bij ongeluk een klap van Wanrooy, zodat hij neersmakte en zijn lippen kapotviel. Nu sprong ieder op tafels en stoelen, smeet de stoelen door de zaal en eindelijk kregen we ruzie met den kroegbaas. Nadat Rienstra een ballon van een lamp enz. gemoerd had ving de terugtocht van het 'zieltogende allegaartje' aan. Met zijn 8. (Jonk. Lind. Wanr. Rienstra. deJ. M. de Bruin en ik) hadden we 20 flesschen fijne roode wijn en 4 flesschen champaign gedronken, buiten en behalve een flesch of vier bij Jonker thuis en in het rijtuig." *Diary*, 15-16.

[189] "*Anton de J.* kwam in Oct. 76 bij me. Wij gingen naar Poeloo, fuifden tot 6 uur, kwamen om 9 uur op en tevergeefs verzocht ik S. geen college te geven. Dat was een katterig boeltje!" *Diary*, 17 no. 13. It is not known who this 'Anton de J.' was; perhaps he was a relative of A.A. de Jongh.

[190] "*Lind's 2e* [verjaardag]. Moll werd stelselmatig zat gevoerd en moest den anderen dag bij Schlegel vragen of hij weg kon, nadat hij eerst een glas water vergeefs had gebruikt." *Diary*, 17 no. 12.

[191] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 17 no. 16.

[192] V 20/11/1876 no. 18/2623 inv. 2937.

[193] V 13/1/1877 no. 6 (Exh.) inv. 2952.

[194] "De ondervinding heeft geleerd, dat zulk een voorschot tot aankoop van wetenschappelijke werken zeer veel nut stichten kan, omdat het bestudeeren dezer werken de jongelieden aanspoort om ook zelf, op het voetspoor der vroegere wetenschappelijke mannen, de wetenschap te bevorderen." Schlegel's letter to the Secretary General, 12 Nov. 1876, in V 20/11/1876 no. 18/2623 inv. 2937.

[195] All letters are kept in V 20/11/1876 no. 18/2623 inv. 2937.
[196] Royal Decree no. 19 in V 28/11/1876 no. 1/2695 inv. 2940.
[197] V 1/12/1876 no. 42, V 2/12/1876 nos. 32 and 33, all inv. 2941.
[198] De Groot, *Notizen*, 7. According to the Consul they arrived on 24 January (V 31/5/1877 no. 43 in. 2995).
[199] De Groot, *Notizen*, 7, 8.
[200] Earlier drafts had been made from 1868 on (Otterspeer, *Wiekslag*, 348-52).
[201] Sloet tot Oldhuis on 5 December 1854 in Parliament, *Handelingen der beide kamers der Staten-Generaal, 1854-1855*, vol. 1, Zitting van den 5den December, II Staatsbegrooting voor 1855, pp. 265-6.
[202] The name *Rijksuniversiteit Leiden* was abolished in 1998 and changed into *Universiteit Leiden*, *Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht* became *Universiteit Utrecht* in the 1990s, but *Rijksuniversiteit Groningen* kept its old name until now (2015).
[203] The name *gymnasium* was first introduced in the Netherlands in the 1830s for a modern variant of the age-old Latin School (*Latijnsche School*) where more subjects were taught than classical languages, such as mathematics, Dutch language, modern languages, and geography. Gradually the local Latin Schools were changed into *gymnasia*, for instance in Leiden. After 1863 many *gymnasia* were transformed into HBS.
[204] Like the HBS, this new type of *gymnasium* would exist until the Mammoet law of 1968 reorganising secondary education.
[205] Students with an HBS diploma could take a State examination in Latin and Greek to become qualified for the university. This changed in 1917, when students who finished the HBS were allowed to study at the Faculty of Sciences at a university. At that time, for language studies the *gymnasium* remained obligatory.
[206] Otterspeer, *Wiekslag*, 336-8, 406, 408.
[207] "Wet van 28 April 1876, tot regeling van het hooger onderwijs," *Staatsblad* 1876, no. 102.
[208] "Bovendien 1 prof. in het Chineesch en 3 lectoren in de levende talen." File No. 180, 160 I/3, AC 2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. The living languages were French, German, and English.
[209] He was appointed as Trustee together with three others on 31 May 1876 (*Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit Leiden*, *Staatsalmanak*) and as president on 16 August 1877 (*Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*).
[210] Van Zijderveld, *Duitse familie*, 151-2, 193.
[211] "… daar hij [Schlegel] op een professoraat wachtte, waarvoor door zijn vriend Sloet Van den Beele c.s. gewerkt werd." De Groot, *Notizen*, 8-9.
[212] File No. 126, 160 I/2, AC 2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.
[213] They were to teach the following subjets. P.J. Veth: History, literature, antiquities, institutions, manners and customs of the peoples of the East Indies Archipelago; physical geography of the same; P.A. van der Lith: Islamic law and other popular institutions and customs in the Netherlands Indies; constitutional law and institutions of the Nation's colonies and overseas possessions; A.C. de Vreede: Javanese language and literature, Madurese; J. Pijnappel: Malay language and literature; general linguistics of the East Indies Archipelago. At the same time, G.J. Grashuis was appointed as lecturer in Sundanese at a yearly salary of *f* 2,000. *See also* Otterspeer, *Wiekslag*, 274-7.
[214] Probably refering to V 18/8/1875 no. X19 (Geheim) inv. 6068. Van Goltstein already preferred a chair for Chinese in August 1875.
[215] Letter of 29 September 1877, in: no. 134, inv. 186, toegang 2.04.26.02.
[216] "te benoemen tot hoogleeraar in de faculteit der letteren en wijsbegeerte aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden tot het geven van onderwijs in de Chinesche taal: Dr. G. Schlegel, op eene jaarwedde van vierduizend gulden (*f* 4,000) …" File No. 499, 161 I/1, AC 2, Special Collections. Leiden University Library.
[217] ASE No. 1 (notulen), p. 44, Archief Rector Magnificus en Senaat 1875–1972, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Text of the oath in File 465, 161 I/1, AC 2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.
[218] Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 12-13.
[219] Giles' dictionary (1912) only gives the meaning 'to dry by the fire.'

[220] J. Edkins, *China's Place in Philology: An Attempt to Show that the Languages of Europe and Asia have a Common Origin* (London 1871).

[221] *Sinico-Aryaca, ou recherches sur les racines primitives dans les langues chinoises et aryennes*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 36 (1872) (181 p.).

[222] Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735-1815) is famous for his commentary on the ancient dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* (*Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字註, 1807).

[223] H.N. van der Tuuk wrote a hilarious review: "Fancy op taalkundig gebied," *Algemeen Dagblad van Nederlandsch-Indië,* 8 and 10 January 1876. For a modern appraisal, *see* Rint Sybesma, "A History of Chinese Linguistics in the Netherlands," in: Idema, *Chinese Studies*, 138-44.

[224] "Dit werkje heeft meer opgang gemaakt dan ik er zelf ooit van verwacht had, en leverde het bewijs dat de afschrik tegen het bestudeeren der Chineesche taal verdwijnt, zoodra zij, door hare verwantschap met onze talen, onze sympathie heeft weten op te wekken." Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 18.

[225] d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine* (1876), for which he obtained the Prix Stanislas Julien in the same year. W. Vissering, *On Chinese Currency*).

[226] This was the name of a nationalist society established by the Flemish poet Prudens van Duyse (1804–59) in Gent in 1836. It propagated the use of the Dutch language in Belgium after its war of independence in 1830–2. Its full name was 'Maatschappij van Nederlandsche letterkunde: De taal is gansch het volk.'

[227] In a footnote Schlegel gave the following rendering in characters: 伊講我們的話 (p. 22).

[228] "Kennis is verdriet." Probably referring to *Laozi* section 20, 絕學無優 (Abolish study and you will be free from care) (J.J.L. Duyvendak, *Tao Te Ching* (London 1954), 55).

[229] "Wees een geleerde in den zin des edelen; En niet een geleerde in den zin van het plebs." Text in Schlegel's note: 女為君子儒, 無爲小人儒. *Analects* 6-11. *See* Legge, *Analects*, vol. I, p. 53.

[230] *Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit Leiden* 1877–1878, p. 13.

[231] Michaël Jan de Goeje (1836–1909) was professor of Oriental Languages (the Semitic languages other than Hebrew) in Leiden since 6 October 1866 and became professor of Arabic in 1877.

[232] *Jaarboek* 1877–1878, p. 26. Speech by *rector-magnificus* Dr. R.J.F. Fruin (Dutch History) on 17 September 1878.

[233] Samuel Sigmund Rosenstein (Berlin, 1832–1906) was professor of medicine in Groningen from 1866 tot 1873 and in Leiden from 1873 to 1902.

[234] This ominous opinion later proved true. *See* Chapters Twelve to Fifteen.

[235] Engelhart's report (2 November), Van der Spek's letter of protest (dated 7 November but received at the Ministry on 11 November), Rosenstein's certificate (9 November), medical report by the Inspector of the Medical Service Dr. A.W.M. van Hasselt (21 November) in V 5/12/1878 no. 10/2690 inv. 3156. Additional information is from Van der Spek's *Diary*, 11.

[236] Mr. J. van Gigch was teacher of political science (*staatswetenschap*) at the HBS in Delft since its foundation in 1864 (*Staatsalmanak*).

[237] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 11.

[238] V 18/12/1878 no. 17/2796 inv. 3159.

[239] "Gezien in de Nouvel Opéra Faust; geweest in Folies Bergères en Frascati. Gezien: Place de la Concorde, Tuileriën van buiten, Madeleine van buiten, Notre Dame beklommen, Arc de Triomphe beklommen, Bois de Boulogne gereden (waterval), Buttes Chaumont (hangende brug), Hôtel des Invalides met tombeau de Napoléon, Morgue, Place de la Bastille, Louvre, Panorama van binnen, Trocadéro van buiten, absinthe op boulevard des Italiens, gegeten bij Tissot (Pal. Royal/en Bocher (Ital.)." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 0. Absinthe was considered a strong and often harmful, drug-like alcoholic beverage that was forbidden in France in 1915.

[240] Van der Spek's copies are now kept in SINOL. KNAG 153 and 189, De Jongh's in SINOL. 5173.8 and 5764.2.

[241] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 0-2.

[242] Mr. L.A.P.F. Buijn (Indramaijoe, 1827 – Batavia, 1897) was Director of Justice from 3 March 1876 until 2 March 1892 (Stamboeken S 272). The last student-interpreter in Batavia (Young) had left at the end of 1875.

[243] Letter from Groeneveldt to the Director of Justice dated 4 April 1877, and from Governor-General to Minister of 26 April 1877 in V 8/6/1877 no. 6 (Exh.) inv. 2998.

[244] Letter by Schlegel dated 17 October 1878, in V 7/11/1878 no. 15 inv. 3149. Lind did not receive any monthly allowance.

[245] V 7/11/1878 no. 15 inv. 3149.

[246] *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 793.

[247] *See* Chapter Nine, section on Schlegel's extraordinary students in the 1880s.

[248] Report of Groeneveldt in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. For other details *see* Chapter Thirteen, The interpreters' advisory functions, section "The Weak Position of the Interpreters as Advisors."

[249] V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. The problem of the 'redundancy' of the Chinese interpreters will be discussed in Chapter Thirteen, section "Reduction of the number of interpreters (1879)."

[250] "*Professor in het Chineesch* / Waarvoor was je, Hooggeleerde? / De Génestet" (*Almanak*, 1880, p. 166).

[251] This poem is entitled "Mihi constat" (To me it is certain), mocking a conceited professor. Its beginning and ending are: "Bravo, that's an oracle's language / That sounds really like a professor / … / What were you a learned professor for?" (Bravo! dat's orakeltaal! / Dat klinkt recht professoraal! … Waarvoor was je een hooggeleerde?) The poem is no. 19 of the series of "A Layman's Short Poems" (*Leekedichtjes*).

## *Notes to Chapter Nine*

[1] 25 November 1878, *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 793.

[2] "Bij jullie ex-leermeester heb ik voor een paar dagen een uiterst gezellig avondje doorgebracht. … Oudergewoonte had hij weer een massa excentrieke stellingen, waaronder natuurlijk de behoorlijke portie nonsens liep, te verkondigen. Jullie kent z'n manier van redeneeren: altijd gezellig, maar logisch?!! Triomfantelijk hebben Mevrouw en ik (honey soit qui mal y pense) een zijner materialistische stellingen bestreden en hem eindelijk totaal in de engte gedreven. Eindelijk vooral door het bekijken van Fransche plaatwerken was het half twaalf geworden onder een goed glaasje wijn voor ik eraan dacht uit te rukken, zoo verdomd gezellig was 't er." Undated letter to Van der Spek received in Amoy on 9 April 1879.

[3] He was listed as a student of law in the Student Almanac of 1880, so he must have switched from the Faculty of Arts to that of Law before October 1879.

[4] The manuscripts are in inv. 1551–1559, AC3, Leiden University Archives, Special collections, Leiden University Library. The reports were (partially) published in the yearly *Verslag van den staat der hooge-, middelbare en lagere scholen in het Koningrijk der Nederlanden*.

[5] It seems that all four students were taught at the same time. Inventory no. 1553, AC3, Leiden University Library. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat der hooge-, middelbare en lagere scholen in het Koningrijk der Nederlanden* (1884–1885).

[6] Inventory no. 1553, AC3, Leiden University Archives, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1885–1887).

[7] Henri van der Hoeven (1843–1924) was professor in Leiden from 1879 to 1910. In 1884 he compiled the first Dutch military penal code.

[8] The chapter about markets (*shichan* 市廛) is *juan* 14 of the "civil law" (*hulü* 戶律) of the *Qing Code*, containing the five *lü* 律 ("sections") numbered 152-156. Lind also translated all *li* 例 ("clauses").

[9] The title of W. Vissering's dissertation was *On Chinese Currency* (1877); it was a translation of parts of Ma Duanlin's *Wenxian tongkao* concerning Chinese financial institutions in the Song dynasty.

[10] Preface, *A Chapter of the Chinese Penal Code*.

[11] Request dated 1 February 1877 (Exh. 1 February 1877, no. 47, 160 I/1, AC2, Special Collections, Leiden University Library). The Faculty of Law had no objection, the more so as Vissering wrote his dissertation without any obligation to do so. Opinion of the Faculty of Law dated 3 February, and reply from the Trustees to Vissering dated 13 February, in Exh. 3 February 1877, no. 54, 160 I/1 AC2 (the latter file contains Vissering's request as well).

[12] *Da Qing lüli huitong xinzuan* 大清律例會通新纂 dated 1879 (光緒五年) on which are written Van der Spek's Chinese name 薛伯 (Sih Peh) and the name "M. A. Lind". *Juan* 14 shows traces of intensive use (by Lind). Now kept in the East Asian Library of Leiden University Library (SINOL. 4885.8).

[13] The *Zhouli* or *Zhouguan* 周官, "Officials of the Zhou dynasty," is a systematic description of the officials and their functions in the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 B.C.). It was part of the Confucianist canon and at the time in China it was still considered a factual description. Lind did not mention the use of *Zhouli* by earlier sinologists.

[14] Actually the situation had not changed; it had always been as Lind described it (personal communication from Dr. Frederick D. Grant Jr. of Boston, 2011).

[15] Quotations are from Lind's chapter III, "On civil law and trade in China," 19-26.

[16] C.H. Peake, "Recent Studies on Chinese Law," *Political Science Quarterly* (1937) vol. 51 (1), pp. 117-38, p. 125. In 1977, Yang Lien-sheng warned that Lind's translation was not always reliable (Sybille van der Sprenkel, "Urban Social Control," 766 note 22, in Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China*), which is not surprising in the case of a pioneer translator.

[17] Request by Schaank dated Batavia, 29 August 1897. Decision IB 4/9/1883 no. 34 inv. 7829.

[18] R.H. van Gulik "Nécrologie, Simon Hartwich Schaank," *T'oung Pao* 33 (1937), 228-300. No confirmation of this could be found in the archives of the Ministry of Colonies.

[19] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister, 7 November 1893, V 8/11/1893 no. 14 (Exh.) inv. 4757. He first settled in Delft, then registered in Groningen in June 1885, and left Groningen for Batavia on 31 January 1886 (Burgerlijke stand, Gemeentarchief Groningen).

[20] *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 1561.

[21] "… vlijtig mijne colleges gevolgd heeft … gedurende zijn … verlof." Letter from Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies, 11 December 1896, in V 7/1/1897 no. 22/42 inv. 5119.

[22] Inventories nos. 1553, 1554, AC3, Leiden University Archives, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1885–1886).

[23] "De onlusten der Chineezen in Deli," *Het nieuws van den dag*, Amsterdam, 2 March 1885, signed "H;" later reprinted as "De Chineezen te Deli," *De Locomotief*, 14 April 1885. Written by a well-informed sinologist sympathising with the difficult position of the Chinese coolies.

[24] "De Chineesche stammen in Deli," *De Indische Gids* (1885), 1503-14. In this article, many other sources and data are given, and the result is not as sympathetic to the Chinese as the earlier version, but the basic content is remarkably similar.

[25] "voor eenvoudige liefhebbers bestemd." Letter from Schlegel to Minister of Colonies dated 13 January 1888, in V 19/1/1888 no. 10 inv. 4122.

[26] These books are mentioned on David Helliwell's list of Chinese books that arrived in Europe before 1700 in http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/users/djh/17thcent/17theu.htm.

[27] There is a list of his Chinese books in the auction catalogue: *Catalogue de la bibliothèque Orientale Chino–Japonaise de feu Gust. Schlegel …*, 27-9. Unfortunately, hardly any of his books and manuscripts were bought by the Leiden library.

[28] His name was spelled Li Fong-pao or Li Fang-pao. A short report on his visit to the factory of Le Poole at the Garenmarkt in Leiden and to the professors Schlegel and Veth appeared in *De Standaard*, 21 February 1881. Fifteen years later Schlegel claimed that scholarship therefore was an asset in diplomacy. Li Fengbao (1834–87) became Chinese minister to Germany in 1878, and later also to Austria, Italy, Holland, and France (Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 312; Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 67).

[29] "Niets toch heeft destijds den vroegeren gezant Li Fang-pao zo geïnteresseerd en geïm-

poneerd als mijne chineesche bibliotheek en de werken over China die ik geschreven heb, zoo zelfs, dat hij in plaats van de verdere Musea in Leiden te bezoeken, op mijn studeerkamer bleef hangen om met mij over mijne boeken te spreken; en zich er in te verlustigen dat ik voor een houten beeldje van Confucius op mijn schoorsteenmantel chineesche wierookstokjes had aangestoken." Letter from Schlegel to Knobel, Leiden 14 June 1896, in no. 489, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90.

[30] "In de nalatenschap van de onlangs overleden Hoogleeraar voor de Japansche taal Dr. J.J. Hoffmann, bevindt zich eene zeer kostbare bibliotheek, zoowel van oorspronkelijke Chineesche en Japansche boeken, als ook van Europeesche werken over die talen en de landen door de sprekers dezer talen bewoond. Het zoude m.i. zeer te betreuren zijn zóó deze, met zooveel moeite, tijd en geldelijke opofferingen bijeengebrachte Bibliotheek door eene publieke verkoop verspreid werd en voor ons land verloren ging. / Op de Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit alhier bevinden zich geene, of nagenoeg geene Chineesche en Japansche werken, zoodat zij die zich met de studie dezer talen willen bezighouden, of het een en ander omtrent China en Japan willen weten, genoopt zijn zich zulke, uit der aard der zaak zeer kostbare, werken, òf zelve aan te schaffen, òf ze te ontbeeren." Letter dated 16 February 1878, in: Exh. 16 Feb. 1878 no. 151, inv. 4, AC3, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.

[31] Letters from the Minister of Home Affairs to the Trustees and to Serrurier, 14 June 1878, and to Schlegel 3 July 1878, no. 463, inv. 6, AC3.

[32] Now kept in: Bibliotheekarchief C 45*, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Letter from Schlegel to the Trustees of 10 August 1878, and from the Trustees to the Minister of Home Affairs of 14 August 1878, Exh. no. 578, inv. 6, AC3.

[33] A list of Hoffmann's Western books bought by the library is in Bibliotheekarchief J 39 (Lijst der nieuwe ingekomen boekwerken 1880–1881) in the period July–September 1880. Other books are on a list in BPL 2186 J no. 8; *see Catalogue* 2005, 166. A part of Hoffmann's Western library seems to have been auctioned; an auction catalogue is in BPL 2186 J no. 11, *see Catalogue* 2005, 167.

[34] Vissering's catalogue is now in Bibliotheekarchief C 45*.

[35] On his borrowing books *see* W. Vissering's *On Chinese Currency*, Introduction, pp. XIV-XV.

[36] Letter 15 September 1880 in V 25/10/1880 no. 53 inv. 3343.

[37] V 16/9/1880 no. 53 inv. 3331.

[38] Letter 21 September 1880 in V 25/10/1880 no. 53 inv. 3343.

[39] V 1/10/1880 no. 60 inv. 3336.

[40] Report by Van Goltstein to the King, in V 4/11/1880 no. 17 inv. 3347. On 20 October 1880 Brill was asked to deliver the books (V 25/10/1880 no. 53 inv. 3343).

[41] Letter 20 October 1880, in Exh. 30 October 1880 no. 616, inv. 17, AC3.

[42] "… zij is daardoor volgens onze Sinologen tot eene der voornaamste Chineesche boekerijen verheven." Exh. 27 January 1881, no. 40, inv. 20, AC3. An article about the new acquisition was published in the *Leidsch Dagblad* of 10 February 1881 (copy in Bibliotheekarchief C 45*).

[43] Serrurier succeeded Dr. C. Leemans (1809–93), who had been in charge of the Von Siebold Collection since 1839. Leemans had established the Ethnographical Museum in 1864 and was director until 15 November 1880.

[44] Serrurier first suggested this to Du Rieu during a conversation, after which Du Rieu wrote to the Trustees (Letter of 25 November 1880 to the Trustees of Leiden University. Exh. 27 November 1880 no. 665, inv. 18 AC3). When two months later there was still no answer, Serrurier repeated his request in another letter to Du Rieu (No. 46, 3 February 1881, M29, Bibliotheekarchief). Du Rieu then wrote again to the secretary of the Trustees (Exh. 4 February 1881 no. 59, inv. 20 AC3). *See also* Serrurier's preface to his *Bibliothèque Japonaise*.

[45] *Catalogus librorum et manuscriptorum Japonicorum a Ph. Fr. de Siebold collectorum, annexa enumeratione illorum, qui in museo regio Hagano servantur* (Leiden: with the author 1845).

[46] Letter of 25 November 1880 to the Trustees of Leiden University. Exh. 27 November 1880 no. 665, inv. 18 AC3.

[47] Exh. 15 February 1881 no. 68, inv. 20 AC3.

[48] Report by Dr. M.J. de Goeje, 20 September 1881, in *Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit Leiden*, 1880–1881, 41.

[49] In the 1920s. Ph. de Heer, "A.F.P. Hulsewé, a Biography," in Idema and Zürcher (eds.), *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China*, 3.

[50] There are many inconsistencies in the Southern Mandarin transcription (玉 is spelled *yu*, *you* or *youh*, 清 *Thsing* or *Ts'ing*, etc.) and also a lot of wrong characters. Some titles are not even in Chinese. The catalogue seems to have been made in a hurry, and Schlegel did not bother to make the transcriptions fully consistent.

[51] Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*.

[52] *Bulletin du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 1883, Leiden. The conference was from 10 to 15 September. Schlegel and De Groot gave their lectures on 11 September.

[53] Serrurier, *Bibliothèque Japonaise: catalogue raisonné des livres et des manuscrits Japonais enrégistrés à la bibliothèque de l'Université de Leyde* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1896).

[54] This was the cost price. Paid by the Ministry of Home Affairs. It contained 1,273 *juan* in 425 vols. With descriptions by De Groot in: No. 429, 24 September 1885, M39, Bibliotheekarchief, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.

[55] *Supplément au Catalogue des livres chinois qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque de l'université de Leide* (Leiden: Brill, 1886).

[56] The total price was *f* 600, each Ministry paid *f* 300 (V 25/7/1893 no. 30 inv. 4724 and V 1/8/1893 no. 37 inv. 4727). Published mostly by Jinling shuju 金陵書局 (accession no. 830) between 1870 and 1882.

[57] The price was *f* 246.50, each Ministry paid half (V 28/11/1896 no. 8 inv. 5105). List of ten titles by De Groot in Bibliotheekarchief C 45**.

[58] *Da Qing huidian shili* 大清會典事例, *Da Qing huidian tu* 大清會典圖 (accession nos. 832, 831). In total 390 vols. for *f* 285 (V 9/12/1896 no. 33 inv. 5110).

[59] Jacob Theodoor Cremer (Zutphen, 1847 – Amsterdam, 1923) came to Batavia in 1868 to work at the office (*factorij*) of the Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij, and in 1870 he went to Medan (Deli, Sumatra) to work for the Deli Company (Deli-Maatschappij). In 1875 he went to China to try to arrange for the emigration of coolies. Later he asked Parliament to create a legal basis for labour contracts of coolies, which resulted in the first coolie ordonnance of 1880 for Sumatra's East Coast (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indiës* 1880, no. 133). He was at the time also active as an entrepreneur, establishing several important enterprises such as Werkspoor, and a railroad company in Deli (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indiës* vol. 1 [1896]). He was a member of Parliament until 1897. From 1897 to 1901 he was Minister of Colonies. In 1910 he took the initiative for the establishment of the Koloniaal Instituut in Amsterdam, now Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (KIT, Tropenmuseum) (Anrooij, *De koloniale staat*, 185-7). In 2013, the KIT library was abolished and the Colonial part was moved to Leiden.

[60] Cremer's name was not mentioned, but he would later expand on these questions, so it must have been he. Afd. IV, Voorloopig verslag (Provisional Report), Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indiës voor het dienstjaar 1885, *Handelingen der Tweede kamer* 1884–1885, Zittingen, vol. 7, no. 13, p. 6.

[61] Afd. IV, Memorie van Antwoord (Memorandum of Reply), Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indiës voor het dienstjaar 1885, *Handelingen der Tweede kamer* 1884–1885, Zittingen, vol. 7, no. 14, p. 23.

[62] IB 7/3/1883 no. 16, 7817 and De Groot, *Notizen*, 17.

[63] Request dated 18 November 1884, in V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819. *Nota* dated 16 November. The draft request must have been dated 10 November, since De Groot would later use this date in his diary which was based on this draft text (*Notizen*, 18).

[64] "Door aldaar burger met den burger, priester met den priester, landbouwer met den landbouwer te worden, vertrouwt hij ook verschillende gegevens te zullen kunnen verzamelen, die de gezegde Regeering in staat zullen stellen de voor haar gezag zoo gevaarlijke geheime genootschappen, waaromtrent Dr. Schlegel reeds veel, doch lang niet alles, tot klaarheid heeft gebracht, beter te kennen en dus gemakkelijker te bestrijden." *Nota* by De Groot dated 16 November 1884, in V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819.

[65] The latter would in fact become his major subject of study in China. It resulted in his magnum opus *The Religious System of China*, 6 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1892–1910).

[66] Note written in pencil on De Groot's second letter dated 18 December 1884, in V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819.

[67] Letter dated 18 December 1884, in V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819. In this letter he wrote that his earlier request was dated 10 November (not 18 November).

[68] Draft letter to Schlegel with comments in pencil, in V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819.

[69] V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819.

[70] Mr. L.A.P.F. Buijn (Indramaijoe, 1827 – Batavia, 1897) was Director of Justice from 22 March 1876 until 2 March 1892 (Stamboeken S 272).

[71] "… een man van bijzondere bekwaamheid en grote wetenschappelijke zin, die door zijn belangrijke werk 'de Jaarlijksche Feesten en Gebruiken van de Emoij-Chineezen' getoond heeft de voor grondige ethnologische studiën zoo noodigen gave van opmerken in hooge mate te bezitten." Advice by Groeneveldt, 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[72] "Andere dialecten dan deze twee komen mij voor Indië namelijk niet noodig voor, daar het Hok-lo zooveel overeenkomst met het Hokkiën heeft, dat iemand, die het laatste al kent, al spoedig ook met het eerste terecht komt. Ik weet dit uit eigen ervaring. Ik heb namelijk van het Hok-lo nooit meer dan wellicht een paar honderd afwijkende woorden geleerd en die in gewoon Hokkiën inlasschende, is het mij nooit moeilijk geweest met Hok-lo's te spreken, hen te verstaan en door hen verstaan te worden." Advice dated 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854. Hoklo 福佬, literally "man from Fujian," was used by outsiders to denote the Chinese population is Eastern Guangdong speaking a Fujianese dialect (similar to Hokkien). In Cantonese the name is sometimes written 學佬. In the Indies they were later also called Tjio-tjioes, in various spellings, meaning "people from Teochiu" (Chaozhou 潮州). *See also* Schaank, "Chineesche stammen in Deli," 1507. At present the name Hoklo is used in Southeast Asia and by some subgroups of speakers of Fujian dialects in Guangdong.

[73] "Zij die Hakka geleerd hadden, zouden dan hun leven lang op de Buitenbezittingen, met keuze tussen Pontianak, Banka en Deli moeten blijven, terwijl voor de anderen de begeerlijker groote hoofdplaatsen open zouden staan. Beter is het dat iedere tolk beide dialecten leere, daar ze hem op verschillende plaatsen gelijkelijk te pas komen; ik heb het zelf gedaan en mag dus beweren, dat het bezwaar niet groot is; het zijn namelijk slechts twee dialecten, en niet, zooals de Heer De Groot meent, talen, met een verschil als die van noord- en zuid-Europa—want de groote meerderheid der woorden is dezelfde, met grooter of kleiner maar steeds regelmatig verschil in vorm, en verder heeft men slechts de overige afwijkingen, die men elders tusschen verschillende dialecten van dezelfde taal waarneemt: wie het een kent, leert het ander spoedig." Advice by Groeneveldt dated 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854. It should be noted that Groeneveldt had an extraordinary gift for languages.

[74] "Bij voorkomende gevallen kan het echter zijn nut hebben, in China met dit dialect (Hakka) te beginnen, daar de zucht om naar eene grootere plaats te komen een voldoende spoorslag zal weezen om de studie van het Hokkiën, die in China kan begonnen worden, hier spoedig tot eene voldoende hoogte door te zetten." Advice by Groeneveldt dated 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[75] Advice by Groeneveldt dated 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[76] "dat de Chineesche tolken in de eerste plaats op het stuk der Chineesche wetgeving een vraagbaak voor de Regeering moeten zijn." Actually, De Groot only stated that the main and exclusive task of the Chinese interpreters was giving advice on Chinese affairs to the Government. This was a misquotation by Buijn.

[77] Letter from Buijn to Van Rees dated 24 February 1885 no. 1221, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[78] Advice dated 6 March 1885 no. XIII, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[79] Letter added to the Council's advice of 6 March 1885 no. XIII, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[80] Letter from Van Rees dated 23 March 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[81] V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.

[82] "dat de Regeering in Indië op mijn verzoekschrift van 10 November gunstig zal beschikken, doch mijn zending wenscht te doen strekken tot vermeerdering der taal- land- en volkenkunde van China in het algemeen. Men geeft mij dus meer dan ik heb gevraagd, hetgeen mij zeer welkom is." De Groot, *Notizen*, 19, 8 May 1885. In the Governor-General's final decision, two items were added: the investigation of the immigration of Chinese workers and the promotion of this immigration (IB 14/3/1886 no. 21 inv. 7889). *See* Chapter Fourteen, Studies and Missions.

[83] Again, Cremer's name was not mentioned. Afd. II (13), Voorloopig verslag, Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indiës voor het dienstjaar 1886, *Handelingen der Tweede kamer* 1885–1886, Zittingen, vol. 7, no. 37, p. 3.

[84] Afd. II (13), Memorie van Antwoord, Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indiës voor het dienstjaar 1886, *Handelingen der Tweede kamer* 1885–1886, Zittingen, vol. 7, no. 38, p. 17.

[85] Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indiës voor het dienstjaar 1886, *Handelingen der Tweede kamer* 1885–1886, Zittingen, vol. 2, pp. 443-444. Cremer's name was only mentioned here.

[86] In the minutes was written 'Hok Long's,' but Cremer certainly meant 'Hoklo's.' It was probably a contamination of Hoi-lok-hong's, people from Haifeng 海豐 and Lufeng 陸豐. Cremer intimated that the Chinese from Guangdong were not so quiet. Schaank also wrote that there were frequent gang fights (*kloppartijen*) among the Chinese from different regions (Schaank, "Chineesche stammen in Deli," 1508-9).

[87] As every Dutchman is taught, in the provinces of Zeeland and Drenthe dialects are spoken, while in Friesland another language is spoken. Frisian is closely related to English.

[88] De Groot, *Het kongsiwezen van Borneo: Een verhandeling over den grondslag en den aard der Chineesche politieke Vereenigingen in de koloniën, met eene Chineesche geschiedenis van de kongsi Lanfong*. Yuan, *Chinese Democracies*, 5-11 gives a good summary. The book was widely read and acclaimed as a just protest against the needlessly harsh Dutch policy towards the Chinese on Borneo.

[89] Those who had studied Javanese were preferably stationed on Java (and Madura), while those who had studied Malay were sent to the Outer Possessions. This was not based on any official decision, but it had become an established practice (Fasseur, *Indologen*, 205).

[90] In the minutes was written 'Fukkian' (Fujian) province, which was obviously a mistake for Guangdong province. The spelling of Chinese geographical names varied in these minutes: Guangdong was spelled Kuang-Tung and Kwang Tong.

[91] V 8/1/1886 no. 56, inv. 3921.

[92] V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. *See* Chapter Eight, section "A sudden anti-climax."

[93] Governor-General to the Minister of Colonies, 9 April 1886 no. 437/8, in V 29/5/1886 no. 8 (Exh.) inv. 3959.

[94] V 15/7/1886 no. 10/1201 inv. 3971.

[95] Advice 10/9/1886 no. II, in V 31/5/1887 no. 25 inv. 4056.

[96] Letter of 30 September 1886, in V 31/5/1887 no. 25, inv. 4056.

[97] There was only a budget for unforeseen expenses of *f* 1,000, and this course would cost *f* 3,000 per year.

[98] V 31/5/1887 no. 25, inv. 4056.

[99] Letter from Schlegel 3/6/1887, in V 10/1/1888 no. 24 inv. 4120.

[100] V 10/1/1888 no. 24 inv. 4120.

[101] Letter dated 13/1/1888 no. 1, in V 19/1/1888 no. 10, inv. 4122. Three of them had been members before: Dr. J. ten Brink (Dutch language and history; now professor in Leiden), L. Chatelain (French), and Dr. W.F. Koppeschaar (natural history, mineralogy and geology). The new members were J.J.A. Frantzen (German, teacher at a *gymnasium* in Amsterdam), N. van Eek (arithmetic and bookkeeping), Dr. L. Bleekrode (physics and cosmography), A. Brandes (geography; secretary of the committee). Later C. van Tiel (English) was added. Unless specified they were all teachers at the HBS in The Hague.

[102] There was only one announcement in the *Staatscourant* (21 January 1888, no. 18). V 19/1/1888 no. 10 inv. 4122.

[103] Two older applicants in V 30/1/1888 no. 27 inv. 4127 and V 1/2/1888 no. 20 inv. 4127. List of all candidates and their letters are in V 21/2/1888 no. 40 inv. 4132.

[104] Fasseur, *Indologen*, 269-71. For instance, B.Th.W. van Hasselt had passed the Higher Officials Examination. He later had a career in the Indies from 1889 in the General Secretariat and the Chamber of Audit (*Rekenkamer*) (Stamboeken D′ 289, D′ 627).

[105] Report in V 15/5/1888 no. 28 inv. 4154, excerpt in the *Staatscourant* of 25 May 1888 no. 122. Perhaps the economic crisis was another reason.

[106] The reason was his disrespectful, shoddy behaviour towards the new teacher of Dutch language B.J.F. Varenhorst. Borel would later write a short autobiographical novel, *Het jongetje* (The little boy), about his love for a girl which caused his misbehaviour and his dismissal from school (4th impr., ch. VII, pp. 90-94). His father then sent him to relatives in far-away Goes where he continued his school education (Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 9-10).

[107] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 10.

[108] E.R. Goteling Vinnis (Haarlem, 15 April 1868 – The Hague, 26 September 1894) was a son of Eduard Reinier Goteling Vinnis (Haarlem, 20 May 1823 – Haarlem, 21 July 1880) and L.S. Cluwen. He had studied at the Academy of Arts in The Hague from ca. 1885 to 1887, and registered as a student of law in Leiden on 14 September 1887 (no. 1988, *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, 66). He continued to study law until 1893 (*Almanak voor het Leidsch Studentencorps*, 1888–1893). He was also an artist, and is known as a painter of landscapes, animals (horses) and portraits. There was an exhibition of his works in Rotterdam in 1894 (Pieter A. Scheen, *Lexicon Nederlandse beeldende kunstenaars 1750–1950* (The Hague 1969), 390).

[109] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 10, quoting "Haagsche H.B.S. Herinneringen."

[110] V 15/5/1888 no. 28 inv. 4154.

[111] Other factors may have been that Schlegel suffered from diabetes which influenced his temper, and problems leading to the divorce from his wife C.E.G. Buddingh on 3 December 1890.

[112] "De reden, dat de opleiding dezer jongelieden langer duurt dan die van de vorige élèves, ligt daarin, dat zij met uitzondering van den heer Van Wettum, gedurende het eerste jaar slecht gewerkt hebben en niet schenen te beseffen dat zij, om in drie jaar met hunne studiën klaar te komen, *zeer hard* moesten werken. / Het gebrek aan strenge schooltucht, dat onze tegenwoordige Gymnasia en Hoogere Burgerschoolen kenschetst, is van zeer nadeeligen invloed op het karakter onzer hedendaagsche jongelieden. Zij worden in die inrichtingen niet als 'schooljongens' maar als 'studentjes' behandeld en gedoceerd, en zij zijn niet meer gewoon dat op hunne studiën en hun werk die nauwgezetten contrôle wordt uitgeoefend, die de leeraren onder het oude régime uitoefenden. / Als gevolg hiervan heeft het mij bijkans een jaar moeite gekost om hun de strenge tucht, die ik voor het onderwijs noodig acht, in te prenten, gelukkig met dit gevolg dat zij sindsdien ijverig … zijn." Letter of 13 July 1891, in V 14/7/1891 no. 35 (Exh.), inv. 4488.

[113] Goteling Vinnis moved from The Hague to Leiden on 17 June 1888, but he moved together with his widowed mother to Zoeterwoude (probably a part now belonging to Leiden) on 2 November 1888 and to The Hague on 21 April 1890 (*Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps*, 1888–1890; Bevolkingsregister 1880–1895, Gemeentearchief The Hague). Borel moved from Leiden to The Hague in September 1889 (letter to Van Eeden, 14 September 1889, fiche 859, Hs XXIV C 93, Special Collections, Amsterdam University Library). He moved from The Hague to Leiden on 1 May 1891 and again on 9 October 1891, and on 15 April 1892 from Leiden to The Hague (*Diary* 1890–1891; Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker,* 34, 47). Only during his last year did he live without interruption in Leiden. Van Wettum lived most of the time in Leiden, but he lived in The Hague from 26 July 1890 to 27 March 1891 (Bevolkingsregister 1880–1895, Gemeentearchief The Hague).

[114] "Het zoude wenschelijk zijn, met het oog op de ondervinding, die ik bij de drie vorige élèves heb opgedaan, dat aan de nieuwe élèves door Uwe Excellentie de stipte verplichting werd opgelegd zich gedurende den geheelen duur van hun studietijd metterwoon te Leiden te vestigen, daar het noodig is, dat de jongelieden zooveel mogelijk samen werken, en dit niet gaat, wanneer zij ieder in eene andere stad wonen, en alleen op de collegedagen naar Leiden komen; en tevens dat aan mij, evenals vroeger (men zie de Missive van den Minister van Koloniën dd. 27 September 1873, Lett. A P.Z. no. 28), officieel het toezicht op hun

zedelijk gedrag enz., worde opgedragen, met welke opdracht het mij wenschelijk voorkomt, dat de bedoelde jongelieden door Uwe Excellentie in kennis worden gesteld." Letter 23 August 1892. The Minister complied with this request by notifying the three students on 29 August 1892, in V 29/8/1892 no. 1 inv. 4610.

[115] Request of 14 March 1890 and reply of the Minister of 20 June 1890, in V 20/6/1890 no. 10 inv. 4379.

[116] Meeter, "Ingezonden" (letter to the editor), *Leidsch Dagblad*, 31 March 1892.

[117] Afterwards Goteling Vinnis probably continued studying law until 1893; at least in 1892 he was still active in Leiden: he took part in the 'Debating Society' of the Student Corps, defending some propositions "about Spiritism" ("Over Spiritisme," *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps* 1893, 248). He was a member of the Student Corps from 1888 to 1893. He passed away in 1894, only 26 years old.

[118] B.745, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[119] Hs XXIV C 93, Special Collections, Amsterdam University Library. About Frederik van Eeden (1860–1934), *see* p. 296-7.

[120] "Ik zou zelf gekomen zijn, maar ik *moet* naar het college. De verhouding is zoo heel gespannen, dat ik er mijn ontslag krijg als ik maar ééns mankeer." Letter from Borel to Van Eeden dated "Friday evening, April 1890" (fiche 860).

[121] "Ik ging eerst in Leiden Chineesch vossen," in "Henri Borel op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel van zaterdag 23 november 1929.

[122] Meaning: "children long for their mother." Borel mistakenly added the "woman" radical 女 to *nian* 念, and left it out in *mama*, resulting in 馬馬. He did not explain the meaning to Van Eeden, keeping it as a secret for himself. Borel perhaps chose this sentence from a textbook because it was meaningful to him personally. He felt deep love for his mother, who was suffering from melancholia (depression) and often stayed in a mental hospital.

[123] "Dan is er van al die mooie gevoelens dus niets, niets overgebleven! En dan twijfel ik zoo aan mijzelven, en vind mij zoo akelig en ongelukkig om mijne machteloosheid om moois te scheppen. In zulke momenten ga ik chineesch zitten doen, en dan denk ik: pas op! jongen, dat ge er komt! Al die gedachten deugen niet en brengen je niets verder. Maar dít 兒女念媽媽 ál die onmogelijke kriebeldekrabbels, daar moet je 't van hebben." Letter to Van Eeden dated 18 March 1890, fiche 859.

[124] In the 1870s, the *Sacred Edict* was part of the second-year curriculum. "Vanmiddag van 1-3 in de Bibliotheek Chineesch zitten repeteeren, het *Heilig Edict*, dat deden we in het begin van 't vorig jaar, er in Maart en April, en toen heb ik niet veel gedaan." *Diary*, Monday 21 December 1891.

[125] Probably inspired by Herman Gorter's famous cycle of poems "May" (*Mei*).

[126] "Ik ga 1 mei in Leiden wonen en mijn kamer weer in orde maken. Al mijn boeken worden in hun eer hersteld. Ik neem een mooie piano. Ik *moet* heel hard chineesch studeren, het *kan* nu eenmaal niet anders. Ik *moet* werken. Ik zal ná mijn uren van het studeeren nog ruim tijd hebben om te schrijven en te lezen. Ik moet mijn tooneelstuk voltooien dat in het volgend seizoen (September) kan opgevoerd worden en ik moet "kleine Mei" afmaken om het later uit te geven." *Diary*, 16 April 1891, B.745, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[127] Putam was Van Wettum's nickname. It is probably a Chinese name, but the characters are not mentioned in Borel's diary. In Amoy, Van Wettum used the Chinese name Bík-tam 墨湛. Borel also had a Chinese name which he used once in a letter to Van Eeden: 物利 (Bút Lī), meaning "to hit with advantage." (Post card of 11 March 1892, fiche 862). (物 should be written with the "hand" radical)

[128] This may refer to Schlegel's class, which usually lasted from 1 to 3 P.M.

[129] "Ik heb gisteren overveel chineesch gewerkt. Vandaag van 1-3 en van 7-8 met Putam. Nu mag ik vanavond eens dat alles wegdoen.—Dit klinkt heel tam en zoetjes in dit dagboek, maar dat is het niet. Want ieder nieuw karaktertje chineesch is een stapje dichter bij het Geluk. / Ik heb nu alle chineesch in de kast gedaan. Van mijn tafel weg. Ik wil het nergens zien." *Diary*, half past ten, Thursday 6 August 1891.

[130] Southern dialects, in particular Hokkien, have retained ancient Chinese sounds more accurately than Mandarin. Schlegel had used this argument when stressing the importance of these dialects (Schlegel's report, 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589).

[131] "Donderdag 3 Maart [1892], 's middags 2½ uur / De stem van de professor. Van Putam. Van Ezerman. Droog en hard. Winterig. Fossiele klanken van chineesch, ouder dan Sanskriet. / Buiten grijs weer, naakte takken voor de ruiten. De klok slaat half drie. / En ik droom van mijn episch gedicht …." This was followed by the poem itself. *Diary*, 3 March 1892.

[132] "Pseudo" and "sinister" were Ezerman's favourite pet phrases (Letter to Van Eeden, 10 June 1889, fiche 858).

[133] "Nu meen ik wel te weten in welke toestand, in welke 'Sturm und Drang' jou geest op 't oogenblik verkeert. Ik herinner mij iets dergelijks in mij zelven, maar dat is langer geleden dan tien jaren. Het is het Byronstijdvak, het Welschmerz-, het Werther-tijdvak, 'de zwarte tijd', zooals Beets het noemde. Het is geen wonder, dat je daar diep in zit, door het vele leed dat je gehad hebt, en door den niet heel gelukkigen invloed van cynische en zwakke geesten zooals Schlegel en E. Maar ik zie goddank dat je sterker bent dan die twee en dat je gezonde levenskracht toch weer boven alles uitgroeit. / Dit moet ik je daarom uitdrukkelijk zeggen: 'Laat je niets wijsmaken van al dat pseudo en siniester, laat je daardoor evenmin van de wijs brengen als door het cynisme van je domme hoogleeraar.' …" *Brieven van Frederik van Eeden aan Henri Borel*, 18.

[134] A literary and historical society founded in 1766 in Leiden, where it still has its seat. It is as such the oldest society in the Netherlands. Being nominated as a member of this venerated society was a great honour.

[135] Dr. Th. Swart Abrahamsz was a navy physician in Batavia. He and Van Eeden both became members on 20 June 1889, but Van Eeden's name did not appear on the membership lists published from December 1889 on, so he must have left the society within half a year (*Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, 1889 and later).

[136] "U bent tot lid van 'de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde' benoemd!!! Gelijk met Swart Abrahamsz! En weet u, *wie* er ook mee moest *stemmen*? Prof. Schlegel, mijn type Mooker! Dit kan ik niet 'op.'" PPS in a letter from Borel to Van Eeden dated 20 June 1889, fiche 859. Schlegel was a member since 1878. At the time, Prof. Jan ten Brink was president. The German word "Schlegel" means "sledge (hammer)," Dutch *slegge*.

[137] "Ik ondervind in den laatsten tijd heel veel onaangenaamheden van mijn vader, en van al die jongelui hier die ik heb moeten laten loopen omdat ze mij zoo vreselijk kwetsten, nog erger dan Schlegel, en ik er zelf mijn tijd en humeur bij inschoot. Zooiets toegeven ze nooit en nu 'judassen' ze mij. Erg hinderlijk, zulk gegrinnik en gespot om je heen, maar toch eigenlijk vrij onschadelijk, zelfs een beetje goedig." Letter to Van Eeden dated 19 May 1890, fiche 860, pp. 1-2.

[138] "Ten Brink is zijn woede over mij bij Schlegel gaan luchten. Tableau op het college. Het was om te gillen en Ezerman en ik 'groeiden' er hevig in." Letter to Van Eeden dated 19 May 1890, p. 2, fiche 860.

[139] "Van Wettum en Ezerman—aan wien ik héél veel te danken heb, o! zo veel—zijn bang en kruiperig en heel minnetjes tegen Schlegel, die een heel slecht mensch is." *Diary* 19 December 1891, quoted in Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 38.

[140] *T'oung Pao* A 2 (1891), 357-89. Two years later it was published as a monograph together with a similar list for Japan by Schlegel: *Alphabetical list of the Chinese and Japanese emperors.* I: *An alphabetical list of the emperors of China and of their year-titles or nien-hao, with the date of their reign and duration*, compiled by J.L.J.F. Ezerman and B.A.J. van Wettum - II: *Alphabetical list of the Mikados and Shoguns of Japan as also an alphabetical list of the year title or Nen-Go, adopted during their reign*, by G. Schlegel (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1893).

[141] Both articles were about documents of Chinese customary law. Borel published "Serment d'Amitié Chinois," in *T'oung Pao* A 4 (1893), 420-6, and Van Wettum "A Pair of Chinese Marriage Contracts," *T'oung Pao* A 5 (1894), 371-85.

[142] Schlegel was still living there. *Almanak van het Leidsch Studentencorps*, 1888–1895. The days and hours are deduced from Borel's letters and diaries.

[143] Report of 1887–8, dated 29 July 1888, Inventory no. 1555, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1887–1888).

[144] 1890–1891, inv. 1556, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1890–1891).

[145] 1891–1892, inv. 1556, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1891–1892).

[146] Borel, "De nieuwe banen der Sinologie," *De Gids* 1911, IV, p. 309, note 1.

[147] Borel, *Lezingen over de Chineesche taal*, typoscript, 13, in Henri Borel, Ambtelijke zaken, etc. no. 232, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[148] Vol. I had appeared in 1886, vol. II in 1887, vol. III in 1884. Two of the three instalments of Vol. IV were published earlier, in 1888 and 1889. *See* Chapter Eleven, section "Publication history of Schlegel's dictionary."

[149] In this fairy tale the shrewd *Zaunkönig*, "King of the garden" (English *wren*, Dutch *winterkoninkje* or *winterkoning*), outwits the bear, proving that he is the King of the Birds. It must have been Schlegel's suggestion to translate *Zaunkönig* as *qiaofuniao* "tailor-bird," which is also a small and clever common bird which even lives in a "palace" (a woven nest). In his dictionary Schlegel gave several Chinese names of this bird and two short texts about it (Dutch *snijdervogel*. Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, vol. 3, pp. 915-916). Borel used the German title, so they must have translated the fairy tale from the German.

[150] Borel called the public that did not love art 'barbarians' (Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 52 note 25).

[151] "O ja, nu nog iets. Ik heb héusch, heusch zelfs met Putam nog wat chineesch gedaan ook. O, dat mooie sprookje van Grimm 'Der Zaunkönig und der Bär' vertaald in het chineesch. [vertically:] 熊與巧婦鳥 … Wat staat dat chineesch koddig in dit dagboek. Zie je, daar moet ik mijn vrouwtje nu mee 'koopen' van de barbaren en hun 'usages.' … Ik hoop dat het Putam een beetje goed gedaan heeft, hier te zijn, waar het zoo heerlijk is van mooi. We zaten heel gezellig, met een kopje koffie en onze lievelings cigaretten uit Algiers (Chebly)." The later text is his comment written later that day. *Diary*, 22 July 1891.

[152] Borel translated Plato's *Symposion* (a discussion about love) from the English into Dutch, consulting German and French translations. He did this for his girlfriend Christien Zurhaar, who had difficulty reading the French translation (Letter to Van Eeden, 19 January 1892, fiche 860).

[153] *De Amsterdammer, dagblad voor Nederland*, a daily newspaper published from 1882 to 1896. Later it became a weekly paper.

[154] This café-restaurant was located at Breestraat 107, Leiden (*Gids voor Leiden, 1905–1915*, http://www.hollebeek.nl/leiden/ gids/ldn1900r.html).

[155] "Zóó leef ik tegenwoordig: Het is niet goed zoo, ik moest vroeger opstaan en vroeger naar bed gaan, maar als ik mij er niet te veel meê waag, houd ik het zoo vol. Ik sta bij twaalven op, en ontbijt dan, lezende de courant of een roman even.—Om half twee ben ik in de academische bibliotheek aan het chineesch werken (聖諭 [*Shengyu*] –大清律例 [*Da Qing lüli*]) d.i. het Heilig edikt van Keizer K'ang Hi en het burgerlijk wetboek der Chineezen. Als ik er mede bézig ben ga ik er ook heelemaal in op; het is zo curieus om door al die streepjes heen te komen, ik heb er bepaald plezier in. Daar zit ik tot half vier.—Dán wandelen, en thuis pianospelen. Om half zes eten.—Soms éven de kranten en de Amsterdammer lezen in Café Neuf, maar héél zelden. Dadelijk weer thuis.—Theezetten.—Zitten werken aan Plato, en het chineesch van 's middags nog eens heelemaal over. Dán verder de tijd verdeeld tusschen pianospelen, het vertalen van Plato, en lezen (andere werken van Plato, Shelley en Milton tegenwoordig). Tegen drie uur, soms half vier, naar bed. —" *Diary*, 2 January 1892.

[156] "en het boek der liederen of de Si-king der Chineezen (詩經 [*Shijing*]) (slangenhuid met goud, mooi van kleur)." *Diary*, 7 January 1892.

[157] Legge, *The She King or the Book of Poetry* (1871), vol. 4 of *The Chinese Classics*. It also contains the Chinese text.

[158] Borel published his translations of Confucius and Mencius in 1896, and of Laozi in 1898. "Vanmiddag heb ik in de bibliotheek Plato verder vertaald, en verder Confucius en de chineesche klassieken bestudeerd. Ik begin daarin schatten te vinden.- Maar het is o'zoo moeilijk. Ik moet alles zélf vinden, want die vertalers—meest engelsche zendelingen of professors—kunnen wel naar den letter vertalen, maar begrijpen doen ze het niet. Hunne vertaling is meestal onzin, en het heel eigenaardige ervan is, dat zij zelf noten geven, waarin zij zeggen, dat ze er niet veel van begrijpen, en klagen 'dat de chineesche text zoo duister is.' —Maar die tekst is veel minder duister als hun ziel. —Ik ben nu bezig, die boeken te

doorgronden, maar ik ken nog geen chineesch genoeg. Ik ga over vijf jaren daar vertalingen—goede—van geven, dat is een groot, Goed werk." *Diary*, Monday 29 February 1892.

[159] 2 vols., B 745 H. 3 Vertalingen etc., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[160] "Op de bibliotheek, 's mid[dags]. / Ik zit nog eens een oud geschiedenisje te repeteeren, van de 今古奇觀 [*Jingu qiguan*].—Daar zijn heel mooie verhalen en legenden bij. Even opteekenen de volgende dingen, die zijn heel mooie poëzie: [vertical Chinese text, *see* main text] Het is een beschrijving van een heel mooi, Goed meisje, dat door een noodlottig toeval op den slechten weg was, en in een gemeen huis: 'Haar geheele lichaam was bevallig en schoon. / Haar geheele lichaam was lieflijk en geurig. / Haar gebogen wenkbrauwen waren als de verre omtrekken van blauwe bergen. / Hare oogen waren helder en zacht als het water in den herfst. / Hare wangen waren als de kelk van den lotus. / Hare lippen waren als roode kersen. / Hoe treurig dat zulk een vlekkelooze edelsteen bij toeval was gekomen in wind en stof!' Wat mooi dit!—Hoe rein.—" *Diary*, 23 March 1892, Cahier 1891–1892, B.745 H.3 Dagboek, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[161] "Het karakter voor 'lotus,' het zinnebeeld der chineesche Boeddhisten is: Liên. —(5e toon)." In Hokkien the fifth tone, in Mandarin the second tone (*yinping*).

[162] "Eigenaardig dat ook de chineezen zeggen van 'genomen,' d.i. een maagd tot vrouw gemaakt 破瓜 [*pogua*], d.i. den bloem breken!" *Diary*, 23 March 1892. *Pogua* literally means "to break the melon." Borel must have confused the character *gua* in the next sentence of the story with *hua* 花, 'flower.' The students often used badly printed Chinese texts (for examples of this *see* KNAG collection, East Asian Library, Leiden).

[163] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, Inleiding, 11. This was in agreement with Schlegel's official assignment.

[164] Schlegel's aversion to the Manchu government was often published in *T'oung Pao*. This was mentioned by Borel himself in his letter to the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of 23 January 1895 (*see* below). Borel wrote that his colleagues could testify that Schlegel also vented these opinions during his classes. Schlegel's aversion to missionaries is well documented, for instance in the diary of Van der Spek (p. 11), and also in his "De oorsprong van den vreemdenhaat der Chineezen," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, September 1901, speech of 13 April 1901.

[165] Borel's lack of historical knowledge is astonishing: he did not immediately know the Chinese character for the ruling Qing dynasty (Da Qing 大清), nor the year when its rule over China began (1644).

[166] On 14 July 1789 the French Revolution began with the storming of the Bastille.

[167] In 1891 the naval commander Jorge Montt revolted against the authoritarian president Balmaceda after the latter refused to accept a parliamentary system with ministerial responsibilities. Coming from the North of the country, Montt landed with his fleet in Valparaiso and took power; subsequently a European-style parliamentary system was established, which was exceptional in Latin America.

[168] In the diary "you" has been crossed out and dots "……" have been added, probably referring to Borel's girlfriend Christine Zurhaar.

[169] In the next paragraph Borel gave examples of Prussian atrocities involving persons and objects of art during the Franco–Prussian war of 1870–1.

[170] Entry of 2 to 5 December 1891. Borel's next note was: "All this I wrote at the Wittebrug [The Hague] in the Kippetje [nickname of his landlady]. Continue tomorrow or this evening in Leiden." He would later elaborate on the subject of European encroachment in China by missionaries and the import of opium in Indies newspapers in 1895, and in "De Chineesche kwestie" (The Chinese question) (*De Gids*, 64) in 1900.

[171] The Theosophical Society was established by Mrs. Blavatsky and others in New York in 1875. The first lodges in the Netherlands date from 1881 (The Hague) and 1890 (Amsterdam). This Society strove to form a nucleus of universal human brotherhood and encouraged the study of comparative religion and philosophy, etc. In the heyday of Social Darwinism it enhanced Western respect for Asian peoples and cultures (Richardus, *Johan van Manen*, 4-6.)

[172] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 42. This lecture was not mentioned in the student almanac.

[173] "Hij droeg voor een overzicht van de nieuwe wijsbegeerte, de Theosophie, of het

Neo-Boeddhisme. Heel, heel belangrijk. Over de ziel en het lichaam. Over het nu bijna bewezen feit, dat voor *alle* eeuwen heen enkele menschen *werkelijk* met God in gemeenschap stonden, en ingewijd waren in het hoogste mysteriën. Menschen die wisten *wat* en *hoe* de ziel was, en die hun ziel werkelijk *uit* hun lichaam konden doen gaan en verplaatsen op immense afstanden in een seconde. Deze ingewijden, adepten, waren o.a. Vischna, Bouddha, Jezus, Paulus, Mozes, Pythagoras, Plato enz." Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 42.

[174] *Diary*, 29 February 1892. Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 43. *A Manual of Buddhism, in its Modern Development, Translated from Singhalese Manuscripts by R. Spence Hardy* was first published in 1853.

[175] "Dat ik heel blij ben met dat ze zooveel houdt van dat verhaal van Buddha heb ik al bewezen door weer zoo'n heel groot stuk voor haar te vertalen.—Wij zullen in China veel meer van Buddha zien en hooren. Er zijn duizenden Buddhist[en] in China. In Amoy en Tsiangtsiu, waar wij komen, zijn vele Buddhistische kloosters en tempels—natuurlijk van subliemen bouw, met heerlijke schone beelden en allerlei voorwerpen. Ik ga met Buddhistische monniken spreken, en zal daar stellig heel veel moois en nieuws te weten komen." *Diary*, Thursday 17 March 1892.

[176] "Een antwoord aan prof. Schlegel. Chineesche waarheid." (An answer to Prof. Schlegel. Chinese truth.) In 1894 Japan had invaded Korea, which was a tributary state of China. When China supported Korea, a war followed in which China was soundly defeated by Japan and the Japanese for the first time invaded Manchuria. Schlegel had given a lecture at the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences and Arts on 12 November 1894 entitled "Het geschil tusschen China en Japan in Korea" (The conflict between China and Japan in Korea) (*Verslagen en mededeelingen, afd. letterkunde, 3e reeks, deel XI*, pp. 159-74). In this lecture he pleaded that the Europeans should support the Manchu government in the war against Japan, as otherwise Japan might become too powerful and even form a threat to Southeast Asia (that is, the Netherlands Indies). Borel, then stationed in Riau, reacted to letters about this lecture in the *NRC* of 15 and 18 November 1894. One of Borel's objections was that Schlegel had changed his opinion, since in the past he had always railed against the corrupt Manchu government, hoping it would be driven away soon. Borel also found a Japanese threat to the Indies implausible. In a reaction, Schlegel wrote the prophetic words: "If Japan's lust to conquer is not checked, we will perish. / As the saying goes: / Time will prove it." (Zoo aan de veroveringszucht van Japan geen paal en perk wordt gesteld, gaan wij te gronde. / Het spreekwoord zegt: / D e t ij d z a l 't l e e r e n. *NRC* 26 January 1895). Schlegel also stated that he considered it beneath his dignity to battle with a pupil such as Borel, who was too young and inexperienced. To this Borel reacted furiously. His reply was not published in the *NRC*, but in the Indies. ("Nog eens: Professor Schlegel, over den Chineesch–Japanschen Oorlog." *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 9 March 1895).

[177] "In China past het, dat de leerling eene veneratie toone voor zijnen leermeester, even groot als die voor zijnen vader. Professor Schlegel is mijn leermeester. Hij was het, die met zijn ongeëvenaarden tact en zijne innemende hartelijkheid, mij inwijdde in de mysteriën der Chineesche taal. Zijne college-uren waren geen droefmistige, benauwde dingen, maar stonden van lichtende wijsheid en intieme wisseling van gedachten. … en door hèm heb ik leeren begrijpen de sublieme schoonheid der Chineesche literatuur en philosophie." *NRC*, 23 January 1895.

[178] "… prof. Schlegel is bekend als een vurig bewonderaar van de Chineezen, die hij overal ophemelt, à tort et à travers. Ik weet nog de voorstelling, die ik mij door zijn warme ideëen [*sic*] had gemaakt van de Chineezen, eene voorstelling van een volmaakt volk, met oud-testamentische deugden."

[179] Borel, "De nieuwe banen der sinologie," *De Gids*, 1911, IV, p. 309 note 1.

[180] In 1888–92 Schlegel only had one "ribbon," that of Commandeur de l'ordre Royal de Cambodge. It had been given to him by the French government in 1885 for his assistance to the French Navy vessel that had stranded near Amoy in 1860 (*see* Chapter Three, section "Schlegel and Francken as interpreters in Amoy").

[181] "… mijn leermeester in Europa, in Leiden, was een heel deftige, geleerde professor, met een lintje in zijn knoopsgat, die in een groot huis op het Rapenburg woonde." Borel, "De eerstgeborene," in *Van leven en dood* (1925), 31.

[182] Willem Kloos (1859–1938) is famous for his poem: "I am a God in my deepest thoughts." (*Ik ben een God in 't diepst van mijn gedachten*).

[183] Albert Verwey (1865–1933) was a poet and critic.

[184] *Winkler Prins Encyclopaedie*, sixth edition, 1947–1955. Verwey also left the movement, characterising it as "the art of emotional fits and impressions" (*de kunst van gevoelsopwelling en indruk*).

[185] English translation published by William Heinemann, London 1895.

[186] Klaas Ruitenbeek, "Lu Xun und *Der kleine Johannes*," in Wolfgang Kubin (ed.), *Aus dem Garten der Wildnis, Studien zu Lu Xun (1881–1936)* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1989), 111-23. This article also appeared in English: "Lu Xun and Little John," in Lloyd Haft (ed.), *Words from the West. Western Texts in Chinese Literary Context. Essays to Honour Erik Zürcher on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (Leiden, CNWS Publications Vol. 16, 1993, pp. 48-60). A new Chinese translation (from the English) appeared in 2004.

[187] Later, in Bussum, he established the production-cooperative 'Walden' (named after Henry David Thoreau's *Walden, or Life in the Woods*, 1854), which existed from 1898 to 1907. He also helped the railroad workers during a strike in 1903, trying to realise communist ideas in a capitalist society. In his ambitions in literature and society, in philosophy and religion, Van Eeden's successive works evince the development of a restlessly searching mind. His life has been characterised as 'a tragedy of insecurity,' after the title of one of his plays. After a life full of trouble, disappointment and failure, he found 'a safe haven,' as he called it, in his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1923 (*Winkler Prins Encyclopaedie*, sixth edition, 1947–1955). *See also* Fontijn's two-volume biography of Van Eeden, *Tweespalt* and *Trots verbrijzeld*.

[188] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 7-14. Fontijn considers Borel just a fanatical admirer (*dweper*) of Van Eeden and does not take into account Borel's psychological and spiritual problems. Fontijn, *Tweespalt*, 139-40, 266-70.

[189] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 7, 13, 14. The accompanying letter was printed in Joosten, 13. The letter has no date and the beginning seems to be missing.

[190] In 1898 it was first published in *De Gids* (62), then as a book.

[191] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 14, quoting "Frederik van Eeden, Herinneringen," *Geschenk boeken week 1933*, 33-40.

[192] "Henri Borel, op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 November 1929.

[193] "Henri Borel, op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 November 1929.

[194] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 13.

[195] R.H. van Gulik, "In memoriam Henri Borel," *China, een driemaandelijksch tijdschrift*, 8 (1933), 167. Thanks are due to Dr. Ming Govaars for sharing some of her ideas about Henri Borel with me.

[196] Novel by Émile Zola published in 1887.

[197] Lodewijk van Deyssel (pseudonym of Karel Johan Lodewijk Alberdingk Thijm, 1864–1952) took part in the Eighties movement as a bitingly sharp literary critic.

[198] Van Deyssel's *Een Liefde* (1887) was one of the first successful Dutch naturalist novels.

[199] *Diary*, 23 September 1890, quoted in Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 23-4.

[200] Jan van Swieten (1807–88) had an impressive career in the military and in civil government from 1821 on; from 1835 to 1862 he was serving in the Indies. After his retirement and return to the Netherlands in 1862, he was a member of Parliament for two years and held other high posts. When the first Atjeh War (Achinese War) ended in disaster, he was made the government's civil commissioner and commander-in-chief during the second Atjeh War in 1873–4. He often published his views on various subjects, and also wrote a reply to G.F.W. Borel in 1882 (*Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*, vol. IV [1905]).

[201] Borel, "Henri Borel (Autobiografie en autocritiek)," *Het Vaderland*, 23 November 1929.

[202] This is the number of remaining letters in the Frederik van Eeden Collection in the Special Collections Department of the University Library in Amsterdam. Some letters are missing, and a few other short letters and postcards by Van Eeden are kept there as well. A large portion of Van Eeden's letters to Borel were published by Borel in 1933 in his *Brieven van Frederik van Eeden aan Henri Borel* (Uitgeverij Pax, The Hague and Brussels).

[203] Borel was then living on the Breestraat (Broad Street) in Leiden.

[204] "Ik ben boos op u geweest. In het begin van vorige week heb ik 4 dagen achtereen in een vreeselijke stemming thuis gezeten. … En ik ben zoo nietig, zoo ellendig, ik kan niets doen. Ik leer Chineesch! Dat is om woedend te worden … Dat is om uit te schreeuwen van angst, nu, door de heele lange, donkere Breestraat, waar de regen sienister in neervalt met een onguren rythmus, om het zóó ver uit te gillen, midden over de donkere nacht, dat de menschen ervan rillen en klappertanden in hun bed.—Ja, zullen ze mij haar wéér, wéér, wéér afnemen? …" Letter 23 April 1889, fiche 858.

[205] "Ik heb je tot nu toe niet geschreven omdat ik er tegen opzag. Ik heb ondervonden dat je mij dikwijls slecht begrijpt en ook gauw gegriefd bent door dingen waarin niets grievends bedoeld is. … om je inzicht helderder te maken, om meer orde in je denkbeelden te brengen, om de verwarring in je denken en gevoelen te doen eindigen, zou een lange reeks van brieven of gesprekken gedurende een lang tijdsverloop noodig zijn." Letter 20 May 1889, *Brieven aan Henri Borel*, 17.

[206] "Het is heel lief van je, maar gelukkig niet juist, te denken dat ik je alleen uit goedheid tegensprak en het eigenlijk geheel met je eens was. Zoo zou ik misschien met een patiënt doen, die ik te zwak vond om de waarheid te dragen, maar met jou niet. Je bent gevoelig, maar niet zwak. Je zult door je verdriet en je tobben niet breken, maar er steeds sterker door worden." Letter, 20 May 1889, *Brieven aan Henri Borel*, 19.

[207] "Ik hoop dat je niet weet hoe zeldzaam ze zijn, jongens als jij. Maar ze zijn zeldzaam. Je mist zelfbedwang en levenswijsheid, maar die kun je allebei nog krijgen. Voor de rest ben je een voortreffelijk broekje." Letter of 6 January 1892, *Brieven aan Henri Borel*, 23.

[208] "een lief zacht chanteusetje, maar niet voor geld," "dergelijke meisjes zijn dol op mij." Letter to Van Eeden, 10 June 1889, fiche 858.

[209] "Het is een geluk voor mij, dat ik voorgoed afkeer van mijn vroegere slechte gewoonten van cafés chantants en andere leelijke dingen af te loopen. Mijn materieele leven is heel, heel fatsoenlijk en mijn eenige uitspatting is een lekkere sigaar of een enkel glaasje bier. Ik heb een sterke afkeer gekregen van al die leelijke dingen die ik vroeger gebruikte als verdoovingsmiddel en de lui hier zien mij nooit meer en begrijpen niets meer van mij." Letter to Van Eeden, 18 March 1890, fiche 859.

[210] "Nu dan, toen ik vanmiddag op de 1e Vijver met van Wettum op het punt stond om naar huis te gaan, komt opeens het blauwe meisje met haar gouden haren en zegt: "Dag Henri!" (die naam had ze van Amaatje) / En toen ben ik bijna op het ijs moeten gaan huilen. Gelukkig dat Putam het niet merkte. Ik was alles vergeten, van haar omgeving. Ze was iets nieuws, iets blonds, iets meisje, iets engeltje. / Ik was zo tevreden. Ik heb haar een handje gegeven en even met haar gewandeld. Ik heb gezegd dat ze zoo lief was. Ik heb haar zoo aangezien dat ze me eigenlijk had moeten kussen als een zusje, maar ze deed het niet. Ik wil niet weten wat ze dacht, maar ze vond het heel prettig. [page cut out] Wat was ze zacht, zoo warmpjes, zoo heel blondjes, en wat was ze nog klein. Wat was ze ineens een lievelingetje van me. En zoo gaat het mij meer. Wat zou dat toch zijn. … Het kan me ook eigenlijk niet schelen waarom het is. Ik kan er toch niets aan doen." *Diary*, Sunday 14 December 1890.

[211] Letter 20 February 1891, fiche 860-861.

[212] Letter 4 March 1891, fiche 861.

[213] Letter 19 March 1891, fiche 861.

[214] Letter 26 March 1891, fiche 861.

[215] Fontijn, *Tweespalt*, 269-70.

[216] Letter from Van Eeden, 6 January 1892 (Borel, *Brieven van Van Eeden*, 23).

[217] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 47.

[218] Thorn Prikker's letters were published in Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*.

[219] Robert Stellwagen (1869–96) was a son of A.W. Stellwagen, a writer and Borel's former teacher of Dutch language at the HBS in The Hague (Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 9).

[220] G.J. Staal (1870–1936) had a career in the General Secretariat of the Indies Government, where he became Government Secretary in 1906. He was Governor of Suriname in 1916–20 (Stamboeken F' 57).

[221] Karel Textor (1870–1934) had studied in Berlin and worked as a pianist during the rest of his life. Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 13-17.

[222] *Diary*, 14 December 1890; Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 25.

[223] "Ezerman vind ik hoe langer hoe minder. Perfide zonder het zelf te weten, egoïst, klein, leelijk en juist door sommige mooiheden wordt het nog erger. Somtijds maakt hij den indruk op mij van een insect, of Uriah Heep. Somtijds vind ik hem echter opeens zóó arm, zóó arm—als hij goed speelt (al is dat maar zelden)—en dan heb ik een beetje medelijden met hem." *Diary*, Saturday 13 December 1890.

[224] "Alweer wat moois. En nu nog wel van de kant der familie Van Wettum. Dit spijt mij. Wie van de andere 'vrienden' mij ook al teleurstelde of verongelijkte, in blijdschap zowel als in droefenis is Bertus mij altijd trouw bij gebleven. Ik vind hem eenvoudig, pedant soms, en iemand die alles van anderen eerst moet zien, die niets van zichzelf heeft, maar hij is … een 'coeur d'or' …. Wat is het nu toch jammer, dat zijn familie toch maar altijd in haar domheid hem tegen mij zit op te zetten." *Diary*, 1 September 1890.

[225] "Ook Bertus v. W., de vroeger trouwe, nobele Putam, is voor mij achteruitgegaan. Hij is in den grooten nood van den laatsten tijd tot het laatste nog trouw geweest. Maar het werd al onzuiverder en minder en zwakker. Nog maar een paar maandjes had het moeten duren en ook hij was me ontvallen / Maar nu ben ik alles zoo rustig te boven gekomen. En ik heb hem nog. Ik houd nog veel van hem. Hij mag mijn vriend blijven." *Diary*, 15 July 1891, p. 4.

[226] Elizabeth Barret Browning (1806–61) was one of the most important poets of the Victorian age. Well-known for the lines "How I love thee? Let me count the ways. / I love thee to the depth and breadth and height / My soul can reach, …" She was married to the poet Robert Browning (1812–89).

[227] "Putam had de gedichten van Elizabeth Barret Browning gekocht. … Ik vind Putam i/d laatsten tijd héél ongelukkig. Hij zal zich nog veel, veel ongelukkiger voelen als hij zoo blijft met dat zotte idee van zoo dadelijk zoo'n Elizabeth Barret tegen te komen. … Hij laat me maar praten, verliest zich in Boeddha, Jezus, Johannes, enz." *Diary*, September 1891.

[228] "Die Goteling is een artiest, daar gaat niets meer vanaf." *Diary*, 4 September 1890.

[229] Undated letter from September or October 1890, fiche 860.

[230] "Het was dus indertijd een verkeerd enthousiasme van me, 'Jong.'" *Diary*, 10 December 1890.

[231] "Ezerman, Staal en Textor vonden het subliem. Maar wat zegt dat? Niet zo heel veel. / Ezerman vond het bij gedeelten 'immens' enz. enz. Maar zijn geheele leven is nog even onrustig en leelijk en hij doet alsof hij het in 't geheel niet meer gelezen heeft. Zoo ook van Wettum. Begrijpen die mannetjes dan niet dat zij mij na de lezing van mijn boek *door zóo klein te blijven leven* van zich af houden? Dat ik daarom gedwongen ben zo luidruchtig en pseudo-Sturm u. D.-achtig te zijn als ik bij hun ben. Ik voel dat ze langzaam uit mijn hart verdwijnen nu het er zoo heilig in wordt." *Diary*, 13 December 1890.

[232] "Even opschrijven dat degeen die dit later soms leest en ook ikzelf als ik het later nog eens opdiep, niet moet denken dat ik hard en wreed denk en schrijf over mijn vrienden. Ik vaar nogal eens uit tegen Ezerman,Van Wettum, Staal, en zelfs soms Van Eeden (tegen de laatste meestal onbillijk, niet altijd). Maar dat is maar in sommige, niet altijd mooie stemmingen." *Diary*, Sunday 14 December 1890.

[233] "Wat een drukte weer vandaag. Vanochtend Chineesch, vanmiddag Chineesch. Toen moest ik toch wat wandelen. Ik ga nu altijd den weg naar Warmond. Wat een heerlijke weg. Links, rechts, overal, wijd, het landschap, waar de koeien weien. …" *Diary*, Saturday 10 October 1891.

[234] "Vanmiddag heerlijk op het ijs gereden. Ik kan het nu al weer heel vlug, maar toch niet zooals in Roermond, geloof ik. Eerst met Bertus en Willem van Wettum. …" (*Diary*, 15 December 1890). Willem van Wettum (1872–1936) was a younger brother of Bertus. He studied to become an East Indies official, probably in Delft.

[235] "Vanmiddag met Putam van Leiden naar hier gekomen op schaatsen. Toen heb ik ook nog tot half zes op de Vijver gereden. Heerlijk, zoo in het donker over het zacht blauwe ijs, met hier en daar tinteling. …." *Diary*, 16 December 1890.

[236] "Tegenwoordig doet Ezerman aan wielrijden. Wij kunnen het echter maar heel zelden (voorloopig) doen, want het is te duur. Ik geloof dat het heel goed voor hem is." (Letter to Van Eeden, 1 April 1889, fiche 858).

[237] "Met het oog op de zomerhitte, die in China bijkans ondraaglijk is, zoude ik Uwe Excellentie in overweging willen geven, genoemde jongelieden niet vóór de maand Augus-

tus van hier te doen vertrekken. Tegen September is de grootste hitte in China geweken." Letter by Schlegel to the Minister dated 31 May, in: V 11/7/1892 no. 8 inv. 4593.

[238] In the report it was called "illness or disability no. 190," which was at the time one of the problems of the optic nerve often mentioned, in Dutch "190 a. ontsteking b. atrophie der gezigtszenuw." *Staatsblad* 1871, no. 9, from p. 5 on.

[239] "Is behept met bijziendheid op beide oogen." His myopia was serious: "-6 D visus after correction =1." Van Wettum's and Ezerman's letters were dated 25 June, Borel's letter was dated 21 June. Documents about military obligations and reports of physical examination are in V 11/7/1892 no. 8 inv. 4593. Borel may have been found psychologically unfit as well, but no record was made of this.

[240] *Staatscourant* 24 July 1892 no. 172; *T'oung Pao* A 3 (1892), 315.

[241] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 50.

[242] Letter to the acting Consul General in Amoy, Ch. K. Feindel, dated 5 October 1893, inv. no. 5, toegang 2.05.93 Consulate in Amoy.

[243] Request from Borel dated 5 June 1893, in V 12/9/1893 no. 40 inv. 4739. Request from Ezerman and Van Wettum dated 22 May 1893, in Mailrapport no. 228, 1893, Nationaal Archief.

[244] Jan Rhein (ca. 1856 – 1892), a primary school teacher, was a son of a naturalised Danish merchant who went to China in 1865. Jan Rhein studied Chinese and worked as a student-interpreter from 1875 on, and from 1876 on as an interpreter for Ferguson (Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 63).

[245] Letter from Ferguson to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated The Hague 26 February 1890, in: V 20/3/1890 no. 13/576 inv. 4353.

[246] Letter to Ferguson, 20 December 1890, in inv. 2, toegang 2.05.90, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nationaal Archief.

[247] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 127-37. He had suffered an apoplectic attack.

[248] Toegang 2.05.38 and inv. 5 toegang 2.05.93, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nationaal Archief.

[249] A second interpreter in Batavia, and interpreters in Padang, Mentok, Riau, Cirebon, Makassar, and Rembang. Schlegel considered that interpreters were also needed in Billiton (Belitung) and Kediri, which had Chinese populations of 11,255 and 22,700 (together with Surakarta and Bagelen). Letter of 2 November 1891, in V 19/11/1891 no. 12/2212 inv. 4520.

[250] His arguments were that in the period 1860–91 eighteen interpreters had been appointed, of whom five had passed away, four had left the service, and two were pensioned. In 30 years eleven interpreters had dropped out, leaving seven. In other words, on the average every three years one interpreter dropped out.

[251] *See* the graph of the number of active interpreters (1860–1917) in Appendix H.

[252] Pieter Brooshooft (1845–1923) worked for many years as a journalist in the Indies and paved the way for the later ethical policy favouring the native population and protecting them against oppression by the Dutch, and also by the Chinese (Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 167-9, 136-7, 391-401 etc.). Brooshooft's article had appeared in his "Indische Kroniek" in *De Locomotief* of Saturday 3 September 1891.

[253] Schlegel clipped the text from *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag* of 13 October 1891. De Grijs reacted to the same item by writing a letter to the editors, published on 3 November 1891 (BPL 1782.2, *Catalogue* 2005, 93). After De Grijs left in 1885, Stuart (28 July 1885 – 26 March 1889) and Meeter (17 April 1890 – 13 September 1890) had been interpreters in Semarang. Meanwhile, Semarang had already been without an interpreter for one year. On 22 March 1892 Young would be appointed.

[254] V 19/11/1891 no. 12/2212 inv. 4520.

[255] "Het is niet gebleken dat het gemis van tolken op die plaatsen tot stoornis in den dienst aanleiding heeft gegeven. Evenmin dat uitbreiding van het organiek aantal plaatsen noodig is." Advice dated 29 December 1891, in V 20/2/1892 no. 1 inv. 4547.

[256] V 20/2/1892 no. 1 inv. 4547.

[257] This implied that his present students would finish their studies before May.

[258] Letter dated 4 March 1892, in V 11/3/1892 no. 37 inv. 4554.

[259] Professor ten Brink was replaced by Dr. G.J. Dozy, and Dr. Koppeschaar by Dr.

E.J.G. Everts, both HBS teachers from The Hague. Everts (1849–1932) was a well-known entomologist.

[260] The argument was that it was not customary to ask for such a fee at examinations for the East Indies service, for which one had to pay only after passing. It would be a deterrent even for candidates who were well prepared. These comments were written with pencil on V 11/3/1892 no. 37 inv. 4554.

[261] In 1888 actually only 26 candidates took the entire examination, so the difference was not so great.

[262] Van de Stadt was "*buitengewoon ontwikkeld, schrander en helder van hoofd*," De Bruin "*goed ontwikkeld*" and Thijssen "*goed ontwikkeld, minder beschaafd*."

[263] Report dated 30 May 1892, in V 14/6/1892 no. 5 inv. 4584. No reference was made to publication in the *Staatscourant*, and no published report could be found.

[264] V 14/6/1892 no. 5 inv. 4584.

[265] V 29/8/1892 no. 1 inv. 4610.

[266] 1892–1893, inv. 1556, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1892–1893).

[267] 1893–1894, inv. 1557, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1893–1894).

[268] 1894–1895, inv. 1557, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1894–1895).

[269] Van de Stadt registered on 30 September 1892 (no. 2793), and De Bruin and Thijssen on 3 February 1894 (nos. 3013 and 3014) (*Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*).

[270] He would urge his student E. von Zach to register in September 1896 (*see* next section).

[271] Request of 25 May 1895 and Schlegel's answer of 27 May 1895 in V 28/5/1895 no. 1 (Exh.) inv. 4939.

[272] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister, 10 October 1895, in V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.

[273] *See* Chapter Ten, section "Financial problems of the third group."

[274] Letter from a *referendaris* at the Ministry, dated 14 October 1895, in V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.

[275] "Voor de verandering in het rangcijfer heb ik gegronde redenen. De Heer van de Stadt heeft niet beantwoord aan de verwachtingen, die ik, naar aanleiding van zijn toelatingsexamen, van hem koesterde, en zijn beide collegas De Bruin en Thijssen hebben hem ver vooruitgestreefd. / Of de omstandigheid, dat de heer van de Stadt zich als lid van het Leidsche Studentencorps had laten inschrijven (hetgeen de beide anderen niet deden) op zijne studiën invloed gehad heeft, daar het studenten leven hem te veel afleiding bezorgde, waag ik niet te beslissen. Aan aanleg toch ontbrak het hem niet, maar wel aan vlijt en volharding. / Wellicht kan hij het verzuimde nog in China inhalen, maar voor het oogenblik moet ik hem op nummer drie der ranglijst plaatsen. / De heer De Bruin is ontegenzeggelijk de knapste der drie candidaten." Confidential letter from Schlegel answering Mr. A.A. de Vries, *referendaris* at the Ministry, 17 October 1895, in V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.

[276] Letter from Schlegel to the Ministry, 20 December 1895, and draft answer in V 30/12/1895 no. 38 inv. 5005.

[277] V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.

[278] *Staatscourant* 14 November 1895 no. 268; *T'oung Pao* A 6 (1895), 515.

[279] V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.

[280] V 28/2/1896 no. 17/553 inv. 5022.

[281] V 24/1/1896 Kab. B1, inv. 6236.

[282] V 31/1/1896 Kab. U1, V 3/2/1896 Kab. W1, inv. 6236.

[283] The 39-year old Stuart passed the examination of June 1894 as number 33 of 34 successful candidates, while 23 others failed (V 12/7/1894 no. 62 inv. 4837). In a later article by this journalist Stuart's name was mentioned as another interpreter who had recently passed the examination (*Algemeen Handelsblad,* 5 May 1895).

[284] Such positions had existed since the beginning of the nineteenth century. For instance, A.B. Cohen Stuart and H.N. van der Tuuk were appointed as such. In 1878 the

position was formalised as "official for the study of the East Indies languages" (*ambtenaar voor de beoefening der Indische talen*; *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1878 no. 154). Those who had a doctorate in East Indies languages in Leiden or had passed an examination in Arabic, Sanskrit, Malay, and Javanese and some other subjects were eligible. Two well-known later incumbents were Ch. Snouck Hurgronje and J.C.G. Jonker. Teeuw, "Taalambtenaren." Fasseur, *Indologen*, 237, 190.

[285] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 23 May 1894; *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 28 May 1894; *De Indische Gids* 1894, no. XVI, pp. 912-3.

[286] *Regeeringsreglement* art. 35. This right was sometimes compared to the right of Parliament to propose a bill of law to the King, *Constitution* (*Grondwet*, 1887) art. 116 (now art. 82).

[287] Groeneveldt had been a member since 1889, Gallois since 1891, Mullemeister and Engelbrecht since 1893 when Groeneveldt became Vice-President, and Rovers also since 1893.

[288] Groeneveldt's *nota* and the Council's advice (12 October 1894), in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926. For another discussion of the reorganisation *see* Chapter Fifteen, "The reform of 1896," section "Officials for Chinese Affairs."

[289] Letter from S.W. Tromp to the Governor-General of 7 November 1894, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926. Van Wettum had been appointed on 24 October; he would stay in Pontianak and two years later marry Tromp's 17-year old daughter.

[290] Letter to the Minister of Colonies dated 20 January 1895, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[291] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1893 no. 291 (V 9/10/1893 no. 11/2083 inv. 4747).

[292] "Zoo vlug rijpen de vruchten niet altijd bij het bestuur over Indië!"

[293] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 May 1895, 3.

[294] V 4/5/1895 no. 29 inv. 4932.

[295] Von Zach asserted that there had been a government resolution discharging Schlegel from his duty of instructing interpreters (in Von Zach's view deserving a congratulation, *see* below), and that this task had been transferred to De Groot (E. von Zach, "Notes and Queries," *The China Review* 23 (1898–1899), 294). This was a misunderstanding: from 1896 on Schlegel was no longer required to teach students for the Ministry of Colonies, and in his report to the University of 1898, he complained that he was not asked to train a student for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while he considered this his task (report of 1897–8, inv. 1558, AC3). Actually that Ministry had previously always charged De Groot with training their interpreters, namely W.J. Oudendijk and W.J. van Duysberg, and now G.S.D. Hamel. Although Schlegel had hardly any students in 1897–1901, he continued to fill out the yearly teaching reports for the University. He taught his last extraordinary students in 1902. Reports to Leiden University, inv. 1558-1559, AC3, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.

[296] V 22/5/1895 no. 61 inv. 4937, V 25/5/1895 no. 21 inv. 4938.

[297] V 19/3/1896 no. 34/757 inv. 5028.

[298] IB 21/5/1896 no. 43. "Bepalingen tot aanwijzing der standplaatsen en regeling van den werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken." Published in *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1896 no. 96. Translation fees etc. were promulgated in no. 97. Dutch text in Appendix S.

[299] Called Loeh Foeng (now *Lufeng*) in a Dutch transcription of Southern Mandarin, Liúk Fúng in Hakka and Liok Hong in Hoklo. In the northern part of Lufeng a Hakka dialect was spoken, the speakers of which called themselves *banshanfu* 半山福, while in the southern part of Lufeng Hoklo was spoken. This Hakka dialect was also spoken in the region of Huizhou 惠州 and in Huilai 惠來, Puning 普寧, Jieyang 揭陽 and Fengchun 豐春 in Guangdong.

[300] Department A[1] was reponsible for justice, education, religion and industry, and the navy in the Indies.

[301] V 5/12/1896 no. 17 inv. 5109.

[302] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister, 11 December 1896, in V 7/1/1897 no. 21/42 inv. 5119.

[303] V 22/12/1896 no. 15, inv. 5115; Royal Decree 24 December no. 80 in V 7/1/1897 no. 21/42 inv. 5119.

[304] It was crossed out in the draft letter to the Queen and not mentioned in the Royal Decree, probably since no Royal Approval was necessary for this part of the request.

[305] Hong Kong: 1881. Third reprint in 1912.

[306] In the 1860s, Schaalje had listed two types of Hakka pronunciation in his *Jiayingzhou baihua*.

[307] His first article in *T'oung Pao* was published before the monograph on the Lufeng dialect (note on p. 219). He needed this information for his phonological analyses of Hakka pronunciation.

[308] "Ancient Chinese Phonetics," *T'oung Pao* A 8 (1897), 361-77, 457-86. Continued in *T'oung Pao* A 9 (1898), 28-57. Supplementary note in *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902), 106-8.

[309] B. Karlgren, Études sur la phonologie chinoise, 1915 (part 1), pp. 9, 25-7, 43-4, 47-8, 50, etc. Karlgren would later write: "The first scientific endeavour to unveil this language [of the Sui and Tang dynasties, 581–907] was made in 1900 [*sic*] by Schaank in a short article in the T'oung Pao." (*Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino–Japanese* (Paris 1923), 4 note 3). In a recent appraisal, David Prager Branner wrote: "The basic appearance of modern reconstructions of Chinese, however, was not made by Karlgren, but by his little-known predecessor Simon Hartwich Schaank," in his article "Simon Schaank and the Evolution of Western Beliefs about Traditional Chinese Phonology," in D.P. Branner (ed.), *The Chinese Rime Tables: Linguistic Philosophy and Historical-comparative Phonology*, Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic sciences, Series 4, Current issues in linguistic theory, pp. 151-70 (Amsterdam 2006) (p. 151).

[310] Such as in Schlegel's *Sinico-Aryaca* (Batavia, 1872) and "The Secret of the Chinese Method of Transcribing Foreign Sounds," *T'oung Pao* 1 (1900), 1-32, 93-124, 219-53) (Karlgren, Études, 5, 7, 8).

[311] Schlegel's letter to the Minister of Colonies of 9 April 1873, pp. 21-23, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. Also in Schlegel, *Chineesche taalstudie* (1877), 23.

[312] The idea of doing fieldwork may have been inspired by his friend J.J.M. de Groot, whom Schaank knew from his first period of leave in 1883–6. In 1912, P.A. van de Stadt published a Hakka dictionary partly based on observations in the field.

[313] Report dated 4 July 1896, 1895–1896, inv. 1557, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections.

[314] Letter to the Minister of Colonies, 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083.

[315] Jacobus Henricus Kann had become a partner of Lissa & Kann's Bank in 1891, when his father passed away.

[316] *Album Studiosorum 1875-1925*, no. 3346.

[317] Letter to the Minister of Colonies, 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083. On Monday 6 July, Li Hongzhang had a meeting with several private persons (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 juli 1896).

[318] In 1896 he was inspired by Theodor Herzl's *Der Judenstaat*, and in 1897 he would represent the Netherlands at the first Zionist Congress in Basel. Afterwards he would always support the Zionist movement. As a banker, he was one of the co-founders of the Jewish Colonial Trust in 1899. After the German invasion of the Netherlands in 1940, he refused to flee. Most of his family died in German concentration camps. He died in Theresienstadt in 1944 (dossier Kann, CBG, The Hague; Dr. J. Charité (ed.), *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, vol. II, 1985).

[319] Franz Emanuel Kühnert (1852–1918) was originally a mathematician and scientist; he became an unsalaried university lecturer (*Privatdozent*) in Chinese at the University of Vienna in 1891, and professor in 1898 (*The China Review* 23 (1898), 229-30). *See also* Bernard Führer, *Vergessen und Verloren: Die Geschichte der österreichischen Chinastudien*, 73-90.

[320] Carl Kainz was an Armeniologist; he published a textbook of modern Chinese in 1900 (*Hua-wen-ch'u-chieh; Chinese language lessons*).

[321] Alfred Hoffmann, "Dr. Erwin Ritter von Zach (1872–1942), in memoriam. Verzeichnis seiner Veröffentlichungen," *Oriens Extremus* 10 (April 1963), opposite p. 1, Handschriftprobe von Ritter von Zach, two pages from a letter of Von Zach to Alfred Hoffmann dated 10 January 1937. On Von Zach *see also* Führer, *Vergessen und verloren*, 157-88.

[322] "… een jong Oostenrijker die speciaal naar Leiden gekomen is om mijne collegies te volgen, daar hij, noch in Oostenrijk, noch in Duitschland, gelegenheid vond, de Chineesche taal grondig te leeren." Letter to Minister of Colonies Bergsma dated 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083.

[323] Date from *Album Studiosorum 1875-1925*, no. 3478.

[324] Alfred Hoffmann, "Dr. Erwin Ritter von Zach," letter to Alfred Hoffmann dated 1937.

[325] 1896–1897, inv. 1558, AC3, Leiden University Special Collections. Partial printed version in *Verslag van den staat* (1896–1897). The following year, Schlegel reported that of his three students from the previous year, two had now obtained positions, and the third was fulfilling his military service. He had advised the third against continuing his Chinese studies, since each time he returned from his military camp, he had forgotten everything. In Schlegel's experience, Chinese studies could not be combined with "playing soldier" (1897-1898, inv. 1558, AC3).

[326] "Zwei Mandschu-Chinesische Kaiserliche Diplome." Übersetzt und herausgegeben von Gustav Schlegel und Erwin Ritter von Zach, *T'oung Pao* A 8 (1897), 261-308.

[327] From 1920 he and several other German sinologists worked for the Netherlands Indies Tax Office, but he quit already in 1924. He remained in Batavia, where he published his well-known translations of Chinese poetry, and barbed but interesting reviews of the work of others. These were published by Hartmut Walravens in *Erwin Ritter von Zach (1872–1942), Gesammelte Rezensionen: Geschichte*, 2 vols. (2005-6). When the Germans invaded the Netherlands in 1940, he was detained in the Indies, since after the annexation of Austria by Germany he had become a German citizen. Together with thousands of prisoners, he was sent to British India, but the ship was by mistake torpedoed and Von Zach died at sea in 1942 (Alfred Forke, "Erwin Ritter von Zach in memoriam," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 97 (1943), 1-15).

[328] Von Zach, "Notes and Queries," *The China Review* 23-4 (1898–1899), 229-31 (with similar criticism of Kühnert, his other teacher), 23-5, pp. 293-5.

[329] Schlegel's response is in a letter to the editors published in *The China Review* 23-6 (1898–1899), 361.

[330] Two pamphlets by von Zach: *Einige Worte zu Prof. Gustav Schlegel's "La loi du parallélisme en style Chinois,"* (Peking 1902) (7 p.); *Weitere Beiträge zur richtigen Wuerdigung Prof. Schlegel's* (Peking 1902) (13 p.). *Also* "Schlegeliana" in his thesis: *Lexicographische Beiträge* (Peking 1902), 76-81.

[331] Paul Pelliot denounced Von Zach's sarcasm, but conceded that some of Schlegel's translations were non-sensical (BEFEO 2 (1902) p. 409, quoted by Führer, *Vergessen*, 160). In 1929 Pelliot decided that Von Zach should be banned from the pages of *T'oung Pao* because of his rudeness (*T'oung Pao* 26 (1929), 378).

[332] Report by Schlegel dated 1 July 1902, letter by De Groot dated 8 July 1902. 1901–1902, inv. 1559, AC3, Special Collections, Leiden University Library. Schlegel was stricken with blindness in his left eye in 1899 and now also in his right eye.

[333] "… een eigenaardige man." Marinus Willem de Visser (1875–1930) first studied classical languages and obtained his doctorate in Leiden. He studied Chinese with De Groot in 1902–4, and subsequently worked as Japanese (student-)interpreter at the Dutch Legation in Japan in 1904–9. In 1917 he was made Professor of Japanese in Leiden. Obituaries by J.J.L. Duyvendak: "Levensbericht van Marinus Willem de Visser," *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1931), 164-73, 165) and in *T'oung Pao* 27 (1930), 451-4.

## *Notes to Chapter Ten*

[1] The name was formerly pronounced in Mandarin as Gŭlàngxù, and spelled Koolangsu. The last character 嶼 used to be pronounced *xù*, but is now pronounced *yŭ*, according to the phonetic. In Hokkien the name is Kó͘ lōng sū, spelled Kolongsu.

[2] In this booklet (38 p.) no author is mentioned, but a note at the end makes clear that

it was compiled by Giles. Herbert Allen Giles (1845–1932) worked with the British consular service in various posts in China in 1867–92. From 1896 to 1932 he was professor of Chinese in Cambridge. He is famous for his *A Chinese–English Dictionary* (1892, second edition 1912) and many other sinological works. He also compiled a simple *Handbook of the Swatow Dialect* (1877).

[3] Giles, *A Short History of Koolangsu*, 15, 18, 26, 32-8. Van der Spek called him 'second consul' (*Diary*, 8 March 1880).

[4] Great Northern Telegraph Company 大北電報公司, established in 1869 and operating from 1874 (Hong Buren, *Old Photos of Xiamen*, 84).

[5] Van der Spek, "Brieven uit China," no. VIII, written 11 October 1879, published 21 January 1880; and *Diary*, 3 March 1879.

[6] Dates from De Groot, *Notizen*, 8, 10.

[7] Carl Junius (August) Pasedag was born on 1 May 1828 in Grimmen, Pommern, Prussia (*Dienststaat*, dated 13 August 1878, end of inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93).

[8] Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, August 1917, in inv. 1329, toegang 2.05.38, Nationaal Archief. Previously there had only been Vice-Consuls. When Pasedag was absent, the German Consul C. Bismarck or Pasedag's clerk August Piehl would serve as acting Netherlands Consul.

[9] Inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.

[10] The students had also requested (19 February 1877) restitution of the transport fees for overweight luggage in the train from Paris to Marseille, but this was refused. Letter from Director of Justice Buijn in Batavia to Pasedag, dated 9 May 1877, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.

[11] In Mandarin Zhao Shaoxun. Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 February 1879. Borel wrote his name as 趙小勳 (*Zhao Xiaoxun*, Letter to Van Eeden no. XXVII, 22 June 1893, p. 1, fiche 864, Amsterdam University Library).

[12] Borel, "De eerstgeborene," 32.

[13] Borel spelled his name Tio Siao Hoen in "De eerstgeborene," in *Van leven en dood* (p. 30).

[14] In his manuscript *Tuibeitu chen* 推背圖讖, Schlegel, *Catalogue* (1866) no. 137b, now SINOL. VGK 1741.17.

[15] In J. Hoffmann and H. Schultes, *Inlandsche namen eener reeks van Japansche en Chinesche planten*, KITLV.

[16] Schlegel, *Supplément au Catalogue des livres chinois qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque de l'université de Leide*.

[17] This small manuscript catalogue (10 cm) was simply named *Shumu* 書目 (Bibliography), "personally compiled by Hoetink" (Futing shouding 富亭手訂), [1877], SINOL. VGK 9598.8.

[18] These were in part donated in 1907, and some have a sticker "Schenking (Donation) B. Hoetink 1907." Many of these books must have been bought during Hoetink's later visits to China. His Western language books were donated to the Athenaeum Library in his birthplace Deventer. Some other books and manuscripts were donated to the KITLV.

[19] These names appear in Van der Spek's *Diary*: for references *see* section on Van der Spek below.

[20] Ludwig Anders Andersen was officially a German from Apenrade in Northern Sleswick (letter from Pasedag 15 January 1877, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93), which had been ceded by Denmark to Germany after the war of 1864. But by birth he was Danish. This region would be returned to Denmark after a plebiscite in 1920.

[21] "Kanselier bij het Consulaat der Nederlanden te Amoy en Griffier bij den Consulairen Rechter." All correspondence and the letter from Pasedag to Ferguson dated 10 April 1877 are in inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93. The Consular Jurisdiction was organised according to the law of 25 July 1871 (*Staatsblad* 91). Its jurisdiction was in Amoy, Foochow (Fuzhou), Swatow and the open harbours on Formosa.

[22] Ferguson's decision of 15 December 1877; the receipt of this decision was confirmed by signature by the other two members, but not by De Groot (inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93).

[23] Ferguson's decision of 19 March 1878 appointing Pasedag's 'mercantile assistants' August Piehl (23) as third assessor and Wilhelm Haalcke (22) as clerk and bailiff. Ferguson added: "J.J.M. de Groot's resignation is accepted and I have already, at his request, sent him a Resolution by which he is relieved of his function." (inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93).

[24] Probably Hoetink's Chinese friend told him: "Hoetink spoke Chinese very well, De Groot spoke it badly but he studied a lot, and Stuart was the Don Juan." (*Hoet.[Hoetink] sprak zeer goed Chineesch, de Gr. [de Groot] slecht maar studeerde veel en Stu [Stuart] was de Don Juan.*) Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 March 1879.

[25] "Dit jaar wordt hoofdzakelijk doorgebracht met het bijeenverzamelen van gegevens omtrent de geregeld terugkomende jaarfeesten der Emoy-Chineezen, welker viering ik, zooveel doenlijk, trouw in de stad ga bijwonen en gadeslaan." De Groot, *Notizen*, 8.

[26] In any case, he was one of De Groot's informants during his second stay in Amoy in 1886–9. Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, No. XXXIV, 16 May 1893, p. 20, fiche 864.

[27] De Groot, *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezen* (1881–1883), Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap, 42 (1882). Revised French translation: *Les Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui (Amoy): étude concernant la religion populaire des chinois* (1886).

[28] "Doorreis ook het stroomgebied van de Pak-khe, en dat van de Min vanaf hare zuidwestelijkste bronnen tot aan de hoofdstad Fuhchow, waar ik voor het eerst het Koe-sjan klooster bezoek, hetwelk mij gedurende mijn tweede verblijf in China zooveel dienst zou verleenen bij het bestudeeren van het Boeddhistische kloosterwezen. Verder doortrok ik het gebied van de zuidelijke nevenrivier der Min, alsmede dat van de Tsin-kiang, met het departement Tsuen-tsjoe." De Groot, *Notizen*, 8. The "Southern parallel river" of the Min and the Pak-khe (Beixi) could not be exactly identified.

[29] He used the plural first person form 'we,' but this could at the time also designate the singular form 'I.'

[30] "Op onze reizen door de provincie Fohkjen namen wij elken avond als het ons goeddacht zonder plichtplegingen den dorpstempel in beslag om er ons nachtverblijf te vestigen; want herbergen zijn niet overal aanwezig, en waar zij zijn doet men best ze te vermijden zooveel men kan, uithoofde van het vuil en het ongedierte. Wij spreidden onze matten op de offertafel uit, rolden ons in onze deken en sliepen als op een praalbed vlak onder het oog der goden en godinnen. Het toegestroomde volk sloeg natuurlijk al onze bewegingen met de grootste nieuwgierigheid en aandacht gade, maar niemand dacht er ooit aan ons ons nachtverblijf te betwisten, of ons de schending van het altaar kwalijk te nemen; integendeel: wij ondervonden in elk dorp eene hooge mate van voorkomendheid en hulpbetoon, al werden wij door de meerderheid stellig voor niets beters aangezien dan voor doelloze landloopers. Een honderd cash (± 25 cents), elken morgen vóór ons vertrek neergelegd in den aschpot: zoo het heette als geld voor wierook en offerkaarsen, doch in werkelijkheid als fooi voor den tempelbewaarder, dienden om een goeden indruk achter te laten en een dergelijke goede ontvangst te bereiden voor mogelijke opvolgers. Een Chinees die in Europa het platte land bereist, en het eens beproeven mocht zijn vermoeide leden uit te strekken op het altaar van de dorpskerk, zou een geheel andere behandeling ondervinden!" De Groot, *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken*, 43.

[31] "Mijn dagboek omtrent dat gansche jaar van zware inspanning, arbeid en levensgevaar heb ik vernietigd, nadat ik er alles wat ik wetenschappelijk zou kunnen benuttigen had uitgenomen. Wat toch hebben wereld en wetenschap aan al die bijzonderheden die, wel beschouwd, mij alleen maar raken? Reisbeschrijvingen te lezen heb ik altijd een vervelend werk gevonden, en het zou dus onbehoorlijk van mij wezen er te schrijven, en dus andern te slikken te geven wat ik zelf niet lust [added between the lines:] voor te zetten wat mijzelf niet smaakt. Die dingen dienen dan ook in den regel eenig en alleen om de schrijvers zelf, en hunne avonturen, interessant te maken. Gelukkig heb ik dan ook steeds weerstand weten te bieden aan de aanzoeken van tal van uitgevers en dagbladredacties, om voor hunne drukkerijen reisverhalen te leveren." De Groot, *Notizen*, 8.

[32] "Wat heeft Schlegel ons weer een slechten dienst bewezen door de Regeering te doen bepalen, dat wij slechts één jaar in China mogen blijven! Niet eens ons den tijd gegund om dáár weer goed te maken wat de door-en-door slechte opleiding te Leiden bedorven heeft! … in China, waar de gelegenheid om kundigheden op te doen, zoo onvergelijkelijk schooner en gunstiger was, werd ons slechts een minimum aan tijd met mondjesmaat toegemeten." De Groot, *Notizen*, 8.

[33] Groeneveldt as Vice-President of the Council of the Indies, in advice no. XXIII, 7 July 1893, in V 12/9/1893 no. 40, inv. 4739.

[34] "Hoetink sprak zeer goed Chineesch." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 March 1879.
[35] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 3 March 1879.
[36] All these names are known from Van der Spek's *Diary*; for references *see* section on Van der Spek below.
[37] V 20/11/1876 no. 18/2623 inv. 2923.
[38] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 April and 18 September 1879.
[39] Pasedag received Hoetink's letter on 18 November and wrote to Buijn in Batavia on 19 November. Inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.
[40] The students of the second group would write a similar collective letter from Zhangzhou (*see* below).
[41] "Stuart was de Don Juan." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 March 1879.
[42] De Groot, *Notizen*, 10. The students probably travelled together.
[43] *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 18 March 1878. Hoetink perhaps took partly a different route since he paid a lower price for the passage to Java. De Groot and Stuart both received an advance payment of $427 for travel to Batavia, while Hoetink received $394. Letter from Pasedag to Director of Justice Buijn in Batavia, 20 February 1878, inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.
[44] Groeneveldt computed the number of interpreters needed quite differently from Schlegel! In 1875 Schlegel considered that there were ten prescribed positions (*nota* 15 March 1875). In 1891 as many as fourteen interpreters were needed, according to him (2 November 1891, in V 19/11/1891 no. 12/2212 inv. 4520).
[45] Report of Groeneveldt in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. *See* Chapter Eight, Schlegel's Students in Leiden (1873–1878), section "A Sudden Anti-climax: a Moratorium in the Training Course."
[46] IB 13/4/1878 no. 7, inv. 7699.
[47] "Hoetink schrijft dat er verandering bij het tolkencorps op til is en wij dus misschien geen tolk zullen worden." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 18 May 1879. Van der Spek received Hoetink's letter on that day.
[48] Now in Or. 26.922.
[49] Fourteen "Brieven uit China" (numbered I-X and XIII-XVI), dated from 17 August 1879 to 20 February 1880, were published in *Het Nieuws van den dag: kleine courant* (Amsterdam) from 11 October 1879 to 5 August 1880. Moll or De Jongh also published letters, one of which was quoted in *De Locomotief* of 30 December 1879. This letter had earlier been published in the weekly *Het Nieuws*, probably *Het Nieuws: week- en advertentieblad voor stad en land* from Utrecht. Since only one or two issues of this weekly from this period could be located in Dutch libraries, this could not be verified. Some information about Van der Spek's studies can also be found in his many articles published in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* in 1881–3.
[50] Request of 17 March 1879. Expenses for overweight luggage in France were again not restituted. Letter from Director of Justice Buijn to Pasedag dated 9 May 1879, inv. 3, toegang 2.05.95.
[51] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 3 and 6 March 1879.
[52] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 8 April 1879. The house can be seen on illustration 16.
[53] They immediately engaged Hoetink's 'sampanman' Ts'un-tsuí and their (house) 'coolie' Íng-ŏng *Yongwang* 永旺. They could not hire Hoetink's 'boy' P'iao, since he had become a servant of Pasedag, who did not wish to let him go (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 February, 1 March, 3 March 1879). The other names are from the back of the photograph.
[54] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 18 April, 30 April, 4 May, 1 December 1879. De Jongh "chartered" his maid for $20, which was a rather high salary. Van der Spek wrote on 4 May: "In the evening my girlie comes," but the status of this girl is unclear.
[55] Van der Spek, "Letters from China" no. V, written 13 September 1879, published 11 December 1879.
[56] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 31 March 1879. "Letters from China" no. IV, written 7 September 1879, published 3 December 1879. They also took along cushions and blankets.
[57] Van der Spek, "Letters from China" no. VII, on food, written 28 September 1879, published 16 January 1880.
[58] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 8 March 1879.

[59] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 17 March, 18 November 1879. John Van Nest Talmage (1819–92) worked as a missionary for the Dutch Reformed Church of America in Amoy in 1847–89. Together with E. Doty he developed the so-called Church Romanisation for the Amoy dialect. He published a manual for the Amoy dialect in 1852, Amoy dictionaries and translations of parts of the Bible. Surprisingly, to my knowledge he and his works were never mentioned by Schlegel or other Dutch sinologists.

[60] Tiō-lák-siā 趙六舍 would be in Mandarin *Zhao Liuye* 趙六爺 (Sixth Master Zhao). Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 February 1879.

[61] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 2 October 1879.

[62] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 16 March 1879. Fan cannot be the transcription of a name in Hokkien; it should probably be Hoan; perhaps Fan had lived in Guangdong before and adopted this spelling. These three teachers appear on the group photograph.

[63] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 17 November 1879.

[64] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 5 March. Van der Spek's copy is in KNAG 191. Next to Van der Spek's Chinese name, it has the text: 光緒乙卯花月上浣日訂 (bound in the first ten days of the flower [second] month of the year Guangxu *yimao* [1879], that is, between 21 February and 2 March 1879) and the seal 坐花醉月 ('sitting before the flowers, drunken with the moon,' after a poem by Li Bai).

[65] Nanjing is to the west of Zhangzhou. Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9 December 1879.

[66] The red ink was perhaps seal ink. Van der Spek, *Diary*, 15 March.

[67] "Vindt men zoo iets veel bij Hollanders?" Van der Spek, *Diary*, 11 March.

[68] Translation by Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 53 (Mandarin *Bo* has been changed to Hokkien *Péh*). Legge's translation is: "My noble husband is how martial like! / The hero of the country!" (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, "The She King," 105). The title of this song is "Bo xi," which is the first name of Van der Spek (Xue Bo).

[69] "Mijn naam is 薛伯, en mijn 字 is 邦傑 want 詩經云伯兮絜兮邦之傑也. / Moll's naam is 武珀, en zijn 字 is … / De Jongh's naam is 楊亞理 zijn 字 is …" (free translation after Van der Spek, *Diary*, note before 28 February 1879. These names should be pronounced in Hokkien. In Mandarin their names would be pronounced *Xue Bo*, *Wu Po,* and *Yang Yali*. Van der Spek did not mention the other students' styles; perhaps they did not have them. Perhaps Moll had the formerly common Dutch nickname 'Pik.'

[70] "Tenth Miss Du," full title: "Du Shiniang nu chen baibaoxiang" 杜十娘怒沉百寶箱 from *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀.

[71] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 11 March 1879. "The Oil Vender," full title: "Maiyou lang du zhan huakui," 賣油郎獨佔花魁. Translated and published with Chinese text by Schlegel as *Le vendeur-d'huile* in 1877.

[72] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 15 March 1879. Full title: "Nü xiucai yihua jiemu," 女秀才移花接木, "The female graduate plays a deceitful trick."

[73] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 March 1879.

[74] Literally *Precious Mirror for Clearing the Heart*. This is an elementary moral textbook combining Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, written by Fan Liben 範立本 about the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644).

[75] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 19 April 1879. Full title: *Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義. He had a copy of this book (KNAG 187).

[76] "Het is al vrij warm en ik heb niet bijster veel lust tot studie." (20 May). "Verder is elken dag evenals den vorigen. Weinig werken, maar me toch niet vervelen." (19 June).

[77] "Tiō beweert dat de Europeesche vrouwen k'ah kuì ([*jiao gui* 較]貴) zijn dan de mannen (want de mannen zijn altijd zoo uiterst hoffelijk en onderdanig)." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 27 March 1879.

[78] "Ong vertelt me dat de zendelingen de oogen der gestorven bekeerlingen uitsteken en sturen naar den iâ-so͘-ông [*Yesu wang* 耶穌王, 'King Jezus'] om een pluimpje te halen. Bovendien kan hij zich niet begrijpen dat wij proselieten trachten te maken terwijl het hen niets schelen kan; de Chineezen zijn uiterst boos op hen die tot den iâ-so͘-kaò [*Yesujiao* 耶穌教, 'Jesus' teachings, (Protestant) Christianity'] overloopen." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 28 April 1879.

[79] "De meesters zijn zoo schrikkelijk dom, dat Fan-sing meent dat Holland ver van China maar dicht bij Japan ligt enz." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 16 March 1879.

[80] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9 April 1879. An extensive description is in his letter from China no. III, written 31 August 1879, published 15 November 1879. A shorter description by Moll or De Jongh was reprinted in *De Locomotief* of 30 December 1879.

[81] "Ik feliciteer u. Uwe eerbiedwaardige echtgenoote is mooi en verstandig. De meester is boven de wolken dat zijn leerling toont reeds voor een goed deel verchineescht te zijn, en antwoordt: Khi kaam, mijn dom binnenvertrek (d.i. vrouw) is lelijk en dom; bovendien zijn hare gebonden voetjes zeer groot. Wij: Gij zijt te nederig, hare gouden leliën (poëtische naam voor kleine voetjes) zijn klein, slechts 2 duim lang. Dit zeggende, nemen we nogmaals die lichaamsdeelen in oogenschouw, wat in China niet kwalijk genomen wordt. Deze interessante en beleefde woordenwisseling duurt een kwartiertje en loopt over de groote zaal (kleine kamer), het prachtige (onooglijke) bed enz. Ik zal die woorden niet herhalen, uit vrees dat ze door den 'roodharigen barbaar' niet genoeg gewaardeerd zullen worden." Letter no. III, written 31 August 1879, published 15 November 1879. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch, and later the British, had been called 'Red-Haired Barbarians.'

[82] "Naar Ong-king tong, tsiáh p'ó̱ tō̱ [食普度]. Eerst thuis gegeten; Moll eet er nog eens gewoon op los. phó̱ tō̱ kong put tsí toā sien [普度公不止大仙], erg kout en komedie waarbij ook vele vrouwen zitten te kijken." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 5 September 1879.

[83] De Groot, *Jaarlijksche feesten*, described this festival (pp. 333-45). Borel described it in "De Chineesche Hel" (end of part I), in *Kwan Yin* (1897). However, it is not known what Van der Spek wrote in his letters to his family and others.

[84] Listed in Kuiper, *The KNAG Collection* (also in Chinese Special Collections, East Asian Library blog, Leiden).

[85] These books can be easily recognised by their Western hard-cover binding and the donation sticker inside. On some books his Chinese name is written. Now 26 of his books have been identified.

[86] Letter no. VIII, written 11 October 1879, published 21 January 1880.

[87] Van der Spek, "Letters from China," No. IX, written 19 October 1879, published 24 January 1880.

[88] "Dit was de eerste maal dat we in de stad gingen. Iemand, die nooit eene Chineesche plaats gezien heeft, kan er zich ternauwernood eene flauwe voorstelling van vormen. En het stadje Amoy is, volgens veler getuigenissen, plus Chinois que Chinois; d.w.z. dat het in nauwheid, morsigheid en onbeschrijflijke geuren bovenaan staat in de lijst der vuile en benauwde steden van waarschijnlijk het onzindelijkste volk der aarde. In de breedste straten kunnen hoogstens vier à vijf personen naast elkander staan, in de vooronderstelling, dat zij niet te breede schouders hebben. En ontmoet men elkander in een steegje, waarvan Amoy ruim voorzien is, dan moeten beiden zich met den rug tegen den muur drukken en zoo voorbij elkander schuiven. Voegt men hierbij, dat honden en varkens in menigte op straat loopen, zoodat men somtijds genoodzaakt is, zich met behulp van een stok een doortocht te banen; dat de reukzenuwen op eene allerzwaarste proef worden gesteld; dat men elk oogenblik gevaar loopt in botsing te komen met nooit gewasschen en walgelijk riekende koelies; dat hier en daar bedelaarsgezichten, akelig misvormd door melaatsheid en andere ziekten, u aangrijnzen; en wat al niet meer! dan is het licht te begrijpen, dat men zich driemaal bedenkt, alvorens eene tweede maal in Amoy te gaan wandelen." Van der Spek, Letter no. II, written on 23 August 1879, published on 31 October 1879. A similar description is in his "Bedelaars in huis," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 8 January 1883.

[89] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 12 March 1879. Description of this opera in "Letters from China," No. II, written 23 August, published 31 October 1879.

[90] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 24 March 1879. It must have been issued by the Consul. Later the Consulate in Swatow had a large printing block for such passports (printed copies, one dated 1902, in inv. 20, toegang 2.05.27.01).

[91] Van der Spek, Letter no. VI (written 21 September 1879, published 1 January 1880) and *Diary*, 2 April 1879.

[92] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 25 June – 12 July 1879, "Letters from China" Nos. XIII-XVI, written in Zhangzhou, published 29 March, 5 April, 17 May, 5 August 1880. "Een uitstapje in Formosa," Feuilleton, *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 May 1882.

[93] "Voor de grap spraken we Hollandsch en stoorden er ons niet aan dat de Chineezen

antwoordden: thia˜ boē hiaó tit [聽未曉得] (ik versta u niet, woordelijk 'luisteren, niet verstaan verkrijgen')." This sentence is from Van der Spek's *Diary* of 2 July 1879.

[94] "Onderweg rustten we een paar keeren uit. Wij gingen een Chineesch huis binnen en namen den schijn aan, alsof we geen woord Chineesch spreken of verstaan konden, waarover de lui zich natuurlijk niet verwonderden. Wij werden op thee onthaald en hielden met den gastheer een soort gesprek in gebaren-taal. Zooals in alle Chineesche huizen hingen ook hier aan den wand eenige rollen papier, beschreven met spreuken; evenals bij ons bijbelteksten aan de spoorwegstations. Eensklaps vangen we aan die spreuken hardop te lezen, en nu hadt ge de verbazing der omstaande Chineezen moeten zien! Als ik zeg dat ze ons stonden aan te gapen, zeg ik niets; want de lippen van een Chineesch zijn steeds op een eerbiedigen afstand van elkander, behalve wanneer hij een woord uitspreekt, waarin eene *m*, *b* of *p* voorkomt. (Andere lipletters bestaan niet in de Amoy-taal). Om kort te gaan, zij stootten een langgerekt hee! uit en hun gelaat verkreeg eene uitdrukking alsof zij hunne eigen ooren wantrouwden." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. XIV, written 10 January 1880, published 5 April 1880.

[95] *Haifang tongzhi* 海防同知 is the Coastal Defence Sub-Prefect, a sort of Chief of Police.

[96] "De heeren agenten werden boos en vroegen of wij ons niet schaamden. Beschaamd is een groot woord bij de Chineezen. Wij antwoordden: Beschaamd? Zijn jelui niet beschaamd, dat je om een cumshaw durft vragen? Wij zijn niet als de Chineezen, die zich laten plukken en villen door dienders; maar wij zijn goede onderdanen van het groote Hollandsche Rijk en volgen de wetten en gebruiken van ons land. Als jelui het nog eens waagt iets te vragen, dan zal ik het overbrengen aan mijn ouderen broeder, den hai fung, die je wel wat rottingolie zal laten toedienen. Zij dropen af, en de kapitein kwam weer terug." Van der Spek, "Letters from China," No. VIII, written 11 October 1879, published 21 January 1880. *Also* Van der Spek, *Diary,* 19 September 1879.

[97] For instance T'ien-k'it is most often spelled Thien-khit.

[98] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Linguistic Problems."

[99] "Letters from China" No. V, dated 13 September, published 11 December 1879.

[100] "Ik durf er mijn geringen kennis van het Chineesch (het is niet veel, maar behalve dat heb ik bitter weinig) op te verwedden …" "Letters from China" No. III, dated 31 August, published 15 November 1879.

[101] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 3 December 1879.

[102] Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. XVI, written 20 February, published 5 August 1880. The only conversations he seemed to have enjoyed were with a certain Bé̤ hia˜ 馬兄 (*Ma xiong*, 'elder brother Ma'), a Muslim in Zhangzhou (*Diary*, 4, 5 and 11 December 1879).

[103] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9 July 1879. "Letters from China" No. III, dated 31 August 1879, published 15 November 1879.

[104] "Inderdaad, men moet medelijden hebben met die slechtgevoede Chineezen, die een biefstuk etenden Europeaan voort moeten torsen, dikwijls terwijl de zon op hun ¾ naakte lichamen brandt. Indien zulke lieden tot communistische ideën overhelden, zou het licht te verklaren zijn. Het is waar, zij worden niet gedwongen hunnen evenmensch tot lastdier te dienen—dan door den honger; zij doen genoeg hun best om een «vrachtje» van menschenvleesch te krijgen en een paar onnoozele centen te verdienen: maar ik vind het geen arbeid voor een mensch. In het binnenland evenwel moet men er gebruik van maken, als men iets zien wil, en niet eenige zonnesteken, wil oploopen. Dat ook in de havensteden de gemakzieke vreemdelingen, zelfs voor belachelijk kleine afstanden, zich in een 'sedan' laten vervoeren is bespottelijk, neen ergerlijk." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. VI, written 21 September 1879, published 1 January 1880. He added that the days of the sedan chair were ending since they were being replaced by the Japanese rickshas.

[105] "Na weer een uur bereikten we, een dorp, en wij stapten uit om den dragers eenige rust te geven. Wij zagen ons dra omringd door een aantal landlieden. 't Was een lust hunne kinderlijke opgeruimdheid en nieuwsgierigheid waar te nemen. Onze sigaren, lorgnons, veldflesschen, alles maakte hunne verwondering gaande en verschillende vragen werden ons gedaan. … Veel ondervinding heb ik er niet van, maar ik heb meer op met de vlijtige, vroolijke, natuurlijke Chineesche landlieden, dan met de gekunstelde, eigenwijze, pedante

geleerden onder dit volk." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. VI, written 21 September 1879, published 1 January 1880.

[106] "Wat hebben zij van ons gehoord en gezien? Zij hebben weinig meer van ons gehoord dan kanonnen en geestelijken, die bijna even hard bulderen; en niet veel meer gezien dan hooghartige Engelsche kooplui, die het grooter zonde achten 's Zaterdagsavonds na twaalven gezellig een glaasje te drinken, dan John Chinaman als een hond te behandelen." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. I, written 17 August 1879, published 11 October 1879.

[107] "Op iemand, die vriendelijk is jegens John Chinaman, en zijne taal spreekt, is John echter niet zo erg gebeten. … Mijne twee Hollandsche vrienden en ik die hier zijn om onze studiën in het Amoy-Chineesch te voltooien en geen enkele reden zien om iemand met scheeve oogen en eenen staart als een beest te trappen, hebben meer dan eens, zooal geene vriendschap, dan toch welwillenheid en gastvrijheid van hen ontvangen." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. I, written 17 August 1879, published 11 October 1879.

[108] "Met zulke diep ingewortelde vooroordeelen wordt door vreemdelingen veel te weinig rekening gehouden." Van der Spek, "Letters from China" No. IV, written 31 August 1879, published 3 December 1879. *See also* his "Foeng-shoei," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 2 and 3 May 1882.

[109] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 2 September 1879.

[110] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 2-3, 29-31 October, 1, 13 and 17 November.

[111] Letter by the three 'Chinese Student Interpreters to H[is] N[etherlands] M[ajesty]'s Colonial Government' to Pasedag, dated Amoy 24 November 1879, in inv. 3, toegang 2.05.93.

[112] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 2 and 4 December 1879.

[113] Sir Patrick Manson (1844–1922) was styled "the father of tropical medicine."

[114] Five calling cards are still extant: Wei Feng 魏峰, Zheng Duiyang 鄭對揚, Li Zhuozhen 李卓真, Bashisi 八十四 (a Manchu official in Zhangzhou), Santai hao 三泰號 (a commercial company in Zhangzhou). Now kept in Van der Spek's *Diary*, Or. 26.922.

[115] "'s Morgens wandeling en gaan ook bij Tshien-lai[.] loopen van ½ 7 tot 9 in en buiten de stad. Changchow ligt in een kring van bergen, dichter of verder; dichtst bij heuvels zware kleigrond. Uit mijn raam zie ik vrij hooge bergen. Huis 10,5 meter lang, 5 meter breed met verandah 5,80 meter. / 's Middags komen een stuk of 8 gasten, enkele vrienden van Hoet. anderen van de meesters, meest toā k'angs [大空]. Eén ervan is Mohammedaan[,] een vrij interessante kerel. Na veel praten, waarbij we de meeste lui goed kunnen verstaan, gaan we wandelen met die snuiters. o.a. naar een tuin; klein maar mooi. Boomen, bloemen, twee trappen naar een kunstmatige rots, bruggetje etc. Een ngó̍ im tsióh." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 4 December 1879. A *Wuyinshi* [五音石] is a rectangular stone which gives five different sounds when struck on the four corners and the centre.

[116] "Morgenwandeling. 's Morgens 2 bú-koa˝'s [武官] komen ons opzoeken. Sigaar presenteeren en na een tien trekjes wil hij hem zijn buurman laten rooken. Ze krijgen wat slechte roode wijn, waarvan ze een klein hapje nemen en wij volvoeren een plan om alle ge ɛ˝m tíh'de [唔挃] wijn in een flesch te bewaren en voortaan weer te presenteeren." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 10 December 1879. Dutch etiquette requires the emptying of one's glass, while Chinese etiquette requires the opposite.

[117] Some Manchus had names consisting of numbers only, such as Bashisi, literally 'eighty-four.' He was at some time *Haifang tongzhi* 海防同知 (Coastal Defence Sub-Prefect, a sort of Chief of Police) of Amoy. He is still remembered in Amoy for having planted trees along a road (Ba Gong shu 八公樹) (Hong Buren, *Old Photos of Xiamen*, 31).

[118] "'s Middags visite bij pat síp sù [*Bashisi* 八十四], in vier chairs met de boy. Hij staat bij de deur en wij groeten, gaan zitten en groeten, terwijl de boy zijn lichaam naar rechts en links laat zwenken, krijgen thee. 100 klabakken etc. om ons heen. boy tolk koa˝-oā [官話]–Engelsch. Oprijzen buiging, bij de deur dito, op het punt om in de chair te stappen dito. Visite bij Schlegel's meester." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 10 December 1879.

[119] Letter to Pasedag of 3 December 1879, inv. 3, toegang 2.05.93. Pasedag forwarded the letter to Buijn the next day. This letter is similar to Hoetink's letter from Zhangzhou.

[120] "Niets bijzonders, wandelen, in een p'aí˝ kiá˝ king [否囝間], waar ik de piaó [婊] op mijn k'a t'aô u [骰頭趺] neem en door haar ts'iú uí˝ [手捥] de lí ling [女奶] en tsi mô˝ [之毛] betast. Moll rookt opium." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 15 December 1879.

[121] "Nu begin ik sommige Chineesche mopjes vrij aardig te vinden; in 't begin vond ik ze onuitstaanbaar." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 17 December 1879.

[122] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 19 and 21 December 1879. Zealous missionaries would sometimes demolish 'idols' in temples, leading to uproar.

[123] "Ik heb verschrikkelijk het land aan alle Chineesch and Chineezen." (9 December) Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9, 23 and 25 December 1879.

[124] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 18 February 1880. They were visited by four friends.

[125] Later he wrote an article about Chinese New Year, but without explicit reference to his experiences in China, "Chineesch Nieuwjaar," 20 February 1882, *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*.

[126] "Wij leven nu bijna drie maanden in Chang-chow-foo, geheel en al afgezonderd van andere Europeanen. Een goed middel om den Chineeschen volksaard te leeren kennen, dat stem ik toe, maar verder.... "o, eenzaamheid, waar zijn de bekoorlijkheden, die wijzen in uw gelaat bespeurd hebben?" Men stoort zich weinig meer aan het bulderen en tieren van dien *mare magnum*, de wereld daar buiten; men wordt onverschillig omtrent *the bright tumuli* van het beschaafde leven, men verkeert in een toestand van eenzame opsluiting, men vegeteert, men is levend dood. Langzaam kruipen de dagen voort. Wanneer de mail aankomt, valt men op zijne brieven aan en leest ze nog eens en nog eens, twee, drie dagen lang, en daarna eet men, drinkt men, slaapt men, wandelt men langs denzelfden bekenden weg, ziet men dezelfde bekende, vervelende dingen en wordt men stom als een standbeeld, bij gebrek aan stof om over te praten." Letter XVI, written 20 February, published 5 August 1880.

[127] There were hardly any festivities. Van der Spek, "Het Chineesche lantaarnfeest," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 4 March 1882.

[128] "Adieu canaux, canards, canaille [literally: Goodbye canals, ducks, canaille; later added:] of liever au diable [literally: to the devil]. De grachten (weinig en smal stinken als de hel); eenden eet geen vreemdeling vanwege de [blank space] der Chineezen; canaille no question about that." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 25 February 1880.

[129] On 15 February 1880 they had requested Pasedag to pay for them the passage to the Indies of themselves and their teachers, inv. 3, toegang 2.05.93. That of the teacher had been granted in IB 7/1/1880 no. 16 (inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93). Van der Spek's contract with his teacher was finished on 28 February (*Diary*).

[130] "Wij komen in het Javahotel verzeild bij moeder en bemerken gauw dat het een minder fijne boel is, allen officieren, die in het bijzijn van dames zelfs niet nalaten te vloeken etc." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 27 March 1880. The Grand Hotel Java (1834–1940s) was one of the three large hotels in the centre of Batavia. The officers had probably fought in the Atjeh war.

[131] On 29 March, 14, 15, 28, 30 April and 1 May 1880 he met Groeneveldt, on 30 March and 16 April Albrecht, on 30 March and 21 April Von Faber, on 6, 7 and 21 April Roelofs, and on 25 and 28 April and 5 May De Groot (Van der Spek, *Diary*).

[132] "Weet je wat Schlegel had moeten worden, Kwakzalver[,] dan was hij wereldberoemd geworden." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 30 March 1880. De Jongh heard it on a private visit to Groeneveldt, but it is without context.

[133] "Groeneveldt's opinie over Schlegel's vertalingen zoo zoo. … Geeft me half den raad, bij gelegenheid den tolkendienst vaarwel te zeggen." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 29 March 1880.

[134] "De J. bij Pannenkoek, den algemeenen secretaris, die hem aanraadt niet dadelijk het tolkschap vaarwel te zeggen maar te wachten en uit te kijken." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 13 April 1880. J.H. Pannekoek was Government Secretary from 9 August 1879. He became a member of the Council of the Indies on 4 March 1884.

[135] IB 26/4/1880 no. 24, inv. 7748. The statutory (*organiek*) positions were all occupied.

[136] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 9-14 May 1880.

[137] Letter in English by Feindel to Ferguson, Amoy 13 June 1892, and from the Consul General in Singapore to Ferguson, 6 July 1892, inv. 1328, toegang 2.05.38. German career Consuls would be acting from 1892 until 9 June 1897, when the German merchant August Piehl again became Consul. Piehl had earlier been Consul of the Netherlands from 26 November 1884 to 29 July 1890. Letter from Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 8 August 1917, in inv. 1329, toegang 2.05.38.

[138] Letter in English dated 11 October 1892, I.S. [Ingekomen Stukken (incoming letters)] 293, in inv. 5, toegang 2.05.93.

[139] Letter from Feindel to the Governor-General dated 10 October 1892, U.S. [Uitgaande Stukken (outgoing letters)] 256, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[140] "zoodat we met onze 125 dollars in de maand nu voor 125 × *f* 1,25 d.i. voor ongeveer *f* 150 in de maand gewoon opgelicht zijn. Het gouvernement is n.l. toch *blijven* betalen in zilver en niet in goud, zoodat we maar de helft hebben van onze voorgangers, daar … alle prijzen gestegen zijn. U begrijpt dat ik met mijn 125 dollars per maand die hier *f* 1,25 waard zijn hoogst bekrompen moet leven en alleen het noodige kan koopen. Het was een heel erge teleurstelling voor ons. We hadden zoo op de beloofde *f* 4.000 's jaars gerekend en het was ons stéllig verzekerd. … Wij zijn echter van plan, ons erdoor heen te werken, en ik denk in kranten te gaan schrijven over China, om wat bij te verdienen want anders *kan* ik niet toekomen. Het is nog maar één jaar, dan heb ik in Indië ruim tractement en evenveel particuliere verdienste." Borel's debt to Van Eeden was *f* 95. Letter to Van Eeden, 15 October 1892, no. XXII, pp. 8-9, fiche 861-862, Special Collections, Amsterdam University Library.

[141] Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-Kak-Sie" te Cheribon* (1920), 20-1.

[142] Draft of $100 and of $184 ($125 for January + 4×$15, minus $1 seal fee for the receipt of the decision of 24/12/1892 no. 39), in U.S. nos. 13 and 30, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[143] Letter from Schlegel to Minister dated 25 January 1893, and letter from Minister to Governor-General in V 28/1/1893 no. 34 inv. 4667.

[144] "… de daling dier munt zou dan niet langer voor hen een gevoelig verlies en voor het Gouvernement een gering voordeel wezen." Letter from Groeneveldt to Governor-General, 29 January 1893, V 30/5/1893 no. 8 inv. 4705.

[145] In 1856 the official value of the Spanish dollar (*Spaansche mat*) in the Indies was determined as *f* 2.50 and that of the Mexican dollar as *f* 2.55 (*Staatsblad van N.I.* 1856 no. 39). The Spanish dollar was no longer mentioned in Netherlands Indies ordinances as from 1873. The (Mexican) dollar was worth *f* 2.50 in 1873; in 1876 it was already devaluated to *f* 2.15 (*Staatsblad van N.I.* no. 184), but in 1877 it was *f* 2.33 on Sumatra (*Staatsblad van N.I.* no. 130). It would have a fluctuating value afterwards (*Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* [1905], Spaansche mat). The first and second groups may therefore also have received a smaller allowance than intended.

[146] On the same day he notified Minister of Colonies Van Dedem that on 24 December 1892 (no. 39) he had already decided to restitute the passage fees and pay the teachers' monthly salary of $15 and also about the new decision. V 30/5/1893 no. 8 inv. 4705.

[147] I.S. nos. 39, 60 and 72, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93.

[148] Letter from Borel to Van Eeden dated 15 May 1893, no. XXVI, p. 1, fiche 863.

[149] Letter of protest dated 2 June, draft letter on I.S. no. 89, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93.

[150] I.S. no. 135, letter from Director of Justice A. Stibbe dated 11 August 1893, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93. This better form of remission was not clear (to me) from the correspondence.

[151] Dr. Franz Grunenwald had been sent from Peking to replace Feindel during his sick leave from 28 March 1893 to 1 January 1894 (U.S. no. 1, 2 January 1894, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93).

[152] Letter from Grunenwald to the Director of Justice, in I.S. 135 inv. 9 toegang 2.05.93, answering a letter from the Director of Justice dated 11 August 1893.

[153] V 12/4/1894 no. 34 inv. 4807.

[154] "Het bevalt mij hier zoo goed, dat ik denkelijk langer denk te blijven dan het bepaalde ééne jaar, en ik eerst in Januari of Februari 1894 (in plaats van October) naar Indië denk te gaan. Op aanvrage wordt verlenging altijd toegestaan." Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, 26 February 1893, no. XXIV, p. 10. Borel also mentioned that he had received an answer from Groeneveldt two days earlier (p. 4).

[155] Letter from Borel to Van Eeden dated 15 May 1893, no. XXVI, p. 1, fiche 863.

[156] Letter of Ezerman and Van Wettum to the Governor-General dated 22 May 1893, and Advice of the Director of Justice, dated 17 June 1893, no. 4450, in Mailrapport no. 728 (1893), fiche no. 2210, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[157] "dat hij niet onvoorwaardelijk zeker is, om indien hem een langer verblijf wordt

toegestaan, …, eenige maanden in de Hakka districten door te brengen, aangezien de mogelijkheid bestaat, dat hij zijne geheele studie zal moeten wijden aan de Amoy en Tsiang-Tsioe dialecten; dat hij zich dus de vrijheid voorbehouden wenscht te zien, om eerst later te beschikken, of het hem wenschelijk voorkomt, tijdelijk naar de Hakka-districten te gaan, al dan niet, en hij, in het geval, dat hij daarheen niet kan gaan, en eventueel later mocht geplaatst worden in eene plaats, waar het Hakka dialect het heerschende is, wenscht gebruik te maken van het voorrecht, dat zijne voorgangers hebben genoten, om in die stad van Nederlandsch-Indië zelve eenige maanden dit Hakka-dialect te bestudeeren" Request by Borel, 5 June 1893, in V 12/9/1893 no. 40 inv. 4739.

[158] "Naar 's Raads Vice-President heeft medegedeeld, is één jaar voor studietijd in China zeer zeker te kort, hoeveel de jongelieden te Leiden mogen geleerd hebben, in de Chineesche spreektaal kunnen zij daar slechts weinig bedreven raken en zij hebben wel een jaar praktische oefening in China noodig, vóórdat zij in staat zijn, zich in die spreektaal enigszins te bewegen. / Eerst daarna zijn zij geschikt om door ongedwongen omgang met Chineezen de eigenaardigheden en de gebruiken van dat volk met vrucht te bestudeeren, en daar zij in Indië vaak geroepen worden daarvan mededeelingen te doen, mag dit deel hunner opleiding niet worden verwaarloosd." Advice of the Council dated 7 July 1893 (no. XXIII), V 12/9/1893 no. 40 inv. 4739.

[159] In China these would amount to 140 × *f* 2.50 = *f* 350 monthly, in the Indies to *f* 300 (salary) + *f* 63,75 (clerk) = *f* 363,75.

[160] V 12/9/1893 no. 40 inv. 4739.

[161] I.S. 143, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93. His decision (IB 15/9/1893 no. 50) was sent by mail (in I.S. 162).

[162] "Bij ijverige studie toch, kunnen de élèves gemakkelijk in vijf jaren hunne studiën voltooien; want dat de opleiding der laatste drie jongelieden iets langer in Nederland geduurd heeft dan die mijner vroegere leerlingen, is geheel aan hunnen eigen schuld te danken, daar zij in den eersten tijd volstrekt niet met denzelfden ijver en ernst gewerkt hebben als hunne voorgangers, en te veel misbruik gemaakt hebben van het vrije studentenleven. Van daar dat zij thans genoodzaakt zijn hunne schade in China in te halen." Letter from Schlegel to Minister dated 20 September 1893, V 9/10/1893 no. 11/2083 inv. 4747.

[163] V 9/10/1893 no. 11/2083 inv. 4747. The decision was published in *Staatsblad van Ned. Indië* 1893, no. 291 (IB 1/12/1893 no. 7).

[164] *Handelingen der Staten-Generaal*, 1888–1889, Bijlage B, no. 39, p. 12 (Voorloopig verslag) and no. 41, p. 32 (Memorie van Antwoord). This question was probably again raised by Cremer.

[165] The text in the minutes mistakenly says: "Royal Decree."

[166] Voorloopig verslag, onderafd. 13, IIde afdeeling, p. 34, Bijlage 2de Kamer bij Begrooting van Ned. Indië 1894, *Handelingen van de beide Kamers der Staten-Generaal 1893–1894*, part 5.

[167] V 31/10/1893 no. 14 inv. 4754.

[168] In his answer in 1884, Minister of Colonies Sprenger van Eijk also spoke of "the dialect of Guangdong" (*het dialect van Kuang-Tung*), but in 1885 he correctly said "the dialects of Guangdong province." *See* Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, sections on J.T. Cremer and J.J.M. de Groot.

[169] 'Canton' is the older transcription based on a local pronunciation, while 'Guangdong' (Kuangtung, Kwangtung) is the Mandarin transcription. *Guangdonghua* 廣東話 (language of Guangdong) is still the common name for 'Cantonese' as a language in Hong Kong, while the more precise *Guangzhouhua* 廣州話 (language of Guangzhou = Canton) is used in Mainland China and in scholarly works in Hong Kong. *Guangfuhua* 廣府話 (language of Guangzhou city) is sometimes used in South East Asia. In the twentieth century, 'Kwangtung' (Guangdong) became the common Western name for the province, while 'Canton' was reserved for the capital.

[170] "De oudere tolken (waartoe ik ook behoorde) hebben zelf dit dialect op last der regeering moeten leeren, met het verdrietig gevolg, dat zij een nutteloozen arbeid verricht en hun' tijd verbeuzeld hadden." Letter from Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies, 1 November 1893, V 4/11/1893 no. 32 inv. 4756. Schlegel also used the spelling "Kuantung."

[171] For instance De Breuk, who had studied Hakka, was stationed in Cirebon on Java.

[172] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies, 1 November 1893, V 4/11/1893 no. 32 inv. 4756.

[173] V 4/11/1893 no. 32 inv. 4756.

[174] Nota of 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. *See* Chapter Eight, Schlegel and His Students in Leiden (1873–1878), section on Schlegel's and Hoffmann's advice.

[175] Schaank, "De Chineesche stammen in Deli," *De Indische Gids*, jrg. 7, II (1885), 1503-14. *See* Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students (1888–1895), section "Schlegel's Extraordinary Students in the 1880s."

[176] Actually, most coolies would still come from Guangdong province (Hakka, Hoklo, Hainan).

[177] V 8/11/1893 no. 14 (Exh.) inv. 4757.

[178] "Het Kuantung-dialect wordt nergens in onze koloniën gesproken, zoodat opleiding daarin nutteloos zou zijn. De Chineezen in onze Buitenbezittingen spreken òf het ook op Java gebruikelijke Tsiangtsiu (Emoi) dan wel een daarmede verwant dialect, òf het Hakka-dialect, en de thans in China vertoevende adspirant-tolken oefenen zich in dat dialect." in: Memorie van antwoord, Onderafdeeling 13, IIde afdeeling, p. 36, Bijlage 2de Kamer bij Begrooting van Ned. Indië 1894, *Handelingen van de beide Kamers der Staten-Generaal 1893–1894*, part 5.

[179] Letter from Feindel to the Governor-General dated 10 October 1892, U.S. 256, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[180] Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, no. XXIII, p. 15, fiche 862.

[181] In the month of October 1893 Borel again lived in the hotel after his wife gave birth to a baby (between I.S. 172-175, dossier with correspondence about Borel's refusal to pay the full hotel bills, for which the Consul mediated, November 1893, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93).

[182] A description and photograph of this house can be found in Borel's "Het huis op de rots," *Het schoone eiland, een tweede boek van wijsheid en schoonheid uit China*, frontispiece and pp. 137-44.

[183] Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, p. 11, fiche 864.

[184] Ezerman later had a 'boy,' so he must have had his own household (I.S. 162, letter from Ezerman to Grunenwald, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93).

[185] The Minister stated in Parliament that the students were learning Hakka, but this could not be confirmed in the Colonial archives. Many years later, Borel stated that he had only studied Hokkien and Hoklo while in China (Letter to the Director of Justice, Pontianak 15 June 1909, p. 3, in Mailrapport 1909 no. 1465; in this typed copy of his letter "Hokkiensch" was misspelled as "Hakjensch"). He never referred to any Hakka or Hoklo studies in his letters to Van Eeden and his diary, nor are these mentioned in Thorn Prikker's answers to his letters. Hoklo is closely related to Hokkien and he may have studied it a little. When Ezerman was appointed in Mentok, where Hakka was the most common dialect, he was allowed a special teacher for Hakka (No. 654, 12 July 1897, Letter from Government Secretary C.B. Nederburgh to Consul General Droeze in Hong Kong, dated Buitenzorg 25 June 1897, No. 1500a, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01).

[186] Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, no. XXVI, 15 May 1893, p. 2, fiche 863.

[187] In September there was a conflict between Borel and the Amah when Borel refused to pay her salary during her illness and she then threatened to beat Borel's wife with a broom. The case was solved by mediation of the Consul (I.S. 145, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93). The Amah was not punished, but Borel was not at all happy with this result: in this way servants would become even more disrespectful to their masters (Letter from Borel to Grunenwald, 20 October 1893, I.S. 155, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93).

[188] Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, p. 12.

[189] "Het is een raar slag van volk. Vroeger, toen ik aardig deed, praatjes maakte enz. werd ik bedrogen en bestolen. *Nu* snauw ik mijn bedienden af, en laat me nooit met hen in, en als er het minste niet goed is scheld ik ze uit. En alles gaat van een leien dakje. Nu vinden ze me een groot mandarijn. – Is dat nu eigenlijk niet beroerd van die lui? En er hangt zoveel van hen af. Als je slecht bediend wordt, vuil eten krijgt, en je boel is vuil, dat is van meer invloed op je dan je wel weet. – Om die lui eerbied te doen krijgen moet je bepaald absoluut tusschenbeide eens een consul, haí koàn, ten eten vragen, dat is de grootste buitenlandsche

mandarijn. Dat vinden ze heerlijk om zulke deftige lui te bedienen die bij hun Tao Tai en Onderkoning eten. Een mandarijn is nu eenmaal een ander wezen als een gewone chinees. Door een toeval wist mijn meester dat mijn vader een groot militair mandarijn is. Nu noemen *alle* chineezen me voortaan Taï Dzîn (大人) d.i. groot (grandioos) mensch, de titel der mandarijnen." Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, No. XXX, p. 10, fiche 864.

[190] "Ezerman en vWettum zie ik weinig. Ik ben in het laatste jaar heelemaal van hun af gegaan. Vooral Ezerman kan ik niet meer lijden. Ik heb geprobeerd tóch wat goed met hem te zijn maar het gaat niet. Ik voel een *physieke* akeligheid als hij bij mij is." Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, no. XXVI, pp. 5-6, fiche 863.

[191] Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November – 6 December 1893, no. XXX, pp. 18-19, fiche 864.

[192] "Ik ben daarom in den laatsten tijd wat gezelliger. Ik inviteer b.v. Zaterdagavonds Ezerman en v. Wettum, (waar ik niet erg mee wegloop) en we spelen een spelletje en drinken iets lekkers, heel gewoon. – Ook wend ik lust voor in allerlei kleinigheidjes, en doe alsof ik van geen kunst of philosophie wist. – Als ik zoo heel gewoon ben komt Stien juist altijd los met heel wonderlijke liefheid, die mij veel verder brengt dan lang denken." Letter to Van Eeden, 18 December 1893, no. XXXI, p. 10, fiche 865.

[193] Letter to Van Eeden, 9 April 1893, no. XXV, p. 22, fiche 863.

[194] In the same letter he wrote about the Chinese: "a debauched race, pederasts and cheats." (p. 2) Letter to Van Eeden, 21 December 1893, pp. 6 and 4, no. XXXII, fiche 865. *See also* full quotation below.

[195] "Gisteren avond had ik iets heel moois. Ik had gedineerd bij een zekeren meneer Hughes, de 'Piet' van het eiland. Ik ga namelijk expres tusschenbeide eens naar menschen toe hier, om gewoon te zijn, engelsch te spreken, en zoo'n beetje op de hoogte te blijven. Het is anders een héële corvée. – Die engelschen zijn nogal stomme lui zoo. De dames (er zijn er hier ongeveer 30) vreeselijk gekleed, en altijd flirtend. Het is erg walgelijk dat leelijk doen van getrouwde vrouwen. – Na het diner en de traditioneele door de heeren gerookte sigaar, verscheen ik weer in de drawingroom waar ze muziek maakten. Erg slecht, veel minder dan in Holland al die songs. Caféchantant-achtig. – Er was onder de dames een nieuw aangekomene, een vrouw met een heel zacht gezicht, nog jong maar met op 't voorhoofd *grijze* haren. Dat stond droef bij haar lichte oogen en haar andere haar dat lichtgoud was. – Ze was de eenige met wie je wat praten kon, ze hield zoo van muziek, zei ze. Ik moest absoluut spelen, maar waarschuwde sinjeur Hughes dat het heelemaal niet 'vallen' zou. Nu moet u weten, dat ik wàt graag speel want ik speel zoo zelden, ik heb geen piano. En ik speelde dat (ik meen Adagio) uit de Mondschein-Sonate. Aardig, dat ze zoo heel stil werden, al die leelijke menschen, alsof ze een vaag voorgevoel hadden dat er iets gebeurde. – Ik was zo heelemaal vergeten wat er om me zat, en ik speelde het heel goed en eenvoudig door. Toen ik opstond waren ze allemaal wat beteuterd, maar entameerden kort daarop weer een 'song.'" Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, No. XXVI, 15 May 1893, pp. 10-11, fiche 863.

[196] Letter from Van Eeden to Borel, 14 September 1893, No. XI, *Brieven van Frederik van Eeden aan Henri Borel*, 33. Letter from Thorn Prikker to Borel, 5 August 1893, no. 16, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 145.

[197] B.A.J. van Wettum's granddaughter Annabert (in New York) remembered that her father Jan van Wettum's house in The Hague was full of scrolls and statuettes (*rolschilderingen en beeldjes*). These had belonged to her grandfather, but they were lost during World War II (telephone communication, 5 January 2006).

[198] "Ik vond bij hun niets geen lompheid, logheid, of zoo, maar ik vond ze zoo mooi en gracieus van beweging en gebaar, dat ik van hun hield. Ze hebben een eigenaardige gang, een manier om de handen op te lichten, als ze iets willen krijgen, een manier van buigen, zóó heel gevoelig, dat je zou denken, met beter menschen te doen te hebben dan bij ons. Ik woû vooréérst niet die menschen van bínnen probeeren te zien, maar woû alleenig het mooie in mij doen komen van hun uiterlijk, van hun gewaden, hun gang en gebaar, zooals ze in kleur en lijn en beweging voor mijn oogen leven. –" Letter to Van Eeden, Amoy 15 October 1892, No. XXII, fiche 861-2, pp. 3-4, Special Collections, Amsterdam University.

[199] "De chineezen zijn heel ongelukkig, en arm, en verwaarloosd, maar een goed volk. Een heel slim volk, maar een zoo héél naïef. U hebt geen idee hoe primitief. / Ik ben doorgedrongen tot heel ver in Amoy zelf.- Héél zelden komen daar vreemdelingen, wel in de

voorsteden. – Er wonen een millioen menschen in vunzige krotten, in nauwe steegjes met vuil en bakken fecale stoffen, en modder, en er komen vochtige dampen uit den bodem. Heel, veel erger om te zien dan wat ik van achterbuurt in Parijs zag. – Een mooie stad voor je oogen, die nauwe straatjes vol goud, overal goud, goud, goud op zwarte winkels en uithangborden, overal rood, en in de schemering is er mist en gouddamp met glorie van licht uit lampen, en in den goudnevel de gewaden der chineezen, zacht bewegende kleur. Maar te vreeselijk om mooi te vinden, zóó dat je blij bent en gelukkig. – Een misère waar je je pijn van voelt hebben, alsof je persoonlijk iets heel ergs wordt aangedaan. – Duizenden koelies zwoegen onder enorme lasten, erger dan beesten, en zij zijn mager, en beroerd van ellende. Bedelaars gaan met lijven die geen lichamen zijn maar stukken verrotting, bedorven beenen waar etter en zweren goud-groen op zijn, soms gezwollen als olifantspooten. Ook lijven zonder beenen, die voortspringen over den grond. En schreeuwen, brullen als van beesten want de koelies draven met hun last onder de kreten van "k'ap tióh. oa-á. oá", (pas op voor stooten! wijk uit!) onafgebroken. / Maar in die misère een vlugheid, een behendigheid van belang. Zég iets tegen zoo'n beest-koelie en hij lacht als een kind, vráág iets aan die stakkerts, en ze beginnen te praten als kinderen, en lachen, lachen van pure pret dat zoo'n leelijke vreemdeling met al dat zwarte goed aan hun verstaat. Onder mekaâr ook een schik van belang, als ze éven tijd hebben. Niet het bruute smerige van de Jordaan-man. Maar het bewégelijke, gracieuse van gebaar en lach, het heelemaal zóó bewegen en geluiden dat je direct ziet dat het een beter volk is. Ja, die blije vroolijkheid van die chineezen in hun ellende is een heel ding, een emotie om te zien, en je begint van hun te houden als massa. – " Letter to Van Eeden, Amoy 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, fiche 862, pp. 10-12, Special Collections, Amsterdam University Library.

[200] "Jammer, dat de chineezen van nu zulke lui niet meer hebben, en zoo'n enorm slecht, gemeen volk zijn. Ik geloof dat ik u vroeger wel eens nogal enthousiast over de chineezen geschreven heb, maar ik was er ingeloopen, meneer de artiest namelijk. … Maar "pas op!". – Het is een liederlijk ras. Laffe slaven, bedriegers, en pederasten zijn het. Dat is zóó erg, dat b.v. onanie, pederastie enz. niet eens ondeugden zijn hier, en openlijk bekend worden. De lui hebben in 't geheel geen gevoel van goed of kwaad, recht of onrecht. Zóó heb ik gisteren twee uur lang gepraat met mijn meester over het feit als b.v. iemand wat 5 cent waard is voor mij voor 100 dollar verkoopen zou, zeggende dat het dit waard was. Dit vindt een chinees *geen* oplichting. Het zijn zulke doortrapte dieven, dat ze diefstal tot een deugd hebben gemaakt. Ze bedriegen de vreemdelingen, en ze bedriegen elkaar. Dankbaarheid kennen ze niet. Ik had een koelie, die zeide pijn aan zijn borst te hebben van het waterhalen uit de put. Tot groote pret van mijn engelsche kennissen huurde ik toen apart nog een koelie voor dat werk. Een week later bestal de eerste mij." Letter to Van Eeden, 21 December 1893, No. XXXII, pp. 2-3, fiche 865.

[201] A notebook by Borel has this date on the first page, B 745 H 3 Vertalingen, woordenlijsten e.a. uit het Chinees II, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[202] Borel had the teacher write the characters of his given name in his first notebook in Amoy, a small hard-cover notebook beginning with the date 19 October 1892. Above the characters is written "sì˗ ts'î =" [姓徐] 'surname Ts'î,' so his surname was Ts'î and his full name Ts'î Pik Kang 徐伯江 (in Mandarin *Xu Bojiang*). Under this name his teacher wrote another name: 汪延淮, to which Borel added "Ang Iên Hoaî" (in Mandarin *Wang Yanhuai*). This was perhaps the name of another teacher (B 745 H.3 Vertalingen etc., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).

[203] "En dan mijn leermeester Pik-Kang, met z'n spitse neus, en z'n Apache-gezicht, net een Indiaan met een staart. Dat mensch daar begrijp ik niets van. – Hij verklaart me die ìn-wijze boeken van Confucius en Lao-Tsze zóó, dat hij 't allemaal begrijpen moet om 't zoo te kunnen zeggen. … dat mij verklarende en commenteerende als iets dood-gewoons, een A.B.C.-tje, zeggende, en gebarende. Zijn gebaren zijn goud waard. ... Hij gebaart bijna alles als ik zijn woorden niet heelemaal versta." Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, pp. 12-13, fiche 862.

[204] "Vroeger wisselde ik af met de 2 anderen van Ezerman en vWettum, maar die zijn te verslaafd aan opium om ooit weer goed te worden. Ik heb er veel aan gedaan, maar tegen opiumziekte helpt niets als je de patiënt niet altijd door observeeren kunt." Letter to Van Eeden, 16 May 1893, No. XXVI, p. 22, fiche 863.

[205] "Ik heb een heleboel van mijn vooruitgang in het chineesch te danken aan mijn ouden meester Tio Siao Hoen. – Enorm knap is die man, en toch weer verbazend onwetend. … Wat zit er een 'spirits' in een chineesch! U moest hem eens zien, als hij aan het vertellen is van toneelstukken! Hij is zelf een heele acteur. Zijn gebaren zijn heerlijk om te zien. Al de dingen die hij vertelt zie je voor je gebeuren. Bovendien is hij een heel knap teekenaar. … Tio heeft nooit kunnen studeeren, en was een arme schoolmeester, die geen tijd had om veel met zijn kunst alleen te zijn. … Hij maakt van die eenvoudige landschapjes, waar je een echt artiest uit proeft." Letter to Van Eeden, 16 May 1893, No. XXVI, pp. 20-1, fiche 864.

[206] "Hij verfoeit het vuile Amoy, met al de ellende, en is al heel blij dat hij in juni in mijn nogal groote huis een kamer van mij krijgt om in te wonen. Ik houd hem van den zomer uit Amoy, want met die felle hitte is daar cholera, koorts enz. enz. en ik zou een heel verlies lijden en het ook niet te boven zijn als hij eens stierf." Letter to Van Eeden, 16 May 1893, No. XXVI, p. 21, fiche 863.

[207] Sometimes he also paid him other sums of $3 or $4. In three small notebooks from Amoy in B 745 H.3 Vertalingen enz., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. Perhaps for antiques that Tio sometimes bought for Borel.

[208] "Hij was een oude man, van diep in de vijftig, die altijd in een lang, zijden kleed liep, op dik vilten pantoffelschoenen, met zijn langen staart plechtstatig op zijn rug, en een bril met enorme groote glazen op. Als hij op een stoel ging zitten, deed hij dat langzaam, eerwaardig, of hij op een troon terecht kwam, en hij bleef er gezeten, met zijn zijden gewaad in superbe plooien, en zijn kolossale mouwen wijd afhangend, of hij een beeld was, in roerlooze rust. Het duurde niet lang—net zoo lang als ik noodig had om hem te verstaan—of ik bemerkte, dat hij eigenlijk mijn geestelijke vader was, en ik, die hem in dienst had, zijn kind." Borel, "De eerstgeborene," *Van leven en dood*, 32.

[209] Borel, "De eerstgeborene," *Van leven en dood*, 33.

[210] "Ik heb tegenwoordig een anderen meester, een Tsiang Tsiu chinees, en nog wel een Siù Tsaî [秀才] (dokter in de letteren) een hele piet, die er nog heel veel meer van weet dan de oude Tiao [趙]. (Deze Tiao had me opgelicht en had ik moeten verwijderen.)" Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, No. XXX, p. 9. The character 趙 has the colloquial reading Tiō and the literary reading Tiaō. This is the only place where Borel used the literary reading of the name. Perhaps he did so because he felt embarrassed towards Van Eeden and possible later readers on account of Tio's discharge (he stated several times that he expected later readers).

[211] "Een Siù Tsaî is een heele piet, daar de literati de hoogste stand zijn. Een eenvoudige Siù Tsai is hier *werkelijk* meer gezien dan een millionnair. Zijn vader is een Kí Dzîn [舉人] (nog een graad hooger). Die heeft een groot plakkaat en houten bord voor zijn deurpost, waarin hij ten voorbeeld wordt gesteld, en kan bij de hoogste mandarijnen komen." Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, p. 11.

[212] "Hij was een slecht mensch, een schobber, een bedrieger, als de anderen." Borel, "De schijn der Chineezen," in *Wijsheid en schoonheid uit China* (first edition 1897), 17.

[213] "Laat ik nu maar niet gaan uitpluizen hoe heel veel naars er allemaal voor me geweest is. Want als ik me goed rekenschap geef ben ik heel erg ongelukkig geweest. Meestal door mijn eigen schuld. Ik heb me niet genoeg ingedacht in dingen en menschen. Ik heb veel te veel willen hebben van het leven. En nú ben ik er eerst zoo'n beetje achter […] dat ik—hoe weet ik niet en waarom—een heel slecht mensch ben, en heel goed ook, maar alles betrekkelijk. … Mijn eerste plicht moet zijn: Vergeven, Medelijden hebben, Liefhebben." *Diary* 1893–1896, pp. 1-2, B 745 H 3, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. Borel was probably also thinking of the conflicts over money with the Amah and the hotelier.

[214] "Opgedragen aan de Nagedachtenis van mijn' eenvoudigen, ouden Chineeschen leermeester TIO SIAO HOEN die mij het eerst inwijdde in de Chineesche filosofie, en den Geest van China over mij deed komen, in de jaren 1892–1894." in *De geest van China* (1917), p. IV. It was probably too embarrassing for Borel to disclose that he had fired Tio in the autumn of 1893 and never engaged him again.

[215] Borel, "De eerstgeborene," *Van leven en dood*, 37.

[216] Borel and his fellow students received copies of De Groot's *Religious System of China* Vol. 1 upon their arrival in Amoy (signed for receipt by the students on 8 October 1892,

I.[S.] No. 270, letter from Governor-General to Consul 10 August 1892, inv. 5, toegang 2.05.93).

[217] Tio Siao Hun would later say to Borel that all those details (*al die bizonderheden*) in De Groot's *Religious System of China* (Vol. 1) had been provided by him. He also said De Groot had promised him a large reward if he did his utmost best. But when De Groot left, he did not give Tio anything, nor did he mention his name in the General Preface. Moreover, much information given by De Groot was wrong, according to Tio. Letter from Borel to Van Eeden, No. XXXIV, 16 May 1893, p. 20, fiche 864. Clearly Tio felt a grudge about De Groot, but from the outset Borel, too, would miss no opportunity to criticise De Groot (and other sinologists).

[218] "Weet u hoe we hier leven? Heel eenvoudig, en iederen dag bijna hetzelfde. – 's Ochtends van 9½-12 u. met mijn chineeschen meester chineesch studeeren, boeken lezen, dingen bepraten enz. 's Middags van 2-4 hetzelfde. Van 4-8½ wandelen, en eten. – Van 8½ - onbepaald, soms 1½ u. 's nachts óverstudeeren en repeteeren, alleen afgebroken door een uur engelsche les aan Stien." Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, p. 4, fiche 862.

[219] In the Borel Archives there is a copy of the Chinese text, transcription and Dutch translation by Van Wettum (2 vols., B 745 H. 3 Vertalingen etc., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).

[220] Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, pp. 12-13, fiche 862.

[221] Letter to Van Eeden, 26 February 1893, No. XXIV, pp. 5-8, fiche 862. There is a copy of this book in the East Asian Library in Leiden that probably belonged to Van Wettum (publisher Xiamen Baohuazhai 廈門寶華齋 1864, SINOL. KNAG 40).

[222] B 745 H 3 Vertalingen, woordenlijsten e.a. uit het Chinees II, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. Borel's translation was published in his "Kwan Yin" and "De Chineesche hel," *Kwan Yin* (1897) (*see also* Dudbridge, *The Legend of Miaoshan* (revised edition, 2004), 83-7).

[223] On the other hand, he also believed that he could obtain wisdom by himself, without studying any books. Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, pp. 14-15, 17-18.

[224] "De beroemdste Sinoloog, James Legge, heeft *al* de 5 King [經] en 4 Boeken (de z.g. klassieken, géén boeddhisme) vertaald, maar jammerlijk. Er is één boek bij, de Tiong Iong, van Confucius, de Leer v/h reine midden, dat hij vreeselijk verknoeid heeft door er allemaal dingen achter te zoeken die er in 't geheel niet staan. Het is een heel eenvoudig boek, en alles staat er heel eenvoudig en klaar, het is juist subliem van eenvoud. … Ik ben dat aan 't vertalen, mondeling in 't colloquial, de spreektaal." Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, pp. 15, 16, fiche 863.

[225] "Dan is er nog een boek, van Lao-Tsze, de Tao-Tik-King, dat prachtig is, en waar de sinologen van bibberen als ze het hooren noemen. Schlegel schreef mij daar toch niet aan te beginnen, want hij begreep er zelf ook niets van, zei hij. Ik ben er aan begonnen. – Het is heel eenvoudig, en dáárom geloof ik dat ze het niet begrepen hebben. ze zoeken overal veel te veel achter." Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, pp. 15, 16.

[226] "Ik mag *nu* niet àl te veel aan zulke boeken werken. Ik ben niet voor sinoloog maar voor chineesch tolk in dienst. Ik moet allerlei miserabel werk doen als koopmansbrieven lezen, chineesche koopmansboeken studeeren, chineesche wetten, chineesch boekhouden, enz. enz. Dat doe je niet voor je plezier." Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, pp. 16-17, fiche 863.

[227] "… ik moet heel, heel hard werken. Zoo vreemd is dat, ik was het heelemaal niet gewoon, maar nu moét het wel. Het is zoo vermoeiend, vooral voor je oogen, dat chineesch. – En télkens en télkens komen er weêr karakters die je nooit van je leven gezien hebt … Al die streepjes, o ze zijn zoo lastig. – Maar als je ze goed weet vind je ze eigenlijk wel mooi. De karakters zelve léven zoo, als 't ware." Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, pp. 4-5, fiche 862.

[228] "Het is zoo'n mooie manier van lezen, het chineesch, maar vreemd in 't begin. Je leest n.l. niet de 'geluiden' van elk woord, maar elk woord is een symbool, dat de beteekenis grapheert. Het zou echter een brief van belang worden als ik daarover in bizonderheden moest treden nu." Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, p. 5, fiche 862.

[229] Borel was writing a great Book entitled *The Light of Love* (*Het Licht van Liefde*, *Diary*

1893–1896, 13 December 1893). This would become his autobiographical novel *Het jongetje* (*The little boy*), published in 1898.

[230] "Het is lang niet gemakkelijk. U hebt geen idee van de beroerde saaie afmatting mijner Chineesche studie. Niet het lezen van klassieken. Maar het uitpluizen van snelschrift, van handelsboeken, en chineesche konkelarijen. Dat brengt me er telkens uit. Soms schrijf ik in geen vier dagen aan mijn boek vanwege de lammigheid. Daarbij komt nog dat ik weer een piano heb en mij een waar feest geef van Bach's Präludien en Fugas." Letter to Van Eeden, 18 December 1893, No. XXXI, p. 6, fiche 865.

[231] "Jammer dat ik nog altijd erg tob in mijn verzen. Dat komt omdat ik niet genoeg tijd heb om erin op te gaan. Ik moet zulk afmattend Chineesch werk doen. Dat moet u niet vergeten. Ik heb zoo heel weinig tijd en leef als in een gevangenis." Short letter to Van Eeden, 10 January 1894, No. XXXIII, p. 2, fiche 865.

[232] "Ik gaf héél wat om dit te hebben: … een eenvoudige kamer met witte muren. een gewone tafel met papier, inkt en penhouder. Geen boeken. Zóo alleen zijn van 10-12 's morgens en 2-4 's middags. Niemand binnen komen. En dit kan ik maar niet krijgen … Is het geen héél erge misère?" *Diary*, 5 January 1894, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[233] Letter to Van Eeden, 26 February 1893, No. XXIV, p. 8, fiche 862. In Peking Borel ordered ten Buddhist sutras. Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, p. 15, fiche 863.

[234] Printed catalogue (E.J. Brill, Cat. No. 87) in B 745 P Catalogus bibl. H. Borel, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[235] Auction catalogue *Catalogue des bibliothèques de feu M.M. B.A.J van Wettum, Conseiller pour les affaires du Japon et de la Chine aux Indes-Néerlandaises* …, Burgersdijk & Niermans, Leiden, 16-26 April 1917.

[236] Listed in Kuiper, *The KNAG Collection*. His books in Japanese and Malay are now in other collections. Books without his seal that he bought later include Republican law books and a large book on Chinese medicine; from both of these he later translated one or more chapters. There are also a few rare books in his library.

[237] U.S. 68, Letter of 12 April 1893, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[238] "Ik ga daar op de jacht naar een of twee Pik Ting stukken, die ik voor weinig krijg in vergelijking met de waarde in Europa. In Tsoân Tsiu is nog wat oud brons. Het zal een interessante tocht zijn. Er komt daar nooit een Europeaan, de zendelingen komen niet verder dan Tsiang Tsiu." Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, p. 5, fiche 863.

[239] Thorn Prikker referred to it, but apparently only as a plan (Letter of 6-18 July 1893, p. 142). In December 1893 Borel wrote that he had not yet been in Dehua but planned to go there before leaving China (Letter to Van Eeden, 18 December 1893, No. XXXI, p. 7, fiche 865.

[240] Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, No. XXX, p. 8, fiche 864.

[241] Perhaps they were also laughing at his foreign and therefore queer accent. De Bruin would later write several times that Chinese coolies in the Indies would mock the foreigner's accent (and try to cheat him).

[242] "Tsiang Tsiu is een heel groote stad. Wat je er ook leert is geduld. Je bent daar omspoeld door duizenden chineezen (er wonen op een millioen inwoners maar 2 of 3 zendelingen, dus het meerendeel heeft nooit een europeaan gezien). Al je je leuk houdt doen ze je niets. Een chinees in Amsterdam staat aan honderdmaal zoveel gevaar bloot als ik in Tsiang Tsiu. De innige lol van die lui als ze hooren dat je hun taal spreekt is kostelijk. Er is er geeneen die je kwaad wil doen, en—het merkwaardigste—geeneen straatjongen. Nooit gooien ze je met vuil of zoo. Dat komt omdat de kinderen hier zoo'n eerbied hebben voor groote menschen. / Ik heb opgemerkt dat de chineezen in 't binnenland, *beter* zijn dan die hier in Kolongsu en de voorstad van Amoy, die meer met Europeanen in aanraking komen. – De Tsiang Tsiu chineezen schijnen me veel meer de echte landsdeugden (en ondeugden) maar *geen* europeesche slechtheden te hebben." Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, No. XXX, p. 9, fiche 864.

[243] I.S. 181, Letter dated 29 November 1893, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93.

[244] Borel, *Diary*, 2 and 6 January 1894. *See also* his letter to Van Eeden 18 December 1893, No. XXXI, added page, fiche 865.

[245] "In Tsiang-tsioe was de groote tempel Lâm-ī˝ [南院? Nanyuan, probably Nanshansi 南山寺] de eerste chineesch-boeddhistische tempel, die ik een waar Godshuis vond. …

Tsiangtsioe zelf, van buiten gezien, is een wereldstad uit de oudheid, waar nu nog de grandeur over glanst der vervlogen immense pracht van vóór eeuwen." Borel, *Diary*, 6 January 1894.

[246] Borel, *Diary*, 16 February 1894, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[247] "Ik had moeite om me voor te stellen dat ik in China was. Het lijkt Parijs wat het leven aangaat." Letter to Van Eeden, Hong Kong 20 February 1894, No. XXXV, pp. 6-7, fiche 865.

[248] "De Chineezen hier verstaan geen woord van mij noch ik van hen. Het is Cantondialect wat ze spreken. B.v. Amoy koopen, bé, is in Canton 'maí' enz. In de grote winkels spreken de Chineezen engelsch, maar niet overal. – Ik heb me bij een antiquair verstaanbaar gemaakt door met een penseel op papier karakters te schrijven. – Heel mooie, oude kunst is hier niet. Enorme japansche vazen enz. maar alles nieuw. En een hoop imitatie." Letter to Van Eeden, Hong Kong 20 February 1894, No. XXXV, pp. 6-7, fiche 865.

[249] "Wie er voor het eerst komt wordt er geslagen van walging, zoo sterk dat hij niet meer in staat is, het mooie overal te zien. Maar reeds kende ik dien schijn van benauwing en verrotting, van vroeger, uit zooveel andere chineesche steden / En er is een zeer schoone ziel in die sombere donkere chineesche steden vol vuil en stanken." Borel, "Uit Canton, een reisimpressie," *Kwan Yin* (2nd printing), 99-100. First published in *De Gid*s 1896, vol. III, pp. 79-195.

[250] Description in "Uit Canton," 103-7.

[251] "Ik boog zoowat en mompelde iets van het weinige *mandarijn* dialect dat ik kende en dat een hooggeplaatst chinees door het geheele rijk verstaan moet." Borel, "Uit Canton," 113.

[252] "Zoo als je weet heb ik je stuk over China aan de redactie van de Rotterdammer gestuurd. T zit niet erg meê. Ze zouden je wel als correspondent uit China willen hebben, maar dan moet je ook over andere dingen en *vooral* Hollandsch schrijven. Je moet weten volgens de Redactie Rotterdammer bestaat er Hollandsch en Nieuwe Gids taal. De Nieuwe Gids taal willen ze niet hebben, ergo blijft over te werken in zuiver Hollandsch. Ze correspondeeren zelf met je verder. Ik zal nu trachten je stuk ergens anders geplaatst te krijgen voor de noodige contanten. … De redacteur schreef me letterlijk… 'Wij blijven een correspondent in China behoeven. Mocht den heer B. dus ons (hier staat een woord dat onleesbaar is) of andere redenen lust hebben *gewoon* te schrijven van feiten en dingen hoofdzaak te maken enfin krantenwerk te leveren, dan zou daarover gecorrespondeerd kunnen worden.'" Letter No. 7 from Thorn Prikker to Borel, dated 22-28 January 1893, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 98-9. For information on the *Nieuwe Gids*, *see* Chapter Nine, section "Borel's Life in Art and Literature."

[253] "Serment d'Amitié Chinois," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1893), 420-6.

[254] Letter from Thorn Prikker No. 22, 20 March 1894, p. 175, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*. Borel sent the whole issue of *T'oung Pao*, asking to return it afterwards, and would later send an offprint. Letter to Van Eeden, No. XXXIII, 10 January 1894, p. 1, fiche 865. The Chinese oath was a subject often treated by Dutch sinologists.

[255] "Vreemd genoeg voor zoo iemand, heeft onze Professor Schlegel dat wèl, en hij is de *eenige* op wie je gerust kunt vertrouwen, en die in chineesch een orakel is. Ik heb voor hem als Sinoloog een heel *hooge* achting, voor zoover zooiets gaat." Letter to Van Eeden, 26 February 1893, No. XXIV, p. 8, fiche 862.

[256] "A pair of Chinese marriage contracts," *T'oung Pao* A 5 (1894), 371-85, signed "Dutch Chinese student-interpreter, Amoy, January 1894."

[257] Borel, *Diary*, 26 January 1894.

[258] Letter to Van Eeden, 7 May 1894, No. XXXVII, pp. 3-4, fiche 866. After corresponding with Schlegel about poetry, Borel "gave him up for the future." (*Ik heb hem voor den toekomst opgegeven*). It seems that the article's contents were (in part) incorporated in section 2 of his essay "Wu wei."

[259] Letter to Van Eeden, 15 May 1893, No. XXVI, p. 12, fiche 863.

[260] Jacob Nikolaas van Hall (1840–1918), writer and drama critic, published lavishly in *De Gids*.

[261] For a fee of *f* 40 for 16 pages, possibly on Borel's request. Letter to Van Eeden, 17 January 1893, No. XXIII, pp. 15-16, fiche 862.

[262] Letter to Van Eeden, 31 July 1893, No. XXIX, p. 13, fiche 864.

[263] Letter to Van Eeden, 25 November 1893, No. XXX, p. 15, fiche 864. Letter from Van Eeden to Borel, 15 January 1894, *Brieven van Frederik van Eeden aan Henri Borel*, 37.

[264] Reprinted in Borel's first collection of essays *Wijsheid en schoonheid uit China*, 1896.

[265] Only a long, half-page quotation from Borel's article, entitled "Het tooneel in China," could be found in the *Haagsche Courant* (Monday 11 June 1894), not the comments. These were perhaps published in another newspaper.

[266] "Kerel, Kerel, Kerel, je stuk over de Chineesche tooneelspelers, weet je wel dat bijna elke krant uittreksels heeft gegeven van je stuk in de oude Gids? … Je weet nooit wat de Haagsche Courant … je zoo even beweerde. Ongeveer dit. Het stuk was geschreven door iemand die voor 2 jaar van hier vertrok met veel dichterlijk talent. Niet gering hé. Dat had je nooit durven denken hé. … als ik jou was stuurde ik meer dergelijke dingen naar de Gids. … we moeten in deze maatschappij politiek wezen hoe erger, hoe beter." Letter from Thorn Prikker, No. 26, 3 July 1894, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 187.

[267] *De Gids*, 1894 no. III, pp. 531-8. Reprinted in *Wijsheid en schoonheid uit China*, 1896. Other articles about China appeared after he had left for the Indies. These were reprinted in *Kwan Yin*.

[268] Letter to Van Eeden, 9 April 1893, No. XXV, p. 9, fiche 863.

[269] Borel, *Diary*, 2 July 1894.

[270] The name "Amoy" (in Mandarin Xiamen) is derived from the Tsiangtsiu (Zhangzhou) colloquial pronunciation Emuí 廈門, which characters have the literary pronunciation Hā bûn, meaning "The Gate of Hā (Xia)." Hā dó̍ possibly represents the characters 廈堵, "The blocking of Hā (Xia)." Hā (Xia) 廈 itself has been explained as meaning *xia* 下, "under," being the lower entrance than the one to the older harbour Quanzhou, or as meaning *xia* 夏, "summer."

[271] There appeared two English translations, one by Meredith Ianson as *Wu Wei, A Phantasy Based on the Philosophy of Lao-tsz* (London, 1903), and one by M.E. Reynolds as "Interpretive Essays by Henri Borel," in *Tao and Wu-wei / Laotzŭ* (Santa Barbara CA, 1919, reprinted in 1935). German, French, and Italian translations appeared in 1924 (reprints 1933, 2001), 1931 and 1947.

[272] "Korea," Private Correspondence (*Particuliere Correspondentie*) dated Amoy 7 Augustus, Tandjoeng Pinang (Riouw) 1 November 1894, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 16 September 1894, and 11 December 1894; there may have been more issues; the first issue was reprinted in: *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 3 November 1894.

[273] Signed "X," "Nog eens de Chineesche consulaats-quaestie," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 15 December 1894, reprinted in *Java-bode*, 19 January 1895. Borel was the only student known to have published regularly in the *NRC* in 1894. From his article "Onze voorvaderen in China," *Deli-Courant*, 24 February 1897, it becomes clear he was writing about himself.

[274] "Nog eens de Chineesche consulaats-quaestie," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 15 December 1894, reprinted in *Java-bode*, 19 January 1895.

[275] "Nog eens de Chineesche consulaats-quaestie," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 15 December 1894, reprinted in *Java-bode*, 19 January 1895.

[276] For Germans, the more relaxed and less formal and stressful attitude towards life and work of Dutchmen in general is sometimes difficult to understand. The Dutch Ministry of Colonies always paid better salaries than other Ministries.

[277] U.S. 135, Letter of 3 October 1893, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[278] I.S. 191, Letter of 23 November 1893, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93.

[279] V 9/9/1896 no. 9, inv. 5080 and Letter from Schlegel to Minister of Colonies, 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51, inv. 5083.

[280] Correspondence of 1898–9 in No. 598, inv. 1327, and in inv. 1324, toegang 2.05.38. Also in No. 338, inv. 67, toegang 2.05.90.

[281] "Besluit van den 4den Juni 1910, tot vaststelling van een reglement voor den tolkendienst bij de Gezantschappen en Consulaten in China en Japan," *Staatsblad* 1910, No. 156. From 1892 on, a few Dutch aspirant diplomats had been taught Chinese by De Groot.

[282] And in the Indies it did not get much better. Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-Kak-Sie" te Cheribon* (1920), 7.

[283] I.S. no. 100, Letter of 27 July 1894, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.93.

[284] Despite all measures in Hong Kong—in China the seriousness of the situation was at first not recognised by the government—the plague spread all over the world, causing a great epidemic in India in 1896. From then on, the plague also became an endemic disease in the Netherlands Indies. On this epidemic in China, *see* Nos. 180-191, inv. 6, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[285] U.S. no. 79, Letter from the Consul to the Director of Justice of 21 August 1894, inv. 10, toegang 2.05.93.

[286] Borel, *Diary*, Riau 22 November 1894.

[287] Letter to Van Eeden, Singapore 22 September 1894, No. XXXIX, fiche 866.

[288] "Ik ben hier in Batavia om allerlei Pieten mijn opwachting te maken." Postcard to Van Eeden, 2 October 1894, fiche 866.

[289] "Dat moet bijna net Kolangsu zijn." Borel had therefore requested to be stationed in Riau. Letter to Van Eeden, 6 April 1894, No. XXXIV, p. 8, fiche 866.

[290] IB 24/10/1894 no. 4, inv. 8096.

[291] Inv. 1337, toegang 2.05.38. Frederik Jan Haver Droeze (Vlaardingen, 17 July 1847 – Dordrecht, 5 January 1909) had a remarkable career as a military engineer in the Netherlands and in the Indies (1876–91), where he took part in the Atjeh War and other expeditions. He published an account of an expedition in Algeria in *De Gids* (1876). After 1893, when he retired as a major in the Netherlands Indies Army, he was appointed Consul in Jeddah in 1894. From 1895 until 1908 he was Consul General of the Netherlands in Hong Kong. Biography in P.L. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 3, pp. 301-5 (also in www.dbnl.org).

[292] Letter from the Consul General to the Governor-General, No. 1053, 25 Nov. 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[293] IB 22/12/1895 no. 4, in No. 36/16, 9 January 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01, a decision based on V 12/11/1895 no. 21 inv. 4991.

[294] On 5 February 1895 a Consul General was appointed in Hong Kong, and as from 20 May 1895 Amoy had a Consulate instead of a Consulate General for the Netherlands (No. 77, 20 May 1895 and No. 179, 16 July 1895, inv. 6, toegang 2.05.27.01).

[295] Fridolin Marinus Knobel (Amsterdam, 31 May 1857 – Berlin, 16 October 1933) was trained for the Consular Service from 1875 and was stationed in Berlin, Sint Petersburg, Teheran (1889–95), Peking (1895–1902), again Teheran (1902–5), and Pretoria. From 1913 he was a member of Parliament. In 1923–33 he was again Consul in Leipzig. He was struck by a heart attack and passed away while he was the official Dutch observer at the trial of Marinus van der Lubbe. He often gave on his own initiative his opinions to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and published widely in newspapers and journals. Originally he was convinced of Western superiority, but later he tended to take the side of the victims of oppression. Biography in *Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland* 6 (www.historici.nl).

[296] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 217.

[297] At that time the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was considering the possibility of appointing one student as acting Secretary-Interpreter in the Dutch Legation in Peking. V 15/10/1896 no. 14 inv. 5093, V 4/11/1896 no. 32/2595 inv. 5099, V 24/4/1897 no. 32, inv. 5155. The name Röell is pronounced Roo-WELL.

[298] Perhaps implying that De Bruin had not left a favourable impression on him. Letter from Knobel to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 14 April 1897, inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.

[299] He was in function from 9 June 1897 to 30 July 1904.

[300] The Dutchman G.C. Bouman was considered unsuitable. He had been working with the Imperial Maritime Customs in Swatow, but had been discharged. Letter from Haver Droeze to Knobel, 22 February 1897, inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.

[301] No. 118, 29 January 1896, and nos. 141 and 143, 6 and 10 February 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[302] Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Amoy 15 April 1897, No. 344, 20 April 1897.

[303] V 28/2/1896 no. 17/553 inv. 5022.

[304] No. 719 B 23, 16 December 1895, inv. 79, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[305] No. 39, 9 January 1896, inv. 79, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[306] No. 97, 11 February 1897; No. 146, 24 February 1897; No. 260, 29 March 1897,

inv. 79, toegang 2.05.27.01. However, during this year Thijssen would reside outside Amoy most of the time. *See also:* Nos. 258, 260 dated 29 March [1897], inv. 30, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[307] A.G. de Bruin, "Het jongste artikel van den heer Borel," *De Sumatra Post*, 10 September 1912 (footnote).

[308] Schlegel, "Voorspellingen en uitkomsten," *Dagblad van 's Gravenhage*, 29 September 1896.

[309] In China De Bruin seems to have used the more international name Anton instead of Annes.

[310] In a letter signed by all three students dated 16 July 1897, in No. 684/284, 19 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[311] "Ruim veertien dagen na mijne aankomst alhier, ontmoette ik den heer von Varchmin, die, naar het mij toescheen, op eenigszins scherpen toon zeide: 'Studieren Sie denn nicht. Sie müssen viel arbeiten.' / Overtuigd op studiegebied steeds mijn' plicht te doen, was dit aanleiding tot het voorgevallen incident." Letter from De Bruin to Droeze, Amoy 3 May 1896, No. 463/197, 7 May 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[312] Letter from Von Varchmin to the Governor-General, 27 February 1896, in No. 416, 25 April 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[313] Letter dated Buitenzorg, 15 April 1896, no. 735, in No. 411/175, 24 April 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[314] "Zelfs den rang en meerderen leeftijd buiten beschouwing gelaten, erken ik echter mij oneerbiedig gedragen te hebben, en heb derhalve den heer von Varchmin mijn verontschuldigingen aangeboden, waarmede deze volkomen genoegen genomen heeft." Letter from De Bruin to Droeze, Amoy 3 May 1896, No. 463/197, 7 May 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[315] Letter 8 May 1896, No. 468, 8 May 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[316] Belated permission to investigate the matter in writing instead of in person was given in a letter from Government Secretary Nederburgh of 13 May 1896, no. 967, in No. 503/214, 23 May 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[317] No. 191, 27 February 1896, No. 84/4, inv. 71 toegang 2.05.27.01.

[318] Secret letter to Minister of Foreign Affairs De Beaufort, 20 January 1898, inv. 15, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[319] "om vóór het verstrijken van hun studietijd zich voor eenige maanden te begeven naar *Swatow* en het binnenland ten einde de aldaar gesproken wordende talen te bestudeeren." IB 29/4/1896 no. 38 inv. 8132. Also in No. 479/204, 12 May 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[320] "Nu reeds hebben de drie bovengenoemde candidaten van den Gouverneur Generaal van Nederlandsch Indië last bekomen ook eenige maanden in Swatow en in de Hakkalanden door te brengen, ten einde ook de daar gesproken dialekten te bestuderen. De candidaat *Thijssen*, die mij dit mededeelde, voegt er bij: 'Of het mogelijk zal zijn om in een paar maanden die dialekten te leeren spreken, geloof ik niet.'" Letter from Schlegel to Minister of Colonies of 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083.

[321] Letter dated Amoy 15 December 1896, in No. 1051/479, 18 December 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[322] Nos. 1052 (to Streich) and 1053 (to Director of Justice), 19 December 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[323] Letter from Thijssen to Droeze dated Amoy 16 January 1897, in No. 50/24 19 January 1897; letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze dated Amoy 16 January 1897, not numbered, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[324] Letter from Van de Stadt dated Amoy 16 January 1897, (not numbered), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[325] "Ik vind het lastig en vreemd dat er altijd betrekkelijk nog zoo weinig regeling bestaat in de opleiding der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken. De heer Hoetink schreef me laatst dat kennis van Hakka-Chineesch het meest noodzakelijk is, althans voor de eerste jaren en gaf me dientengevolge den raad zoo spoedig mogelijk Amoy voorgoed vaarwel te zeggen. Indien ik echter bedenk hoeveel onderwerpen er ondanks onze opleiding in Leiden en den moeite, die ik me hier gegeven heb, nog zijn, waarvoor het onmogelijk is een gesprek te

voeren, dan vraag ik me af, hoe bitter weinig Hakka-Chineesch valt er dan in korten tijd op te pikken, te meer daar hulpmiddelen als woordenboeken niet bestaan. Indien het klimaat in Indië mij zulks veroorlooft, zou ik gaarne doorgaan met Sinologische studiën, doch wat de ware weg is, zie ik nog niet duidelijk in. Enfin, dit zal de tijd moeten leeren." Letter dated Amoy 16 January 1897, No. 51/25, 19 January 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[326] Letter from Van de Stadt dated Amoy 24 April 1897, with No. 210, 16 March 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[327] Letters from Reinsdorf and Van de Stadt dated Amoy 23 and 24 April 1897, with No. 210, 16 March 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[328] No. 210, 16 March 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[329] No. 53, 19 January 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[330] *De boekhoudingen van Chineezen*, 6.

[331] Thijssen and De Bruin wrote their declarations of travel costs on 8 April in Amoy. Perhaps Van de Stadt arrived a little later; his declaration is dated Amoy 15 April. In: No. 210, 16 March 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[332] Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Amoy 15 April 1897, No. 344, 20 April 1897. And decision of Director of Justice J.C. Mullock Houwer, 13 May 1897, No. 512/216, 31 May 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[333] Quoted in a letter from Government Secretary Nederburgh to Droeze, in No. 283/123, 3 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01. No copy of Van de Stadt's request could be found.

[334] "Het verblijf in Peking zou gelegenheid bieden om verschillende zaken te bestudeeren, waarvan men zich te Amoy niet of althans niet even goed op de hoogte kan stellen. / En daar de heer Van de Stadt blijkbaar een schrander man is twijfel ik niet of hij zou er een nuttig gebruik van weten te maken, indien Uwe Excellentie mocht goedvinden zijn verzoek toe te staan." No. 864, 30 September 1896, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[335] V 9/9/1896 no. 9 inv. 5080, V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083.

[336] His wish would be fulfilled two years later. In 1898, he was at his request allowed to study and work in (Northern) China for two years.

[337] Van de Stadt probably stated in his request that he wished to acquire skills for the consular service.

[338] Letter from Hoetink to the Director of Justice, Batavia 16 November 1896, no. 38, typed copy in No. 397, 29 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[339] V 4/11/1896 no. 32 inv. 5099. This announcement did not mention Schlegel's advice and the Minister's previous decision not to have the students learn Mandarin!

[340] Letter from Nederburgh to Droeze, Buitenzorg, 21 March 1897, No. 649c, in No. 283/123, 3 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[341] Letter from Nederburgh to Droeze, Buitenzorg, 25 June 1897, No. 1500a, in: No. 654, 12 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[342] This is the capital of the heartland of the Hakkas in Guangdong. In *pinyin*: Jiayingzhou 嘉應州. From the tenth century on, this place was called Meizhou 梅州, after the local river now called Meijiang 梅江, and the plum trees (*mei*) growing there. From 1733 until 1911, the official name was 嘉應州, on English maps transcribed as Kia Ying Chow according to the Southern Mandarin pronunciation. In Hakka pronunciation it would be spelled Ka Yin Tsu or Ka Yin Tsoe. In 1911 the old name Meizhou was restored, and in 1912 the name was changed to Meixian 梅縣. Nowadays Meixian is the capital of Meizhou City (Meizhou Shi 梅州市).

[343] Letter from Hoetink to the Director of Justice, Batavia 16 November 1896, no. 38, typed copy in No. 397, 29 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[344] Letter from Nederburgh to Droeze, Buitenzorg 21 March 1897, No. 649c, in No. 283/123, 3 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[345] No. 284, 5 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01. On the same day Droeze notified Knobel (No. 285/46).

[346] The requested date of the beginning of their service was "1 January 1896," but on the basis of Droeze's later letter to the Governor-General, this is here corrected to "1 January 1898." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Amoy 15 April 1897, in No. 338/144, 19 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[347] Sam Ho Pa (三河壩 Sanheba) and Ko Pi (高陂 Gaobei) are situated on the Han Jiang in Dabu, while Tsja Hang (畬杭 Shehang) is near Hing-ning (興寧 Xingning) to the West of Meixian. Letter in English from Droeze to Streich, No. 359, 23 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[348] "Voor slechte bejegeningen te Kia Ying Chow behoeft, naar ik verneem, geene vrees te bestaan. De Amerikaansche, Engelsche en Duitsche zendelingen in de Hakka districten hadden althans tot nu toe weinig of geen overlast van de bevolking." Letter from Droeze to Governor-General, No. 397, 29 April 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[349] IB 25/6/1897 no. 28 inv. 8160.

[350] Letter from Government Secretary Nederburgh to Consul General Droeze in Hongkong, dated Buitenzorg 25 June 1897, No. 1500a, in No. 654, 12 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[351] No. 655, 12 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[352] Letter from Van de Stadt, also signed by the other two, Amoy, 16 July 1897, in No. 684/284, 19 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[353] Letter from Van de Stadt, Amoy, 23 July 1897 (not numbered), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[354] Han Yu was demoted to Chaozhou, where he wrote his famous essay about the crocodiles in the river, a metaphor for greedy mandarins ("Ji eyu wen" 祭鰐魚文). The upper part of this river is called Mei Jiang 梅江.

[355] Letter from Van de Stadt, Swatow, 10 August 1897 (not numbered), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[356] "De indruk, die ik van Kia Ying en de Hakka's heb, is voorloopig zeer gunstig; ik vind de menschen oneindig aangenamer dan de Ch'aochowfu-ers. Ik geloof, dat de tijd gauw voorbij zal gaan en volstrekt niet zoo onaangenaam zal zijn, als we ons oorspronkelijk hadden voorgesteld." Letter from Van de Stadt, Kia Ying Chow, 5 September 1897 (not numbered), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[357] This is a quotation from "one of our Sinologists," probably Thijssen or Van de Stadt, and not De Bruin, since the latter was one of the compilers of Vleming's book (*see* next note) and De Bruin's name is often mentioned. They were the only group of Dutch students who first studied for three months in Swatow and later in the Hakka districts.

[358] "Wie daar reist, … we weten het bij ervaring,—want we hebben drie maanden in Swatow gewoond en zijn toen naar Hakka-landen vertrokken—ondervindt, al is de taal nauw verwant, toch nog groote moeilijkheden. / Het éénlettergrepig karakter der Chineesche talen en de toonvariaties maken elke geringe afwijking dadelijk tot een puzzle. / Men krijgt ten slotte zooveel klanken in het hoofd, dat een zachtaardige vorm van krankzinnigheid het tragische, maar onvermijdelijke lot is van iederen ernstigen sinoloog. Naast het werken in loodwit-fabrieken, is de studie der Zuid-Chineesche talen en dialecten wel de gevaarlijkste en verraderlijkste arbeid, waaraan men zich wijden kan. / Bovendien moet men over een onuitputtelijk geduld beschikken, daar men telkens weer het geleerde kwijt raakt." Vleming, *Het Chineesche zakenleven*, 44.

[359] "Het was mij voornamelijk te doen om de geleidelijke overgang der dialecten in deze streken op te merken en te zien in hoeverre ik met mijne kennis van Amoy, Chiangchew, Ch'aochowfu en Hakka mij op deze reis zou kunnen verstaanbaar maken. Bij Thaipu was ik weer geheel in de Hakkalanden, maar het bleek me toch, dat deze taal van Kiayingchow nog aanmerkelijk verschilt." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 31 October 1897, in No. 998/425, 8 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[360] "Onze verhouding tot de bevolking is … uitstekend. We worden hoogst zelden gescholden en zelfs verwonderlijk weinig aangegaapt." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow 31 October 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[361] "Op eene wandeling door de stad werd de Heer de Bruin voordurend door een drietal opgeschoten kerels voor 'vreemden duivel', 'vreemden hond' enz. uitgescholden. Op een gegeven oogenblik begon dit mijn collega te vervelen—hij draaide zich om en vatte een der kerels bij de kraag. Deze beweerde toen, niet gescholden te hebben en de Heer de Bruin liet hem los." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 31 October 1897, in No. 998/425, 8 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[362] "… dat wij Hollandsche ambtenaren waren, die volkomen goed recht hadden hier

te wonen en dat ons geen overlast mocht worden aangedaan." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 31 October 1897, in No. 998/425, 8 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[363] "一則緝拿番鬼之頭者, 懸賞花紅貳佰大元。該花紅到公議局內領給, 決不食言。" (punctuation added) Chinese text and English translation (not quoted here) by Kwan Han Chang, interpreter from Peking at the Dutch Consulate General in Hong Kong (no number), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[364] "Het was mij uit den aard der zaak moeilijk de conversatie te voeren aangezien mijne kennis van het mandarijnsch zowel als van het Hakka hoogst onvolkomen is." Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 31 October 1897, in No. 998/425, 8 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[365] "有在此學習土音之和國繙譯官名施達闢者來署求見, 備言匿名揭帖之事。卑職當即告以洋人在內地遊歷, 地方有司自當照約隨時保護, 斷無他虞, 一時無稽讕語, 原不足憑, 屬其不必滋疑, 好言撫慰。" (punctuation added) Chinese text and English translation (not quoted here) by Kwan Han Chang, (no number), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[366] George Campbell and his wife Jennie Wortman Campbell, missionaries of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, served in South China in 1887–1916 (Connecticut Archives online).

[367] Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 31 October 1897, in No. 998/425, 8 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[368] "卑職一面出示曉喻居民務各要安分守法, 嚴禁毋向洋人尋衅滋事混造謠言, 以期中外相安, 並飭差訪拿匿名揭帖棍徒, 務獲究辦在案。… 派撥兵役將各洋人並教堂隨時保護。" (punctuation added) inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[369] "Dat de Chineesche misdadigers niet vergeleken kunnen worden met Europeesche, blijkt uit de veiligheid, waarmede men, uitgezonderd in tijden van vreemdelingen-haat, als men de taal van de streek kent, in de binnenlanden reizen kan. / We hebben verschillende malen geslapen in herbergen, tien, twaalf dagreizen van de kust, met honderd à honderd-vijftig van de meest laagstaande individuen om ons heen, zonder geleide en zonder wapenen, en toch hebben we nooit eenigen last ondervonden." De Bruin, "De raadselachtige Chinees," *De Sumatra Post*, 30 September 1910.

[370] "Eene sobere levenswijze, gepaard aan stoere kracht en eene zeldzame volharding, vormen juist het kenmerk van dit hoogst sympathieke volk. / De maanden, doorgebracht te midden van de Hakka's, behooren tot de aangenaamste van m'n leven." De Bruin protested against the view of some Dutch officials that the Hakkas were "weak and often smoke opium." De Bruin, *De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra*), 45.

[371] Letter from Van de Stadt, Swatow, 10 August 1897 (not numbered), inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[372] "*Verschillen met de Hoklo.* Hakka beteekent vreemdeling, en wèl verdienen de Hakka's hunnen naam. Wie onder de Hakka's zou gaan woonen, zonder eerst in andere streken van China vertoefd te hebben, zou een geheel verkeerde indruk van den aard en de gewoonten der Chineezen krijgen.

*Toestand der vrouw.* Er is één factor, tot welke alle eigenaardigheden terug te brengen zijn, welke de Hakka's van de hun omringende Chineezen onderscheiden. Deze factor is, dat bij de Hakka's het geene gewoonte is, dat de vrouwen hare voeten kunstmatig verkleinen. Het is ongelooflijk welk een verschil deze omstandigheid veroorzaakt. De vrouw der Hoklo's (Ch'ao chow fu) is een opgeverfde pop, die slechts in zooverre nut heeft, als ze het middel is om een nageslacht te vormen. Zij kan zich niet anders bewegen dan met den gang van iemand die, met schaatsen onder de voeten, over land moet loopen. Tot werk van eenige beteekenis is zij ten eenenmale ongeschikt. Men ziet haar zelden op straat, en met de schuwheid van een ree slaat zij van achter haar rieten gordijntje, dat voor de deur hangt, nieuwgierig den vreemdeling gade. Heel anders is de Hakka vrouw. Fier als een Koningin, met eene houding waard in marmer gebeeld houwd te worden, schrijdt zij daarheen. Zij is een levend en denkend wezen en heeft haar aandeel in het dagelijksch werk. Op haar steunt haar huisgezin minstens evenzeer als op haar echtgenoot. Het gevolg van hare geschiktheid tot arbeid buitenshuis is vanzelf een meer ongedwongen en natuurlijken omgang met de andere sexe. Wanneer men met een Chineesche passagiersboot te Kia-ying-chow aankomt,

wordt de schuit onmiddellijk als het ware bestormd door eene zwerm van vrouwen, die begeerig zijn de bagage der nieuw aangekomen[en] te dragen. En men behoeft niet angstvallig te zijn haar zware lasten toe te vertrouwen; zij zijn over het algemeen sterker of althans meer geoefend in het dragen, dan de mannen. Een groot aantal vrouwen verdient haar brood, door van den morgen tot den avond zware emmers met water van de rivier naar de verschillende hoeken der stad te dragen; voor een bepaalde afstand is een vast tarief van enkele cash. Kleerenwasschen geschiedt ook hoofdzakelijk door vrouwen en zelfs de vrouwen der meest gegoede ingezetenen gaan zelf aan den oever der rivier hare eigene kleeren reinigen. Aan vroolijkheid en scherts ontbreekt het nooit als de schippers der omliggende schuiten haar onschuldige aardigheden toeroepen, hebben ze altijd een bijdehand antwoord gereed. Men moet onder andere Chineezen geleefd hebben om te kunnen beseffen hoe on-Chineesch dit gedrag is. Onze Chaochowfu meester en ook onze Amoy-koelie ergerden zich dood over de brutaliteit der Kiayingchowsche schoonen. …

*Zindelijkheid.* Wat de Hakka's voorts nog gunstig onderscheidt is hunne zindelijkheid. Wie door de straten van de stad Amoy wandelt en daarna door die van Kiaying, zal het hemelsbreed verschil onmiddellijk opmerken. Ook op hun lichaam zijn de Hakka's rein, zij baden zich iederen avond geheel met warm water.

*Taal.* Veel belangrijker dan de verschillen in gewoonten, gebruiken en kleederdrachten, is het verschil in taal met de omringende bewoners. Een Hoklo kan van het Hakka dialect absoluut geen woord verstaan, terwijl een Nanking of Peking-Chinees zich zonder veel bezwaar zou kunnen doen begrijpen. … / De Hakka's zijn er trots op tot de Noordelijke stammen te behooren en beschouwen de Hoklo's en de Cantonneezen veelal als overwonnelingen, die eigenlijk geen recht op den naam van Chineezen hebben, 'de taal der Hoklo's is geen taal, het is slechts een soort stamelen,' beweerde onze meester in Kiayingchow. / Deze drang om tot de Noordelijke Chineezen gerekend te worden brengt vele Hakka's ertoe Mandarijnsch te leeren, en bijna iedere Kia-ying-er van eenige ontwikkeling kan Mandarijnsch vrij zuiver spreken. / We hebben er dikwijls last mee gehad, dat onze meesters uit pedanterie mandarijnsche uitdrukkingen gebruikten, die onder het lage volk niet verstaan worden."

"Nota van den candidaat-ambtenaar voor Chineesche Zaken P.A. van de Stadt," with the title: "Eenige opmerkingen betreffende de Hakka-Chineezen" (Some remarks about the Hakka Chinese), in: "Nota betreffende de mogelijkheid eener verdeeling van Zuid-China in verband met de emigratie van Chineezen naar Nederlandsch Indië" (Memorandum concerning the possibility of a partition of Southern China in connection with Chinese emigration to the Netherlands Indies), Geheim (secret), 20 January 1898, inv. 15, toegang 2.05.27.01. Also in inv. 1343, toegang 2.05.38 (originally B-146).

[373] Letter from Haver Droeze to the Minister of Foreign Affairs accompanying his report about the possible annexation, 20 January 1898, secret, inv. 15, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[374] For instance, by way of preparation, land surveyors should be sent posing as language students! After annexation, free schools were to be set up for teaching the Malay language. Report (*nota*) dated 20 January 1898, inv. 15, toegang 2.05.27.01. The report sent to The Hague is in inv. 1343, toegang 2.05.38 (B-146 dossier). Not all appendices could be found, for instance the Basler Mission's map of the Hakka districts.

[375] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 208-16.

[376] Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Kia Ying Chow, 18 November 1897, in No. 1052/447, 25 November 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[377] Letter from Van de Stadt to Droeze, Swatow, 22 December 1897, in No. 1110/471, 24 December 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[378] IB 21/12/1897 no. 15 in No. 12/8, 4 January 1898, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[379] Letter from Droeze to the Governor-General, No. 43, 12 January 1898, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.

[380] They received half pay (*wachtgeld*) as from that date. IB 28/1/1898, no. 7 inv. 8174.

[381] IB 20/2/1898, no. 10 inv. 8176.

[382] Five Officials for Chinese Affairs were transferred in a row. Hoetink left for China, Stuart was 'promoted' to Batavia, Borel to Surabaya, Van Wettum to Makassar, and Thijssen began at the 'bottom' in Pontianak. IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.

## *Notes to Chapter Eleven*

[1] Earlier manuscript dictionaries such as the Dutch–Chinese dictionary by Justus Heurnius (1628, *see Catalogue* 2005, 69-70 and Kuiper, "Earliest Monument") and the Chinese–Latin word list of J.Th. Royer (eighteenth century, *see Catalogue* 2005, 12-13) were known to Hoffmann, but seem to have had no influence on him.

[2] The lithographic reprint by Von Siebold and Ko Tsching-dschang was published as *Wa Kan won seki sio gen zi ko = Thesaurus Linguae Japonicae*. The margin (*banxin* 版心) title of the original book was *Shogen jikō*. Title on title-page: *Wakan onshaku shogen jikō* 和漢音釋書言字考. Official title: *Zōho-Gōrui daisetsuyōshū* 增補合類大節用集 (Ser. 38, Kerlen no. 462). In this dictionary the words are arranged in *iroha* order according to subject.

[3] Kern, "Levensbericht," 5. Hoffmann, *Japanese–English dictionary* (1881), Preface.

[4] Until 1862 Japanese and Chinese affairs were the responsibility of the Minister of Colonies and the Governor-General of the Indies.

[5] Report by Hoffmann 2 March 1856, in V 14/3/1856 VA no. 147 Geheim (secret) inv. 5876. First request from the Minister 28 April 1855 and first report by Hoffmann 30 August 1855 in V 8/5/1856 VA no. 252/13 Geheim inv. 5879.

[6] *Proeve eener Japansche spraakkunst* (A tentative grammar of Japanese), van J.H. Donker Curtius, toegelicht, verbeterd en met uitgebreide bijvoegselen vermeerderd door J. Hoffmann (Leiden: Sythoff 1857).

[7] Hoffmann, *Mededeeling*, 1860. The matrices had been made from a set of 5,375 type bought from the London Missionary Society in Hong Kong. *See also:* Lehner, *Der Druck chinesischer Zeichen in Europa*, 191-208. In 1862 another set of type was dispatched to the Government Press (*Landsdrukkerij*) in Batavia (V 17/2/1864 no. 17 inv. 1440; *see* Chapter Twelve, Working as Interpreters and Translators, section "The Establishment of a Chinese Printing Facility in Batavia (1862)").

[8] Sijthoff could print 800 or 600 copies for lower prices. Budget in Hoffmann's letter to the Minister dated 6 May 1861, in V 19/8/1861 no. 20 inv. 1089.

[9] Upon receipt of 300 copies. Letter from Napier to the Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 9 April 1861, in V 4/2/1861 no. 10 inv. 1027.

[10] "Mijn woordenboek zou zijn doel niet bereiken, indien er bij de Nederlandsche verklaring niet tevens een Engelsche gevoegd werd. Ook andere natiën zien naar de verschijning van dit werk uit. Bepaal ik mij tot de uitgave van een Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek, dan zal men spoedig in Engeland en Amerika een Japansch–Engelsch ervan maken en dit namaaksel zal buitenslands het oorspronkelijke werk verdringen." Letter from Hoffmann 24 May 1861, in V 19/8/1861 no. 20 inv. 1089.

[11] V 19/8/1861 no. 20 inv. 1089.

[12] The budget was published in *Staatsblad* no. 13, law of 5 January 1862 (V 1/2/1862 no. 7 inv. 1147).

[13] Royal Decree of 20 July 1862 no. 35, in V 25/7/1862 no. 66 (Exh.) inv. 1221.

[14] *See* Chapter Two, Hoffmann's Students, section "Competition for the Last Chance: Meeter."

[15] Both books have on the title page the year 1867, but the prefaces are dated May 1868. Of each edition 500 copies were printed; 250 copies of the Dutch edition were presented to Japan, and 45 complementary copies were distributed to institutions and scholars by the Ministry of Colonies. Of the English edition only 50 copies were sent to Japan and 30 complementary copies were distributed by the Ministry. One copy was offered to the King (V 25/7/1868 no. 15 inv. 2111).

[16] A German edition appeared as *Japanische Sprachlehre* in 1877. The English reprint and the German edition were published without government support by E.J. Brill in Leiden.

[17] *The Saturday Review* (London), 7 November 1868, pp. 630-1.

[18] 30 November 1868 (Serampore). Quoted in V 18/1/1869 no. E1 Kabinet inv. 6003.

[19] Quoted in V 18/1/1869 no. E1 Kabinet inv. 6003.

[20] Hepburn, *A Japanese and English Dictionary* (1867). Second edition *A Japanese–English and English–Japanese Dictionary* (Shanghai, 1872).

[21] Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister in V 3/3/1870 no. 4 (Exh.) inv. 2300.

[22] This 'scientific' word order originated from Sanskrit; words are ordered according to

Japanese *kana* sequence as is still commonly done in Japan today (*a-i-u-e-o*, *ka-ki-ku-ke-ko*, etc.). This word order can be seen on a proof of four pages of the dictionary that Hoffmann had made in 1864. For instance, the first words on this proof were: *Káva, Káva-ávi, Káva-úso, Káva-óso, Káva-kákŭré*, etc. (proof in V 4/5/1875 no. 7 inv. 2782).

[23] For instance, Hoffmann distinguished *oho* オホ and *ou* オウ, although he was aware that both had the same pronunciation; therefore both were phonetically spelt ô by Hepburn. Hoffmann had maintained this traditional spelling and considered that the English and French had no right to complain about his Japanese orthography, as French and English also lacked a phonetic spelling. Japanese spelling itself was simplified in 1945.

[24] He would receive a remuneration of *f* 3,000 to be paid in three years and another *f* 2,000 upon completion. V 6/4/1875 no. 35 inv. 2775, V 9/4/1875 no. 26 inv. 2776. Royal Decree 11/4/1875 no. 15, in V 21/4/1875 no. 30 inv. 2779.

[25] Notarial act of 19 April 1875 passed at Hoffmann's house, in V 4/5/1875 no. 7 inv. 2782. *See also* V 9/4/1875 no. 26 inv. 2776.

[26] Proposal from the Minister of Colonies to the King in V 21/1/1875 Litt. TI Geheim inv. 6060. Royal Decree of 30 January 1875 no. 22 in V 5/2/1875 no. 24 inv. 2757. Short letter of thanks from Hoffmann in V 23/2/1875 no. 24 (Exh.) inv. 2762.

[27] *See also* Serrurier's preface to volume 1 of the *Japanese–English Dictionary* (1881).

[28] Report by Kern and Schlegel of 15 April 1878 in V 23/4/1878 no. 1 inv. 3089. Letter from the Minister to Serrurier in V 7/5/1878 no. 1 inv. 3095.

[29] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister dated 26 March 1879 in V 8/4/1879 no. 40 inv. 3188.

[30] According to plan 1,500 copies of the Japanese–English edition and 500 copies of the Japanese–Dutch one were printed (V 2/7/1879 no. 26 inv. 3208; V 5/5/1880 no. 60 (Exh.) inv. 3297).

[31] G. Schlegel: "Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek van wijlen Prof. Dr. J.J. Hoffmann," *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, 10 December 1881 no. 5, pp. 435-6.

[32] G. Schlegel, "Bulletin critique," *T'oung Pao* A 3 (1892), 521-7. Another version in Dutch: "Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI* (1893), 33-40.

[33] "Prof. Schlegel's zoogenaamde kritiek … beantwoord" and "Repliek op Mr. L. Serrurier's beantwoording …," both in 1893. Serrurier was known to be querulous, but Schlegel could also be pugnacious. *See also* Schlegel's "Desultory Notes on Japanese Lexicography," *T'oung Pao* A 4 (1893), 174-218.

[34] William George Aston (1841–1911) worked with the British consular service in Japan and Korea from 1864 to 1889 and was one of the major British Japanologists of the nineteenth century.

[35] Published in "Correspondance. Messrs Hoffmann and Serrurier's Japanese Dictionary," *T'oung Pao* A 4 (1893), 317-22. Aston also said that Hoffmann's complicated literal transcription system "will not commend itself to English readers."

[36] Letter from Serrurier dated October 1894, in V 1/11/1894 no. 21 (Exh.) inv. 4872.

[37] V 1/11/1894 no. 21 (Exh.) inv. 4872. V 29/4/1896 no. 30 inv. 5041.

[38] Letter from Serrurier dated 13/6/1896, in V 22/6/1896 no. 1 inv. 5056. Another argument was that the European interpreters of Chinese also all had a Chinese teacher/clerk.

[39] Letter from Serrurier 22/10/1897, letter from the Governor-General 29/11/1897, in V 3/3/1898 no. 2 inv. 5250.

[40] V 30/7/1898 no. 3 inv. 5287. This file has been destroyed, but it is quoted in V 21/1/1899 no. 49 inv. 5344.

[41] Letter from Serrurier 31/7/1898, letter from Governor-General 8/11/1898, in V 21/1/1899 no. 49 inv. 5344.

[42] Original letters of De Groot and Kern of 24 and 25 January 1899, letter to the Governor-General in V 4/2/1899 no. 14 inv. 5348. Typed versions of the letters in Bibliotheek Archief, M 86, 1921, letter no. 412, Leiden University Library.

[43] By Royal Decree of 28 February 1899 no. 25 of Queen Wilhelmina, the printed and unprinted sheets at Brill's, as well as the earlier instalments of the dictionary and the remaining 156 copies of the Dutch version of the Japanese grammar were allotted to Brill (V 14/3/1899 no. 29 inv. 5362). The remaining copies of both were sold for knockdown prices by Brill around 1977.

[44] A sympathetic obituary was published by A.A.W. Hubrecht in *De Gids* 65 (1901), 539-47.

[45] After Serrurier's widow passed away in 1920, the manuscripts were sent to the Ministry of Colonies and then to Leiden University Library. They are now kept in BPL 2180, BPL 2186:A (Special Collections Department). Vol. 24 has parts of both the Japanese–Dutch and the Japanese–German dictionary and is therefore counted twice (*Catalogue* 2005, 154-8).

[46] Hoffmann's and St. Aulaire's copies are now kept in the Hoffmann collection (III, IV), Special Collections, Utrecht University Library. St. Aulaire's copy has the title: "*Wên tszé yáo-liŏ [Wenzi yaolüe]* 文字要略, *Chineesch handwoordenboek bewerkt door Dr. J. Hoffmann*, Leiden 1849–1859." Both copies once belonged to Willem Vissering. Francken's copy was donated after his death to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences; it is probably still kept in the National Library in Jakarta (*Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 28 August 1866, pp. 209-11; 25 September 1866, pp. 230-1). (*See also* Chapter Two, Hoffmann's Students, section "Grammars and dictionaries").

[47] Schlegel and other Dutch sinologists never mentioned John van Nest Talmage's studies on Hokkien, probably because they only contained Amoy transcriptions and no Chinese characters. John van Nest Talmage was a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church of America.

[48] W.H. Medhurst, *A Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dialect of the Chinese Language, According to the Reading and Colloquial Idioms: Containing about 12,000 Characters, the Sounds of Tones of Which are Accurately Marked; and Various Examples of Their Use, Taken Generally from Approved Chinese Authors* (Batavia & Macau 1932).

[49] Full title: *Huiji Yasu tong Shiwu yin* 彙集雅俗通十五音. *See* Chapter Three, section "Learning to Speak Hokkien."

[50] Schlegel 1882–91, Introduction, pp. 1-3; De Grijs, *Woordenboek*, preface (*voorbericht*).

[51] "… daar elke uitdrukking, elk woord, uit den mond van Chineezen moest worden opgeteekend." (De Grijs, *Woordenboek*, voorbericht).

[52] *Emoisch Hollandsch woordenboek* (Amoy–Dutch dictionary), now in BPL 2104 I, *Catalogue*, 2005, 119-21.

[53] *Handboek bij het beoefenen van het Emoi dialect* (Handbook for studying the Amoy dialect) in three volumes, now in BPL 2104 II; *Catalogue* 2005, 121-2. Many words and translations are the same as in Francken's dictionary. Its scope is different from Schlegel's dictionary, since Schaalje only gave the colloquial language of Amoy, while Schlegel gave the written language in Tsiangtsiu dialect, sometimes adding the colloquial.

[54] André Henri Jacob Bloys van Treslong Prins (Batavia, 24 February 1848 – The Hague, 29 December 1888), worked in the sugar trade in Pasuruan from 1867 and later became director of a coffee company. He probably learned Chinese from his girlfriend Tan Pan Nio. She bore him two daughters in 1875 and 1877, who were acknowledged by him in 1882 (*De Indische Navorser* (1992), 50; *Nederland's Patriciaat* 8 (1917), 360). On 9 April 1875 he was at his request appointed unsalaried Chinese interpreter (*tolk voor de Chinesche taal buiten bezwaar van den lande*) in Pasoeroean, and he stayed in function until 1879 (IB 1/1/1875 no. 33 inv. 7619; IB 9/4/1875 no. 8 inv. 7625; *Regeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[55] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 3 March 1874, pp. 19-20. Since Francken's dictionary was still being printed, there was no opportunity to print another one.

[56] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* and *De Locomotief*, 29 November 1898.

[57] Dated Amoy 1860, written on slips of paper with character text in normal and cursive script, Amoy transcription, literal translation and free translation. About 250 have transcriptions and translations, 38 only have the Chinese text. Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.038; original shelf number SINOL. 5160.4 (*Catalogue* 2005, 138).

[58] Dated Canton 23 October 1862, revised Amoy 13 April 1863. BPL 2106 II: 11; *Catalogue* 2005, 138, 141. A manuscript copy by Hoetink without Chinese character text is kept in the Athenaeum Bibliotheek, Deventer (Van Slee, *Catalogus Hoetink*, 10).

[59] As this was to be published also, its contents were possibly incorporated in the dictionary. *See* below.

[60] "*Hollandsch–Chinesche & Chineesch–Hollandsche Woordenlijst der Familiebetrekkingen. Alphabetisch gerangschikt*. G. Schlegel. Kolongsu (Emoi) 1860" (Dutch–Chinese and Chinese–Dutch vocabulary of family relations, alphabetically arranged. G. Schlegel. Gulangyu (Amoy) 1860). Small manuscript booklet (8 ff., 9.6×6.6 cm). Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.036. *Catalogue* 2005, p. 136.

[61] *Benamingen der familiebetrekkingen onder de Chinezen* (Names of family relationships among the Chinese), BPL 2106 II 4 B. *Catalogue* 2005, 136. Schaalje also made a list of 48 Amoy riddles, BPL 2106 II.7; *Catalogue* 2005, 138.

[62] In his dictionary Schlegel mentioned that the interpreters had agreed about the standard translations which he used (*[Hoog]gerechtshof* (High Court),Vol. I, p. 1328; *secretaris* (secretary) Vol. III, p. 830).

[63] *See* Chapter Twelve, section "The Techniques of Translation."

[64] BPL 2106 II: 35 (*Catalogue* 2005, 150, 151 ill. no. 48). This is followed by a list of geographical names in the Indies. A list with the same title is in BPL 2106 II: 12 C (*Catalogue* 2005, 140). This list must date from before 1863, since the word *Koning* (King) is still translated as *Huangdi* 皇帝 (Emperor). *See* Chapter Five, section "Preparing for the Embassy."

[65] Schlegel made additions such as the names of some fruits, vices, sexual organs and so on.

[66] Hoetink's copy is kept in the Athenaeum Bibliotheek (Deventer) (but could not be located), Stuart's copy is in a private collection, and De Jongh's is in the East Asian Library, Leiden. The last two copies are kept in Archiefkast 3C, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.042 and 27.043. The last copy was owned by J.J.L. Duyvendak, but seems not to have been written in his hand.

[67] BPL 2106 II 23; *Catalogue* 2005, 146-7.

[68] In Dutch: "gebrek aan de daartoe noodige lettertijpen." *Notulen*, 27 November 1866, pp. 255-6; 27 December 1866, pp. 274-5; 26 March 1871, p. 23. For Schaank's work on a Hakka dialect (1897), *see* Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, second section about Schaank.

[69] Hou Jingyi 侯精一主编, Zhou Changji 周长楫编写, *Xiamenhua yindang* 厦门话音档, 48.

[70] The importance of Tsiangtsiu pronunciation can be seen from the fact that the name "Amoy" (Dutch Emoi) seems derived from the Tsiangtsiu pronunciation E̲ muî˘ rather than from the Amoy pronunciation Ē mɛˆng.

[71] It was based on his colleague J. Pohlman's manuscript vocabulary of the Amoy dialect. Pohlman was a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church of America, who came to Singapore in 1838, then went together with Doty to Pontianak and in 1844 to Amoy. On 5 January 1849, Pohlman drowned on the way from Hong Kong to Amoy (Wylie, *Memorials*, 111-2).

[72] Medhurst writes in his preface that he consulted Walker's and Sheridan's pronouncing dictionaries.

[73] Doty, *Manual*, p. I.

[74] From the English introduction. The Dutch text is: "Zooals men ziet, verschilt onze schrijfwijze in sommige opzichten van die van *Douglas*, hoewel wij, in China zijnde, en ons systeem van transcriptie vastgesteld hebbende, ons veel moeite gegeven hebben, hem tot ons systeem over te halen, hetgeen ons echter slechts gedeeltelijk gelukte." (p. 23).

[75] Schlegel chose to write the tone marks on the last vowel. Douglas used hyphens consistently. In Francken's dictionary, no hyphens are used in compounds (with some exceptions, for instance pp. 569, 570, 572), while Schlegel's dictionary sometimes used hyphens (*see* the table of Schlegel's transcription system compared with other systems in Appendix letter I).

[76] Klöter, *Written Taiwanese*, Chapter 3. Xu Chang'an 许长安, Li Leyi 李乐毅, *Minnan baihuazi* 闽南白话字, 32-6.

[77] *Hanyu fangyin zihui* 汉语方音字汇 (1989, second edition) has pronunciation lists of Chinese characters in twenty dialects. In these lists the Amoy dialect has twice as much space as the others, because it includes the literary pronunciations.

[78] Klöter, *Written Taiwanese*, 18-19 (1.3.1), quoting others.

[79] Yuan Jiahua 袁家骅 [et al.], *Hanyu fangyan gaiyao* 汉语方言概要, 第二版，北京：文字改革出版社, 1989, 249.

[80] Francken and De Grijs, *Woordenboek*, 379, 22. The pronunciation *má˘* is based on *Shiwu yin*.

[81] In Chinese linguistics, *xunzi* 訓字, gloss characters or characters that are used for their meaning only (Klöter: semantic loan characters), are contrasted with *benzi* 本字, original characters (Klöter: etymological characters). In Cantonese, characters are also often used for their pronunciation only or as phonological loan characters (Klöter, *Written Taiwanese*, 321-35 (1.5.2-3)), but these *baizi* 白字 are seldom used in nineteenth-century Southern Min.

[82] In Francken and De Grijs' dictionary, 558, 286 (misprint) and 200.

[83] In Northern China, the same problem can occur when one wishes to write the colloquial language (Mullie, *Chineesch taaleigen*, Voorwoord, p. VI).

[84] In the twentieth century again attempts have been made to write Taiwanese (Southern Min) in characters. Klöter, *Written Taiwanese,* 193-213 (5.4). Modern dialect dictionaries from China also use characters to represent dialect words as far as possible, for instance Li Rong zhubian 李榮主編, *Xiamen fangyan cidian* 廈門方言詞典, Nanjing 2002.

[85] Used for foreign names and words, for instance *Catalogue* 2005, 77, 78, 84; also in Hakka dialect, pp. 179 (no. 8), 183 (no. 23).

[86] *Lan* in *Hôlan* has another tone than the original character in 蘭 *lân*, "orchid" (Francken, *Woordenboek*, 331, probably quoting *Zengbu huiyin* 增補彙音, *juan* 2, p. 1). In this case the mouth radical may indicate a change in tone. Also written 啉囒.

[87] Klöter, *Written Taiwanese*, 58 (2.2.1). *Cf.* list in Cheung, Bauer, *Representation of Cantonese*, 346-94.

[88] These characters are called dialect characters (*fangyanzi* 方言字). The word *pak* is probably an early Taiwanese loanword from Dutch *pachten*, "to rent, to farm (out)" (*Cf.* Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, vol. III, p. 147 "onverpacht").

[89] Douglas, *Dictionary*, Preface, p. ix.

[90] In the introduction to his own dictionary, Schlegel put the blame on the "administrative restrictions" of the Government Press (p. 3).

[91] *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directie-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1862–1922*, Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, vol. 1 (1862/1863) – vol. 59 (1921), Batavia: Lange & Co. [etc.].

[92] Decision of 14 January 1866 no. 42. *Notulen*, 28 June 1866, pp. 170-1. IB 14/1/1866 no. 42 inv. 7407. Books bought with the government allowance for books remained government property.

[93] *Notulen* IV, 28 June 1866, pp. 170-1.

[94] Albrecht's nota was published in the *Notulen* IV of 28 August 1866, pp. 209-10.

[95] *Notulen* IV, 28 August 1866, p. 211.

[96] Schlegel certainly meant the printing of Chinese translations of Netherlands-Indies laws and regulations applicable to the Chinese. The Society's "own" printer (De Lange & Co, later Bruining & Co.) did not have Chinese type. Before, when the Society had books printed with Chinese characters, they had had to borrow type from the Government Press, which was very inconvenient (*Notulen*, 30 October 1871, pp. 69-70). In 1870, the Government Press also printed for the Society's journal *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* some articles by Schlegel and Schaalje with Chinese characters (*Notulen*, 26 March 1871, p. 22).

[97] A set of Chinese matrices had been produced by Tetterode in Amsterdam in 1860, from which type had been cast for Sijthoff in 1860 and for the Government Press in Batavia in 1862.

[98] *Notulen* IV, 25 September 1866, pp. 229-32.

[99] IB 5/2/1867 no. 44, inv. 7433. *Notulen*, 26 February 1867, p. 16. There are two misprints in the minutes. The allowance of "*f* 26" should be "*f* 16," and the "6 pages" per sheet should be "8 pages."

[100] *Notulen*, 20 December 1870, p. 92.

[101] *Notulen*, 26 March 1871, pp. 22-3.

[102] *Notulen* 1872, 3 October 1871, pp. 69-71.
[103] *Notulen* 1872, 13 February 1872, p. 9. They printed 250 copies, of which 50 were given to Schlegel.
[104] *Notulen* 1872, 2 April 1872, no. 35; 14 May 1872, p. 54; 4 June 1872, p. 69. At first Schlegel needed 300-400 new characters, to be carved by Lim Toa Long, but later he needed more and the price of carving had more than doubled.
[105] He left Batavia on 20 June (*Notulen* 1872, 4 June 1872, p. 72).
[106] Letter to Schlegel dated 27 February 1873 quoted in Schlegel's and Hoffmann's report of 9 April 1873 (p. 25), in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.
[107] *Notulen*, 1872, 19 November 1872, p. 159.
[108] *Notulen*, 17 December 1872, p. 171.
[109] Letter from De Grijs of 8 January 1873, mentioned in *Notulen*, 1873, 4 February 1873, p. 13.
[110] Schlegel's and Hoffmann's report of 9 April 1873 (p. 25), in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589; *Nota* dated 15 June 1875, dossier 144, inv. 180, toegang 2.04.26.02, Ministry of Home Affairs, Cabinet Archives.
[111] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, pp. 2-3.
[112] Letter from De Grijs dated 27 December 1873, *Notulen*, 20 January 1874, p. 8. In the preface to the dictionary, De Grijs wrote that he had made sparing use of his right to make additions, and omitted or changed very little. One of the things that he probably added were the Latin names of plants.
[113] Letter from De Grijs dated 27 March 18 74, *Notulen*, 14 April 1874, p. 41.
[114] *Notulen* 1875, 13 July 1875, pp. 99-100.
[115] The directors would also contact the Government Press. *Notulen* 1875, 7 September 1875, p. 13.
[116] Page 407 has survived as the back cover of one of the books in his library, one volume of *Jinghuayuan* 鏡花緣 (SINOL. KNAG 199). About 2.5 cm of the right margin of the text was cut off.
[117] This proof page contains 53 characters, of which 31 were printed in the proof and 22 were added by De Grijs. He also made 10 corrections in the Dutch text and 6 in the transcription, mainly tones.
[118] Douglas, *Chinese–English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (1873).
[119] Douglas much regretted that he had to leave out the Chinese characters. One reason was the difficulty of finding the correct characters for many colloquial words and expressions, but the main problem was that the printer in England did not have Chinese type and it was inconvenient to have the dictionary printed in Canton. In the *Supplement* to this dictionary by Thomas Barclay, published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai in 1923, characters were added to each main entry in the margin.
[120] *Notulen* 1879, 1 April 1879, pp. 59-61.
[121] The printing of each sheet cost *f* 16, the paper about *f* 8: in total *f* 24 per sheet. The 20 sheets would cost a total of *f* 480.
[122] In his preface to the dictionary, De Grijs stated that Francken was too modest and prudent to hurry the publication of his work; Francken was well aware of its shortcomings, and knew how many years of experience, study and criticism were necessary to compile a complete dictionary.
[123] *Notulen* 1879, 5 August 1879, pp. 127-128.
[124] The proofs of the preface were to be corrected by Groeneveldt. *Notulen* 1882, 7 March 1882, p. 50.
[125] Characters were left out except in the main entries from p. 520 (*Sien* 仙) onwards.
[126] The estimation of the number of sheets to be printed was evidently incorrect, as pages 1-520 consist of 65 sheets, and pages 521 to 774 consist of 32 sheets (in total 97 sheets). In the the years 1879 to 1882, the printing costs for the Batavian Society amounted to *f* 900 (*Notulen*, 6 January 1880, p. 13, *f* 100; 4 January 1881, p. 6, *f* 400; 7 February 1882, p. 23, *f* 400). This *f* 900 corresponds to the printing costs of about 30 sheets.
[127] *Notulen*, 10 October 1882, p. 160. There were 277 members in December 1882.

Although published by the Batavian Society, the dictionary was not a volume of the *Verhandelingen*.

[128] Matthijs Siegenbeek (1774–1854) was appointed as the first professor of Dutch language and literature in the Netherlands at Leiden University in 1797. At the request of the government he devised a new spelling in 1804 that became the standard for government use.

[129] In 1883 the spelling devised by De Vries and Te Winkel became obligatory in the Netherlands, and it remained in use until the 1940s.

[130] Respectively on pp. 443, 108, 124, 330, 18 and pp. 460, 515, 761, 696, 590. *Blaauw* also appears in the second half.

[131] An interpreter in Batavia, J.J. Roelofs, sent a letter to the editor of the *Java-bode* (dated 3 November, published 4 November 1882) stating that to his great surprise he (as a member of the Batavian Society) had received the dictionary the day before. He only knew that 150 pages had been printed in 1872, and assumed that the publication had been cancelled. Actually he should have known better, since as a member of the Batavian Society since 1877 he should have received the minutes of the Board meetings. He hoped that Schlegel's dictionary would appear sooner and concluded: "Such standard works supply an urgent need, which is felt incessantly and deeply when exercising our profession."

[132] This notice also announced the publication of Schlegel's dictionary. "Berichten en mededeelingen," *De Indische Gids* (1883), 287-8.

[133] Schaalje, *Handboek bij het beoefenen van het Emoi dialect*, preface, BPL 2104 II.

[134] Douglas' dictionary explicitly presents pronunciations in Tsiangtsiu and Tsintsiu (Quanzhou) dialects, but sometimes also in seven other dialects. He also mentions reading (literary) and colloquial pronunciations. All these different pronunciations can be searched as entries in his dictionary.

[135] For instance *ang á* 㤇仔 (p. 8), *hién ê lâng* (p. 105), *hin* 興 (p. 109). These appear mainly in the part edited by Schlegel. In a few cases, only a pronunciation between brackets is given, indicating that a certain word or saying only exists in Tsiangtsiu, for instance four sayings on p. 211, and one on p. 229. For a short appraisal of Francken's and Schlegel's dictionaries, *see* Sybesma, "A History of Chinese Linguistics in the Netherlands," 131-3.

[136] The addition of the sayings could not be confirmed, and Schlegel once even wrote that the sayings were not added (Schlegel's *nota* of 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589).

[137] There are a few mistakes, for instance *kiep* and *kiet* are between *kiaoh* and *kiem* (pp. 246-8); and *tsap* is between *tsang* and *tsao* (p. 672).

[138] In the minutes, two names of carvers are mentioned: Lim Toa Long (Chinese characters, *Notulen*, 2 April 1872, p. 35) and Lim Thao Long (wood-engraving, *Notulen*, 19 August 1873, p. 116). These names probably refer to the same person.

[139] "vischkorf," p. 191, in modern Mandarin *zhuó*, so it is a gloss character. Schlegel was fond of queer characters.

[140] Of course, types 2 and 3 can also be found in Mandarin, but not on such a large scale.

[141] The former character also has the cognate literary reading *tò* and the cognate colloquial reading *taò*; the latter also has the literary reading *tsì*.

[142] These are: *tîng ham, ē ham*, 頂睭, 下睭 bovenste en onderste ooglid (upper and lower eyelid); *gû bák ham*, 牛目銜oogkleppen van eene koe (blinders of a cow); *si˘ bák ham (se˘* bák ham) 生目疔 een strontje op het oog hebben (to have a sty in the eye); *bák tsiu ham ham*, 目珠蛤蛤 gezwollen oogen, door weenen of slapen (swollen eyes, from crying or sleeping).

[143] "dat is de gewoonte niet, dat is niet gebruikelijk," p. 340. Perhaps ū should be left out.

[144] "jongetje," in Tsiangtsiu pronunciation, p. 67. This word is listed under the main entry *gín* 嬰, with first entry *gín á* "child" (*kind*).

[145] "waarzegster, heks," p. 153.

[146] "een boosaardige vrouw, vrouw die de broek aan heeft," p. 238. *Pò̱* is Quanzhou pronunciation of Amoy *pò* (Douglas, p. 376). *Tsa bó̱*, "woman," is never written with the characters representing the sounds that are used in *Shiwu yin* (查厶).

[147] "door gaauw te willen eten de kom breken, *d.i.* door te veel overhaasting eene zaak bederven," p. 23.

[148] *Cf.* pp. 258, 306; 打, cognate reading *tá*, usually represents *p'ah*, "to hit." 欲 and 食 are glosses of *beh* and *tsiáh*.

[149] "een bijtende hond schreeuwt niet," p. 209.

[150] The cognate character of the third morpheme would be 酒 (p. 514).

[151] "veer, (van horologien, springmatrassen, enz.)," p. 89.

[152] Confusion by these mistakes can sometimes be avoided by looking at the preceding and following entries.

[153] The symbol for nasalisation ˜ is in Schlegel's system placed under the vowel, but for technical reasons it is placed here high after the vowel.

[154] Semarang was almost 600 km East of Batavia. When Medhurst, who was living in Batavia, had his Hokkien dictionary printed in Canton, almost 2,000 miles away, he was perhaps helped by a local proofreader.

[155] In the introduction to his dictionary (p. 3).

[156] "god die gezegd wordt alles te onderzoeken wat op aarde geschiedt" (p. 411).

[157] "naauw steegje, lett. 'Borsten-voel steegje'," Note: "Naam van een zeer naauw en donker steegje in Emoi, waar men de handen moet uitsteken om niet tegen elkander aan te loopen, en daardoor dikwijls de vrouwen die men ontmoet aan de borsten grijpt (Schl.)" (p. 85).

[158] "vleeschoogen, (tegen iemand die oneerbiedigelijk geen onderscheid tusschen ouderen en jongeren maakt)" (p. 48). This is an expression from the literary language not mentioned by Douglas.

[159] "een groote holle krab; een dik maar zwak mensch, iemand die den schijn van rijk heeft zonder het te zijn," p. 414. Not in Douglas.

[160] "aan de deur van *Pan*, (god der timmerlieden) met de bijl manoeuvreren, *d.i.* zijne kennis tegenover knapperen willen toonen" (p. 374).

[161] "compagnie, vereeniging. In Nederlandsch-Indië den gewonen titel voor Chinesche officieren" (p. 304). Douglas only has: "a firm, a trading company" (p. 245).

[162] "vendutie," p. 372. Note the mouth radical in *lê*. Probably a loanword from Portuguese *leilaõ* (Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Vol. III, p. 187). Other examples are in Schlegel, "Chinese Loanwords" (1890, pp. 39-40).

[163] Schlegel gives the characters 咖啡茶 and translates this as "brewed coffee" (*gezette koffie*, *Woordenboek*, Vol. II, p. 506).

[164] *Catalogue* 2005, frontispiece, pp. 97-8.

[165] Probably from Portuguese *capitaõ*, in Dutch *kapitein* (Hoetink, *So Bing Kong*, 355). This became all too clear to the editors of the minutes of the Chinese Council (Kong Koan) of Batavia when they were preparing the original eighteenth- and nineteenth-century minutes of the council meetings for publication. The reasons for these "omissions" were probably that this dictionary was in the first place compiled in Amoy and not in the Indies, and that the Dutch interpreters did not approve of the Kong Koan type of "translation" by transcribing the sounds of Dutch words (*see* Chapter Twelve, section "The Techniques of Translation.") and preferred to use authentic Chinese terminology.

[166] There is a reprint by 教會公報出版社 (臺灣教會公報社, Taiwan Church Press), Tainan 2008.

[167] *Nota* from Schlegel for the Minister of Colonies dated 9 April 1873, p. 26, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. He had earlier referred to the need of a good English–Chinese or Dutch–Chinese dictionary in letters to the editor in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 10 and 24 December 1866.

[168] *Nota* for the Secretary General of Home Affairs, dated 15 July 1875, in dossier 144 (1875), inv. 180, Kabinetsarchief, toegang 2.04.26.02.

[169] Report by Schlegel dated 5 July 1875, in V 6/7/1875 no. 22 (Exh.) inv. 2798.

[170] Schlegel, *Chineesche Taalstudie* (1877), 11.

[171] "… eene behoefte waarin, naar ik vrees, later wellicht nooit zal kunnen worden voorzien, daar het geduld, om den reuzenarbeid aan dit woordenboek besteed voort te zetten en te voltooien, bij mij alleen geschraagd werd door liefde tot de wetenschap en het verlangen mijn vroegere collega's, de tolken in Ned. Indië, de hun door de regeering opgedragen werkzaamheden te vergemakkelijken." Letter by Schlegel 12 June 1881, p. 8, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430.

[172] Appendix to Schlegel's letter of 12 June 1881, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430.

[173] "Ambtenaren van het binnenl. bestuur of van de regterlijke macht zullen wel zoo verstandig zijn om niet te trachten met de Chineezen Chineesch te spreken, maar hen te dwingen Maleisch te spreken." V 22/6/1881 no. 17 inv. 3417.

[174] Bureau A1's advice of 16/6/1881 and H. van der Wijck's comments in V 22/6/1881 no. 17 inv. 3417.

[175] The first instalment had appeared in 1864. Volume 1 containing A to Aluin would be completed in 1882, the last volume 43 in 1998. It is the largest dictionary in the world (3 m). *See* note 158 in Chapter Eight on Matthias de Vries.

[176] Letter of 29 June 1881 in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430.

[177] The list was probably made by Duprat in Paris, since the prices were in francs. It included the dictionary of De Guignes (1813, 1829), two dictionaries by W.H. Medhurst (1842 and 1847), Robert Morrison's dictionary (1815) and reprint (1865), and J.A. Gonçalvez's Portuguese and Chinese dictionary (1831–3).

[178] Comprising *f* 8,448.15 for the grammar, *f* 1,999.06 for the dictionary and twice *f* 3,000 remuneration for Hoffmann and Serrurier each.

[179] Probably as a translation of the Dutch text, not as a separate English–Chinese version since that would amount to writing a second dictionary

[180] "Uit hetgeen Dr. Schlegel mij mededeelde heb ik moeten afleiden dat een Engelsche tekst aan het werk weinig groter debiet zou verschaffen, omdat de Engelschen, voor zoover zij Chineesch schrift moeten schrijven, of lezen, hunne tolken hebben, en het woordenboek voor de spreektaal niet baat." Comments in the left margin, V 22/7/1881 no. 29 inv. 3426.

[181] "Inderdaad een verschrikkelijk denkbeeld voor den auteur, dat al dat werk ten eeuwigen dage slechts manuscript blijven zou!" Comments in the left margin, V 22/7/1881 no. 29 inv. 3426.

[182] "Wanneer de uitgave thans niet tot stand kwam, zou willicht nimmer in de bestaande behoefte aan een Nederlandsch–Chineesch woordenboek kunnen worden voorzien, ten gevolge van de bijna onoverkomelijke bezwaren aan de bewerking verbonden, waardoor slechts zeer zelden een geleerde den moed zou bezitten die taak op zich te nemen, en tot een goed einde te brengen." V 22/7/1881 no. 29 inv. 3426.

[183] Royal Decree no. 29, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430.

[184] The publication plan was announced in *De Indische Gids* (1881), 812-3.

[185] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister dated 13 June 1887, in V 10/1/1888 no. 33 inv. 4120.

[186] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister 5 May 1882 and answer, in V 9/5/1882 no. 27 inv. 3516.

[187] Letter from Schlegel to Minister 15 May 1882, in V 26/5/1882 no. 21 inv. 3521.

[188] No provisional title-page could be found, because it was probably always replaced by the definitive page, but its contents are mentioned in a review of the dictionary in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of 13 May 1883. *See* next section, "The Reception of the Dictionary."

[189] V 26/5/1882 no. 21 inv. 3521.

[190] Letter from Governor-General 14 September 1882, in V 10/11/1882 no. 21 inv. 3580.

[191] V 28/10/1882 no. 16 inv. 3577.

[192] Draft list in V 10/11/1882 no. 21 inv. 3580.

[193] Schlegel's list with comments in V 30/11/1882 no. 38 inv. 3585. Final list in V 12/5/1884 no. 13 inv. 3753.

[194] Schlegel here mentioned the number of type, not the number of new matrices, which was only 389; probably of each new matrix ten new type were made for Brill. There were 223 new matrices in 1882–3 (V 26/6/1883 no. 15 inv. 3648, V 26/2/1884 no. 16 inv. 3728, with list), 71 new matrices in 1884 (V 21/3/1885 no. 6 inv. 3841), and 95 new matrices in 1885–6 (V 11/5/1886 no. 11 inv. 3953, with list). Later it was stated that usually 20 type were sent to Brill, and 50 type to Batavia (V 17/11/1888 no. 54 inv. 4210). The typesetter first made new type by cutting up and piecing together existing type; then the type foundry Tetterode in Amsterdam made new matrices from these.

[195] Price mentioned in "Het Chineesch–Nederlandsche woordenboek van Prof. Schle-

gel," review of the dictionary in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of 13 May 1883 (derde blad).

[196] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, (Dutch and English) Preface.

[197] He must have meant the large number of new Chinese books that came to the library in the years 1878–81; these books had become even more accessible after the publication of his catalogue in 1883. *See* Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, section "The Expansion of the Chinese Library."

[198] "… eene verkeerde vertaling der verordeningen, publicaties, wetten enz. voor de in onze Koloniën zoo talrijke bevolking Chineezen, eene slechte interpretatie bij rechtspraak, kunnen tot schromelijke onbillijkheden niet alleen, maar ook tot groote schade, zoowel voor het Gouvernement als voor de onderdanen aanleiding geven, zooals ik dit, tijdens mijn verblijf in Indië maar al te dikwerf ondervonden heb." Letter by Schlegel 13 June 1887, in V 10/1/1888 no. 33 inv. 4120.

[199] Letter by Schlegel 13 June 1887, in V 10/1/1888 no. 33 inv. 4120.

[200] "Bij uitgave van wetenschappelijke ondernemingen schijnt men nooit vrij te kunnen blijven van achteraankomende hinkelende paarden." In V 20/6/1887 no. 28 inv. 4063.

[201] V 20/6/1887 no. 28 inv. 4063.

[202] Request for Royal Approval in V 2/1/1888 no. 37 inv. 4118. Royal Decree of 6 January 1888 no. 27 in V 10/1/1888 no. 33 inv. 4120.

[203] The completion with Supplement was announced in *T'oung Pao* A 2 (no. 1, February 1891), 99. Shorter lists of errata and additions had previously been appended to completed volumes. The Supplement also contained a list of geographical names.

[204] Dates of distribution by the Ministry of Colonies are in V 28/10/1882 no. 16 inv. 3577, V 3/11/1883 no. 64 inv. 3691, V 12/5/1884 no. 13 inv. 3753, V 12/11/1884 no. 20 inv. 3808, V 12/12/1885 no. 53 inv. 3913, V 24/12/1886 no. 69 inv. 4016, V 7/6/1887 no. 13 inv. 4059, V 12/12/1887 no. 20 inv. 4112, V 27/7/1888 no. 8 inv. 4176, V 4/6/1889 no. 11 inv. 4265, V 11/2/1890 no. 11 inv. 4342, V 27/4/1891 no. 16 inv. 4467. Dates of dispatch by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of receipt by Ferguson are in inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90.

[205] Half-sheets of 8 pages were used, not full sheets of 16 pages, so the actual number of sheets was 674.

[206] Exclusive of Preface (vii p.), Introduction (27 p.) and Supplement (61 p.).

[207] *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel*, 8 December 1882, quoted in "Berichten en Mededeelingen," "Twee Nederl.–Chineesche woordenboeken" in *De Indische Gids* (1883), 287.

[208] "Toch zal het woordenboek in de toekomst van veel nut kunnen zijn, daar de steeds in aantal, rijkdom en invloed toenemende chineesche bevolking in deze gewesten ondanks de bevolen inkrimping een aantal met de chineesche taal en zeden bekende Europesche ambtenaren zal noodig maken tot uitoefening eener controle en beteugeling van invloed der Chinezen …." "Alweer een Chineesch woordenboek," signed by 'U', *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 12 December 1882. Uilkens was a century later characterised as a "narrow-minded but calculating colonialist." Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 252.

[209] *The London and China Express* (weekly), 19 January 1883, pp. 65-6. Thanks are due to Mr. Graham Hutt of the British Library for providing copies of two articles from this journal.

[210] Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929) and Ishibashi Masakata, *An English–Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language*, 1875, 1st impression. In the reedition of 1905 the styles were no longer indicated.

[211] At the time this objection was already inappropriate, since such tone-marks were used in all Amoy transcription systems. Nowadays it has become irrelevant because similar marks are used in *pinyin*, the official Chinese transcription system.

[212] *The London and China Express,* 23 May 1884, p. 551. In later instalments Schlegel added more references to the source of quotations (*see* below).

[213] Published as "Feuilleton": "Het Nederlandsch–Chineesch Woordenboek van Prof. Schlegel," in *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 13 May 1883 (Derde blad).

[214] Giles, *A Chinese–English Dictionary*, Preface, p. IX. For the main entries in this edition a still larger type was used.

[215] Published in *Travaux de la 6e Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leide* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1884), Vol. II, pp. 123-42.

[216] Unfortunately Schlegel's examples in his lecture are not very convincing, but the dictionary includes better ones. Perhaps he just felt that Dutch was more suitable because it was his native tongue. On the other hand, there are some remarkable grammatical similarities between Mandarin and Dutch in resultative constructions and aspect particles (Sybesma, *Het Chinees en het Nederlands zijn eigenlijk hetzelfde*).

[217] The so-called *Petersburger Sanskrit Wörterbuch* was published in 1852–75 in 7 volumes, edited by Rudolf Roth (1821–95) and O. Böhtlingk (1815–1904). Schlegel had used the same argument in his inaugural lecture in 1877 (*Chineesche Taalstudie*, 11).

[218] After his appeal had been accepted, he wrote a *Note concerning the urgency of a complete Chinese and English and English and Chinese Dictionary*, which was presented to the Council of the Congress (*Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leide*, Première partie (Leiden: Brill, 1884) 231-5). He voiced a similar appeal in the English Introduction to his dictionary (note on p. 7).

[219] *6e Bulletin du Congrès International des Orientalistes, 1883, 10-15 Septembre, Leiden*, p. 4.

[220] Schlegel, always eager for recognition, wrote in 1880 in his "Réponse aux critiques de l'*Uranographie Chinoise*," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI* (1880) that his *Uranographie Chinoise* should have been awarded the prize in 1875, since Legge's *Chinese Classics*, though an outstanding work, had been published too early, the last volume appearing in 1872, and were therefore not eligible, while his *Uranographie* was the only suitable publication of the year 1875. Schlegel complained that the next year also, he did not get the award. Yet he did receive the gold medal for this book at the Geography Congress in Paris in 1875 (Van Zijderveld, *Duitse familie*, 233-4).

[221] *See* complete list of laureates in the English Wikipedia under "Prix Stanislas Julien" with digital versions of *Comptes rendues des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres.* Later Dutch laureates were: M.W. de Visser (1914, *The Dragon in China and Japan*), Tjan Tjoe Som (1951, *Po Hu T'ung*), and Kristofer Schipper (1985, *Le Corps Taoïste*).

[222] The information on these reviews was supplied by Schlegel, mostly in his bibliography (*Liste chronologique*, 1902), except for the reviews by Uilkens, Meeter and of course Schmeltz.

[223] Notes of the Quarter, Excerpta Orientalia, p. 542. The receipt of instalments was also mentioned in the JRAS in the Proceedings of the anniversary meetings of 1883–6, but not afterwards.

[224] Quoted by Schlegel in his review of De Groot's *The Religious System of China* in *De Indische Gids* (1892), 1133 note 1. Schlegel gave no reference to the name or date of the German newspaper.

[225] *T'oung Pao* A 3 (1892), 532-63, p. 558. "Read at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London (1891)."

[226] "Anthropological work in Europe," in *The Popular Science Monthly* 41 (1892), 54-72, p. 56. A partial translation was published in a letter to the editor (*ingezonden*) as "Een Amerikaansch oordeel over de beoefening der Ethnographie in Nederland" (An American assessment of ethnograpical studies in the Netherlands) in *Het Vaderland*, 19 May 1892, no. 118 (eerste blad). Starr's "word-book" was doubtless a loan translation of Dutch *woordenboek* (dictionary).

[227] On shell-money, *see* Schlegel's dictionary, *kaurie* (cowrie, Vol. II, pp. 408-9) and *betaalmiddel* (currency, Vol I, p. 470). No reference to shell-money could be found in the first instalments (Vol. III).

[228] "Toen wij, in 1882 tot conservator benoemd, hierheen kwamen, was even te voren de eerste aflevering verschenen van zijn boven reeds aangehaald woordenboek. Daarin bladerende viel ons oog op eene mededeeling over schelpgeld, die in verband met een arbeid door een onzer Hamburgsche vrienden kort te voren uitgegeven onze aandacht trok. Wij bladerden verder; van dat tijdstip af hebben wij elke aflevering van dit werk onmiddellijk als het ware verslonden en wij hebben daaruit in hoofdzaak geput onze kennis der ethnographie van het Chineesche rijk. Betreffende het een of ander onderwerp ons willende onderrichten, hebben wij steeds baat gevonden bij dit werk dat … voor den overledene steeds een 'monumentum perennium' zal zijn." Dr. J.D.E. Schmeltz, "Prof. dr. G. Schlegel. †" *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16 October 1903.

[229] Schlegel, "Het Godsdienststelsel in China," *De Indische Gids* (1892), 1132-8.

[230] "Subsidie voor een Engelsch boek," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 April 1892.

[231] This "enormous treasure" was, however, meagre (and unsystematic) compared to the real treasure trove in De Groot's *Religious System*.

[232] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister dated 8 June 1892, in V 11/6/1892 K8 inv. 6211.

[233] Cordier added that it not only contained all normal vocabulary, but also proper names such as Jupiter and Apollo. "Nécrologie," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 413-4.

[234] Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, under "Lexicography," p. 303, right below.

[235] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Vol. I, Preface, p. vi.

[236] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, "Aanhangsel," pp. 41-61. The wrong characters are typically a typesetter's mistakes. There is approximately one error every four pages, but unfortunately the list is far from complete. Moll also provided extra words that were added in the Supplement together with his name.

[237] This article mainly concerns Schlegel's and Douglas' opinions about the Sino–Japanese War of 1894–5, and it is a sequel to the discussions between Schlegel, Borel and others in Dutch newspapers about that war earlier that year. Meeter criticised Schlegel's support of the Chinese and his wariness about possible later Japanese aggression towards Southeast Asia, agreeing with Douglas that the arrogant Chinese had been justly taught a lesson by the Japanese and seeing no danger from Japan for Asia.

[238] "Dit woordenboek door zijn grooten omvang, vooral als het met wit papier doorschoten is en dan in vele deelen gebonden een geheele plank in een boekenkast vult, maakt ontegenzeggelijk een overweldigenden indruk op den leek in de Chineesche taalwetenschap. Het is dan ook een woordenboek van de *geschrevene* of zoogenaamde *boekentaal* der Chineezen, zoodat een beoefenaar der practische Chineesche taalstudie het allicht óf telkens te vergeefs zal opslaan, óf door de neiging van den samensteller om toch voor elk Nederlandsch woord een aequivalent in het Chineesch te vinden of..... te maken—hetgeen natuurlijk door het verschil in zeden en gewoonten eene onmogelijkheid is—dikwijls op een dwaalspoor gebracht zal worden. Het is alzoo een boek voor den Europeeschen kamergeleerde, die, zonder zelf ooit in China geweest te zijn, uit liefhebberij de Chineesche taal wil bestudeeren, en deze zal bij het gebruik van dat woordenboek de vele leemten daarin niet opmerken, doch op bijna elke bladzijde van den inhoud ontwaren, dat de bouwstoffen voor die uitgebreidheid hoofdzakelijk geleverd werden door de zooeven bedoelde obsceene Chineesche romannetjes. Maar de tolken voor de Chineesche taal in N.I., ten behoeve van wie het blijkens den titel 'hoofdzakelijk' is samengesteld, zullen het waarschijnlijk wel als onbruikbaar netjes in hunne boekenkasten laten staan." P.M. [Pieter Meeter], Geneva, March '95, "Twee professoren over China en Japan," *Java-bode*, 25 (and 26) April 1895.

[239] Surprisingly, Borel did not identify the author, the sinologist "P.M." Meeter had lived in Leiden and worked with Schlegel during Borel's studies there, and had even had contact with the students. Borel also knew Meeter's daughter, whom he called "Meetertje" in his *Diary* (14 December 1890). On the other hand, Meeter had also not identified Borel as the author of the article criticising Schlegel for his opinions on Japan. Possibly both did not wish to disclose the other's identity.

[240] "Professor Schlegel had wel eens zooiets noodig voor zijn pedant en ridicuul optreden tegen andersdenkenden dan hij." Borel, "Ingezonden stukken" (Letters to the editor), *Java-bode*, 21 May 1895.

[241] "Jammer, dat hij, zooals de heer P. M. terecht zegt, juist de obscene stukjes uit die literatuur overal in zijn woordenboek heeft gezet, zoodat dit wel tevens een woordenboek voor chineesche pornografie is." The word 'pornography' should here probably be taken in its original, literal sense of 'illustrations of prostitution.'

[242] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister dated 8 June 1892, in V 11/6/1892 K8 inv. 6211.

[243] Personal communication (emails 17-19 October 2011) from Dr. L. Blussé. *Cf.* Blussé, "Early Sinologists," 341. The last copies were sold for *f* 35 in May and June 1977.

[244] There is a reprint by 教會公報出版社 (臺灣教會公報社, Taiwan Church Press), Tainan 2008.

[245] Schlegel's list in V 30/11/1882 no. 38 inv. 3585. In 1891, at the request of P.S.

Hamel, the newly appointed Consul General for Southern China, a complete copy was also sent to the Consulate in Amoy. V 8/5/1891 no. 46 inv. 4470.

[246] Letter from Ferguson to Governor-General, dated 15 March 1892, and letter from Governor-General to Minister dated 6 May 1892, in V 20/8/1892 K12 inv. 6212.

[247] The characters for his name could not be found. His surname was perhaps Xie 謝 or Xue 薛.

[248] "den Keizerlijke Regeering en alle de dynastie getrouwe Chineezen hoogst kwetsend en oproerig moeten luiden," in Bureau A[1]'s report about Ferguson's letter of 15 February, in V 31/5/1892 no. 23 inv. 4579.

[249] In Dutch: *de Tataren en Mandschoes verdelgen* and *de Tataarsche dynastie verdelgen*. In vol. IV, p. 505. The other examples were in vol. IV, pp. 516, 517, 629 and the latter repeated on p. 650, and in vol. III, pp. 260 and 774. Letter of 15 February no. 120 from Ferguson to the Minister of Foreign Affairs (not found, but here quoted from Ferguson's letter to the Governor-General of 15 March). Another example not mentioned is in vol. IV, p. 324 (*uitroeiing*, "extermination").

[250] A list of these can be found in Wylie, *Notes on Chinese literature*, Introduction, pp. xxii-xxiii (1902 edition).

[251] Bureau A[1]'s report about Ferguson's letter of 13 March, dated 18 May, in V 31/5/1892 no. 23 inv. 4579.

[252] Pages with quotations from proscribed books were underlined. Vol. I, pp. 51, 93, 223, 248, 296, 307, 308, 347, 358, 390, 455, 457, 472, 500, 549, 562, 605, 624, 651, 656, 833, 906, 1021, 1229, 1242, 1244, 1272, 1379; Vol. II, pp. 122, 153, 154, 231, 308, 348, 351, 366, 448, 786, 817, 838, 845, 849, 858, 897, 919, 925, 937, 944, 945, 946, 947, 951, 983, 1039, 1079; Vol. III, pp. 34, 47, 62, 81, 113, 117, 128, 279, 316, 376, 402, 422, 440, 468, 647, 649, 713, 748, 754, 778, 833, 861, 1102, 1166. Vol. IV, pp. 32, 44, 59, 207, 354, 429, 512, 592, 720, [underlined twice:] *832*, 949, 958, 999, 1017, 1150, 1159, 1253, 1259, 1333. Supplement, p. 40 (the word *vastzitten*, "get stuck"). Letter from Ferguson to Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk of 15 March 1892, in V 20/8/1892 K12 inv. 6212.

[253] "Zij scheten en pisten van den angst." Vol. III, p. 440. English translations are mainly from Dutch, not from Chinese.

[254] "Hij stak zijne hand uit, en betastte haar onderlijf." Vol. I, p. 472. A quotation from the novel *Wufengyin* 五鳳吟.

[255] "*Wen-sin* liet toen *Tchin-koung* los, duwde *Han-jou* op een' stoel, en begon met haar een' grooten minnestrijd." Vol. II, p. 946. Quotation from the Qing novel *Yu Lou Chun* 玉樓春. In an edition in 24回, 4 卷 (SINOL. Go 273), this line is in chapter 18, p. 13r; this edition has 乒々乓々 instead of 兵兵乓乓; it should of course be 乒々乓々 or 乒乒乓乓. The reprint in *Guben Xiaoshuo jicheng* 古本小说集成 (上海古籍出版社) has (unclear) 乒乓 (p. 111, chapter 8). A slightly different shorter quotation is translated as "then there was a formidable roll in the hay" ("toen ging het, heb ik jou daar, aan een stoeien"), under *gaan* 7), Vol. I, p. 1213.

[256] "Ik heb vernomen, dat gij, nadat gij gebroekt waart, geen enkele gast meer hebt willen ontvangen." Vol. II, p. 1242. *Gebroekt* is an old-fashioned vulgar word meaning "deflowered." Quotation from "The Oil-Vendor."

[257] "Zijn penis stond met een wip overeind." Vol. III, p. 316.

[258] *Cf. Sexual Life in Ancient China* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), 287-90 about these stories.

[259] On 25 April 1892 he forwarded the general letter of 5 February (no. 119) (of which no trace could be found in the Colonial archives), on 30 April the letter of 15 February (no. 120) and on 12 May the letter of 13 March (no. 123), V 31/5/1892 no. 23 inv. 4579.

[260] "Het schijnt mij al zeer dwaas toe, dat in een Ned. Chineesch woordenboek geene obscene woorden zouden mogen voorkomen. Het bevestigt mij in de meening dat de heer Ferguson een man is van zonderlinge opvattingen en ik zou het wel wenschelijk vinden de heer Schlegel met zijne brieven bekend te maken om te vragen tot welke opmerkingen die hem aanleiding geven. Van belang is, dunkt mij, ook uit een Indisch oogpunt te weten of wij in China door een verstandig man worden vertegenwoordigd."

[261] V 31/5/1892 no. 23 inv. 4579.

[262] "met de meeste bevreemding, om niet te zeggen verontwaardiging."

[263] *See also* Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit,* 56-8.

[264] Accusations of such vices against a *kapitein* can be found in a Chinese diatribe from 1866, that Schlegel translated into German and published with the Chinese text, but with fictitious names of all persons concerned ("Philippica des Chinesen Tan-Iok-po gegen den Kapitän der Chinesen Li-Ki-thai," *T'oung Pao* A 1 (1890), 29-41).

[265] In a footnote to his letter, Schlegel added that when Professor Kern, who was one of the collaborators on the Sanskrit dictionary, heard of Ferguson's letter he exclaimed: "Is that fellow mad? A dictionary should contain everything." (*Is die kerel gek? In een woordenboek hoort alles thuis.*).

[266] "dat de ooren der Chineezen niet zoo *ziekelijk kieschkeuring* zijn als *onze tegenwoordige* ooren."

[267] Luc. 18:16. *See also* Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, vol. II, p. 443, "kindeke / kindje," note 1.

[268] This list was probably also incorporated in Schlegel's article about Chinese prostitution ("Iets over de prostitutie in China," Batavia 1866). In that article, published almost thirty years earlier in Batavia, expressions about subjects considered offensive (onanism, homosexual acts) only have Latin or French translations (pp. 21-2). When they appear in the dictionary, Dutch translations are of course provided.

[269] One quotation dated from the Tang dynasty (618–907) (vol. IV, pp. 629, 650) and the meaning of the word *duo* 奪 was not only "to rob" (vol. IV, p. 517) but also "to win" (vol. III, p. 512 etc.). These were wrongly interpreted by Ferguson, who was not a sinologist, and by Rhein, a very weak sinologist; according to Schlegel both were not qualified to judge the meanings of Chinese words.

[270] "daar hij alles slechts door de bril der Chineesche ambtenaarskliek ziet."

[271] "dat de aanbieding van mijn woordenboek den schijn zou kunnen hebben eener uittarting (sic!!) der Chineesche regeering."

[272] According to a report (of a Chinese mission in 1886) quoted in the *Indische Tolk* of May 1891, the 70,000 Chinese in Batavia were excessively taxed, gambling was rampant and the Chinese "were forced to take on Dutch citizenship" (迫令入彼國籍). Until 1910, all ethnic Chinese (in the Indies) were implicitly considered Chinese subjects by the Chinese government (*jus sanguinis*), while the Dutch considered them Dutch subjects (*jus soli*). The Dutch government allegedly oppressed the Chinese merchants so unreasonably and cruelly that many of them complained to the Chinese commission visiting the Indies. Schlegel did not mention the exact dates (20 and 26 May, 2 June 1891), nor the name of the author J.J.M. de Groot. The question of Dutch citizenship for Chinese in the Indies became apparent in 1881, when a certain Ma Ch'ien requested a Dutch consular passport for travel in the interior of China, to obtain Dutch consular protection. The Chinese authorities refused to accept his Dutch passport and citizenship unless Ma Ch'ien would dress as a European, which was forbidden for Chinese in the Indies. As a result of this dilemma, Chinese from the Indies only had consular protection in the treaty ports, not in the interior of China, where they counted as Chinese citizens. Only from 1887 on were some Chinese put on the same footing (*gelijkgesteld*) with Europeans and given full Dutch citizenship, but this was highly exceptional (Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 450-4, 466-567). Chinese text of the report in *Zhang Wenxiang gong wenji* 張文襄公全集, in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中國史料叢刊, vol. 454, pp. 1820-33, p. 1825.

[273] Ferguson was at his request of December 1894 honourably discharged in January 1895. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 193-5; Molhuysen, *Biografisch woordenboek*, part VI (1924), 514. On De Groot's conflicts with Ferguson, *see* Chapter Fourteen, section "Arranging the emigration of coolies."

[274] According to a letter from Ferguson to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 29 August 1892, in V 18/11/1892 no. 3 inv. 4642.

[275] Letter from Ferguson to Governor-General of 15 March 1892, Letter from Governor-General to Minister of 6 May 1892, in V 20/8/1892 K12 inv. 6212.

[276] "Zij zullen het Chineesche Rijk in een hap opslokken," illustrating *opslokken* (to swallow up), Vol. III p. 260. The literal translation of "the Chinese empire" is "the Great Country of the Qing [the Manchu dynasty]." At the time of the most rampant imperialism, when Western countries and Japan were "nibbling away" at China, this expression could of course be offensive to the Chinese.

[277] "de Tsing-dynastie … omverwerpen en de Ming-dynastie herstellen." Illustrating *schietgebed* (a short prayer) by quoting such a prayer of the Hung-League, Vol. III, p. 774.

[278] The original letter of Ferguson could not be found in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was numbered 4/6/1878 La A (2nd series) no. 76; it is mentioned in Ferguson's letter of 29 August 1892, in V 18/11/1892 no. 3 inv. 4642.

[279] V 18/11/1892 no. 3 inv. 4642.

[280] Letter from Van Tienhoven dated 24 November 1892, in V 8/12/1892 no. 8 inv. 4649.

[281] The other two copies did not need to be bound; they could be stitched. Letter from Schlegel dated 17 December 1892, in V 27/12/1892 no. 9 inv. 4656.

[282] Letter from Van Tienhoven to Ferguson of 26 April 1893, in inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Foreign Affairs, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[283] From a letter by Ferguson to Minister Röell of 29 December 1893, it becomes clear that he was always concerned that the Chinese authorities, who were surprisingly well informed about political statements made in the Netherlands, might use any such statement about China as trump cards in their negotiations with the Dutch. He had earlier protested against J.T. Cremer's speech in Parliament and De Groot's inaugural address in 1892. Inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.

[284] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 193-5.

[285] Knobel's letter (with unreadable date) and Schlegel's letter are in no. 489, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Foreign Affairs, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[286] "Wij Nederlanders kunnen niet door *militair* vertoon op het Chineesche Gouvernement indruk maken, want daarin worden wij door alle grootere naties overtroffen, maar wel kunnen wij indruk maken door onze wetenschappelijk vredelievende pogingen ten opzichte der studie der Chineesche taal." Letter from Schlegel dated 14 June 1896, no. 489, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Foreign Affairs, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[287] "Indien B.Z. hier niet op mocht antwoorden, is het het best de zaak op haar beloop te laten. Peking Nov '96 Kn." Letter dated 17 June 1896, in no. 489, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[288] Many Dutch newspaper clippings on this visit can be found in "Bezoek aan Nederland van Li Hung-tschang" (Li Hongzhang's visit to the Netherlands) inv. 67, toegang 2.05.90. Most documents are in inv. 9, toegang 2.05.18, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[289] It was to be presented by Knobel on Tuesday 7 July or later, since the binding was not yet finished. Groeneveldt wrote this in a letter to Minister Röell dated 3 July 1896, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.18.

[290] Letter by Groeneveldt to Röell, 5 July 1896, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.18.

[291] Schlegel had at first not been invited for the dinner, because he had stated that he did not wish to be assigned to Li Hongzhang during the whole programme of five days. Groeneveldt pointed out this misunderstanding to Röell (Letter of 3 July, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.18). Professor De Groot had been invited but was absent for unknown reasons (Invitations of 11 June and letters of thanks for their presence of 8 July, inv. 9, toegang 2.05.18).

[292] Thomas T.H. Ferguson (1871–1946) worked at the Chinese Maritime Customs and happened to be on leave in the Netherlands, living in Wageningen. He was made official interpreter for the Netherlands government during Li's visit, but he did not interpret at important meetings. After his retirement he was professor of Chinese at Utrecht University in 1932–8.

[293] *Le Courrier de Schéveningue* is kept in the library of the Gemeentearchief Den Haag. The Chinese text of the words of welcome was printed in the issue of Saturday 4 July 1896.

[294] Schlegel, "La visite de Li Houng-tchang à Schéveningue," *T'oung Pao* A 7 (1896), 407-13.

[295] Letter from Schlegel to Minister Bergsma dated 14 September 1896, in V 19/9/1896 no. 51 inv. 5083. These were Schlegel and Groeneveldt, and possibly Ferguson Jr., Schlegel's student J.H. Kann and perhaps Willem Vissering.

[296] Facsimile of the full text in Hans Pars, Karel Wagemans, *Kurhaus A Royal Residence*, 87.

[297] Groeneveldt had a Chinese decoration, but it could not be ascertained when he received it.

[298] The text in the article still has three misprints in characters that had also appeared in the original text: 瀛州 should be 瀛洲, 遨倖 should be 儌倖, and 弊堂 should be 敝堂.

[299] "Het heeft mij wel eenigszins bevreemd dat Li, die zoo kwistig Chineesche decoraties in Nederland heeft uitgedeeld, mij over het hoofd gezien heeft. Mij dunkt, en dit is ook de meening van den heer Groeneveldt en anderen, dat hij den vertegenwoordiger der Chineesche wetenschap in Nederland toch ook wel had kunnen bedenken. / Het publiek hier ten minste verwonderde zich er sterk over. / Wellicht vindt U naar aanleiding daarvan wel een gelegenheid Z.E. Li op dit verzuim te wijzen. Ik geloof toch, dat mijn hem aangeboden Nederl.–Chineesche Woordenboek alleen mij daarop voldoende aanspraak geeft." Letter of 8 November 1896, in no. 589, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[300] Letter of 9 January 1897, in no. 527, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[301] Li Hongzao 李鴻藻 (1820-1897), Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 471-2. Schlegel wrote Hoeng Tshao (*Cao*), but the second name should be Tsao (*Zao*). In some Dutch newspapers the name was spelled Li Hoeng Tshau.

[302] "De meest belangrijkste daarvan was stellig die van *Li Hoeng-tschang* zelf. Zooals ik hem heb leren kennen, als een 'eingefleischte Chinese' is zijn uitspraak dat ik daarin 'display much ability as a sinologue' van bijzondere waarde, te meer daar ik het chineesche stuk in zes uren tijds moest redigeeren en laten drukken, omdat de heer Goldbeck zoo laat met zijn aanvraag kwam opdoemen. / Dit is ook de reden geweest der drukfout in den naam op het programma. Daar uit de europeesche couranten niet te vinden was hoe of Li Hoeng-tschang's naam in Chineesche karakters moest geschreven worden, want, behalve den familienaam Li, kon zijn voornaam Hoeng-tschang wel op twintigerlei wijzen geschreven worden, telegrafeerde ik naar Parijs en kreeg de valsche opgave Hoeng *Thsao*, die nu toevallig juist ook bestaat en de naam van een vijand van Hoeng-tschang blijkt te zijn. Ik kan mij zeer goed begrijpen, dat Z.E. daarover ontstemd was—maar het was mijn schuld niet, maar die van professor Cordier in Parijs, die mij de verkeerde opgaaf gaf, en de tijd was te kort om een nader onderzoek naar de chineesche karakters 李鴻章 in te stellen. Zooals Z.E. ontwaren zal is die fout in het gedrukte stuk nu verbeterd, en dat zal langer blijven bestaan, dan de ephemere programmas van het Kurhaus te Scheveningen." Letter of 11 March 1897, in no. 527, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[303] *Die Chinesische Inschrift auf dem Uigurischen Denkmal in Kara Balgassun.* Übersetzt und erläutert (Helsingfors: Société Finno-Ougrienne; printed in Leiden by Brill, 1896). This book had probably also been offered to Li Hongzhang.

[304] Letter dated 25 April 1897, in no. 527, inv. 42, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[305] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 February 1898. He received permission to accept the Order by Royal Decree of 11 July 1898 no. 40 (*Nederlandsche Staatscourant* no. 170, 23 July 1898). In Chinese: 雙龍寶星第三等第三品. This order was specially created in 1882 for foreigners. Schlegels's rank (the 3rd class of the 3rd grade) was not high: the mayors of Amsterdam and Rotterdam had received the 3rd class of the 2nd grade, and Knobel even the 1st class of the 2nd grade. Schlegel received the same rank as J.C. Arnoldy, Train Station Chief of the Dutch Iron Railway Company (Hollandsche IJzeren Spoorweg Maatschappij), The Hague.

[306] To my knowledge there is only one English–Chinese dictionary which fulfills the needs of a foreign translator as expressed by Schlegel. This is Karl Hemeling's *English–Chinese Dictionary of the Standard Chinese Spoken Language* (官話) *and Handbook for Translators, Including Scientific, Technical, Modern and Documentary Terms* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1916). The German Dr. K. Hemeling (1878–1925), who could probably read some Dutch, did not mention Schlegel's dictionary in his introduction—by then it was outdated as a technical dictionary—but he used the same manner of presenting the different meanings of a word.

[307] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, p. 12.

[308] Schlegel went on to say that he even added many French and Latin expressions in current use that one never finds in European dictionaries, as well as the names of gods and persons from Greek mythology, and some quotations from Western and Chinese poets.

[309] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, p. 20. Schlegel found support for his plea for

idiomatic translation and his belief in finding equivalents in the article "Of Translation from and into Chinese" (*Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, May 20, 1870, pp. 42-6, by "R.L.").

[310] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, pp. 17-18. Medhurst's English–Chinese dictionary (1847–8) was a reverse version of his Chinese–English dictionary (1842–3); the latter was based on the Kangxi Dictionary.

[311] Gram, "Bezoek aan Schlegel," *Het leeskabinet* (1902-2), 86.

[312] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, p. 2.

[313] Letter from Schlegel to the Minister of Colonies of 12 June 1881, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430. Some translations in the dictionary are descriptions, for instance "republic" (*see* below), not idiomatic equivalents. *See also* Chapter Twelve, section "Working as Translators."

[314] Johan Hendrik van Dale (1828–72) edited with Jan Manhave the dictionary of the brothers Calisch (1864). It was in part posthumously published in 1872–4. This dictionary would become the standard dictionary of modern Dutch, and it has often been reprinted. In 2005 the 14th edition appeared in three volumes, now entitled *Van Dale: Groot woordenboek der Nederlandse taal* (Van Dale: Large dictionary of the Dutch language), and in 2015 the 15th edition.

[315] Serrurier no. 65, 65*, 65**; Kerlen no. 1275. This was the printed edition of Hendrik Doeff's manuscript dictionary, the *Doeff Halma* (1816–33). In his quotations Schlegel usually left out the *katakana*. He also made use of *Yakken* 譯鍵 (1810, reprint 1857; Serrurier 61 and 61*; Kerlen nos. 1836, 1913).

[316] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, pp. 10-11.

[317] For example the word *laadpan* (loading pan, a part of a gun) 炮銃火皿 (Vol. II, p. 621).

[318] Vol. I, pp. 736-9. The word *Burgerachtig* (bourgeois-like, in small type) is placed between the compound *Burgerzoon* and the next main entry *Burgerij*. Perhaps it should be in large type. In Van Dale's dictionary, this manner of ordering is only used on the first two pages (the compounds of *aal*), probably by mistake, while the rest of the dictionary is in strict alphabetical order.

[319] Francken and De Grijs, *Woordenboek*, 698.

[320] *Huiji yasu tong Shiwu yin* 彙集雅俗通十五音, 8 vols., Wendetang 文德堂, 1861; title page: *Zengzhu zhuzi shiwu yin* 增註硃字拾伍音, SINOL. KNAG 160 (East Asian Library, Leiden). Schlegel must also have used its supplement *Zengbu huiyin* 增補彙音.

[321] Vol. II, p. 451. The colloquial expression could be written in characters as 摔馬鞭.

[322] Vol. II, p. 771, at the entry *Logarithme*. Other examples are *Frank* (Vol. I, p. 1204), *Jonas* (Vol. II, p. 348) and *los* (lynx) (Vol. II, p. 787).

[323] Hakka pronunciation of *Kapitein* as *Kap-thai*, Vol. II, p. 392.

[324] This is a translation of 花箋記 *Huajian ji*. Full title: *Hoa Tsien Ki. De geschiedenis van het gebloemde briefpapier*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 32 (1866). Preface dated Batavia, 1865. Unfortunately Schlegel's Mandarin transcriptions are often erroneous due to confusion with Hokkien.

[325] Schlegel was probably referring to C.R. Lepsius' general alphabet.

[326] An asterisk was said to be added also to colloquial expressions not admitted in 'classical' literature, but no examples of this could be found in the dictionary.

[327] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Vol. IV, pp. 231-2. This list (except *turfkist* and the meaning of *turfboer*) could have been copied from Van Dale's Dutch dictionary of 1872. The modern word *nitan* 泥炭 appears on p. 1014 in Hemeling's English–Chinese dictionary (1916) as a term selected by the Chinese Minister of Education.

[328] These would also be useful for checking the numerous misprints and abbreviated quotations.

[329] Letter from Schlegel to Minister (about Ferguson) of 8 June 1892, in V 11/6/1892 K8 inv. 6211.

[330] G.Th. Staunton, *Ta Tsing Leu Lee* (London, 1810). In one copy of the *Qing Code* in the East Asian Library in Leiden, Schlegel added these paragraph numbers with a pencil: *Da Qing lüli xing'an huizuan* 大清律例刑案彙纂, 1843 (Schlegel, *Catalogue*, no. 102; SINOL. 4885.2).

[331] Surprisingly, Schlegel always misspelled the first word as *Notitiae* adding an extra *e*. Only in 1892 did he use the correct spelling in his "La stèle funéraire du Teghin Giogh."

[332] This was one of the books that the library acquired from Brill in 1880.

[333] For example *bate* (benefit, Vol. I, p. 291), *betrekking* (position, p. 483 no. 4), *straf* (punishment, Vol. III, pp. 1152-3), *tekst* (text, Vol. IV, p. 50), *tonnengeld* (tonnage fee, Vol. IV, p. 151), *uitklaren, uitklaring* (customs clearance, Vol. IV, pp. 301-2), *voorrecht* (prerogative, Vol. IV, p. 921).

[334] Translated as *Tan tian* 談天 (18 *juan*) by Alexander Wylie and Li Shanlan 李善蘭 (1811–82) in 1859. For instance Leda (planet, Vol. II, p. 666).

[335] For instance, *saluut* (salute, Vol. III, p. 709), *tijdelijk* (temporary, Vol. IV, p. 99). A phrase with *gelijkstellen* (make equal, put on equal footing with) includes the additional remark that it is always translated in that way in the *Ind. Staatsbladen* (Vol. I, p. 1295, note).

[336] Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 77-110, in particular p. 102. It was superseded by the Union version of 1919. The Dutch version was the *Statenvertaling* (1637).

[337] W.H. Medhurst, W.C. Milne, W.J. Boone (Shanghai), J. Stronach (Amoy), and E.C. Bridgman (Canton, Hong Kong).

[338] Matth. 7:7, Luc. 11:9; Vol. IV, p. 1337 (*zoeken*, note). Similar examples with Schlegel's comments are in Vol. I, p. 280 (*balk*), p. 287 (*baren*), p. 486 (*beuk*, note), p. 595 (*bliksem*), p. 867 (*dienen*), p. 903 (*doen*), Vol. II, pp. 687-8 (*legio*), p. 947 (*minst*), p. 1006 (*mug*). Not all of Schlegel's examples are convincing.

[339] Respectively translated as: *heden hebben mijne meisjes altemaal gasten* (today all my girls have guests); *hedenavond zijn al mijne meisjes besproken* (tonight all my girls are reserved); *mijne deerns hebben heden allen een' gast* (my girls today all have a guest); *heden hebben mijne meisjes allen een' gast* (today all my girls have a guest).

[340] Some other full texts are: *belasting* (taxes on horses and carriages, Vol. I, p. 374); *bronwater* (advertisement for mineral water imported from the Netherlands, Vol. I, pp. 707-8); *gegadigde* (public sale of household furniture, 1866, Vol. I, pp. 1262-3); *lommerdhuis* (pawn shop, Vol. II, p. 776); *toetreden* (notice of someone joining a company, 1866, Vol. IV, p. 138); *verificatie* (verification, about bankruptcy, 1866, Vol. IV, pp. 569-70); *verponding* (land tax, 1863, Vol. IV, p. 655); *vervalschen* (to counterfeit, Vol. IV, p. 714).

[341] Some other original Chinese texts are: *echtscheidingsbrief* (divorce letter, quoted from "Zhenzhu shan" 珍珠衫, *Gujin xiaoshuo* 古今小說, Vol. I, pp. 1053-4); *lommerdbriefje* (pawn ticket, Vol. II, p. 775-6); *schuldbekentenis* (confession of guilt, dating from 1552; and acknowledgement of debt, Vol. III, p. 824-6); *tandpoeder* (advertisement for tooth powder from Japan, Vol. IV, pp. 17-18); *theekoopman*, advertisement for tea, Vol. IV, p. 85); *vennootschap* (company, 1866, Vol. IV, pp. 461-4); *verkoopcontract* (sale contract, Vol. IV, pp. 566-8); *wissel* (model of a bill of exchange from Amoy, Vol. IV, pp. 1218-9).

[342] For example *tooneelvoorstelling* (theatre in Hong Kong, Vol. IV, pp. 162-3), *verificatie* (verification, Vol. IV, pp. 569-70).

[343] Other examples are *haar* (her, Vol. II, p. 4), *het* (it, Vol. II, p. 132), *ik* (I, Vol. II, pp. 248-9), *op* (*op heden*, today, Vol. III, p. 185), *opbrengst* (proceeds, Vol. III, p. 189), *uw* (your, Vol. IV, pp. 390-3), *verkleinwoord* (diminutive, Vol. IV, pp. 584-5), *worden* ('to be' as sign of the passive, Vol. IV, p. 1240, no. 2).

[344] Also *directeur, directie* (director, direction) Vol. I, p. 890-1. Some of these also appear in Schaalje's lists titled *Namen van Ambtenaren en Collegien in Nederlandsch Indië* (Names of officials and boards in the Netherlands Indies) 燕地官銜 dating from 1859 to 1863 (BPL 2106 II: 12C and 35). All words on these lists were incorporated into the dictionary. *See* word list in Appendix K.

[345] Other examples are *notarieel[e akte]* (notarial certificate, 梁礁契 *niû˜-ta k'è* (Coll.), Vol. II, p. 1126); *Luitenant-Chinees*, for which both the 'official name' 理正 and transcription 雷珍蘭 *Luî-tin-lân* are given (Vol. II, p. 810); *bank* (*Javasche Bank* 爪亞大當, Java Central Bank, Vol. I, p. 285). These were mostly words from Schaalje's list.

[346] Curiously, Schlegel explained *toā kaó* as "Hondenslager" (dog chaser, runner, policeman); cf. Vol. II p. 165; also mentioned in the entry *bandhond*, but without the warning (dog on a leash, Vol. I, p. 283). Van de Stadt suggested the origin *toean skout* in his *Hakka-woordenboek* (1912, p. 215). In the Malay–Chinese dictionary *Tongyu jinliang bianlan* 通語津梁便覽 (Singapore 1889) 'toeakauw' is written with the characters 大交 and translated as 'sekaoet' (卷下,

p. 17a). The word also appears in Pernitzsch and Tittel's *Chinesische Buchhaltung*, where it is written 大狗 and 大九 (1927, p. 67). In Singapore this word was already heard in the 1870s (Jackson, *Pickering*, 19). Nowadays it is still used in Malaysian Hokkien for 'Chief of Police.'

[347] Schlegel did not give the source. "Arbre généalogique en Chinois," Perny, *Dictionnaire*, Appendix no. X.

[348] Actually many modern Chinese translations of Western concepts were created in this way. For instance, *gonghe* 共和, literally "communal harmony," nowadays with the addition *guo* 國 for "republic," was originally the name of a reign period of the Zhou dynasty from 841–28 B.C., when the Duke of Zhou left the rule of his state to his two ministers. This translation was created in Japan, then borrowed into Chinese, and later superseded the native creations *minzhuguo* 民主國 and *minguo* 民國.

[349] Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, 82-90.

[350] For example *aftrekken* (onanism, Vol. I, p. 188, no. 6); *besmetster* (contagious prostitute, Vol. I, p. 449); *broeken* (to copulate, Vol. I, p. 705); *doodneuken* (to copulate someone to death, Vol. I, p. 927). In a footnote Schlegel apologised for this vulgar word, with the argument that the Chinese word could only be translated in this forceful way, thereby showing that he was actually translating Chinese into Dutch. Other examples are *godmiché* (dildo, Vol. I, p. 1407), *klaarkomen* (to ejaculate, Vol. II, p. 448, no. 2) and *ring* (Vol. III, p. 642).

[351] For instance the saying 做一日和尚, 撞一日鐘 which is translated as *den eenen dag priester, den anderen dag klokluider*, "to be a priest for one day and a bell-ringer the next day" (*klokluider*, bell-ringer, Vol. II, p. 476), while it actually means "to act as a monk for one day and ring the bells" that is "to do one's work in a perfunctory manner."

[352] He typically ended with a saying about a gentleman's frequency of coïtus, which to him was the true mark of a gentleman (Vol. I, pp. 1323-4). Other examples are *China* and *Chinaasappel* (orange) (Vol. I, p. 758). For 'China' Schlegel favoured the spelling *Tsina* (*see* illustration 21), which would be consistent with Southern Mandarin transcriptions such as Tsinghua 清華.

[353] Legge, *The Chinese Classics, The Shoo King*, V, XVI, 2. Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Vol. II, p. 102, *eed*. As often, Schlegel did not agree with Legge's translation. This formula would only be of use for Christian Chinese and not for non-Christians, who had other oath formulas and ceremonies in the Indies.

[354] *See* Chapter Twelve, Working as Interpreters and Translators, sections on translation.

[355] Email from Dr. Chen Menghong 陳萌紅 dated 27-2-2012. *See also* Chen Menghong, *De Chinese gemeenschap van Batavia*, 9.

[356] Kuiper, "Dutch Loan-words and Loan-translations in Modern Chinese"; Masini, "The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon"; *An Etymological Glossary of Selected Modern Chinese Words = Jin-xiandai Hanyu xinci ciyuan cidian* 近现代汉语新词词源词典 (Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2001).

[357] Vol. I, p. 877; Vol. III, p. 615; Vol. III, p. 4. He explained the reason for this term in Vol. II, p. 942.

[358] Personal communication (1990s) from Dr. R.P. Kramers, who studied Chinese in Leiden from 1938 to 1947.

[359] "Ons dunkt dat met de uitgave van dit boek aan een werkelijk gevoelde behoefte wordt voldaan. … is het voor den billijken prijs van *f* 5 bij de firma G. Kolff & Co. verkrijgbaar gesteld." *Bataviaasch Nieuwblad*, 3 October 1912.

[360] "Een zeer practisch woordenboek dat van heel veel nut kan zijn voor allen die met Chineezen moeten omgaan, speciaal voor de Europeesche beambten bij de tinwinning op Banka en Billiton." Advertisements in the same newspaper on 3 and 23 October 1912.

[361] MacIver, *A Chinese–English Dictionary in the Vernacular of the Hakka People in the Canton Province*. A revised second edition by M.C. MacKenzie appeared in 1926.

[362] The only differences between Van de Stadt's and MacIver's system are: *sj-sh*, *tsj-ch* and *w-v*, for instance *sja-sha*, *tsja-cha*, *wa-va*. In these cases Van de Stadt followed Schaank's system, but for the rest he followed MacIver's system.

[363] These were in *Songti* or *kaiti*, for instance *brutaal, brij, buis*, p. 40; *smoren*, p. 223; *zoo*, p. 319.

[364] 傣 has the 'mouth' radical instead of the 'man' radical.

[365] "Men moge zich als sinoloog ergeren aan bastaard uitdrukkingen als *min-thap* (*minta*) en *tó-lông* (*toeloeng*), het is nu eenmaal een feit, dat dit op Banka en Billiton de meest gebruikte woorden zijn voor "verzoeken" en "helpen" en als zoodanig behooren ze m.i. in dit spreektaal-woordenboek thuis." Van de Stadt, *Hakka-woordenboek*, "Voorrede."

[366] On pp. 200, 86, 16 and 44. Schlegel's translations for these officials in the Indies are: *resident* 知府正堂, *gouverneur* 道臺, *assistent-resident* 知州正堂, *controleur* 知縣.

[367] The more common Hokkien transcription for this title was 雷珍蘭.

[368] Similar to modern Cantonese *sihk lóuhsai* 食老細 and Mandarin *chī lǎobǎn* 吃老板 as used in Chinese restaurants in the Netherlands.

[369] 薨 has the 'corpse' 尸 radical.

[370] Besides the two above-mentioned works by MacIver and Schaank, these are: D. MacIver, *A Hakka Index to the Chinese–English Dictionary of Herbert A. Giles and to the Syllabic Dictionary of Chinese of S. Wells Williams* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Press, 1904); Ch. Rey, *Dictionnaire Chinois–Français, dialecte Hac-ka: précédé de quelques notions et exercices sur les tons* (Hong Kong: Imprimerie de la Societé des Missions Etrangères, 1901) (also contains a French–Chinese vocabulary); J. Dyer Ball, *Hakka Made Easy* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, 1896) (a new edition appeared in 1913); and several works written in romanised Hakka and published by the English Presbyterian Mission. Manuscript Hakka–German dictionary of the Basel Mission.

## *Notes to Chapter Twelve*

[1] Hoetink in his *nota* for the Director of Justice, Soekaboemi, 19 September 1900, typed copy in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04.

[2] Letter from Governor-General Duymaer van Twist to Minister Pahud, 18 September 1853, in V 17/1/1853 no. 19 inv. 311. Quoted in full in Chapter One, The Origins of Dutch Sinology, section "The Banka Case and Other Arguments."

[3] This correspondence is mentioned in IB 15/4/1863 no. 12 inv. 7347.

[4] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1819, no. 79 (IB 25/11/1819 no. 3). These fees remained unchanged until 1942.

[5] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1837, no. 59, 1857 no. 42.

[6] Mentioned in IB 15/9/1859 no. 49 inv. 7267.

[7] The text of the oath was published in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1859, no. 69. Most of these are nowadays still normal rules for translators.

[8] At least, only this letter and no such *nota* is mentioned in IB 15/4/1863 no. 12 inv. 7347.

[9] Dated Montrado, 24 May 1861. This correspondence is mentioned in IB 15/4/1863 no. 12 inv. 7347.

[10] E. Netscher, Resident of Riau, had written a letter about the urgent need for a European interpreter for lawsuits in which the Chinese officers, who usually acted as interpreters, were themselves involved. He also needed a European official who was trusted by the Chinese to whom they could report plans for robbery and murder, and for other intelligence duties (IB 27/8/1861 no. 8 inv. 7313). The reliability of the Chinese officers had been tainted in 1858 when the *kapitein* of the "Emoyer" Chinese was murdered on instigation of his counterpart for the "Kanton" Chinese, for which the latter had been banned to Menado (*Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*, first edition, vol. 3, p. 448).

[11] Letter from Schlegel and Hoffmann to the Secretary General of Colonies, 9 April 1873, p. 5, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. In an interview in 1902, Schlegel mentioned another reason for their stationing on Java. They reminded the government that they had been offered well-paid jobs with the Chinese Imperial Customs, which they had refused out of loyalty to the Dutch government (Gram, "Een bezoek aan Schlegel," 88).

[12] Report by G.H.G. Harloff, 24 April 1912, in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04. Harloff based himself on other letters than those mentioned in IB 15/4/1863 no. 12 inv. 7347. Efforts by colleagues to find this and other correspondence in the Arsip Nasional in Jakarta were unsuccessful.

[13] Harloff's report has a footnote: "Therefore the 'protectorate of the Chinese' in Singapore, established in 1877, was not something new, but was created after the example of an institution that had existed in Hong Kong for a long time."

[14] They are similar to Schlegel's in his letter of 9 April 1873, V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[15] Advice of 13 March 1863 no. XLV, in the report by Harloff, pp. 2-4.

[16] Erkelens, *Decline of the Chinese Council of Batavia*, 63-71.

[17] "Het is toch steeds de wijze politiek der Nederlanders, om de verschillende volksstammen in dezen archipel door middel hunner eigene hoofden te regeren; dezen moeten daarom het volle vertrouwen van het Europeesch bestuur genieten; doch draagt men aan den Europeschen ambtenaar, die geen gezag uitoefent, dienst verrichtingen op, die tot den eigenlijken werkkring der hoofden behooren, of bezigt men hem, om de gangen dier hoofden na te gaan en te contrôleren, dan wordt aan hun prestige een geduchte knak toegebracht, en het kwaad, daaruit gebooren, weegt niet op tegen de ontdekking van enkele verkeerdheden." *Nota* by Albrecht, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[18] "Instructie en tarief voor de Europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1863, no. 39. IB 15/4/1863 no. 12, inv. 7347.

[19] *See* the section "Private Translation and Interpreting" at the end of this chapter.

[20] *Java-bode*, 1 January 1862.

[21] *Java-bode*, 18, 21 and 28 June 1862.

[22] *Reglement op de regterlijke organisatie en het beleid der justitie in Nederlandsch-Indië.*

[23] In a letter to the editor in the *Java-bode*, a lawyer who signed as "Q.N." (Quod novum?) protested against this decision, arguing that there was no need to consult Chinese advisors in cases of piracy, since such cases were to be tried according to Dutch and International Law, not local law. *Java-bode*, 30 August 1862.

[24] *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 11 October 1862.

[25] Gram, "Een bezoek aan professor G. Schlegel," 87. Jan van Gennep (1830–1911) worked as a lawyer in Batavia in 1857–70. After his return to the Netherlands in 1873 he became a member of Parliament (1878–97, *Tweede Kamer, Eerste Kamer*) and of the State Council (1897–1911, *Raad van State*) (www.parlement.com/id; *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*).

[26] "Natuurlijk verzuimde de jonge tolk niets, om zich zoo goed mogelijk van zijne taak te kunnen kwijten. Hij bezocht vooraf de zeeroovers in de gevangenis en sprak met hen, om zich te overtuigen, of de beklaagden hém verstonden, en omgekeerd, of hij hén verstond. Dat ging best. Toen de eerste zitting was afgeloopen, deelde de Voorzitter van den Raad van Justitie hem mede, dat de twee Chineesche officieren zich beklaagd hadden, dat zij den tolk niet konden verstaan. / 'De hoofdzaak is, president, dat de beschuldigden mij verstaan,' antwoordde de tolk. 'En laat u dat eens aan hen vragen.' Aan de houding en gelaatsuitdrukking der beschuldigden behoefde men dan ook niet te twijfelen, dat zij den tolk uitmuntend verstonden." Gram, "Een bezoek aan professor G. Schlegel," *Het leeskabinet* (1902), 86-7.

[27] *Java-bode*, 18 October 1862.

[28] The last cries of one of them were T'i˝ tē, T'i˝ tē 天地 (Heaven and Earth). Schlegel considered this comparable to "Oh God!"—at that time a Dutch Christian's cry in such circumstances. He used this as an argument for the translation of "God" as *Tian gong* 天公 (the Lord of Heaven) or *Tian* 天 (Heaven) (Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Vol. I, p. 1403).

[29] "Ik was nog geen maand te Batavia als tolk voor de Chineesche taal opgetreden, of ik mocht het genoegen smaken twee, van medeplichtigheid van zeeroof en moord beschuldigde Chineezen aan het over hen bij een vroeger vonnis uitgeproken doodvonnis, niet alleen te onttrekken, maar voor hen zelfs volkomen invrijheidsstelling te verkrijgen. Hunne veroordeeling in de eerste instantie was, zooals bleek, alleen toe te schrijven geweest aan de verregaand slordige wijze waarop zich de vroegere tolk, een Chinees, van zijne ernstige taak had gekweten; en wiens schuld het dus geweest zou zijn, indien het doodvonnis door den rechter uitgesproken, was ten uitvoer gelegd." Although Schlegel said *volkomen invrijheidsstelling* (complete release), he must have also meant *volkomen vrijspraak* (complete acquittal). Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 22. Schlegel's disapproval of the previous interpreter, probably a Chinese officer (Schlegel was never parsimonous with

criticism of others), and the two Chinese officers' censure of his Chinese, do not encourage an optimistic view of the relationship between the European interpreter and the Chinese officers.

[30] Schlegel, [Curriculum vitae], 2 March 1873, p. 16, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. Also Gram, "Een bezoek aan professor G. Schlegel," 87.

[31] "Het nut hetwelk van Europesche translateurs voor de Chinesche taal steeds te verwachten zal wezen, heeft zich, zoo ergens, in deze zaak het allerbest doen kennen en gevoelen." *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 18 October 1862.

[32] *Java-bode*, 25 October 1862. Also *De Oostpost*, 30 October 1862; *Sumatra-Courant*, 15 November 1862.

[33] "… gelukkig het land waar zich zulke regters en zulke verdedigers bevinden!" *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 25 October 1862. This case was not mentioned in *Het regt in Ned.-Indië* (1862–5), nor in contemporary or later accounts of piracy.

[34] Gram, "Een bezoek aan professor G. Schlegel," 87.

[35] "Die tolken hebben thans niet veel te doen—Hunne diensten worden volgender voege geregeld. De tolk Von Faber vervaardigt de vertalingen en Schlegel assisteert voor het doen van vertolkingen bij de policierol, den landraad en wanneer nu en dan zijne diensten ook dáár gevorderd worden, bij den Raad van Justitie en de beide Hoog Gerechtshoven.—/ Zijn hulp bij de policierol is ten enenmale overbodig, omdat er altijd een Chinesche officier bij tegenwoordig is, die de vertolkingen, zo nodig, kan doen—" Letter from De Kock van Leeuwen to the Government Secretary, 15 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[36] The new Resident, F.M.G. van Cattenburgh, had just succeeded C. Bosscher on 22 July 1865, and would not be able to answer these questions.

[37] "Voor het vertolken dier verschillende uitspraken van Chinezen welke voor de landraad verschijnen, worden tot dusverre gebruikt de Chinesche officieren en soms ook met behulp van andere personen wanneer geen dier officieren de gesproken Chinesche taal verstaat, terwijl de Europeesche tolk er bij zit om de vertolking van den Chineschen officier, die zich beter en verstaanbaar voor den Europeschen tolk kan uitdrukken aan den Raad over te brengen. / De vragen welke de regtbank den getuigen of beklaagden wenscht voor te houden, worden in het Nederduitsch den Europeschen tolk en in het Maleisch den Chineschen officier kennelijk gemaakt;—deze laatste ten voorkonding aan de betrokkene getuigen of beklaagden; den Europeschen tolk wordt de verpligting opgelegd aan den Raad op te merken, wanneer hem, voor zoover hij de door getuigen of beklaagden uitgesproken woorden verstaat of hunnen bedoeling kent, blijkt, dat de vertolking van den Chineschen officier niet zoo juist mogt zijn. / … / Het bijwonen van teregtzittingen van den landraad verschaft den Europeschen tolk gelegenheid om zich in praktijk te oefenen in de op verschillende wijzen uitgesproken Chinesche woorden." Letter from Gijsbers to the Government Secretary, 30 August 1865, in V no. 7 inv. 1757.

[38] Letter from Schlegel to the Secretary General of Colonies, 9 April 1873, p. 8, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. Chonglok (Tjonglok 長樂) was the name of a district in the western part of Kia Ying Chow prefecture.

[39] Letter from Schlegel to Secretary General of Colonies, 9 April 1873, p. 6, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[40] For a complete account of the *politierol*, cause of many injustices and humiliations (for the Chinese), *see* Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 383-423.

[41] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën II," *Java-bode*, 8 December 1896. Meeter wrote that this happened in his first place of stationing, which was Riau (1867–8).

[42] Meeter gave no names, mentioning only that a new Resident was appointed in the Outer Possessions. This must have been Van der Schalk in Pontianak, the only new Resident he encountered outside Java.

[43] Van der Schalk (1830–) had been Assistant Resident of Police in Batavia in 1862–7 (Stamboeken L 152).

[44] "Nu is er voor een onbevooroordeeld toehoorder en dus ook voor een onbevoordeeld tolk geen grappiger en te gelijker tijd treuriger wijze van rechtspleging denkbaar, dan die van de zoogenaamde politierol. Alle zaken zijn vooraf door den djaksa, adjunct-djaksa of diens klerken voorbereid en beklaagden en getuigen gehoord, zoodat de politierechter meestal na een zeer summier onderzoek uitspraak doet en die uitspraak veelal doet den-

ken aan het *ut aliquid fiat* der medici." Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën X," *Java-bode*, 19 February 1897. By the end of the nineteenth century, many Chinese protested against the humiliations of the police court. The *politierol* was gradually abolished in the 1910s.

[45] Such youthful mediums are common in Hokkien-speaking regions, such as Taiwan, and are now called *tangki* 童乩, in Mandarin *jitong* 乩童. Adults and the elderly can also act as such mediums.

[46] Meeter wrote that he several times considered writing this into a comical play (*farce*) entitled "The Police-Judge in Love or the Power of a Chinese Woman" (*de verliefde politierechter of de macht eener Chineezin*). "Indische Chinoiserieën X-XI," *Java-bode*, 19 and 26 February 1897.

[47] "Aangezien geen van beiden de maleische taal voldoende machtig was, zoo viel aan Prosantes bij uitzondering het genoegen,—want ditmaal was het werkelijk een genoegen,—ten deel, beider verklaringen in het nederlandsch en omgekeerd de vragen van dezen in het chineesch over te brengen." Meeter used for himself the nickname Prosantes (Greek προσ-άντης, "steep; troublesome, recalcitrant") (Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën II," *Java-bode*, 8 December 1896 and "XII" *Java-bode*, 2 April 1897.) It is probably a translation of *opponent*, a characterisation of Meeter mentioned by Van der Spek (Van der Spek, *Diary*, 30 March 1880). Some of Meeter's criticism was aimed at Groeneveldt, for whom he used the nickname Kolaks (Greek κόλαξ, "flatterer, sycophant").

[48] When the Resident stated at the end that "all women are whores," Meeter asked if this included the Resident's mother. "Indische Chinoiserieën XII," *Java-bode*, 2 April 1897.

[49] "Ook zoude daarmede voorgoed een einde gemaakt zijn aan de dwaasheid, dat een europeesch ambtenaar ten aanhoore van rechters en een niet altijd gedistingueerd publiek uren lang genoodzaakt is de bêtises van chineesche beklaagden en verklaringen van leugenachtige getuigen te vertolken uit eene taal, die voor alle aanwezigen onverstaanbaar is, zoodat dikwijls de indruk verkregen wordt, dat de tolk de spreektaal niet voldoende machtig is, terwijl feitelijk de onwil en de ontwijkende antwoorden van beklaagden en getuigen het voor elken tolk onmogelijk maken den rechter een pertinent antwoord op de door hem gedane vraag uit den mond van den ondervraagden Chinees over te brengen." Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1897. Perhaps Meeter was thinking of the case of Van der Spek in Padang (1884) described below.

[50] Le A Heung was in Morrison's transcription of Southern Mandarin, which was also used in Medhurst's dictionary, and by other English-speaking missionaries. In that transcription, 'e' should be pronounced as in the English words 'he,' 'to be' etc. Li A Sjong appears to be a pronunciation in Northern Mandarin according to Dutch spelling. Therefore it is assumed that the visitors spoke Mandarin. The characters of this name may have been 李阿雄, but the name may also be fictitious.

[51] Meeter, "Een Chineesch lesje in wellevendheid," *Java-bode*, 25 and 26 October 1894. Perhaps the *majoor* also had a point. De Groot complained that if Chinese Consuls were allowed to be stationed in the Indies, their main function would be to collect money from the rich Chinese in the Indies. ("Nogmaals China's consulaire politiek II," *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag*, 26 May 1891).

[52] Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1897. Meeter did not mention De Grijs' name and only designated his place of stationing as 'S.' De Grijs was the only sinologist who stayed about four times as long in China as Meeter. Meeter had studied Hakka in China for two years, while De Grijs had lived there for seven years, studying Hokkien. It may seem surprising that Meeter did not specify the dialect, but that seems to have been common practice in newspapers.

[53] *Sumatra-Courant*, 9, 11 and 13 December 1884. Justus, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 31 December 1884; Meeter, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 19 January 1885.

[54] Spaarpot, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 26 January 1885; *Sumatra-Courant*, 5 February 1885. Soon afterwards the *Sumatra-Courant* made known that Van der Spek was nominated for dismissal, and would either go on sick leave or resign, leave sinology and study medicine (*Sumatra-Courant*, 17 February 1885, fully quoted in *Java-bode*, 2 March 1885). A week later he requested sick leave (IB 13/3/1885 no. 4/c inv. 7865.). He left the Indies on 4 March (*Het nieuws van den dag*, 11 April 1885). After his

return to the Netherlands, he studied medicine in Amsterdam and became a doctor. He never returned to the Indies.

[55] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, Introduction, p. 3. Translated from the Dutch.

[56] Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-Kak-Sie" te Cheribon* (1920), 7.

[57] De Bruin, "Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?," *De Sumatra Post*, 29 October 1910.

[58] G. Schlegel: "Nécrologie. J.W. Young," *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899), 225.

[59] "Met een' Europeaan, die Chineesch spreekt, mogen ze graag een loopje nemen, door zooveel mogelijk dubbelzinnige uitdrukkingen te bezigen. Omgekeerd kan een Europeaan, die de tonen nog niet voldoende in z'n macht heeft, in z'n onschuld de zotste vergissingen begaan. Het is een terrein vol voetangels en klemmen." De Bruin, *De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra*, 118.

[60] "Juist door het eigenaardig eenlettergrepig karakter van alle dialecten, leent het Chineesch zich bij uitstek tot het maken van woordspelingen en het zeggen van dubbelzinnige aardigheden. Elke Chinees heeft een sterk ontwikkeld gevoel voor humor, en ze vinden niets zoo prettig als een Europeaan er even tusschen te nemen. / Zoodra ze echter merken dat iemand hen doorziet, beginnen ze te grinniken en werken kalm door." De Bruin, "Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?," *De Sumatra Post*, 29 October 1910.

[61] Schlegel's report to the Secretary of Colonies, 9 April 1873, pp. 8-9, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[62] *See* Chapter Seven, Studying in Batavia, section about Roelofs, and Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section about Li Hongzhang.

[63] After 1896, the Officials for Chinese Affairs were asked to act as interpreters only in important cases. The disadvantage of this measure was that they had even fewer opportunities than before to acquire the necessary experience as interpreters.

[64] "Naar mijn overtuiging is de studie van Chineesch in sommige opzichten de meest ontmoedigende studie, die er bestaat—niet wanneer men als zendeling in China zit in een bepaalde streek en alleen met Chineezen van die streek te maken heeft—, maar wel hier in Indië, waar de groote verscheidenheid van Chineezen oorzaak is dat men zich na tien jaren studie nog ongeveer even ver voelt als bij 't begin." De Bruin, "Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?," *De Sumatra Post*, 29 October 1910. Of course, by the time De Bruin was in function (1898–1908), sinologists rarely acted as interpreters.

[65] "Verder zijn deze talen weer verdeeld in dialecten, welke soms zeer lastig te volgen zijn, hetgeen Sinologen, die in Nederlandsch-Indië met Chineezen in aanraking komen, voortdurend ondervinden." Vleming, *Het Chineesche zakenleven*, 42.

[66] Rhemrev mentioned this at the end of his report, p. 535 in Breman's reprint of 1992. De Bruin's critic was A.E. der Kinderen, who was later dismissed and went to Singapore where he continued to publish his invectives in newspapers. He passed away suddenly in The Hague on 30 December 1903, 45 years old (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 31 December 1903). The planters later also complained a lot about the Chinese and Javanese interpreters during inspections, who were at first doing the interrogations themselves (Modderman, *Gedenkboek Deli Planters Vereeniging*, 126).

[67] "Naar wij vernemen is de heer A. G. de Bruin, thans met verlof in Nederland, aldaar geopereerd van galsteenen. Hij zal wel afgekeurd worden voor den Indischen dienst. Bizonder veel verliest deze daaraan niet. Want datgene waarvoor de Heer De Bruin werd bezoldigd, namelijk het spreken en verstaan van Chineesch, was maar dunnetjes, gelijk bleek bij de inspectie van Mr. Rhemrev in Deli, toen de ondertolk van den Heer De Bruin—hemzelf konden de koelies heelemaal niet verstaan, noch hij hèn—toen die Chineesche ondertolk de zotste dingen aan de contractkoelies vertelde, terwijl Sinjeur de Bruin er niets van snapte en er met een potsierlijk plechtstatig gezicht en een prachtige gouden pet op zijn hoofd bijstond. Ernstige misverstanden en verlies van menschenlevens zijn van die onkunde helaas het gevolg geweest." "Ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken," *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Ned.-Indië*, 22 March 1906.

[68] "Voor dit vertalen nu, dat hoofdzakelijk bestaat in mondelinge vertolking bij policierol en landraad, heeft men waarlijk geene personen noodig, die zulke studiën gemaakt hebben en betrekkelijk zo hoog worden betaald; dit werk kan ongeveer evengoed geschieden door Chinezen, die Maleisch spreken en op de meeste plaatsen gebeurt dit dan ook zonder eenig

bezwaar." Letter from Groeneveldt to Director of Justice Buijn, dated 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[69] From 1874 to 1878, Lie Alim worked as ethnic Chinese interpreter in Batavia (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[70] In 1865 the function of Chinese translator in Surabaya was abolished since there was now a European interpreter for Chinese. "Tolken en taalmeesters," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24 April 1894. This fact could not be confirmed.

[71] "Wat het mondeling tolken aangaat, hebben de inlandsche rechtbanken, ook daar waar een Europeesche tolk is gevestigd, de gewoonte behouden om het in de weinige gevallen dat het noodig is, te doen verrichten door den in die rechtbanken zitting hebbende Chineeschen adviseur. Van de Europeesche rechtbanken heeft zelfs de raad van justitie te Batavia een eigen Chineeschen tolk en ik geloof dat het Hooggerechtshof en de raad van justitie te Soerabaja de eenige rechtbanken zijn, die de diensten van den Europeeschen tolk geregeld inroepen. / Nu bestaat tegen het bezigen van een Chinees als tolk in den regel geen bezwaar, want het kan zich niet anders dan tot enkele gevallen bepalen, dat de tolk belang heeft in de zaak, waarin hij als zoodanig fungeert, terwijl wanneer zulks mocht blijken, licht aan een anderen Chinees de vertolking kan worden opgedragen. Daarbij zal hij dikwerf met meer vrucht dan de Europesche translateur kunnen vertolken, omdat hij met de lokale toestanden bekend is, en het gehoorde beter in het Maleisch, de taal waarin de gedingen [in de landraad] gevoerd worden, overbrengt. / Ziet men evenwel in de vertolking door een Europeeschen ambtenaar een grootere waarborg voor een onvertogen rechtsbedeeling, wat beteekent dat voordeel, door een paar landraden genoten, terwijl honderd andere rechtbanken van zijne diensten verstoken zijn." *Nota* by Albrecht for Director of Justice Buijn, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[72] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1858, no. 15 (*f* 1 to 3 per day), 1866, no. 108 (*f* 1 to 3 per case).

[73] The same fee was set for government officials when acting as interpreters (like Chinese officers). This ordinance had no effect on existing regulations for ethnic Chinese interpreters of the same status as natives. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1898, no. 196. IB 22/6/1898 no. 27 inv. 8184.

[74] Sie Taij San served in 1864–7, Sie Tjing Liong from 1867 to 1883, Tjoa King Liang from 5 July 1883, and Sie King Tjaij from 22 September 1887 until at least 1900 (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[75] Lim Soeng Kon from 30 March 1869, Tan Hian Gie from 25 March 1872, Bong Tjaij Liong from 1876 to 1883, and Boen Lian Kie from 16 June 1882, So Sien Keng and Ho Nam Tjong from 2 October 1892, So Kien Kong from 30 September 1893, Sho Sin Kong and Koe Joen Siong from 6 August 1895 (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[76] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1876, no. 109 (IB 21/4/1876 no. 48). In Medan Tan Ahong was first appointed; he was on 15 September 1885 succeeded by Tan Sioe Khie until 1887; in Bengkalis Tan King Liem was in function from 31 July 1876 until 1887 (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[77] Reports of lawsuits in the legal journals show that ethnic Chinese interpreters were active even earlier and in greater numbers.

[78] *Bijblad bij het Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië,* no. 3560, IB 19/12/1879 no. 22. From 31 December 1879 until 1882 Poeij Kiong Tjauw was in function (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[79] On 13 December 1894, he was succeeded by Tjioe Goan Lok (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[80] He was in function until 1895. He was replaced by Lie Joe Kiat from 14 May 1895 until 1897, and again from 20 March 1899 onwards (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[81] In Medan, Tan was replaced by Hie Foeng Tjong from 30 September 1893. In Bindjeh, Lau was succeeded by Tjoa Eng Ho from 1895, and by Tjoen Nijan Khun from 25 March 1899 (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).

[82] There was a second interpreter, Tjioe Sioe Poh, as of 18 August 1892. Both were replaced by Lim Pek Hok from 10 October 1898 on (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1893).

[83] IB 1/1/1875 no. 33 inv. 7619; IB 9/4/1875 no. 8 inv. 7625; *Regeringsalmanak voor*

*Ned.-Indië*, 1876–1880. *See also* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Manuscript Dictionaries."

[84] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 196, 1898. IB 22/6/1898, no. 27 inv. 8184. Also containing some articles about ethnic Chinese interpreters.

[85] De Bruin, "Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?," *De Sumatra Post*, 29 October 1910. On 8 June 1880, Hoetink submitted a request to the Resident for a subsidy of *f* 25 per year to engage teachers for Hakka and Hoklo (Tië-tsioe) (H 421 A, p. 7, KITLV Collection). The result of this request could not be found.

[86] "Mondelinge vertolkingen toch, uit en in het Chineesch, zullen in Nederlandsch-Indië waar de overgroote meerderheid der uitsluitend Chineesch sprekende bevolking tot de lagere klasse behoort, over het algemeen beter door Chineezen dan door Europeanen kunnen geschieden. Zoo worden ook in de Strait Settlements en te Hongkong voor mondelinge vertolkingen in zaken welke ter kennis komen van Europeesche magistraten en rechterlijke colleges, uitsluitend Chineezen gebruikt. / Europeanen, die eerst op lateren leeftijd het Chineesch als een vreemde taal aanleeren, zullen slechts bij uitzondering deze moeilijke taal zoo machtig worden dat zij zich daarin even vlot weten uit te drukken als geboren Chineezen. Het is waar dat ook met minder kan worden volstaan, maar een feit blijft het dan toch dat in den regel Europeanen in gemakkelijkheid van uitdrukking en in vaardigheid om Chineezen te verstaan en zich aan hen verstaanbaar te maken, bij Chineezen zullen achterstaan, met wie degenen wier woorden moeten worden overgebracht, zich ook beter op hun gemak voelen." Hoetink "Nota voor den Directeur van Justitie omtrent de wijze waarop de werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken zal kunnen worden uitgebreid," dated 19 September 1900, pp. 2-4, typed copy in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04.

[87] "Toegegeven wordt dat een ontwikkeld Europeaan beter dan een Chinees de portee zal begrijpen van de soms ingewikkelde vragen welke door een Europeesch ambtenaar worden gesteld, doch dit voordeel schijnt niet hoog te moeten worden aangeslagen. In den beginne toch, toen de Europeesche [tolken voor de Chineesche] taal nog eene nieuwigheid waren, gold bij landraden en raden van justitie meer of min de regel hun ministerie in te roepen, maar gaandeweg is de bevoegdheid om over hunne diensten te beschikken ongebruikt gelaten niet, naar ik verneem, omdat zij voor die diensten ongeschikt bleken, maar omdat men het met Chineezen even goed kon stellen, al moest eene vraag dan soms worden herhaald of verduidelijkt, terwijl om velerlei redenen van practischen aard, het bezigen van de diensten van Chineezen als tolken, eenvoudiger en gemakkelijker was dan daarvoor Europeesche ambtenaren van het gehalte der tolken voor de Chineesche taal, op te roepen." Hoetink, *nota* (1900), 5-6.

[88] "Ik geloof echter dat men nog wel eens op andere wijze zou kunnen beproeven de speciale kennis dezer ambtenaren meer en zelfs in ruimeren kring tot [p. 29] haar recht te doen komen. Men behoort aan de hierbedoelde ambtenaren het karakter van tolken geheel te ontnemen en hen ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken te maken," *Nota* of the Vice-President of the Council of the Indies Groeneveldt, 12 October 1894, pp. 5-6, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[89] Article VI, "Bepalingen tot aanwijzing de standplaatsen en regeling van de werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken," *Staatsblad voor Ned.-Indië*, 1896, no. 96. The criteria for this were not defined in the directive.

[90] "[Daarentegen] zullen Chineezen gewoonlijk zonder bezwaar kunnen worden belast met het doen van mondelinge vertolkingen. Hunne kennis der spreektaal reikt meestal verder dan die van de schrijftaal en aangezien zij in ontwikkeling hunne rasgenooten die geen voldoende maleisch kennen, nader staan dan europeesche ambtenaren, zal in de meeste gevallen hun ministerie reeds daarom de voorkeur verdienen, omdat Chineezen zich tegenover hen meer op hun gemak gevoelen." Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1897.

[91] Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1897. In that case art. 7 of the *Regulations on the Judiciary System and Judicial Policy* (*Staatsblad* 1847, no. 23) should have been changed, but no evidence that this ever happened could be found.

[92] The sinologist James Dyer Ball (Canton, 1847 – Enfield, 1919) was the son of a missionary. He worked in the Hong Kong civil service for 35 years, in functions such as

security officer and chief interpreter. He published textbooks for Cantonese and Hakka, and other works such as the encyclopaedia *Things Chinese*.

[93] "Voor tolken bij landraden etc. bedient men zich meestal van Chineezen, die in Indië of in de Straits geboren zijn en als kinderen verschillende dialecten hebben geleerd. Toch komt het ook hierbij nog wel eens voor, dat vertaald wordt volgens het systeem: God zegene de greep, of: als het niet raak is, is het mis. / Een voordeel van Chineesche tolken boven Europeanen is bovendien dat ze den gedachtengang van een' Chinees veel beter volgen en begrijpen. Ze stellen de vragen idiomatischer en vatten sneller het antwoord. / Een aardig staaltje hiervan geeft de heer Dyer Ball in één zijner artikelen in de *China Review*. / Een' Chinees werd gevraagd of hij den vorigen dag daar en daar geweest was. Het antwoord luidde: 'mijn voet deed pijn'. De gedachtengang van den man bleek te zijn: 'ik had er heen willen gaan, maar omdat ik niet loopen kon, ben ik tehuis gebleven, en ik ben er dus niet geweest.' Zoo iets voelt een Chineesche tolk dadelijk. Ook al ondervindt een Chineesche tolk moeilijkheden met een dialect, in denken en voelen staat hij veel dichter bij den beklaagde of den getuige dan een Europeaan. Wat hij niet begrijpt, kan hij aanvullen. Zaak is het echter, dat de heeren gecontroleerd worden, en dat is hoofdzakelijk het werk van de European interpreters in Hongkong. Ze moeten één dialect goed kennen en in een paar andere dialecten kunnen nagaan of de Chineezen de waarheid zeggen bij hunne vertaling of niet. Verder houden ze zich bezig met de beoefening van het schrift." De Bruin, "Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?," *De Sumatra Post*, 29 October 1910.

[94] These *notas* are collected with Harloff's *nota* of 1912 in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04. The only known cases of checking an ethnic Chinese interpreter were that of Buddingh in 1865 and probably of De Bruin in 1903 (when working for Rhemrev).

[95] "En opdat niemand hiervan onwetendheid voorwende, zal deze alom, zoowel in de nederduitsche als in de inlandsche en chinesche talen, worden afgekondigd en aangeplakt, ter plaatse waar zulks gebruikelijk is … ." *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indie*, 1851, no. 65 (prohibition of harmful secret societies). The last sentence was: "en voorts worden opgenomen in het staatsblad van *Nederlandsch-Indie* en in de javasche courant" (and it will also be published in the *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* and in the *Javasche Courant*).

[96] *Meisegan* 美色甘 is a transcription of Dutch *Weeskamer* (Orphans Chamber). Translation of "Reglement voor het Collegie van Boedelmeesteren te Batavia," *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1828, no. 46. A manuscript copy that belonged to Hoetink is now kept in the East Asian Library, Leiden University library.

[97] *See* Chapter Six, Chinese Teachers/Clerks in the Indies and section "The Techniques of Translation" below. The creation of standard names for officials and institutions would be a major innovation by the Dutch interpreters.

[98] *Regeeringsreglement* (1854), art. 32 and 33 also specified the standard text to be used in each law and ordinance announcing this obligation. Albrecht, "Nota omtrent den staatsrechtelijken toestand der Chineezen in Ned.-Indië" (1884), 20.

[99] Hoetink, "Nota voor den Directeur van Justitie omtrent de wijze waarop de werkkring van de Ambtenaren voor Chineesche Zaken zal kunnen worden worden uitgebreid," Soekaboemi, 19 September 1900, p. 10, typed copy in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04.

[100] Several references to this can be found in V 6/12/1912 no. 54, inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04.

[101] "Wat schriftelijke vertalingen betreft, zoo vonden de tolken te Batavia voldoende bezigheid in het overzetten van de door den Regering uitgevaardigde verordeningen, benevens van de zoowel door den resident van Batavia, als door andere hoofden van gewestelijk bestuur gepubliceerde reglementen en keuren van politie. De tolken buiten Batavia hebben slechts de enkele verordeningen te vertalen, die in het gewest, waarin zij geplaatst zijn, worden uitgevaardigd." *Nota* by Albrecht dated 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[102] "Zij hebben hoofdzakelijk *uit* de Nederlandsche *in* de Chineesche taal te vertalen, nl. de door de regeering gepubliceerde Ordonnantiën, Wetten en Staatsbladen; de voorwaarden der verpachtingen van 's Lands middelen; plaatselijke keuren en verordeningen, enz.; terwijl het slechts zeldzaam voorkomt dat zij uit het Chineesch in het Hollandsch te vertalen hebben." Schlegel's letter 12 June 1881, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430. These arguments were repeated in the Introduction to the dictionary.

[103] "De moeilijkheden die de tolken in de eerste jaren hunner aanstelling te overwinnen hadden, waren bij gebrek aan zulk een woordenboek bijkans onoverkoombaar en veroorzaakten een ontzettend tijdverlies. Werd bv. aan de tolken door de Regeering de vertaling van eene ordonnantie bv. betreffende den houtaankap, de onteigening ten algemeenen nutte, ontginning van Aard-olie bronnen, enz. opgedragen—stukken door speciale ingenieurs geredigeerd, die van technische en juridische uitdrukkingen wemelden—dan gingen dagen verloren met het zoeken naar geschikte equivalenten in het Chineesch. Volumineuse Chin. werken over Boschcultuur en Mijn-ontginningen, talrijke juridische documenten moesten doorgeslagen en bestudeerd worden om, na ettelijke dagen zoekens, eindelijk een Chineesch equivalent voor de Nederlandsche technische en juridische termen te vinden. Somtijds vondt men ze zelfs niet, en dan was alle gedane moeite te vergeefs geweest. Dan moest er met behulp van een Chineesch schrijver of klerk een term voor gefabriceerd worden, die niet altijd even gelukkig en verstaanbaar was. Kortom, kostbare tijd en moeite gingen verloren om dikwijls tot een negatief resultaat te geraken." Schlegel's letter 12 June 1881, pp. 3-4, in V 5/8/1881 no. 34 inv. 3430.

[104] "Een Chineesch opstel van welken aard ook bestaat meestal uit een tal van geijkte uitdrukkingen die men op allerlei manieren weet zamen te voegen en de volledige kennis en het gebruik van welke uitdrukkingen eene voor Europeanen bijna hopelooze taak is." Report on the need of Chinese teachers/clerks from De Grijs to the Resident of Semarang, A.A.M.V. Keuchenius, 9 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[105] Report from De Grijs to Keuchenius, 9 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[106] "[Daarentegen] heeft, behoudens misschien enkele uitzonderingen, zelfs geen westersch *sinoloog* het zoover gebracht dat hij, zonder hulp van een Chineeschen lettré, eene getrouwe en idiomatische vertaling kan bezorgen van een willekeurigen Europeeschen tekst en de daarvoor vereischte bedrevenheid in de Chineesche geschreven taal, zal in elk geval eerste na jarenlange oefening en studie kunnen worden bereikt. De practijk is dan ook dat de tolk den inhoud van een westersch stuk waarvan hem de vertaling is opgedragen, in het *spreektaal* opgeeft aan zijn schrijver, wiens taak dan bestaat in het stellen in den vereischten vorm." Hoetink's *nota* for Knobel, dated Tientsin 15 September 1898, inv. 1327, toegang 2.05.38, NA.

[107] H 421 A (Dutch texts and correspondence, 48 p.) and B (Chinese texts, 95 p., beginning on p. 10); the latter were typed out in Chinese and translated in English by Li Wen 李雯 (now in B2, online available; names and titles of European officials are not translated).

[108] Pp. 11-22 are from Makassar, pp. 22-87 are from Medan. The last part of the copy book contains correspondence with Chinese officials in 1889–90, when Hoetink was in China on a study tour. He was also charged to facilitate the emigration of Chinese workers (pp. 87-105). There are also copies of original Chinese texts, such as an Imperial honorific decree dating from 1877, temple regulations from Surabaya and the Chinese Edict of Toleration of Christianity from Shaoxing (1848).

[109] "De Chineezen die voor mondelinge vertolkingen worden gebruikt, zijn bijna altijd hier te lande geboren en—ook al zijn zij uit China afkomstig—weinig geschikt om een officieel stuk in de Chineesche geschreven taal behoorlijk over te brengen of van een in het Chineesch gesteld document eene juiste vertaling te bezorgen." Hoetink, *nota* (1900), 7.

[110] "Zij hebben namelijk geen besef van stiptheid, geen eerbied voor de letter en zien daarom ook niet de noodzakelijkheid in te streven naar het bereiken van den hoogsten graad van nauwkeurigheid." Hoetink, *nota* (1900), 8.

[111] "Van nauwgezetheid en stiptheid in de mate als die bij de vertaling van gewichtige stukken wordt vereischt, hebben Chineezen over het algemeen geen begrip. De westersche eerbied voor de letter is hun vreemd; zij stellen zich tevreden met een à peu près." Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1897.

[112] Hoetink's *nota* for Knobel, 15 September 1898, inv. 1327, toegang 2.05.38, NA. However, for the modern uninitiated sinologist, nineteenth-century documentary Chinese is still relatively difficult. At least at Leiden University, A. Vissière's series of textbooks *Recueil de textes chinois à l'usage des élèves de l'école nationale des langues orientales vivantes* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, etc., 1907–22) were reputed to be extremely hard.

[113] Schlegel, *The Hung-League*, Preface, p. V.

[114] "Die documenten maakten zich zoo despotisch van den sinoloog meester, dat zij hem

rust noch duur lieten, hem tijd en alles deden vergeten, ja hem de nachtrust ontnamen. Na een paar weken peinzen en vorschen waarin die geschriften al zijn denken in beslag namen, krijgt hij op een nacht slapeloos op zijn legerstede woelend, plotseling eene ingeving, een vlammend visioen. Is het niet de tweede helft van een aantal Chineesche karakters, waaruit het tooverstuk is samengesteld, zoodat als men de wederhelft dier teekens daaraan toevoegt, de eigenlijke betekenis van het geheel eerst voor den dag komt? In een omzien springt hij het bed uit en teekent ijlings zijne gissing op een stuk papier aan, uit vreze dat anders misschien den volgenden morgen het visioen verneveld zal zijn. Daarop legt hij zich gerust neer, om den slaap des rechtvaardigen sinoloogs te slapen. Reeds in den vroegen morgen ontwaakt hij, grijpt eene der circulaires en bevestigt tot zijn állergrootste blijdschap, dat zijn vermoeden bewaarheid wordt! Met dien tooversleutel gewapend ontcijfert hij geleidelijk het geheele geschrift." Gram, "Bezoek aan Schlegel" (1900), 89. Some examples can be found in *The Hung-League*, 40, 51, 53, for instance 川大丁首 = 順天行道.

[115] Young, "Versterfrecht, adoptie en pleegkinderen bij de Chineezen" (1886), "Het huwelijk en de wetgeving hierop in China" (1894). Stuart, "Over verdeeling van het familiegoed en stamvoortzetting bij de Chineezen" (1900). For the sinologists' work for the courts, *see* Chapter Thirteen, section "Acting as Experts on Chinese Law and Customs for the Courts."

[116] Dutch translation only, no Chinese text. BPL 1782 23. *Catalogue* 2005, 108-9. Another example from 1875 is the letter from a Chinese in Atjeh about the defense of the town (BPL 1782 8 E 5, *Catalogue* 2005, 100).

[117] H 421 A, no. 4 (with copies of translations and Chinese texts) and no. 12 (without Chinese text), KITLV.

[118] *Indisch Weekblad van het Recht* no. 1205 (2 August 1886), 122.

[119] Albrecht stated that translation from Chinese of private contracts and account books was only required in lawsuits. *Nota* by Albrecht dated 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[120] Letter from Daendels to Governor-General, dated 23 March 1861, in V 11/9/1861 no. 22/1101 inv. 1098.

[121] IB 20/5/1861 no. 14 inv. 7307.

[122] Request for Royal Approval in V 24/8/1861 no. 22 inv. 1092. Letter from Loudon to Hoffmann in V 11/9/1861 no. 22/1101 inv. 1098.

[123] Hoffmann's letter dated 15 September 1861, V 16/10/1861 no. 17 inv. 1109.

[124] V 17/2/1864 no. 17 inv. 1440. Number of copies in V 17/11/1888 no. 54 inv. 4210.

[125] V 17/2/1864 no. 17 inv. 1440.

[126] The first set was sent in 1864. V 17/2/1864 no. 17 inv. 1440. Later in V 26/6/1883 no. 15 inv. 3648; V 11/5/1886 no. 11 inv. 3953, etc.

[127] "Verslag van het beheer en den staat der Oost-Indische bezittingen in 1862," 1111, *Handelingen der Staten Generaal 1864–1865*. "Begrooting voor Nederlandsch-Indië voor 1863," 1291, *Handelingen der Staten Generaal 1862–1863*. Also in www.statengeneraaldigitaal.nl, search "Chinesche typen" in 1861–5. The compositor's monthly salary was *f* 100; the pupils' salary was *f* 25 (V 24/8/1861 no. 22 inv. 1092).

[128] 20 September 1862, *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directie-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* (1862–1863), 13.

[129] Hoffmann, *Catalogus van Chinesche matrijzen en drukletters* (first edition), 1860. Enlarged editions appeared in 1864 and 1876.

[130] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* (1862–1863), 13 and 149-59.

[131] *Almanak en Naamregister van Nederlandsch-Indië* (later: *Rege(e)ringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*). The characters were printed on pp. 6 and 27-31. The article on pp. 27-31 also appeared in the almanacs of 1865–1869, but from 1870 on, only one page with characters (p. 6) remained.

[132] For instance in Vleming, *Het Chineesche zakenleven in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1927.

[133] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Publication History of Francken and De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch Dictionary (1864–1882)."

[134] For instance Schaalje's *Reglement op het rechtswezen in Riouw* and De Jongh's *Reglement op de brandweer in Batavia* (the latter is accessible online in KITLV).

[135] Von Faber, "Chinesche vertaling van staatsblad 1871 no. 78." It was not yet in Chi-

nese style, but the pages were printed in a rectangular frame. Translations of the same into Javanese, Malay, Madurese, and Sundanese were also available. Mentioned in the *Catalogus van boekwerken, kaarten enz. ter Landsdrukkerij verkrijgbaar* (Extra bijvoegsel der *Javasche Courant* 1882 no. 66), 11, and in regular advertisements in the *Javasche Courant* from the late 1870s to the early 1900s. Also mentioned in *Catalogus der boeken … verkrijgbaar bij het depot van leermiddelen te Weltevreden* (Batavia: Kolff, 1897–1914).

[136] "Stel U nu het aangename gevoel voor van iemand, die, al begrijpt hij zulk een stuk in zijne *moedertaal* niet volkomen, toch door zijne betrekking verplicht is het in eene *andere* taal, b. v. de Chineesche over te brengen. / Men *doet* het natuurlijk, maar … het kost enorme moeite. Gelukkig kan men met behulp van andere uitdrukkingen of door omschrijving de zaak toch wel in orde brengen,—na zich echter eerst behoorlijk te hebben geïnformeerd, wat nu eigenlijk de bedoeling is." Roelofs, "Ingezonden stukken," *Java-bode*, 19 October 1882.

[137] On the other hand, his request may have in the first place been motivated by his wish to see more of China, perhaps inspired by Van de Stadt's request of 1896.

[138] "Bepalingen betreffende het Burgerlijk- en Handelsrecht en enkele onderwerpen van Strafrecht voor de Chineezen op Java en Madoera." (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1892, no. 238).

[139] "Ik heb toen aan die opdracht zoo goed mogelijk voldaan, ofschoon ik mij bewust was dat met de mij ten dienste staande middelen geene behoorlijke vertaling was te maken en dat zelfs de beste vertaling van de ordonnantie voor de Chineezen waardeloos zou wezen." *Nota* for the Director of Justice, dated Weltevreden, 10 February 1898, Mailrapport 1898 no. 206.

[140] In the ordinance of 1855 no. 79, which must at the time also have been translated into Chinese, the manner of referring to the Civil Code was even more enigmatic: there was only a list of subjects *not* applicable to the Chinese.

[141] "Het genot en verlies der burgerlijke rechten, wettelijke gemeenschap [van goederen], huwelijksche voorwaarden."

[142] All interpreters had received a copy of Schlegel's dictionary (in instalments) from the Ministry of Colonies. Hoetink's copy is now kept in the Athenaeum Library in Deventer.

[143] Published in Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, 129-56. For an overview *see* Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 204-10.

[144] Groeneveldt, De Groot, Young, and Borel gave comments. Fromberg's version was also never proclaimed. In 1917 (*Staatsblad* no. 129) all civil and commercial law for Europeans was made applicable to the Chinese as from 1 May 1919. The only exception was that there were special provisions for the Chinese regarding adoption (essential for the continuation of the family line when there was no son).

[145] "Een Chineesche overzetting of bewerking van een tekst als de door mij bedoelde, zal noodzakelijkerwijs eene paraphrase moeten zijn. Hierbij te werk gaan als bij de vertaling van den Bijbel of andere gewijde teksten zou geen zin hebben; op den voorgrond staat de eisch dat de inhoud begrijpelijk is voor iederen Chinees die zijne eigen schrijftaal machtig is." *Nota* by Hoetink, 21 December 1897, pp. 2-3, in Mailrapport 1898 no. 206.

[146] "In China bestaat geene burgerlijke of handelswetgeving en geen rechtsstudie, zoodat ook eene rechtstaal daar nog niet is geboren. Trouwens voor de overzetting of bewerking van een tekst als die van westersche wetboeken zou men de Chineesche rechtstermen, gesteld dat zij bestonden, wel niet kunnen bezigen, omdat zij de uitdrukking zouden zijn van geheel andere begrippen dan in een westersch wetboek voorkomen. / Hij die zulk eene westersche wetgeving aan Chineezen moet duidelijk maken, zal derhalve ten deele eene nieuwe taal moeten scheppen door het smeden van nieuwe uitdrukkingen of door aan bestaande uitdrukkingen eene uitbreiding van beteekenis te geven. / Dit nu is alleen mogelijk in het land zelf, waar hij zich zal kunnen verzekeren van de medewerking van Chineezen van hoogere letterkundige ontwikkeling dan de schrijvers waarmede hier te lande wordt gewerkt, en waar bovendien andere hulpmiddelen worden gevonden welke hier te lande worden gemist, zoo treft men in verschillende deelen van China enkele Chineezen aan die zich in Europa hebben toegelegd op de rechtsstudie en de veronderstelling is geoorloofd dat de vertaler of verklaarder in China zijnde, er in zal slagen bij zoo iemand belangstelling voor zijn arbeid te wekken en zijne medewerking te verkrijgen. Buiten China, zonder den

bijstand van geletterde Chineezen en van eene uitgebreide bibliotheek zal eene bevredigende vertaling of een verstaanbaar overzicht van een zoo eigenaardigen en moeilijken tekst als een westersche burgerlijke en handelswetgeving, door geen ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken[,] door geen enkel sinoloog, kunnen worden geleverd." *Nota* by Hoetink, 21 December 1897, pp. 3-4, in Mailrapport 1898 no. 206.

[147] Extraterritorial rights in China were finally abolished in Sino–Western treaties in the 1940s.

[148] At his request, he was also to devise a list of standard transcriptions of Chinese names in four dialects (Hokkien, Hoklo, Hakka, Cantonese), for the expected implementation of Civil Registration (*burgerlijke stand*) for the Chinese. Such a Hakka list is mentioned in a list of his books and manuscripts donated to Leiden University Library in 1907. Just before he left he was also charged to make arrangements for the emigration of workers in Swatow. For the latter two assignments Hoetink had of course to stay for some time in Southern China. Other arguments for this mission by Hoetink were that there were ten Officials for Chinese Affairs at the time, while only five were officially needed, and his expenses in China would not be higher than in the Indies. He would certainly not overstay his two-year period, since life in China would be full of hardship.

[149] In 1866 there already appeared an anonymous letter to the editors of the *Nieuw Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, stating that the Chinese on Java preferred Malay translations, not because the Chinese translations were not good, but because the Chinese understood Malay better than Chinese (*Nieuw Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 19 December 1866). This letter was a reaction to an article by Schlegel about the importance of sinology and sinologists, and it provoked more comments by Schlegel (*see* Schlegel's bibliography). This debate did not have any consequences.

[150] "Die arbeid zelf, dit zult ge nu wel reeds weten, is even als het in het Chineesch vertalen der zoogenaamde staatsbladen een even nutteloos als noodeloos tijd en papier verknoeien, om de eenvoudige reden dat de meeste Chineezen die vertalingen niet lezen kunnen en de enkelen onder hen, die het wel kunnen, ze niet lezen willen. Die met zorg op de landsdrukkerij gedrukte vertalingen worden dan ook gewoonlijk op de verschillende residentiebureaux gebruikt tot omslagpapier voor officieele missives en daartoe zijn ze zonder twijfel wel geschikt, doch eigenlijk te duur. Als ge dus ooit daartoe in de gelegenheid mocht komen en een werkelijk goed werk wilt doen, stel dan eens als bezuinigingsmaatregel voor, om die nuttelooze tijd- en geldverspilling te staken." Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën II," *Java-bode*, 8 December 1896. Of course, only the large-sheet, ephemeral ordinances would be suitable as letter covers.

[151] The ordinance (*politiekeur*) prescribed the minimum wheel width of a *grobak*, a kind of ox-cart not used by Chinese. Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXVIII," *Java-bode*, 26 July 1898.

[152] "Zoowel door den aard van den oorspronkelijken tekst als wegens hunne gebrekkige kennis van de Chineesche schrijftaal, zullen vooral onder de op Java gevestigde Chineezen, betrekkelijk weinige worden gevonden aan wie zulk eene vertaling of overzicht wel besteed zal wezen, maar wanneer voor een onderdeel der bevolking eene specifieke wetgeving wordt in het leven geroepen, zal moeilijk kunnen worden nagelaten hun de gelegenheid te geven zich daarvan op de hoogte te stellen door eene overzetting of bewerking in de nationale taal dier ingezetenen. En bij toepasselijkverklaring van die wetgeving op Chineezen buiten Java, zal de billijkheid ongetwijfeld vorderen dat eene vertaling of bewerking worde verstrekt, daar onder de Chineezen op de zoogenaamde buitenbezittingen de kennis van het maleisch veel geringer is dan bij hunne rasgenooten op Java en bij gebreke van een Chineezen [Chineesche] tekst hun de pas zal zijn afgesneden om te weten te komen wat de voor hen geldende wetgeving inhoudt." Hoetink's first *nota* for the Director of Justice, Batavia, 1 December 1897, pp. 1-2, in Mailrapport 1898 no. 206. However, two years later, in 1900, Hoetink only expressed doubt about the benefit derived from the translations of the *Staatsbladen*, which were then still being made in Batavia. In his view, these translations did not justify the appointment of special officials, nor that of a special professor in Leiden (Schlegel). Hoetink, *nota* (1900), 10.

[153] Albrecht had been born and raised in the Indies and must have been fluent in Malay.

[154] Of course, in Modern Chinese *cóng* can function as a preposition, but not in this

sense. And in spoken Chinese *shéi* can also be used in the sense of "he, who; whoever" in the construction *shéi… shéi*…, for instance 誰先到, 誰買票, "Whoever arrives first, buys the tickets."

[155] "Over den vorm wil ik geene aanmerkingen maken, de Maleische vertaling is voet voor voet gevolgd. Dit is wel het gemakkelijkst, daar het te omslagtig is om van elk stuk den aanhef en het slot naar een Chineschen leest te schoeijen. Een menigte Hollandsche woorden heeft men zonder vertaling gelaten. Zoo vindt men Commissie, Justitie, Collegie, Residentie, Gouverneur-Generaal, enz. enz. met dezelfde klanken behouden en heeft men zich vergenoegd die klanken zoo goed mogelijk door Chinesche karakters weêr te geven. Dit kan ik mij alles nog begrijpen, want het is waarlijk moeilijk voor Chinezen om van alle ambtenaren en technische termen den omvang der beteekenis te weten, en dan daarvoor overeenkomstige Chinesche uitdrukkingen te vinden. De stijl echter is waarlijk erbarmelijk, is geen Chineesch, zeker geheel en al Maleijsch. De Chineezen op *Java* zijn er aan gewend en zullen de bedoeling begrijpen kunnen, en doen het ook, omdat zij ter goeder trouw het willen. Eenige uitdrukkingen zal ik als voorbeelden aanhalen, om te doen zien hoe onverstaanbaar het voor een oningewijden Chinees moet wezen. Zinnen die met betrekkelijke voornaamwoorden beginnen, als "hij, die", "zij, die", of eenvoudig "wie", beginnen in deze vertaling alle met 誰. Nee, dit woord is en blijft altijd een *vragend* voornaamwoord, en beteekent "wie?" Zeker heeft men dan slechts den Maleischen syntaxis gevolgd. In Chinesche stukken vertaalt men het gewoonlijk met "凡" alle, en dergelijke telwoorden, sluitende dan met het betrekkelijk voornaamwoord 者: en men kan dat in onze taal wedergeven door "*alle die*". Verder vertaalt men b.v. het woord *volgens* door "從" dat wel *volgen* beteekent, maar nooit als voorzetsel kan voorkomen. Men heeft daar andere karakters voor. Eindelijk zijn er vele wonderlijke verwisselingen van karakters die ik in dit kort bestek moeilijk aantoonen kan." Albrecht also wrote that the choice of documents was rather unfortunate, as there were only three different documents, of which very similar translations had been made in three different years. But still it was enough to serve as a basis for judgement. Letter from the Consul Van der Hoeven to Governor-General Pahud, 10 December 1859, quoting Albrecht's letter of 21 October 1859 from Amoy, in V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005.

[156] In Tsiangtsiu pronunciation: Tsò lô-tî kun-lî-si, literally "make *roti* conditions." Kong Koan Archives no. 23008, original Dutch text (*Reglement van de broodbakkers te Batavia*) in IB 4/11/1823 no. 21, inv. 2780, toegang 2.10.01. Another example is Kong Koan Archives (Minutes 1853-1-25) no. 21013, pp. 331-9, original Dutch text in IB 18/12/1851 no. 8 inv. 7128. One example from 1823 with unknown Dutch original text is shown in *Catalogue* 2005, 7 (Or. 2233:2).

[157] This list was certainly made between 1859 and 1863, since the word "King" (*Koning*) was still translated as "Emperor" (皇帝 *Huangdi*). Schaalje, *Namen van Ambtenaren en Collegien in Nederlandsch Indië* (Names of officials and boards in the Netherlands Indies) 燕地官衙 (BPL 2106 II: 12C and 35).

[158] Schlegel, *Woordenboek*, *[Hoog]gerechtshof* (High Court, Vol. I, p. 1328); *secretaris* (secretary, Vol. III, p. 830.

[159] Schaalje also used this name on a panel indicating his office or house with the text: 翻譯漢字官寓此 (The Chinese translator resides here) (*Catalogue* 2005, 148, BPL 2106 II 31C). It is a clumsy translation, literally meaning "translator of Chinese characters;" a more idiomatic form would be 漢字翻譯官. In his dictionary Schlegel used the colloquial expression 傳唐話譯官, literally "interpreter/translator rendering the Chinese spoken language." De Groot and Hoetink would later use 翻譯官 (繙繹官) "translator/interpreter," which is now still used. In the Kong Koan archives, the title of a Dutch interpreter of Chinese, was once translated as 和蘭翻譯官 (Dutch interpreter) (*Kong tong Notulen* (*Gongtang anbu* 公堂案簿), no. 21021 (19/1/1881 – 19/9/1884), 11 August 1884 (p. 247), Kong Koan Archives, East Asian Library, Leiden).

[160] This title contains some strange words: 調理, 獄犯 and 調停, etc., blurring the meaning.

[161] The original text has the obvious misprint 母 (mother) for 毋 (do not). Part of the Dutch formula was incorporated at the beginning in: 曉爾各色軍民人等知悉.

[162] Article 2 contains details about the applicability of some provisions in the Regulations

on the Judiciary System and Judicial *Policy in the Neth. Indies*. This article was not translated into Chinese.

[163] Punctuation marks, underlinings of geographical names and (below) brackets for text printed at the side of the column are here added to the Chinese text (see illustration). Again awkward words are used, such as 料理 and perhaps 規例, but the meaning is clear enough. The word 回 "chapter" is normally used only in novels, not in legal texts.

[164] The word "cancelled" was more elegantly translated by De Grijs in 1875 as 除 "to do away with" (art. 3), and by De Jongh in 1891 as 革除免用 "to abolish and exempt from use" (art. 47; the original Dutch text could not be found, but it should have this meaning).

[165] The three geographical names Benkulen, Borneo and Ambon are transcribed as 望龜哈 Bāng-ku-ap, 木梁 Bók-niû´ and 安文 An-bûn. In Schlegel's Woordenboek (Vol. II, p. 174) z*haoshenpiao* 照身票is the translation of hoofdbriefje, a pass confirming one's payment of poll tax (*hoofdgeld*).

[166] *Catalogue* 2005, frontispiece and pp. 97-8.

[167] The original place-name was Sunda Kalapa, which after the conquest by the Bantam Moslems in 1527 was changed to Jayakerta or Surakerta (De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, 1). On 30 May 1619 the Dutch established their commercial centre in that place and named it Batavia. Kalapa is derived from from Malay *kelapa*, "coconut tree" (loaned into Dutch as *klapper*). *Pa* in *Pa*-town is short for Kalapa, just as *Lang* 蘭 is short for Semarang 三寶蘭. By coincidence, Pa also tallies with the first syllable of Batavia.

[168] The character 蚋 (Mandarin *ruì*) was pronounced in Hokkien, on the basis of its phonetic, as *na* or *la*.

[169] J. Deen in *De Locomotief*, 25 October 1895. *See* quotation in Chapter Fifteen, section "Other Administrative Functions."

[170] 賦 (pák) is a loanword from Dutch pacht(en), Malay pak, "to farm out; tax-farming"; 傌仔, Hokkien bé-á, is from Malay bea, "tax." 粒 is a measure word in Hokkien for grains and all round objects, including larger ones.

[171] One rare exception in the Minutes is the Malay word *bicara* 嚓喳勞 (meeting, discussion, judgement), which from the 1880s on was replaced by Chinese words such as *huiyi* 會議 (meeting). Blussé, *Gong'anbu* 公案簿. *See also* Kong Koan Archives, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[172] In Imperial China (before 1912), *dalisi* 大理寺 was the name of the High Court. It was changed to 大理院 *daliyuan* from 1912 until 1928. These translations, however, are not necessarily derived from the ones by the Dutch interpreters or taken from Schlegel's dictionary; they could well have been newly created.

[173] *See also* Von Zach's interesting review in Walravens, *Gesammelte Rezensionen, chinesische Geschichte*, 70-2.

[174] "Except for the written translation work in Batavia, which at times is rather voluminous, most of them find their only serious activity in their function at the Orphans and Estate Chamber and in advising the *Raden van Justitie* in cases of bankruptcy of Chinese." (Met uitzondering van het schriftelijk vertaalwek te Batavia, dat soms nogal omvangrijk is, vinden de meesten hunne eenige serieuze bezigheid in hun functiën bij wees- en boedelkamer en in het voorlichten der Raden van Justitie bij faillissementen van Chinezen.) Groeneveldt, letter 30 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[175] Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[176] "Alléén de *Regterlijke autoriteiten* grepen met warmte de gelegenheid aan gebruik te maken van de diensten van de Europesche tolken v/d Chinesche taal, ten einde achter de eeuwigdurende *knoeijerijen* der Chinezen te komen." Schlegel's *nota*, 9 April 1873, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[177] Meeter gave numerous examples of fraud in his many newspaper articles about this subject. One was that Chinese could apply for their own bankruptcy, and used this as a means to evade their creditors, by reaching an agreement on repayment of only 30-40% of their debts. Meeter showed convincingly how account books could be manipulated for this purpose. Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige in zake boekhouding en faillissementen van Chineezen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 21-31 December 1881; "Eene idée fixe," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 2-16 February 1884; "Misbruiken," *Java-bode*, 1 June – 13 July 1892. But after his return to Holland he learned from two Dutch lawyers in Leiden that

bankruptcy fraud was just as common and even more sophisticated in Holland than in the Indies; only illegal agreements with Chinese on repayment (*sluipakkoorden*) were more common in the Indies, because European merchants expected a higher degree of secrecy from the Chinese (Meeter, "Misbruiken," 12 July 1892).

[178] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 21 December 1881.

[179] Bagelen: IB 25/10/1864 no. 12 inv. 7378. Kedu: IB 3/11/1864 no. 15 inv. 7379.

[180] Meeter, "Eene idée fixe," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 February 1884.

[181] Meeter, "De onbedrevenheid van Chinezen," *Indisch Weekblad van het Regt*, no. 733, 16 July 1877. This was his first article. For detailed later descriptions of Chinese accounting *see* Vleming, *Zakenleven* and Pernitzsch and Tittel, *Buchhaltung*.

[182] In Dutch "deftig, thee, tand." Meeter, "Misbruiken, II," *Java-bode*, 2 June 1892. An analysis and a long list of such words can be found in Pernitzsch and Tittel, *Buchhaltung*, 6-15 and 65-84. *Mentega* is derived from Portuguese *manteiga*. *See also* Vleming, *Het Chineesche zakenleven*, 47.

[183] Meeter, "Eene idée fixe," (*slot*), *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 16 February 1884.

[184] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 29 December 1881.

[185] At this point Meeter advised his younger colleagues always to carefully choose a few educated and trustworthy Chinese acquaintances as informants.

[186] "Aanmerking: Deze boeken zijn niet de eigenlijke pachtboeken van arak- en speelpacht." "Voor de vertaling, / op den eed aan den lande gedaan, / De tolk voor de Chineesche taal te …," Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën VII," *Java-bode*, 26 January 1897.

[187] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën VI-VIII," *Java-bode*, 12 and 26 January, 9 February 1897. By modern standards, the doctor had a better understanding of an interpreter's professional ethics than Meeter. The latter often described himself as unfit for an official career, and indeed, he was not good at keeping professional distance. But the double function of interpreter and advisor must also have been confusing. And all sinologists considered themselves rather advisors than interpreters.

[188] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 27 December 1881.

[189] In this case Meeter was commissioned by private creditors and paid *f* 3,000 to investigate the books, *see* below. Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XVIII," *Java-bode*, 3 January 1898.

[190] Malay was traditionally written in Arabic characters.

[191] As a result there would be no more business for the interpreters in checking their books. Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 27 December 1881, and "Eene idée fixe," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 8 February 1884, and "Misbruiken," *Java-bode*, 16 June 1894.

[192] Meeter, "Advies," 30 December 1881, and "Idée fixe," February 1884.

[193] Meeter, "Misbruiken," 8 June 1892.

[194] Meeter, "Advies," 28 December 1881.

[195] Another aspect, not mentioned by Meeter, is of course that one name can represent different characters, for instance the name Ng can represent 吳 (*Wu*) in Cantonese and 黃 (*Huang*) in Hokkien (Amoy). According to Young, however, such misuse of names was non-existent among the Chinese in the Indies ("Eenige aanteekeningen betreffende de Chineezen in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië" 1890).

[196] Actually, these characters could have been analysed and described by any person knowing Chinese. Or the telegraph code of characters (Chinese Commercial Code) could have been used, if it had been known.

[197] In Hokkien, the sound *b-* is pronounced as *mb-*, almost the same as *m-*. In *Shiwu yin* no distinction is made between the sounds *b-* and *m-*.

[198] Meeter, "Eene idée fixe," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 8 February 1884.

[199] Albrecht's *nota* of 1878, Groeneveldt's *nota* of 1894, Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen I," *Java-bode*, 20 November 1894, "Misbruiken," 16 June 1892.

[200] V 21/11/1860 no. 5/1334 inv. 1005. *See* Chapter Three, section "Graduation and Appointment of the First Interpreters."

[201] "Te oordeelen naar hetgeen ik hoor en begrijp uit Uwe brieven en die van Schlegel hebt Gij niets te doen daar voor 't gouvernement en alleen maar te zorgen om zoveel mogelijk privé-pān-ery te hebben als mogelijk is;" Letter from De Grijs in Amoy to Francken

in Surabaya, 3 May 1863, BPL 1782: 28, p. 10. The hybrid word pān-ery (translated as "business") is half Chinese (pān 辦, "to do, to handle") and half Dutch (-ery).

[202] "De handelstand, die zich toen der tijde bitter beklaagde, dat de regering er niet voor zorgde, dat er tolken voor de Chinesche taal waren, om contrôle op frauduleuse handelingen der Chinezen te houden, diezelfde handelstand maakt thans, nu de regering sedert een vijftal jaren dusdanige tolken heeft aangesteld, geen gebruik van deze lieden." "X" (Schlegel, in his list of publications), "Chinesche faillissementen," *Java-bode*, 3 July 1867. Also a newspaper clipping in Schlegel's book containing his off-prints, East Asian Library, Leiden.

[203] "De hulp der tolken wordt slechts gevorderd voor het vertalen dier onderhandsche geschriften, wanneer zij in rechten moeten dienen, voor het nazien van en het maken van extracten uit in rechten overlegde boeken en voor het geven van adviezen omtrent Chineesche gewoonten en instellingen, met name het versterfrecht." Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[204] "Dat het maken van weinig particuliere verdiensten niet aan de persoon ligt bewijst de eenstemmige verklaring der tolken dat hunne emolumenten weinig bedragen en dat met uitzondering van een enkel buitenkansje er eigenlijk niet op te rekenen valt." Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[205] "Eens slechts werd hij door eenige handelsfirma's uitgenoodigd een minutieus onderzoek van de boeken eens gefailleerden te bewerkstelligen, opdat er termen mochten gevonden worden dien handelaar in rechten te betrekken. Twee maanden heeft hij al zijn vrijen tijd aan het onderzoek besteed en de uitkomsten daarvan in een uitvoerig proces-verbaal nedergelegd, welke werkelijk tot eene strafvervolging hebben geleid, maar hij kan verzekeren zeer veel moeite gehad te hebben met de inning van het hem toegezegd salaris van slechts *f* 500, door een achttal crediteuren te dragen." Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[206] This kind of business tax (*patentbelasting*) was mostly applicable to Europeans. It was introduced in 1879. De Groot wrote that another kind of business tax (*bedrijfsbelasting*, introduced in 1878) was generally hated by the Chinese (*Kongsiwezen*, 168).

[207] De Grijs, letter to the editor, "Boekhouding van Chineezen." *De Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van den Dag*, 3 November 1891, also in BPL 1782.2. This punishment seemed more important to him than his own lost fee. All the interpreters felt a great aversion to fraudulent Chinese and did not hesitate to express it.

[208] Meeter, "Wees- en Boedelkamerherinneringen I, IV," *Java-bode*, 20 November 1894, 19 March 1895, and "Misbruiken," *Java-bode*, 16 June 1892.

[209] "… in het algemeen zijn de emolumenten van geene beteekenis; ik heb 10 jaren als tolk gediend en in dien tijd niet meer dan ongeveer *f* 1200 aan emolumenten genoten, daaronder was nog *f* 1000 voor een uitvoerig en grootendeels nutteloos onderzoek van handelsboeken, dat in een sensatieproces door een opgewonden advokaat werd verlangd." *Nota* by Groeneveldt dated 12 October 1894, pp. 33-4, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[210] These figures are from *Staatsblad* 1885, no. 237, 1888, no. 180, 1891, no. 226 and 1894, no. 242; no other data could be found in the *Staatsblad*. Stuart had just been appointed in Semarang in 1885, and Moll in Surabaya in 1888, so these figure are probably just a continuation of the previous period. Moll, Schaalje, and Stuart (Pontianak) left soon after this amount was reported, so they could not be taxed for this. The contribution was in those years 4% to 6% of the annual income (Van der Kemp, *Het weduwen- en weezenfonds van 's lands Europeesche ambtenaren*, Vol. III, Bijlage D). Income tax was only levied in the Indies from 1908 on (in the Netherlands from 1894 on).

[211] "Ik weet niet zeker waaraan het hooge cijfer voor *Soerabaja* te danken is, vroeger weet ik dat men den tolk liet assisteren bij de overschrijvingen van vaste goederen van en op Chineezen, zoo het heette om de namen en handteekeningen te controleeren, een geheel overtollige formaliteit, die tot eene noodelooze heffing leidde, ik meende dat zij reeds lang afgeschaft was, maar uit het zooeven vermelde cijfer maak ik op dat zij nog bestaat, anders is het niet te verklaren. Op den duur mag dus ook hierop niet gerekend worden." *Nota* by Groeneveldt dated 12 October 1894, pp. 35-6, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926. The number may have included Meeter's contributions as a journalist. He published 33 articles in *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* in 1881–4, for most of which a fee of *f* 7.50 could have been

paid (Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 110), on the average yearly about *f* 80. At the time, in the Indies real estate was not transferred by a notary.

[212] "Worden verder zijn diensten ten behoeve van particulieren op eene buitenbezitting slechts bij hooge uitzondering gevraagd, op Java wordt door europeesche handelaren, advocaten en notarissen zijne hulp dikwijls ingeroepen en is hij als het ware een tusschenpersoon tusschen Europeanen en Chineezen. Een en ander zijn oorzaken dat zijn werkkring op Java veel uitgebreider en drukker en uit een financieel oogpunt voordeeliger kan zijn dan op een buitenpost." Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XVI," *Java-bode*, 1 November 1897.

[213] "Advocaten en andere particulieren hadden wel van tijd tot tijd zijne diensten buiten de hoofdplaats en buiten de residentie noodig, in welke gevallen hij dan voor een of twee dagen binnenlandsch verlof vroeg." Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken V," *Java-bode*, 26 March 1897.

[214] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 28 December 1881, and "Indische Chinoiserieën IXX-XX," *Java-bode*, 4 January, 15 February 1898. Since Grobée was appointed at the High Court, it was at the same time also a promotion.

[215] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 22 December 1881; "Misbruiken," *Java-bode*, 2 June 1892.

[216] Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. Meeter wrote: "dan zou hij schatten kunnen verdienen, … de Chinezen betalen goed." Meeter, "Eene idée fixe," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 14 February 1884.

[217] Meeter, "Misbruiken," *Java-bode*, 28 June 1892.

[218] Meeter, "Aangeboden." *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 August 1884; another person's comment appeared on 8 August 1884.

[219] About the case of Kho Swie Siang, *see De Locomotief*, 5 and 12 June 1894.

[220] IB 28/5/1895 no. 9 inv. 8110.

[221] Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken V," *Java-bode*, 26 March 1897. For the sake of the interpreters' impartiality, it was even more fortunate that they did not succeed in obtaining such an extra fee.

[222] "De Europeesche tolken voor de Chineesche taal verleenen hunnen dienst, zoo dikwijls die door rechterlijke of administratieve autoriteiten wordt gevorderd, tot het doen van schriftelijke of mondelinge vertolkingen uit de Nederlandsche in de Chineesche taal en omgekeerd, *tot het nazien en onderzoeken van in de Chineesche taal gestelde boeken en geschriften, en tot het vervaardigen van afschriften of extracten van zoodanige boeken en geschriften. / Zij hebben voor deze diensten geen aanspraak op salaris*." (italics added for new text) IB 28/5/1895 no. 9 inv. 8110. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië,* 1895, no. 110.

[223] Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chinese Zaken V," *Java-bode*, 26 March 1897.

[224] Albrecht told him that Meeter had "*veel bijverdiensten*." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 30 March 1880.

[225] Letter dated 15 October 1892, No. XXIV, fiche 861-862, Special Collections, Amsterdam University Library.

[226] Meeter and Van der Spek, "Ingezonden," *Leidsch Dagblad*, 29 March 1892. *See also* Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën I," *Java-bode*, 1 December 1896, where he presents this series of articles as a warning for his beginning colleagues.

[227] "Bovendien hebben die tolken het recht voor particulieren te werken en dus bijverdiensten te maken; en met het oog hierop hebben wel de hh. Meeter en Van der Spek het allerminst oorzaak die betrekking in diskrediet te brengen. / Eerstgenoemde heeft er toch zooveel bijverdiend, dat hij thans, met zijn pensioen, met vrouw en zes kinderen daarvan onbezorgd kan leven, terwijl de heer Van der Spek in de vijf jaren, gedurende welke hij tolk was, zooveel had overgelegd, dat hij, na zijn ontslag uit 's lands dienst genomen te hebben, vijf jaren lang te *Amsterdam*, *Hamburg*, *Berlijn* en *Weenen* in de medicijnen heeft kunnen studeeren. Het komt mij dus voor dat de waarschuwing van beide heeren ongemotiveerd en 'hors de saison' is." Schlegel, "Ingezonden," *Leidsch Dagblad*, 30 March 1892.

[228] *Leidsch Dagblad*, 31 March 1892.

[229] "… de heer Meeter weet veel te goed, dat ik nooit een 'money-making-man' ben geweest; hij heeft mij dit herhaaldelijk genoeg schertsenderwijze verweten, als ik klaagde dat *ik* bij mijn tolkschap geen garen gesponnen had." *Leidsch Dagblad*, 1 April 1892.

[230] "Men had dan veilig het zoogenaamde tarief voor particuliere diensten kunnen schrap-

pen en daarmede voorgoed het lastige en onaangename tweeslachtige karakter, ambtelijk en particulier, aan de betrekking van ambtenaar voor chineesche zaken kunnen ontnemen. Ik houd mij overtuigd, dat, zoo niet alle, dan toch verreweg de meeste der betrokken ambtenaren met zulk eene regeling zeer zouden zijn ingenomen, want, op zeer enkele uitzonderingen na, zijn die inkomsten wegens particuliere diensten zóó gering en geven zóó dikwijls tot moeilijkheden en onaangenaamheden aanleiding, dat zij tegen eene betrekkelijk geringe vergoeding gaarne daarvan afstand zouden doen." Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche Zaken II," *Java-bode*, 12 March 1897.

[231] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1916, no. 378 (IB 16/5/1916 no. 16). In 1925 this ordinance was cancelled and fees were to be decided on later (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1925, no. 194). The Bureau could still be charged with making translations by the administrative and judiciary authorities (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1916, no. 377, art. 4).

## *Notes to Chapter Thirteen*

[1] The reasons for this were, already then, problems concerning the credit of Chinese merchants and the handling of a bankrupt estate. Blussé, *Strange Company*, 69-72.

[2] "Instruktie voor de Weeskamers in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1872, no. 166.

[3] *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, [1905] IV, p. 741; (1917), IV, pp. 735-8.

[4] Advice of the meeting of 20 October 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[5] IB 23/9/1866 no. 21, inv. 7424. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1866, no. 103.

[6] *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, no. 1937; IB 6/12/1866 no. 21, inv. 7429; and letter from the Government Secretary, 7 December 1866, *Bijblad* no. 2481c.

[7] IB 31/1/1867 no. 18 inv. 7432.

[8] IB 3/9/1867 no. 3, inv. 7447. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1867, no. 117. Meeter stated he had heard that the function of extraordinary member had been created in the first place in order to avoid the high fees. Meeter, "Wees- en Boedelkamerherinneringen I," *Java-bode*, 20 November 1894. "Misbruiken bij faillissementen van Vreemde Oosterlingen," *Java-bode*, 16 June 1892.

[9] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1870, no. 137. IB 22/9/1870 no. 17. Groeneveldt later argued that the extraordinary member's work in Padang was so little that it could be handled in writing by an interpreter in Batavia (*nota* 12 October 1894, p. 5, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926).

[10] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1894, no. 252, IB 28/11/1894 no. 8. The interpreters remained extraordinary members. The allowances on Java were abolished in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1916, no. 377 (IB 16/5/1916 no. 16).

[11] *Bijblad*, no. 1990, IB 24/5/1867 no. 48.

[12] *Bijblad*, no. 2379, IB 9/8/1870 no. 22. The claim on commission fees was never mentioned by Meeter. He must have considered this of no consequence, or they may have become obsolete when he was working in the Orphans Chambers in the 1870s and 1880s. No information about these commission fees (*provisie-penningen*) could be found.

[13] Letter from the Government Secretary, 22 November 1870 no. 2207, *Bijblad* no. 2531.

[14] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1872, no. 166, art. 11 and 12. According to art. 2, the number, jurisdiction and composition of the Chambers would be regulated in other ordinances. But the functions of the other members were defined in later articles.

[15] "Houdt men zich aan het laatste besluit, dan is het buitengewoon lid behalve in de zeldzame gevallen, dat er quaestiën omtrent chineesche zeden en instellingen geopperd worden, niets anders dan een stroopop, die alleen de vergaderingen bijwoont, om er zijnen mond te houden. / De ondergeteekende heeft te Soerabaja zijnde, zich aan die opvatting niet gehouden. Van stonde af aan heeft hij, daar zijne overige werkzaamheden hem daartoe al den tijd lieten, deelgenomen aan alle werkzaamheden der wees- en boedelkamers, voornamelijk ten aanzien der Chinesche boedels. Hij werd daartoe geleid door de zucht om kennis, zoowel van wetten als van zaken, op te doen, waarvoor zeker geen beter leerschool

is dan die colleges, hoe slecht bezet ze in den regel ook zijn, niettegenstaande kundige ambtenaren daar zeer op hunne plaatsen zouden zijn." Albrecht's *nota* about the interpreters' work for Director of Justice Buijn, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[16] "Gedurende de 12 jaren dat hij in Soerabaja geplaatst is geweest, heeft hij het tijdvak bijgewoond, waarin zoovele en zoo belangrijke faillissementen onder de Chineesche handelaren voorvielen. Als buitengewoon lid der Wees- en boedelkamers aldaar uit eigen beweging deelnemende aan de dagelijksche werkzaamheden van dat college heeft hij de meeste dier failliete boedels zelf behandeld en alzoo stremming voorkoomen in den gang van zaken, die zonder buitengewone hulp noodwendig het gevolg had moeten zijn van de ontzaggelijke vermeerdering van werk, door die faillissementen teweeggebracht. Terwijl vóór zijne komst aan de kamer herhaaldelijk klachten waren aangeheven over den langzamen gang in de behandeling der faillissementen, kan hij met genoegen constateeren, dat gedurende zijn buitengewoon lidmaatschap geene enkele klacht daaromtrent bij de Regeering is ingekomen." Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[17] "Maakte hij voor zijne medeleden het werk lichter en werd zulks door hen gewaardeerd, aan den anderen kant vroeg hij zich wel eens af, of hij recht deed, daar hij zelf geene verantwoordelijkheid dragende, de gevolgen zijner handelingen op zijne comptabele medeleden moesten wederkomen. / Men kan het dus een tolk niet euvel duiden, als hij zich aan de verklaring der Regering houdende, als buitengewoon lid zich bepaalt tot het geven van de hoogst zeldzaam voorkomende adviezen, te meer omdat hij als andere administratieve ambtenaren de satisfactie niet kan smaken, dat de daar gepresenteerde buitengewone diensten door promotie worden beloond." Albrecht's *nota*, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[18] IB 27/8/1879 no. 28 inv. 7732. He remained President for almost six years.

[19] "Wees- en Boedelkamerherinneringen I-V," *Java-bode*, 5 parts: 20 November 1894, 8 January, 5 February, 19 March, 4 April 1895.

[20] "Ik heb onder deze gewone leden menig goed, werkzaam en eerlijk ambtenaar aangetroffen en in de dagelijksche aanraking met hen gelukkig al spoedig het wantrouwen en de geringschatting kunnen afleggen, waarmede bijna ieder Europeaan bij zijne komst in Indië schijnt behept te moeten zijn." Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen I," *Java-bode*, 20 November 1894; about a blundering President, *idem* V, 4 April 1895.

[21] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen II," *Java-bode*, 8 January 1895.

[22] Meeter, "De regtspositie der Chinesche vrouw," *Het regt in Ned.-Indië*, no. 32 (1879), 345-73, 372-3.

[23] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen II," *Java-bode*, 8 January 1895.

[24] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen III," *Java-bode*, 5 February 1895.

[25] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1895. Meeter did not mention Van der Spek's name, but gave enough details to indicate it must have been he: on Meeter's advice he left the interpreter corps, pursued other studies and was successful in another career in the Netherlands. Van der Spek was transferred from Makassar to Banka in March 1883, switching places with Stuart.

[26] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1895.

[27] Meeter, "Ambtenaren voor Chineesche Zaken V," *Java-bode*, 26 March 1897.

[28] Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen V," *Java-bode*, 4 April 1895. He may well have been referring to himself, since he was first stationed in Riau and Borneo, and then transferred to Padang. On the way from Borneo to Padang, he would certainly pass through Batavia. In Padang there was an Orphans and Estate Chamber, but not in Riau or Borneo.

[29] Dated 14 November 1875 and 4 April 1976 from Padang, and 25 May 1877 from Surabaya in inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93 and 7 September 1879 from Surabaya in inv. 3, toegang 2.05.93.

[30] Referred to by Fromberg in his *Verspreide geschriften*, 230 note, dating from 1888–90.

[31] Groeneveldt's *nota*, 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. In 1894, he stated that their importance should not be exaggerated (*Nota* 12 October 1894, p. 6, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926).

[32] "En van dit voor Indië zoo belangrijk element weten de Indische ambtenaren *niets af*. Omtrent hun zijn de waanzinnigste denkbeelden in omloop; men heeft noch begrip van

hunnen godsdienst, noch van hunne eigenaardige zeden en gebruiken, noch van hunne huishouding, en het allerminst van hunne taal. En dientengevolge worden grove misslagen ten hunnen opzigte begaan en levert de regering over de Chinezen op vele plaatsen moeilijkheden op, terwijl toch anders de Chinees een het makkelijkst te regeren volk is." Schlegel's *nota* for Secretary General of Colonies G.Th.H. Henny, 9 April 1873, p. 23, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[33] This question was asked previous to the Minister of Colonies' resolution of 1870 on the training of interpreters in Batavia. However, no reference to this could be found in V 15/8/1870 no. 21 inv. 2339. According to Schlegel, the interpreters themselves were *not* consulted at the time. Schlegel's *nota* of 9 April 1873, p. 11, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[34] "Het is hier de plaats niet in eene beschouwing te treden omtrent de redenen die deze gewestelijke bestuurders er toe hebben geleid zulk een noodzakelijk tusschenpersoon als een tolk v/d Chinesche taal te weigeren, maar wanneer ik de ondervinding, die ik en mijne andere collegas heb opgedaan, raadpleeg, dan blijkt het dat de meeste administratieve autoriteiten ons liever *niet* dan *wel hadden*, ons zooveel mogelijk uit alle Chinesche kwestiën hielden, en ons, om een japanschen term te gebruiken, als lastige *dwarskijkers* beschouwden, die door hunne kennis der Chinesche taal, en het vertrouwen wat *dien ten gevolge* de Chinesche bevolking in hun stelde, met menig omstandigheid bekend raakten, die men liever onbekend wenschte te laten." Schlegel's *nota* of 9 April 1873, pp. 11-12, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589. The word *dwarskijker* (snooper) had become popular in the Netherlands after the first Japanese delegation visited Holland in 1862. This was a translation (by Japanese) of the Japanese *metsuke* 目付け, the name of the Japanese spies who had been checking the Dutch on Deshima in Nagasaki (1640–1850s).

[35] Letter from De Grijs in Amoy to Francken in Surabaya, 3 May 1863, "Hij raadt mij sterk af naar Java te komen en zegt dat wij slechts het ambt van chineschen jongen bij de mandarijnen in Batavia bekleden," BPL 1782:28, p. 10.

[36] "… ik bemerk, dat de betrekking onder het Hollandsch publiek al bijster weinig in tel is. Alles in de omgeving is 'ambtenaar' en kan als zoodanig tot de hoogste rangen opklimmen, maar de tolk is gedoemd zijn leven lang te blijven wat hij is; hij is dus iemand die niets beteekent, en nooit iets beteekenen zal. Nog meer staat hij in discrediet, doordien hij, dank het vertrouwen hetwelk hij al vrij spoedig bij de Chineesche bevolking geniet, een beter inzicht in de knoeierijen en kwalijke practijken tegenover deze krijgt dan iemand, en men van hem niet verwachten kan, dat hij, hetgeen hij dus te hooren krijgt altijd met den mantel der liefde bedekt." De Groot, *Notizen*, 11.

[37] Borel, "De Chineesche Kwestie en de Ambtenaren van 't Binnenlandsch Bestuur," *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* (1913-1), 41-54, in particular 44-7.

[38] In the nineteenth century, opium was not a forbidden drug, but the sale of opium was regulated. The right to sell opium was sold by auction to the highest bidder, who became opium tax-farmer. He had the monopoly on the sale of opium for a certain period of time in a certain region, and smuggling was not allowed.

[39] Opium smuggling was directly damaging to the opium tax-farmer, who lost income thereby (unless he smuggled himself), and indirectly to the government, but it was not considered damaging to public health.

[40] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën IV," *Java-bode*, 23 December 1896.

[41] In Chinese: Tuan Oa ti si tat.

[42] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XIII," *Java-bode*, 9 April 1897.

[43] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1878, no. 12. Many later revisions.

[44] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXV-XXXII," *Java-bode*, 10, 16 June; 4, 26 July; 12, 15 August; 22, 30 September 1898. Meeter did not mention the names of Beyerinck and Groeneveldt, but their identities can be deduced from the date of the incident.

[45] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën IV," *Java-bode*, 15 December 1896.

[46] Meeter, "Opiumverpachtingen en Chineesche officieren," *Java-bode*, 21 August 1889.

[47] The decision was printed as *Extract uit het register der besluiten van den gouverneur-generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië [met] memorie van J. Faes* (Batavia, ca. 1871). Johannes Faes (Utrecht, 12 October 1828 – Buitenzorg, 25 April 1904) started working as a clerk in a commercial company in Batavia; from 1853 on he worked as a clerk and *commies* for the

government, from 1865 on as Assistant Resident in the Outer Possessions and later on Java, and from 1877 to 1880 he was Resident in Sumatra's East Coast. After his retirement in 1883 he stayed in the Indies, and in the 1890s he was charged by Governor-General Van der Wijck with devising new land regulations (Stamboeken Oost-Indische ambtenaren, K 201. Short obituary in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 26 April 1904). Faes published several articles and treatises: *De heropening van de drukkerij der firma G.C.T. van Dorp & Co. te Semarang* (from *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*; 1885; on the need for holding to strict regulations for the press for the sake of the prestige of the government). *De Siak Tin en Landbouw Maatschappij: Protest gericht tegen de Directie der Maatschappij in Nederland* (Batavia: Ogilvie, 1888). *Geschiedenis particulier landbezit op West Java* (Batavia: Ogilvie & Co., 1893). *Ontwerp nieuw reglement op de particuliere landerijen bewesten de Tjimanoek* [ca. 1899].

[48] The Tjauw Tjaij had been *luitenant* since 3 October 1874, and he would become *kapitein* on 6 April 1884 (until 1888). It should be noted that he was at first not willing to take over the opium tax-farming from his (failed) predecessor, but agreed on certain conditions under pressure from the previous Resident Wegener.

[49] For instance, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 16 and 26 November 1881, by 'Waarheid en Regt.'

[50] "De zaak van den opiumpachter te Cheribon," *Het Indisch Vaderland*, 12 December 1881.

[51] Only one could be found, *Het Indisch Vaderland*, 1 March 1882, signed "H."

[52] *Java-bode*, 25 September 1882.

[53] "Aan den tijdelijken tolk voor de Chinesche taal te Cheribon A.E. Moll het ernstig ongenoegen der Regering te betuigen over de hoogst ongepaste handeling, waaraan hij zich schuldig heeft gemaakt door als ambtenaar tegen het gewestelijk bestuur in Cheribon gerigte artikelen in dagbladen te schrijven." IB 1 Nov. 1882 no. 18 inv. 7809.

[54] For instance, "Het Cheribonsch conflict," *De Locomotief*, 28 March 1883 (neutral); "Ingezonden stuk, Uit Cheribon over het conflict," *De Locomotief*, 4 April 1883, by 'Waarheid' (contra Faes); Fd. Wessels, "Een ander getuige uit Cheribon," *De Locomotief*, 11 April 1883 (pro Faes); B. Schüller, "Een rekest uit Cheribon," (to the Governor-General; contra Faes), *De Locomotief*, 24 April and 1 May 1883 (contra Faes); "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 1 May 1883, by 'Een vriend van recht en billijkheid' (contra Faes); "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 16 May 1883, by 'A.' (pro Faes).

[55] It was also published: B. Schüller, "Een rekest uit Cheribon," *De Locomotief*, 24 April and 1 May 1883.

[56] J. Faes, *Memorie aangeboden aan Zijne Excellentie den Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië, den heer Otto van Rees* (Batavia: Van Dorp, 1886). Dated Bengkalis (Sumatra), 25 March 1886.

[57] *Java-bode*, 4 September 1883.

[58] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 64.

[59] "Ten andere, moet de karaktertrek van den tolk,—als het omgaan van zijn chef—zijn bescheidenheid. Veel geleerde jonge lieden gevoelen den natuurlijken aandrang om boven den bescheiden, bijna werktuiglijken werkkring van den tolk uit te blinken, en verzuimen zij daardoor de appreciatie van het practische alledaaghsche van hun vak, nergens is eigenwaan meer belemmerend voor de dienst dan bij een tolk van wien men practische bekwaamheid, geene geleerdheid, verwacht." Other things he advised were: the Chinese interpreter only has to know English, not French or other languages, and he should begin being trained in China by Chinese teachers in order to obtain a good pronunciation. He should not start learning Chinese from a European teacher. Extract of Ferguson's letter dated 22 May 1875, V 15/9/1875 no. 46 inv. 2818.

[60] *See* Chapter Fifteen, section "Other Administrative Functions."

[61] For Ferguson, his contacts with these two sinologists may have triggered his lifelong aversion to Indies sinologists.

[62] *See also* Chapter Eight, Schlegel and his Students in Leiden (1873–1878), section "A Sudden Anti-climax: a Moratorium in the Training Course."

[63] "De ervaring heeft geleerd dat … de residenten zoo naijverig op hun gezag zijn, dat zij er niet toe kunnen besluiten te erkennen dat de Chinesche tolk sommige toestanden

beter kent dan hij." Groeneveldt's letter to Buijn, dated 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[64] "Anders zou het kunnen zijn als men wilde goedvinden de Chinesche tolken meer te beschouwen als ambtenaren voor Chinesche zaken aan de hoofden van gewestelijk bestuur toegevoegd, maar dit ligt niet in hunne tegenwoordige instructie, en, zooals gezegd, de hoofden van gewestelijk bestuur schijnen weinig neiging te gevoelen uit eigen beweging daartoe over te gaan." Groeneveldt's letter to Buijn, dated 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[65] It would be another 16 years before he, as Vice-President of the Council of the Indies, submitted his detailed reorganisation plan in 1894.

[66] This law index was first published in 1879, and new editions appeared until 1937. It later became known as *Albrecht's klapper*.

[67] "De betrekking van tolk voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië zooals diens werkkring in Staatsblad 1863 no. 39 is afgebakend, is op de meeste plaatsen eene sinecure." *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[68] "Adviezen worden door de hoofden van gewestelijk bestuur schier nooit, door de Regering slechts zelden gevraagd." *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[69] "Velen zullen beweren, dat een ambtenaar, bekend met de Chinesche taal en Chinesche toestanden aan het bestuur groote diensten moet bewijzen. Dat zoude hij ook met vrucht kunnen doen, indien hij niet geheel buiten het administratief raderwerk was geplaatst en de behandeling der bestuursaangelegenheden hem alzoo vreemd blijft. Zooals de toestand thans is, neemt de tolk een geïsoleerde positie [in]; het hangt van de *zinnelijkheid* van het hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur af, om hem te raadplegen al dan niet. … Om billijk te oordeelen, diene men evenwel in het oog te houden, dat de verhouding van den tolk tot de andere ambtenaren niet omschreven is, zoodat als men hem dienst verrichtingen opdraagt, die niet in betrekking tot de vertolking staan, daaruit licht conflicten met de bestuursambtenaren en de hoofden der Chinezen geboren worden. … De meeste hoofden van gewestelijk bestuur schijnen dat ook in te zien en laten de tolken buiten elke bemoeijenis met het bestuur over de Chinezen. …" *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. *See also* the quotation from Albrecht's *nota* at the beginning of Chapter Twelve.

[70] "Eene wijze staatkunde gebiedt, dat de Indische Regering ambtenaren tot haar beschikking heeft, bekend met de taal en het letterschrift van zulk een belangrijk element der bevolking als de Chinezen vormen. Voor eene behoorlijke vertaling van de voor hen verbindende verordeningen kan men de tolken evenmin missen. Ook kunnen zij met vrucht werkzaam zijn bij het onderzoek van belangrijke zaken en het geven van adviezen omtrent Chinesche gewoonten en instellingen. Voor die werkzaamheden zouden strikt genomen niet meer noodig zijn dan twee tolken, beiden te Batavia geplaatst, waarvan één beschikbaar konde zijn voor commissiën elders in Nederlandsch-Indië. Al het werk buiten Batavia, waarop men prijs stelt, dat door een Europeschen tolk geschiedt, dus alleen belangrijke zaken betreffende, zoude ook door hen verricht kunnen worden. Hoogstens zoude nog één te Samarang en één te Soerabaja bescheiden kunnen worden, maar daar moest het bij blijven." *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[71] "Dagelijks in aanraking komende met Chineezen, zullen zij beter dan in hunne tegenwoordige geïsoleerde positie in de gelegenheid zijn om het geleerde te onderhouden en in toepassing te brengen en bekend met de taal des volks, zullen zij kennis en ondervinding opdoen in het besturen over dien landaard, die de andere ambtenaren bij het binnenlandsch bestuur hun zullen benijden." *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[72] Described in Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, sections about Schaank.

[73] "… dat de europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal, op een gering aantal na, zeer goed en zonder het minste bezwaar kunnen worden gemist, ook al wordt meer dan vroeger van hen partij getrokken." Advice dated 24 December 1878 no. XX, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[74] *See* graph in Appendix H. But when it was finally realised and interpreters were lacking for some time in Surabaya (1889) and Semarang (1891), protests were published in newspapers in both places (*Soerabaia Courant*, quoted in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* 24 December 1889; P. Brooshooft in *De Locomotief*, 3 September 1891, quoted in *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag*, 13 October 1891).

[75] V 19/4/1879 no. 7/845 inv. 3191.

[76] "Die aanschrijving heeft in de zaak geene verandering gebracht; de oude opvatting dat men hier slechts met tolken te doen heeft is blijven bovendrijven." Groeneveldt's *nota*, in Advice of the Council of the Indies, 12 October 1894, p. 27, no. XX, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[77] A general description can be found in Willmott, *The Chinese of Semarang*.

[78] The system of the Chinese officers and its history are described in Erkelens, *The Decline of the Chinese Council of Batavia*, and Chen, *De Chinese gemeenschap van Batavia (1843–1865)*. *See also* Lohanda, *The Kapitan Cina of Batavia 1837–1942*. A short general description can be found in Blussé, "Introduction," *The Archives of the Kong Koan in Batavia* (2003).

[79] Meeter, "Advies van een deskundige," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 24 December 1881, and "Indische Chinoiserieën XVII," *Java-bode*, 25 December 1897.

[80] De Groot, *Notizen*, 12. [De Groot], "Iets over bals bij Chineezen," *Java-bode*, 24 December 1878, reprinted from *Samarangsche Courant*. Meeter, *see* previous note. Borel, "Maar een Chinees…," *De laatste incarnatie*, second printing, 165-6.

[81] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën II," *Java-bode* 8 December 1896, and XXIII, 5 May 1898.

[82] Meeter, "Chineesche Officieren nuttig of schadelijk?," *Java-bode*, 18 September 1889.

[83] Borel, "Chineesch recht in Indië," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 92-104.

[84] *See* above. Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXV-XXXII," *Java-bode*, 10, 16 June; 4, 26 July; 12, 15 August; 22, 30 September 1898.

[85] Letter from Groeneveldt to Der Kinderen, 28 February 1886, in V 19/4/1892 no. 33 inv. 4567. *See also* the section below "Acting as Experts on Chinese Law and Customs for the Courts."

[86] "Het doet mij genoegen te hooren dat Gij die Chinezen eens duchtig teregt zet, maar ik vrees met U dat zij het op U zullen trachten te verhalen. De aard van de Chinezen mogen al niet *down-right murder* zijn, de invloed van eene javaanschen omgeving zou hen willigt er toe verleiden, maar juist de mogelijkheid van zooiets, kan U tot een argument dienen om als zelfstandig ambtenaar te moeten fungeren, om de Chinezen bang te maken is juist niet de meest vereerende taak, maar om hen te doen begrijpen dat eerlijkheid bij U een tolk vindt die niet hoeft te vreezen voor rijken [*sic*] baba's, is zeker eene vereerende taak en als Chinezen zien dat het gouvernement U niet vertrouwd [*sic*] eene zelfstandige positie, dan zullen zij ook geen vertrouwen hebben. / Naar het mij voorkomt verwacht 't gouvernement van de tolken niets anders dan dat zij er in tijd van nood dienst kunnen doen zonder evenwel hen alle dagen te gebruiken, dus dat zij meer als adviseurs dienen, maar mijn hemel hoe kan iemand adviseur zijn over dingen waar hij geene ondervinding van heeft, en hoe zal hij ondervinding krijgen als hij niet onafhankelijk oordeelen en handelen kan." Letter from De Grijs to Francken, Amoy 10 April 1863, in BPL 1782: 28, p. 15.

[87] Schlegel wrote that he could give many examples of this. Secretary General G.Th.H. Henny, who had worked for ten years as a lawyer in Batavia, commented in the margin: "So could I, and if the Resident agrees with the President, the sham is even greater." ("ik ook H en als de Pres. 't dan eens is met de Resident is de wassen neus slechts te grooter H.") Schlegel's *nota* of 9 April 1873, p. 14, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[88] "Al draagt een aap een gouden ring / Hij is en blijft een leelijk ding." Van der Spek, *Diary*, 16 April 1880.

[89] *Nota* dated Laboean 10 February 1880, secret, Manuscripts Hoetink H 421a, 4-6, KITLV Collection.

[90] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën III," *Java-bode*, 15 December 1896.

[91] "'*tinggie?! boleh djoega; djadie mahal sedikit, tetapi saia kira dia soeka makan tee djoega!*' (Hoog? dat kan wel zijn en dus wat duur; maar ik houd het er voor, dat hij ook wel thee zal lusten!)." Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën III," *Java-bode*, 15 December 1896.

[92] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën III," *Java-bode*, 15 December 1896. About the bribes in disguise at auctions of departing officials, *see* Meeter, "Chineezen op boedelvendutiën van Europeesche ambtenaren in N.-Indië," *Java-bode*, 15 September 1893. This phenomenon was also noticed by J. van den Brand in *De millioenen uit Deli*, 15-19, reprinted in Breman, *Koelies, planters.*

[93] Erkelens, *Decline of the Chinese Council*, 159.

[94] Schlegel, "Chinesche eed," *Het regt in Ned.-Indië* (1865), 257. Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXII," *Java-bode*, 14 March 1898, and XXVII, 4 July 1898. Meeter always designated the *peranakan* as *babas*. Borel, "Chineesche ontaarding," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 80-91.

[95] Schlegel in Kong Koan Minutes No. 21016, pp. 1250-1252, Minutes of 2 February 1865.

[96] The name of the Dutch interpreter (Roelofs) was not mentioned in the Kong Koan Minutes. *Kong tong Notulen* (*Gongtang anbu* 公堂案簿), no. 21021 (19/1/1881 – 19/9/1884), 11 August 1884 (p. 247), Kong Koan Archief, East Asian Library, Leiden. Thanks are due to Dr. Chen Menghong for finding these references.

[97] "Wie in onze koloniën den groei en de ontwikkeling van eene jonge Chineesche vestiging heeft medegemaakt, de Hoofden van de Chineesche natie alsdan van nabij heeft leeren kennen, hen heeft gadegeslagen bij het verrichten van hunne veelvuldige ambtelijke en particuliere bezigheden, zal begrijpen van hoe groot nut, zoowel voor zijn landgenooten als voor de overheid, een flink en trouw 'overste der Chinesen' in de eerste helft der 17e eeuw te Batavia zal zijn geweest." Hoetink, "So Bing Kong," 362-3.

[98] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XVI," *Java-bode*, 1 November 1898.

[99] Borel, "Maar een Chinees …," *De laatste incarnatie*, 165-208. This story was first published under the title "Chineesch gevaar II, een eindvonnis," *Deli-Courant*, 11 and 14 September 1895, with a shorter introduction.

[100] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën VI," *Java-bode*, 12 January 1897.

[101] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën VII," *Java-bode*, 26 January 1897.

[102] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën VII," *Java-bode*, 20 January 1897; "De ambtenaren voor Chineesche Zaken II," *Java-bode*, 12 March 1897.

[103] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XVI," *Java-bode*, 1 November 1897.

[104] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 18 September 1886. A similar example is the case of Jo Hoae Giok in Makassar, described in Chapter Six.

[105] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XVII," *Java-bode*, 3 December 1897.

[106] "De heer A.C. Wertheim contra de tolken voor de Chineesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië," *De Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van den dag*, 9 February 1892. Also published in *Java-bode*, 17 March 1892. Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën II," and XI, *Java-bode*, 8 December 1896, 26 February 1897. Of course, the sinologist's contacts could also work the other way round: he could be misled or even used by Chinese to influence his compatriots or superiors.

[107] Groeneveldt's *nota*, in Advice of the Council of the Indies, 12 October 1894, pp. 12-13, no. XX, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[108] "Op Batavia kwam nog onlangst de geheele Chinesche bevolking van *Passer Senin* van *woede snuivende* bij schrijver dezes, en gaf hem haar voornemen te kennen, den eigenaar van Passer Senin, *Kegel*, die eene nieuwe belasting had ingevoerd, benevens den Adsistent Resident *Taets van Amerongen* en den Hoofdschout *Oosterweeghel*, die den Heer Kegel in het heffen dezer belasting hadden gesteund, te *vermoorden*. Het gelukte den schrijver dezes, deze heethoofden tot bedaren te brengen, en hen door kracht van redenen te bewegen de beslissing der Hooge Regering aan welke ik onmiddellijk een rekwest zond, af te wachten." Schlegel's *nota* of 9 April 1873, pp. 23-24, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2598.

[109] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën I-II," *Java-bode*, 1 and 8 December 1896.

[110] "… je trekt partij voor de Chineezen." But however much he felt for this people and its many good properties, he did not like "to praise them unto the skies" (as Borel did). De Bruin, "Het wezen van den Chinees" (1920), 609-10.

[111] "… groot is het prestige dat op hen [de Chineezen] wordt uitgeoefend door een Europeaan die hunne taal en vooral hun moeilijke letterschrift verstaat." *Nota* 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. Thereby suggesting the potential use that could be made of the Europeans knowing Chinese.

[112] *De Locomotief*, 31 December 1885.

[113] W. Halkema Sr., *De Ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken Stuart en Tjoa Sien Hie's vertalingen uit den Taij Tjhing Loet Lie*, 8 (Soerabaya: Gimberg, 1901).

[114] "Gisteren morgen tusschen 8 en 9 ure was ik op de begraafplaats Penélé ooggetuige

van een voorval, eenig in zijne soort. Ik zag een 20 a 30tal wel-gekleede Chinezen, biddende en offerende rondom een graf; vernam dat het graf het stoffelijk overschot bevatte van den onlangs overledenen heer Francken, alwaar zij hun laatsten eerbied voor den afgestorvene kwamen betuigen, doordien het Chinesche Nieuwejaar hen belet heeft de begrafenis te kunnen volgen en zij zich alsnu nog tot die handeling gedwongen gevoelden. Ik betuig u dat het mij trof, die vriendschappelijke gehechtheid te zien eener Natie, in zeden en gewoonten zoo zeer verschillende van den overledene. Zoude zulks niet tot bewijs strekken dat het graf allen één maakt?" *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 14 March 1864, quoting *Nieuwsbode van Soerabaija*, 22 February 1864. The Chinese New Year was on 8 February, the day of Francken's burial.

[115] It appeared first in the *Makassaarsch Handels en advertentieblad* (16 April 1886), was taken over by the *Samarangsche Courant* (27 April 1866), and in *De Locomotief* (30 April 1866; without the explanatory footnote); another shorter version in *Leidsch Dagblad* (18 and 20 August 1866).

[116] "Het moge eene bijdrage zijn om het karakter der Chinezen gunstiger te beoordeelen dan wel eens het geval is, en er van getuigen, dat egoïsme niet zoo geheel en al de spil is, waarom zich hunne handelingen bewegen, en zij wel degelijk vatbaar zijn voor onbaatzuchtige vriendschap. De bedoelde som is werkelijk aan *Francken*'s moeder uitgekeerd, en zijn broeder ontvangt jaarlijks eene toelage van 600 à 700 gulden, die door de Chinesche vrienden van den overledene wordt bijeengebracht." Footnote by the Redaction (Red.), *Makassaarsch Handels en advertentieblad* (16 April 1886).

[117] In Dutch he was known under another name than in Chinese.

[118] "今逢日里 / 大巡按緞富庭，昔為 / 荷主任日里沙灣華民政務司之責, 治理念餘年, 興利除弊, 政績昭然, 亦曾於中華潮屬汕頭開辦公司, 創設輪艘, 華人去來稱便載道口碑, 頗邀 / 荷主嘉慰, 今復命為日里巡按, 查悉前因, 深以爲憫, 意欲創辦中華信局而利便之 … 我華人須知 / 巡按、瑪腰、甲太各大人俯體民情之心有加無已 …." *Rili Mianlan Tongshanju daishou Zhonghua xinju zhangcheng* 日里棉蘭同善局代收中華信局章程, Medan, 1905, pp. 1v, 2r (punctuation added). Shawan 沙灣 is short for (Jalan) Kesawan, a street in the centre of Medan (after 1966 named Jalan Jenderal Ayani) and an informal name for Medan used by Chinese from the countryside (thanks are due to Ms. Farida Fong for this information). *See also* the section "Other coolie matters" in Chapter Fourteen.

[119] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 1 May 1906.

[120] Departement van Justitie, 2 April 1906, Borel uncatalogued no. 232, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

[121] Article 7, *Reglement op de regterlijke organisatie en het beleid der justitie in Nederlandsch-Indië* (1847).

[122] Meeter, "De regtspositie der Chinesche vrouw," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, no. 32 (1879), 345.

[123] *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, *Indisch weekblad van het regt*.

[124] Abendanon, *Nederlandsch Indische rechtspraak*, 1849–80 and supplements. Until 1897, the oath was placed on top of the list; in 1907 it was at the bottom. In the supplement for 1908–17 the oath disappeared from the list.

[125] Some of these reports are mentioned by Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, for instance p. 192 (Francken).

[126] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 154, 11 June 1866. In this context, these cases cannot be fully analysed.

[127] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 362, 6 June 1870. Ko Setjoan 高西川 (1818-) became *luitenant titulair* in 1854, *luitenant* in 1860, and *kapitein* in 1868 (Gong An Bu, vol. 9, p. 397).

[128] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 776, 13 May 1878. The commission was installed on 4 August 1877, when Groeneveldt was still interpreter.

[129] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 287, 28 December 1868.

[130] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën XXV-XXXII." Borel, "Chineesch recht in Indië," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 92-104, 94-5.

[131] In his draft law of 1896, Fromberg misunderstood the apostrophe and consistently misspelled the title as Ta' Tsing Lu Li; later he used the correct spelling Ta Ts'ing Lu Li (*Verspreide geschriften*).

[132] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 232, 9 December 1867. Also in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 9 November 1867, signed "X."

[133] Ordinance in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1855, no. 79, in force from 1 March 1856 on. The situation then became similar to that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and before 1824, when many cases involving Chinese were also tried by the courts for Europeans. Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 76.

[134] Borel, "Chineesch gevaar," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 16-32, 20. Earlier published in *Deli-Courant*, 30 January 1895, about four months after his arrival in the Indies.

[135] Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 194-217. Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*. Seng Guo-Quan, *Disputed Properties, Contested Identities* (thesis Chicago, August 2015), in particular Chapter Two, "Comparative Law, Sinology's Father and the Patriarchalization of Creole Chinese Social Relations." In this chapter, Seng compares the opinions of the "Sinology purist" Schlegel with the "pragmatist" Groeneveldt and the "ethnographic Machiavellian" Meeter (since Meeter believed the Chinese were making misuse of European law), pp. 54-5, 74, 79.

[136] "Bepalingen betreffende het burgerlijk- en handelsrecht en enkele onderwerpen van strafrecht voor de Chineezen op Java en Madoera" (Provisions concerning the civil and commercial law and some subjects of penal law for the Chinese on Java and Madura), *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1892, no. 238.

[137] Pieter Hendrik Fromberg (Amsterdam, 16 January 1857 – 2 January 1924) studied law in Leiden and had a career in the judiciary in the Indies from 1882 on, culminating in a position in the High Court in 1903–8. He was a warm supporter of the Chinese in their struggle for a better legal position. His collected works were published by the Chung Hwa Hui (*Chineesche Vereeniging in Nederland*) in 1926 as *Verspreide geschriften*.

[138] Published in Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, Bijlagen, 217-307. The most often quoted Dutch sinologists in this draft and in later articles were De Groot, Groeneveldt, Meeter, Stuart, Young, Borel, and Van Wettum.

[139] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1917, no. 129, in effect as from 1 May 1919.

[140] For instance, in 1912 the draft text for a civil code *Zhonghua minguo zanxing minlü cao'an* 中華民國暫行民律草案 was published, but as a consequence of the political situation, it was not officially adopted. There is a partial Dutch translation by Van Wettum (1914).

[141] Meeter, "De regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw" (The legal position of Chinese women), *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 32 (1879), 345-73.

[142] J.M. Callery, *Li Ki ou Mémorial des Rites traduit pour la première fois du Chinois, et accompagné de notes, de commentaries et du texte original* (Turin 1854).

[143] Schlegel, *Hoa Tsien Ki, De geschiedenis van het gebloemde briefpapier*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 32 (1866).

[144] De Jongh did not send a *nota*, and only stated that he fully agreed with Meeter. Dr Tjiook-Liem gives on p. 202 (*Rechtspositie*, 2009) a distortion of Groeneveldt's comments, thereby overly discrediting the Dutch interpreters. Not only are her quotations not fully correct, but the impression is given that Groeneveldt's criticism of Meeter (*[getuigend van] zonderlinge begrippen*) and De Grijs (*verward betoog, onjuist, curieus en karakteristiek [wat betreft onwetendheid]*) applies to all seven sinologists, including the six others who did not participate. More seriously, Groeneveldt's comments on the dubious value of advice given by Chinese officers is simply omitted. Groeneveldt's pointing out the wrong manner of asking questions by judges is distorted into the conclusion that the interpreters did not have enough legal knowledge (which in itself may be true, but this was not Groeneveldt's point), while Groeneveldt also wrote that the topic of ambiguous questioning by judges had been studied before by J. Sibenius Trip in *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 28 (1877), 66-9 (in the copy of Groeneveldt's report in the National Archive the volume number is XXXIII instead of XXVIII). L.D.F. de Pauly explained the matter more clearly on pp. 372 and 375 of vol. 33 (1879); perhaps Groeneveldt confused these two sources.

[145] In 1886, Young published a translation of these provisions.

[146] Meeter had also discovered a faulty interpretation in De Grijs' translation in 1882, leading to a misunderstanding by the lawyer J.W.T. Cohen Stuart. Meeter, "Mr. J.W.T. Co-

hen Stuart over den regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 28 and 30 October 1882. Also published in: *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 39 (1882), 316-25.

[147] "Gai jiace" 改甲冊, from Lan Dingyuan's 藍鼎元 *Lan gong an* 藍公案. De Grijs translated the title as: "Het (vervalschen) veranderen van de registers van de burgerlijken stand." ((Falsifying) changing the civil registration). BPL 1780:3. *See also Catalogue* 2005, 87-8.

[148] The Chinese text is: 若夫或因犯罪, 或遭兵亂, 或值兇荒等事, 棄妻逃亡在外, 音信不通, 不知去向生死, 三年不還者, 其妻無所依倚, 不能存立, 聽明告官司, 為之判理。給執照別行改嫁。Quoted from *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899), 88.

[149] In Schlegel's review of P. Hoang, *Le marriage Chinois au pont de vue legal*, "Bulletin critique," *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899) 87-93. Names are given in a French transcription of Hokkien. *See also* P. Hoang's reaction with Schlegel's introduction in "Correspondance," *T'oung Pao* 1 (1900), 397-405. Hoang did not agree with Schlegel's translation of *dengshi* as "etcetera," considering it merely an indication of the end of a limitative list; but he agreed with Schlegel's conclusion on account of the analogical interpretation that was explicitly allowed in Chinese law. However, Schlegel's translation of *dengshi* seems more plausible and is confirmed by major dictionaries (Giles' *Chinese–English dictionary*, *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (Shanghai 上海：Hanyu da cidian chubanshe 漢語大詞典出版社 1986–1993)，*Hanyu da zidian* 漢語大字典 (Chengdu 成都：Sichuan cishu chubanshe 四川辞书出版社1986–1990)). According to Schlegel, many similar cases occurred during his ten-year stay in Batavia (p. 90).

[150] He also stated that the advice itself should only concern information about Chinese law, not an opinion about the legal question itself; and this should be requested from the legal advisors (Chinese officers), not from experts (sinologists and lawyers). J. Sibenius Trip, "Vraagpunten …," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië* 28 (1877) , 65-66.

[151] In Van Vollenhoven's words "een fragmentarische degeneneratie van het echt Chineesche recht…, die eerbied onzerzijds niet verdient." C. van Vollenhoven, *Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. II, 10. The main reason for this was probably that there existed no written sources about Chinese customary law in the Indies, and one had to rely completely on what the Chinese officers wished to report.

[152] Fromberg, "Mag een Chinees bij uitersten wil over zijn vermogen onbeperkt beschikken" (1896), *Verspreide geschriften*, 70. For instance, he quoted Meeter: "We consider the alleged customary law as nothing but fiction, devised by shrewd Chinese officers or their clever legal advisors." ("De regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw," 1879).

[153] Quoted by Van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. II, 10.

[154] Quoted by Van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. II, 10. On Van Vollenhoven *see also* J.M. Otto and S. Pompe, "The legal Oriental connection," in Otterspeer, *Leiden Oriental Connections*, 230-49.

[155] Fromberg, "Nieuw recht voor de Indo-Chineezen," *Verspreide geschriften*, 591.

[156] Consequently, and strictly following article 7 of the *Regulations on the Judiciary System* (1847), only the opinions of the legal advisors (Chinese officers) should be asked, and not those of the experts (sinologists). Sibenius Trip already in 1877 was opposed to using the sinologists as experts in the courts, but now their advice had in fact been useful by showing the Chinese officers' lack of legal knowledge. Sibenius Trip, *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië* 74 (1900), 1-3. The reason for his disapproval of using sinologists as experts is not clear, except that there was no legal provision for such.

[157] Van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. II, 11.

[158] *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 78 (1902), 97-104 (question); 79 (1902), 130-135 (experts' report).

[159] *Adatrecht*, vol. II, 13-14, etc.

[160] The judgements of the Chinese High Court had probably been brought along by Ezerman on his visit to China in 1916. Bureau of Chinese Affairs, "Het huwelijk tusschen lieden met denzelfden familienaam," *Indisch tijdschrift van het recht* 110 (1918), 51-7 (not quoting *Liji*). Ezerman, "Advies in zake Chineesch erfrecht," *Indisch tijdschrift van het recht* 111 (1918), 265-8. The latter was preceded by Fromberg's negative comments (reprinted in his *Verspreide geschriften*, "Omgekeerd?" 613-8). Parts of the *Qing Code* remained relevant, although the new laws in China were also unofficially being practiced.

[161] Ezerman, "Advies in zake Chineesch erfrecht," 265.

[162] Moreover, the Chinese still had not obtained a full equal status with Europeans. For the opinion of a Chinese lawyer educated in Leiden, *see* Phoa Liong Gie, "Het recht der werkelijkheid," *Gedenkboek Chung Hwa Hui 1911-1926*, 71-106.

[163] His sugar factory is mentioned in *Java-bode*, 25 June 1872. According to the certificate mentioned below, he was 57 years (*sui*) old on 8 June 1892; therefore he must have been born in 1836 or in January/February 1837. He was a *luitenant* since 21 June 1869, and a *luitenant titulair*, a title given to former *luitenants*, since 3 January 1884 (*Regeerings-almanak voor Ned.-Indië*). He passed away in October 1904 (*Soerabaiasch Handelsblad,* 5 October 1904). A short Chinese biography is given in Nishi Hideaki, "Oranda ni okeru hōgaku …," note 42, quoting *Huaqiao Huaren baike quanshu Renwu juan* 华人华侨百科全书 人物卷 (2001).

[164] The text of the donation certificate (吏部執照) was copied by Hoetink's teacher/clerk. Hoetink, *Chinese stukken* H. 421b, p. 105 (a typed version is available online, Leiden University Library). On 29 December 1891, De Groot had advised allowing the sale of titles in the Indies, to compensate for the refusal to accept Chinese Consuls (*Notizen*, 40).

[165] The Malay version was entitled *Atoeran hak poesaka orang tjina dan hal mengangkat anak tersalin dari kitab hoekoem Taij Tjhing Loet Li*. Both versions were published by Gimberg in Soerabaia in 1900. The Malay text is online available in Leiden University Library.

[166] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 6 September, 1900. "Veel licht," *De Locomotief*, 8 September 1900.

[167] "Bulletin critique," *T'oung Pao* 1 (1900), 501-502.

[168] Schlegel had criticised a translation of Chinese law by Pierre Hoang in *T'oung Pao* 10 (1899), 87-93, giving an interesting example of a translation problem from the Indies in 1869. The next year Hoang replied to Schlegel's criticism in *T'oung Pao* 1 (1900), 397-405. *See also* the section "Acting as Experts for the Courts."

[169] W. Halkema's full name was Johannes Wilhelmus Hendrikus Halkema, shortened to Willem, W., W.H. or J.W.H. Halkema (Tegal, 1833 – Surabaya, 10 April 1905). From 1855 on he had a career as Government clerk and *controleur*, but in 1872 he was honourably discharged from Government service (Stamboeken L 134). Later he worked as a journalist, translator and teacher of Malay and Javanese, and legal advisor. In 1879 he published a *Beknopte handleiding tot zelfonderricht in de Javaansche taal* (Concise manual for self-study of Javanese). He advertised as a translator and teacher in 1884 (*Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 18 January 1884, etc.) and as a legal advisor in 1892 (*Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 April 1892, etc.). In the 1880s he founded a Javanese newspaper and a newspaper for Eurasians; in 1881 he was expelled from the *Vorstenlanden* after offending the sultan (Termorshuizen, *Journalisten*, 182, 444, 446-7 etc.). In 1903 he was sent to prison for three months for his pamphlet *Zoo zijn er!* (*Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 18 November 1903).

[170] "Verhandeling over verdeeling van het familiegoed en stamvoortzetting bij de Chineezen," *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië* 75 (1900), 273-306.

[171] Unfortunately the vertical lines of the Chinese text are often continued on the next page, so the reader has to flip the pages back and forth while reading.

[172] Young only translated the *lü*, not the *li*, in his "Versterfrecht, adoptie en pleegkinderen bij de Chineezen. Behandeling der betrekkelijke artikelen van het Wetboek Tai-Tshing Loet-lé," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 31 (1886), 214-39. Malay translation: *Atoeran hak poesaka orang Tjina dan hal mengangkat anak tersalin dari pada kitab hoekoem Tai Tshing Loet Lé* (Batavia: Albrecht, 1887), 26 p. Malay text with Chinese law text in characters. This translation was reprinted by Albrecht & Rusche in 1894.

[173] Jamieson's translation appeared in *The China Review* 8 (1879–1880). P.L. Philastre, *Le Code Annamite, nouvelle traduction complète* (Paris, 1876).

[174] Only the transcription of the Chinese title of the *Qing Code* was slightly different.

[175] Giles' *Chinese–English dictionary* (2nd edition of 1912) confirms that *yiming* cannot be translated as "testament," and that even a Chinese written will does not have the force of a European testament (p. 678).

[176] Italics as in the original text. "Wanneer de *vader* of de *moeder* overleden is en de kinderen nog in den rouwstaat zijn, mogen deze op geene andere plaats wonen noch de nalatenschap verdeelen of daaraan eene andere bestemming geven. / Schending of over-

treding van deze bepaling zal aan den lijve van den daaraan bevonden schuldige worden gestraft met 80 slagen, bijaldien deswege door oudere familieleden—ooms of broeders—eene klacht is of wordt ingediend. / Zijn er ten opzichte daarvan evenwel door den overledene beschikkingen *genomen* en *aanwezig*, dan is *dit artikel niet van toepassing* [*] [Footnote] (*) TIAULIE of *toelichting*. Het in den oorspronkelijken tekst in het chineesch voorkomende: *Hik hong wie bing poet tjaij tjoe loet* beteekent: als er een *testament* is, heeft de wet met de zaak geen bemoeienis hoegenaamd, wat teruggeeft dat men slechts het testament *op te volgen en na te leven heeft."* Tjoa Sien Hie*, Regeling der erfopvolging* (1900) 2 (with corrections of obvious misprints). Quoted by Stuart with characters added, p. 280.

[177] "Een mystificatie," *De Locomotief*, 18 December 1900.

[178] W. Halkema Sr, *De Ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken Stuart en Tjoa Sien Hie's vertalingen uit den Taij Tjhing Loet Lie* (Soerabaya: Gimberg, 1901). At the top of the title page was printed: *Beleefd aangeboden present exemplaar* (Respectfully presented complimentary copy).

[179] Usually pronounced *boe sai*. In this pronunciation it is homophonous with another invective, *besai* 馬屎, "horse dung."

[180] Dated January 1903, published in Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, 335-6.

[181] *See* IB 10/6/1851 no. 53, published in *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, no. 420 (1858).

[182] Katz, "Chapter 3, Oaths and chicken-beheading rituals," *Divine Justice*, 61-81.

[183] *Liufa quanshu* 六法全書, *Xingshi susong fa* 刑事訴訟法 (1928), articles 186-187; *Minshi susongfa* 民事訴訟法 (1930) articles 312-313; still in force on Taiwan. The background of this fact needs further research (Katz, *Divine Justice*, 80).

[184] *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo Xingshi susong fa* 中华人民共和国刑事诉讼法 (2012), article 189.

[185] Katz, "Chapter 7, Judicial rituals in modern Taiwan," *Divine Justice*, 142-59, etc.

[186] From 1620 until 1666. Hoetink, "So Bing Kong," 357-9. Later two Chinese became members of the court in relevant cases ("Rechtswezen," *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië* (1917), 559).

[187] "至犯大罪…俱申報荷蘭。定奪人命，不問鄰佑，而重見證。見證必審訊，斬雞發誓，方敢花押定案。" (punctuation added) Wang Dahai 王大海, *Haidao yizhi* 海島逸志, p. 3 (preface 1791), here quoted from Zhouche suozhi 舟車所至 edition (reprint, Taibei 臺北: Zhengzhong shuju 正中書局, 1962, 791-2). According to Wang this emphasis on witness accounts was a very stupid method, since nobody dared to act as a witness; as a result nobody cared about corpses lying on the streets and in gutters.

[188] In the eighteenth-century reports of Indies court proceedings in which Chinese acted as witnesses, no reference could be found to the Chinese oath (oral communication from Leonard Blussé, 4 July 2015).

[189] The oldest oath formula dating from 1775 can be found in Kong Koan Archives no. 23001, Leiden University Library (online available). Many other cases of decisive oaths are recorded in the Minutes of the Chinese Council in Batavia of 1787–91 (Blussé, *Gong'an bu*, vol. 1). These are mentioned and analysed by Paul R. Katz in his (very short) discussion about the Chinese oath in Batavia (*Divine Justice*, 118-9). Katz was inspired by the analysis by Ji Zong'an 纪宗安 and Yan Lijin 颜丽金, "Shixi Baguo gongtang de mengshen shenpan 试析吧国公堂的盟神审判" (Preliminary analysis of trial by way of an oath to the gods in the Chinese Council of Batavia) (2005). An earlier source, not referred to by Ji and Yan, is Blussé and Wu, 18世纪末巴达维亚唐人社会 (2002), 25-8. Later cases are analysed by Chen, *Chinese gemeenschap, 1843–1865*, 124-5.

[190] Katz, *Divine Justice*, 119.

[191] Chen, *Chinese gemeenschap, 1843–1857*, 124.

[192] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1819, no. 20.

[193] *Algemeene bepalingen van wetgeving* (1847), art. 14.

[194] Articles 1929–1945, Zesde titel "van den geregtelijken eed," Boek IV, *Burgerlijk Wetboek voor Nederlandsch-Indië.* Schlegel, "De Chinesche eed," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 21 (1865), 247-59 (May 1863), p. 256. The decisive oath was possible in the Netherlands until the introduction of the *New Civil Code* at the end of the twentieth century ("Van den geregtelijken eed," art. 1966–82 of the old Dutch Civil Law). If required by the judge, it was called "supplementary" (*suppletoire*) oath.

[195] Type b and c as defined by Eric Hobsbawn, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in Hobsbawn's *The Invention of Tradition*, 1-14, p. 9.

[196] Katz, "Chapter 6, Judicial rituals in Asian colonial and immigrant history," *Divine Justice*, 119-32. *See also* Eitel, *Europe in China*, 268. Vaughton, *The Manners and Customs of the Chinese of the Straits Settlements*, 88-9. L.C.P., "Judicial Oaths for Chinese," *Notes and Queries*, vol. 3 (1869), 17-18; D., "Chinese Oaths," *idem*, 120-1; W.F. Mayers, "Chinese Oaths," *idem*, 142-4.

[197] It could also be used for witnesses in criminal cases. *Reglement op de strafvordering voor de Raden van Justitie op Java* [etc.] (1847), art. 415.

[198] In that case the advice of the Chinese Council was asked after two experts had refused to perform the chicken oath, which they found immoral. Der Kinderen, "Wijzen van eedsaflegging, in gebruik bij de Chinezen," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië* 15 (1858), 169-71.

[199] "De Chinesche eed," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 21 (1865), 247-59 (dated May 1863). These consequences are reminiscent of the popular Taoist tract about retribution and punishment by the gods *Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇. Schlegel had learnt this tract by heart when studying under Hoffmann.

[200] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 258, 8 June 1868.

[201] Borel, "Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden I," *Deli-Courant*, 16 September 1896. De Groot had attended ceremonies on Borneo, and Borel in Tanjung Pinang (Riau) and Makassar. In their articles they do not mention the 'large' oath in the temple.

[202] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 311, 14 June 1869, and no. 314, 5 July 1869.

[203] "De Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 223, 7 October 1867; no. 226, 28 October 1867; no. 232, 9 December 1867; also in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, *Java-bode* and other newspapers (*see* Schlegel's and Von Faber's bibliographies).

[204] Tan Hongie 陳逢義 (born in 1799 in China) was *luitenant* and member of the Chinese Council in Batavia in 1854–63, and *luitenant-titulair* thereafter; he was tax-farmer of alcoholic beverages and gambling in 1856–63. Tan Kamlong 陳甘郎 (1811-1878) was *kapitein-titulair* since 1844. He was opium tax-farmer in 1845–7 (Blussé, *Gong'anbu*, vol. 9, 376; Chen, *De Chinese gemeenschap van Batavia, 1843–1865*). The two well-known Dutch lawyers Alting Mees and Henny assisted them during the later court proceedings and it is assumed they did so from the start.

[205] "Without coat, cap or garments, You, always, can approach the porches of the Lord's temple. 不作衣冠不作裳，時時身近帝廟廊." Schlegel, *The Hung-League*, 115-6. Quoted (without source) in Schlegel's first article in *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 223, 7 October 1867. Von Faber later pointed out the source.

[206] As proof, he quoted (in Dutch) from Zhuge Liang's preparatory prayer for a favourable wind just before the Battle of the Red Cliff: 沐浴齋戒，身披道衣，跣足散髮，來到壇前。 "He bathed and fasted, put on a monk's habit, bared his feet and loosened his hair, and came to the altar." (*Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義, Chapter 49).

[207] Von Faber, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 4 November 1867.

[208] "Ingezonden stukken," by "X," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 7 November 1867.

[209] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 243, 23 January 1868 (session of 3 January 1868). In the meantime, another law suit about the oath had taken place, in which Schlegel had acted as representative of the Orphans Chamber and Von Faber as expert. The court had then concluded that the Chinese Council should decide about the ceremony of the oath. *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 258, 8 June 1868.

[210] Thung was a member of the Batavian Estate Chamber. Gouw Lamyang (Lamiang) 吳南陽 (1813-1892?) was *luitenant-titulair* since 1849. No information could be found about Gouw Tianin (*Regeeringsalmanak*; Chen, *Chinese gemeenschap*; Blussé, *Gong'anbu*, vol. 9, p. 474).

[211] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 287, 28 December 1868.

[212] *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 939, 27 June 1881.

[213] Not surprisingly, some jurists published their opinion that no oath, whatever its form, could be a guarantee for honesty.

[214] Young, "De eed in China en in N.-Indië," *Sumatra-courant*, 27 and 29 September 1881.

[215] Von Faber, "De Chineesche eed. Open brief aan den WelEdelGestr. heer J.W. Young, tolk voor de chineesche taal te Padang," *Sumatra-courant*, 19 January 1882.

[216] Young, "Open brief aan den WelEdelG. Heer M. Von Faber, tolk voor de Chineesche Taal, te Batavia," *Sumatra-courant*, 21 January 1882. "Nog iets omtrent den chineeschen Eed in Ned.-Indië," *Sumatra-courant*, 16 March 1882. "Weêr iets over den chineeschen Eed," *Sumatra-courant*, 30 March 1882. Perhaps as a result of this discussion, Von Faber later wrote his "Trancendentale voorstellingen der Chineezen" (Chinese ideas of the transcendent), *De Indische Gids*, vol. 6 no. 2 (1884), 702-36. At the same time, Young and Von Faber discussed Kee Tjoa 解詛, the neutralisation of a curse, in three other articles. The question was whether the malediction of an oath could also be neutralised by this ceremony.

[217] "Chinese oaths in Western Borneo and Java" (*Notes and Queries*), *The China Review* (1881), vol. X, 212-8.

[218] Young, "Eenige beschouwingen omtrent den eed voor de Chineezen," *Sumatra-courant*, 30 August 1882.

[219] De Groot, *Eenige aanteekeningen omtrent Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden in de Nederlandsche koloniën: Een poging tot oplossing van de vraag, welke eed aldaar den Chineezen voor de rechtbanken behoort te worden afgenomen*.

[220] Borel, "Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden I," *Deli-Courant*, 16 September 1896.

[221] The original oath form is in BPL 1782:6A, an illustration is in *Catalogue* 2005, 97. Other oath texts and De Grijs' opinion about the oath are in BPL 1782:5.

[222] Chinese and Dutch text in *N.V. Internationale Crediet- en Handels-Vereeniging "Rotterdam" Gedenkboek uitgegeven bij het vijf-en-zeventig jarig bestaan op 28 augustus 1938* (Rotterdam, 1938), appendix.

[223] Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, 129, 131.

[224] Fromberg's *Verspreide geschriften* contains no article about the Chinese oath. Perhaps the topic was considered too specific to legal circles and more suitable for an expert in Chinese ethnology.

[225] Borel, "Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden I," *Deli-Courant*, 16 September 1896 (mainly about De Groot's article of 1883), and "II," 3 March 1897. Borel also had some negative comments on the Chinese oath in "Chineesch gevaar," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 25-30 (originally published in *Deli-Courant*, 30 January 1895, half a year after his appointment).

[226] *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 83 (1904), 542-8. Also published in *Indisch weekblad van het recht*, no. 2172, 13 February 1905, p. 28a.

[227] *Indisch weekblad van het recht*, no. 2227, 5 March 1906.

[228] "Eed," *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië* (1917), 652-3.

## *Notes to Chapter Fourteen*

[1] *See* Chapter Six, Chinese Teachers/Clerks in the Indies, section "Reports on the Need of a Teacher/Clerk."

[2] Schaalje began to study the *Sanguo zhi yanyi* in December 1864 after arrival in the Indies (BPL 2106 II 6), and he began writing in Riau about Chinese festivals etc. (BPL 2106 II 36) but did not get far. De Grijs wrote a few articles that were not published (BPL 1782) and may have continued translating works by Lan Dingyuan (BPL 1780) and other texts (BPL 1782).

[3] Titles are mentioned in Schlegel's bibliography *Liste chronologique des ouvrages et opuscules* (1902).

[4] Titles are in De Groot's bibliography in Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 115-6.

[5] Schaalje collected a large number of documents about the popular betting pool based on the surnames of top scorers in the local and national examinations in China (*weixing* 闈姓), but he did not write anything about them. These are now in the Schaalje Collection, NEHA archives, IISG, Amsterdam.

[6] "Hebben de tolken weinig officiëlen en particulieren arbeid, zooveel te meer—zou men kunnen aanvoeren—kunnen zij aan eigen studie wijden, om de enkele keeren dat hunne diensten worden gevorderd, zich des te beter van hunne taak te kunnen kwijten. Het is evenwel niet aan een ieder gegeven, om altijd door te studeeren, althans niet op gezette

wijze. Men wil ook wel praktisch van nut zijn, voldoening hebben van de ten koste gelegde inspanning. Andere taalgeleerden ontvangen verschillende opdragten en doen geregeld verslag van de uitkomsten hunner studiën, die met belangstelling door de Regering worden nagegaan en op waarde geschat. De tolken voor de Chinesche taal komen in Indië met groote illusiën, worden op een buitenpost geplaatst en geheel aan zich zelve overgelaten. Of zij studeeren of niet studeeren, daarover bekommert zich niemand. Het verschil ligt daarin, dat eerstgenoemden zich toeleggen op de talen der inheemsche volken, die in de eerste plaats de aandacht der Regering worden waardig gekeurd, terwijl laatstgenoemden de taal beoefenen van een volk, dat in Indië slechts geduld wordt als een onmisbaar element, doch dat in veel mindere mate de zorg der overheerschers ondervindt. Wanneer de deskundige voorlichting en hulp zoo weinig worden ingeroepen, is het dan geen wonder dat de ijver gaat verslappen en het groote energie kost, om er niet ondergedrukt te gaan." *Nota* by Albrecht, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[7] Groeneveldt's *nota*, 12 October 1894, p. 26, V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[8] De Groot's *nota*, dated 2 March 1911, V 11/12/1911, no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

[9] *See* below. He told De Bruin that Borel had discredited sinology (De Bruin, *Een onopgehelderd geval*, 4).

[10] ["Van de overigen—een twee- of drietal—valt alleen te constateeren, dat] zij op hun tractement hebben gevegeteerd, door de besturende en rechterlijke machten niet gestoord in hunne zalige rust, oftewel genegeerd. Tot tijd en wijle pensioen of dood hen uit de mislukte carrière zal verlossen of reeds heeft verlost. / Ziedaar harde waarheden, en niet te loochenen feiten." De Groot's *nota* of 2 March 1911, V 11/12/1911, no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

[11] "*Nimmer waren de Ambtenaren voor Chineesche Zaken mannen, die van huis uit lust tot studie van China en de Chineezen in hunne betrekking medebrachten.* Zij bleven dus uitsluitend teren op wat elementaire taalkennis, in den opleidingstijd opgedaan. Zij konden dientengevolge onmogelijk beantwoorden aan de verantwoordelijke taak, waartoe het Goevernement hen geroepen had; hunne positie werd voor henzelven in de allereerste plaats netelig en onaangenaam, ja onmogelijk, en—de een voor, de ander na, liep er zoo goed mogelijk uit." De Groot's *nota* of 2 March 1911, V 11/12/1911, no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04 (underlined in the original).

[12] Royal Decree of 17 September 1906 no. 17, *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1906 no. 476.

[13] De Groot's *nota* of 2 March 1911, V 11/12/1911, no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

[14] Personal communication from his daughter Mary Gwendolyn Duyvendak, 2013.

[15] De Bruin, *Een onopgehelderd geval*, 4.

[16] Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-Kak-Sie" te Cheribon*, 8.

[17] Many documents in V 11/12/1911, no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

[18] J.A.M. Bruineman served in 1912–31, J. Snellen van Vollenhoven in 1912–33, and H. Mouw in 1912–35 (Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren Q' 580; Q' 579; Q' 581, 817).

[19] First Government Secretary De Graeff to the Consul General in Hong Kong, dated Buitenzorg 14 May 1910, inv. 157, toeg. 2.05.90. The Government did not need "scholars" (*geleerden*), but "*practical* officials with scholarly knowledge" (*wetenschappelijk onderlegde practische ambtenaren*). G.H.G. Harloff commented similarly on De Groot's *nota* in his report about the reorganisation of the functions of Officials for Chinese Affairs, dated 24 April 1912, in V 6/12/1912 no. 54 inv. 986 toegang 2.10.36.04.

[20] De Groot's request and the following discussions are treated in more detail in Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, section "De Groot's Scholarly Mission to China."

[21] "Moge dit geschrift toonen, dat men de Chineezen in de koloniën niet behoorlijk kan kennen tenzij men hen in hun eigen vaderland bestudeert, en het bijgevolg voor eene regeering, die hare kracht meer in politiek en in kennis van land en volk dan in bajonnetten zoekt, van belang is op ruime schaal ethnographische studiën en navorschingen in het Rijk van het Midden te doen maken." De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 193.

[22] IB 14/3/1886 no. 21 inv. 7889.

[23] Franke, "Gedächtnisrede," p. CXX.

[24] This request is described in more detail in Chapter Twelve, Working as Interpreters and Translators, section "Some Problems of Legal Translation."

[25] It is mentioned in a list of books donated by Hoetink to the Leiden Library in 1907 (Archiefkast, East Asian Library; = Bibliotheekarchief Sinologisch Instituut, Leiden).

[26] *T'oung Pao* 3 (1892), 201. "Begrooting van Nederlandsch-Indië voor het dienstjaar 1892," p. 11, *Handelingen der Staten-Generaal* (www.statengeneraaldigitaal.nl). Private interested persons would give the same total subsidy. These were J.Th. Cremer en P.W. Janssen, leaders of the Deli-Maatschappij.

[27] Young, "De wetgeving," part 2, p. 2, 6 (off-print). Schaank, "De kongsi's van Montrado," 92, 94.

[28] Manuscript article by Schaalje, October 1887, in BPL 2105 I 4, 4.

[29] *See* text of this ordinance in Chapter One, The Origins of Dutch Sinology, section "The Banka Case and Other Arguments" (note 54). Forced repatriation to China would be an extremely heavy punishment for immigrants (Young, *Wetgeving* II, 5 (offprint)).

[30] "Het Hemel-Aarde-Verbond, T'iên-Tí-Hoeí, een geheim genootschap in China en onder de Chinezen in Indië," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 1 (1853), 260-90. "Bijdragen tot de kennis der Geheime Genootschappen van de Chinezen, bepaaldelijk het T'iên-tí-hoeí," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 2 (1854), 292-329. Hoffmann also received some other documents, now in the Hoffmann Collection in Utrecht University Library, and a large stack of kongsi documents from Borneo (BPL 2186 N), which did not result in a publication by him. Röttger, *Thien-ti-hoih* (1852). The German missionary Röttger had been asked by the Neth.-Indies and British colonial governments to write this article.

[31] Johannes Elias Teysmann (1808–82) came with Governor-General Van den Bosch as a gardener to the Indies in 1830 and worked as hortulanus in the Botanical Garden in Bogor (Buitenzorg) from 1831 until 1869. Teysmann was a simple but intelligent and energetic man, who travelled widely through the Indies to collect specimens of plants. He contributed more than any scholar to the fame of the Botanical Garden (*Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*). These manuscripts were received by the Batavian Society between 27 March 1863 and 30 April 1864 (*Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 2 (1864), 110). They are now probably in the National Library in Jakarta.

[32] Modern research by Barend ter Haar has shown that such rituals are for performing only and can hardly be explained ("are not the subject of further reflection and analysis," Ter Haar, *Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads*, 42). Of course, the mysteriousness and inexplicability of the rituals enhanced their intimidating power over novitiates, necessary to make them into loyal members.

[33] Schlegel, *Hung-League*, Preface, pp. V-VII.

[34] Ter Haar, *Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads*, 32, 42. About Schlegel's problems with some of these texts, *see* Chapter Twelve, section "Working as Translators."

[35] Some reviews are mentioned in Schlegel's *Liste chronologique*.

[36] De Groot, *Kongsiwezen,* 182. Meeter, "Twee professoren."

[37] Reprinted by the Government Printer in Singapore [1958], AMS in New York [1975], and Routledge in New York and London (2000). Chinese translation: 施列格 (Gustave Schlegel) 著, (香港) 薛澄清譯, 天地會研究, ([長沙] 商務印書館 1940). Photomechanic reprints by 臺北古亭書屋 (1975) and 上海文艺出版社 (1991).

[38] Dr. William Milne (1785–1822), "Some Account of a Secret Society in China entitled 'The Triad Society'," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I (1825), 240.

[39] Schlegel, *Hung-League*, Introduction, p. XL.

[40] Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 21.

[41] Schaalje, "Bijdrage tot de kennis der Chinesche geheime genootschappen" (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1870), dated Riouw, January 1869 (BPL 2105 I:2); also published in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 20 (1873), 1-6. Young, "Bijdrage tot de kennis der Chineesche geheime genootschappen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 28 (1883), 546-77.

[42] Schaalje Collection BPL 2105 I and II; Schaalje Collection in NEHA Archives, IISG, Amsterdam (mostly materials from Penang); Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, inv. 692-1 to 6 (gift by M. Schaalje in 1889). There are also a few documents in the De Grijs Collection, BPL 1782 9 G, H.

[43] Minutes of 4 August 1896, *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*. Although no such manuscript is mentioned in the auction catalogue of Borel's library dating from about 1934, this could be the manuscript that the British Library acquired from Brill in 1979 (Ter Haar,

*Triads*, 31 note 40). This manuscript had been in Brill's bookshop for many years when it was finally described in 1976 and numbered no. 2720 in Brill's catalogue no. 488 in 1977.

[44] Original in English. Schlegel, *Hung-League*, Preface.

[45] Now in BPL 2105 I 3.

[46] Advice by Groeneveldt, 11 February 1885, in V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854. *See also* Chapter Nine, Schlegel's Later Students, section "De Groot's Scholarly Mission to China."

[47] De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 172-93, in particular 174, 184, 192.

[48] De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 183, 185-6.

[49] "… dan bedenke men daarbij nog, dat dit stelsel vooral voor de Chineezen in onze koloniën steeds onmisbaar is geweest, omringd als zij immer waren door vreemde en vijandige volkeren, overheerscht door eene natie, waarvan de belangen, begrippen en zeden in zoovele opzichten lijnrecht tegen de hunne overstaan." De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 189.

[50] "In 1881 lekte het te Montrado uit, dat zich daar een eedverbond gevormd had. Het had reeds verscheidene nachtelijke vergaderingen gehouden, ruim een honderdtal leden ingelijfd, een bestuur gekozen en statuten ontworpen; en wat bleek ten slotte voor den landraad, toen deze de zaak te berechten kreeg? Dat al die drukte slechts eene club Chineesche nieuwelingen tot mikpunt had, wien men een pak slaag op groote schaal had toebedacht en die zich dan ook behoorlijk tot een tegenbond aaneengesloten hadden. Van plannen tot verzet tegen het Gouvernement, of van samenhang met buitenlandsche vereenigingen werd echter zweem noch schaduw ontdekt. Slechts het oude thema, de vorming van een clan 'pour laver son linge sale en famille' speelde weer den boventoon." De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 187.

[51] "Het zal wel weinigen onbekend wezen, dat het juist die geest van wederzijdsche ondersteuning is, dus in den grond een uiterst schoone karaktertrek des volks, welke in de koloniën eene nachtmerrie is voor alle Europeesche heerschappij. Niet zonder reden trouwens. Want, door de eedverbonden tot geschreven, streng gehandhaafde wet verheven, verlamt hij telkens haren arm, maakt hij hare wetten en bepalingen eigendunkelijk tot doode letter, houdt hij alle overtreders buiten haar bereik en maakt hij alle deugdelijke rechtspraak feitelijk onmogelijk. Zoo iets, dan is een geheim genootschap een staat in den staat." De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 191-2.

[52] "Wij hebben ons echter slechts ten taak gesteld den grondslag en den aard der geheime genootschappen in het licht te stellen, niet omtrent hunne werking in beschouwingen te treden, en staan dus niet verder bij dit onderwerp stil." De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 192.

[53] "Moge dit werkje ook eenige afbreuk doen aan de gelukkig in de laatste jaren wat luwende Chineezenvrees en aan die in menig opzicht zoo ongegronde, vooral op onbekendheid berustende antipathie jegens lieden, aan wier noeste vlijt Borneo, Deli, Bangka, Blitong, Riouw hun bloei en gewicht, hunne gansche beteekenis als kolonie te danken hebben!" De Groot, *Kongsiwezen*, 193.

[54] Without distinction between "harmful" and "unharmful" societies. "Bepalingen tot wering van geheime genootschappen onder de Chineezen in de afdeeling Deli." (Rules for banning secret societies among the Chinese in the Deli Division). Ordinance by the Resident of the East Coast of Sumatra, 31 October 1884. Dutch text in Albrecht, *Verzameling van verordeningen 1888*, 299-300, also in Young, "De wetgeving" (1890). It was made applicable in the departments of Asahan and Laboean-Batoe in 1885 (*Javasche Courant*, 15 September 1885, quoted by Young).

[55] One reason why Schaalje's articles were not published is perhaps the great number of grammatical mistakes in Schaalje's long, winding sentences. It seems Schaalje never fully overcame his grammatical shortcomings which had been noticed by Hoffmann. But another reason may have been that in view of the system of indirect government over the Chinese in the Outer Possessions, where governmental interference was less than on Java, it was undesirable to disclose this kind of information.

[56] The only documented case seems to be the Banka case of 1852, described in Chapter One. In criminal cases, suspicion of membership was sometimes mentioned in the newspapers.

[57] "Die goed-zacht-aardige gezindheid, als men het zoo noemen mag, jegens de Chineezen in hunne Geheime Genootschappen is mij immer raadselachtig geweest." Schaalje, "Het blaadje wordt omgekeerd," BPL 2105 I 4, p. 5.

[58] Jackson, *Pickering*, 106.

[59] Letter from A.H. Gijsberts, Resident of Western Borneo, to Governor-General O. van Rees, classified as 'top secret' (*zeer geheim*), dated 17 February 1887, Mailrapport 1887, no. 117a.

[60] "De Sam-Tiam-Hoey," *De Locomotief*, 24 September 1887. Ingezonden stuk (letter to the editor) by "C.K." (C. Kater) in Bandung. Kater, who had been retired on a pension contrary to his wishes in 1885, published many open letters about Borneo in 1885–7.

[61] *Luitenant* Liong Tsin Siong, with the personal title of *kapitein* in Kampong Baroe (near Pontianak), had requested honourable dismissal on 4 May, but this was rejected. The other officer was Ten Tsin Long, *luitenant* in Soengei Kakap (North of Pontianak). Judging from their names, both were Hakkas. IB 14/11/1887 no. 1/c, inv. 7929.

[62] IB 14/11/1887 no. 1/c, inv. 7929.

[63] *Nota* of 26 November 1887, in BPL 2105 I 5. A revision of criminal law or a by-law making membership in a secret society an aggravating circumstance for other crimes, would be necessary for this.

[64] Young wrote this in his article of 1890 (discussed below), but confirmation could be found only about Billiton and Western Borneo (*Java-bode*, 22 February and 7 April 1888). Schaalje, who was granted leave in April 1888, added a question mark next to the name of Riau in his copy of Young's article (BPL 2105 I 7, part II p. 5).

[65] In 1907–9, a slightly enlarged version was made applicable by decision of Van Heutsz, first in the East Coast of Sumatra, Riau, Banka, Billiton, and Western Borneo, then on Celebes etc., and finally everywhere in the Netherlands Indies (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1907 no. 271; 1908, nos. 9, 634; 1909, no. 250).

[66] Letter dated 19 May 1887. "Ik zie dat ge daar in Riouw nogal met geheime genootsch. te doen hebt. Kunt ge ook ons in de kennis daarvan wat verder brengen, dan Schlegel heeft, die wel den vorm uiteengezet, maar door eene aprioristische theorie het wezen dier vereenigingen geheel verkeerd heeft opgevat." BPL 2105 I 6.

[67] Unpublished article in BPL 2105 I 6. Later Schaalje wrote a last unpublished article about two diplomas of secret societies in 1893, showing that they still existed in Penang despite the ban (BPL 2105 I 8 A and B).

[68] Young was a freemason from 1882 on, first in the 'Matahari' lodge in Padang, later in Batavia (and Semarang), while Schlegel never joined freemasonry (Information provided by the Cultureel Maçonniek Centrum 'Prins Frederik,' The Hague, September-December 2014).

[69] Young, "De wetgeving ten aanzien van geheime genootschappen," 20 (off-print).

[70] This ban was quite effective and put an end to mass fighting in Singapore. But the attack also marked the end of Pickering's career. Described in Turnbull, *Singapore*, 88-90.

[71] "Then-A-Sioe, een slachtoffer der geheime genootschappen," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 25 and 26 July 1890. This story is written in the same style as Young's later stories and should be attributed to him.

[72] Schaank, "§7. Het bij de opheffing der kongsi's in 1854 ontstane geheime verbond en iets over lokale geheime verbonden," *De Kongsi's van Montrado*, 90-9.

[73] His pass is in BPL 2105 II 24. His Chinese name appears in nos. 21 and 22, and other documents in BPL 2105 II may also have belonged to him. Possibly no. 14 and BPL 2105 I 9 were considered to refer to a secret society. Many others are just religious documents. Report in *Deli-Courant*, 22 February 1893. The *Deli-Courant* mentions similar cases at other dates.

[74] An account of the background of this question can be found in Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, chapters IV and V, 79-144.

[75] Second edition, 1875, containing individual stories about atrocities in Cuba and Peru.

[76] *De Locomotief*, 12 March 1866. Verwijnen, "In memoriam," 171.

[77] "Spoor- en tramwegen," *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië* [1905].

[78] De Grijs' answers to questions from a member of Parliament around 1889, manuscript in BPL 1781:9.

[79] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 92 note 1.

[80] Opened on 10 August 1867. "Spoor- en tramwegen," *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië* [1905].

[81] "Koloniaal verslag over 1876," *Handelingen der Staten-Generaal*, 1876–1877, Bijlage [5, 1-2] 1, 7. In this Parliamentary report there is no sign of humanitarianism, no sympathy for these many victims, while European losses in the war were reported extensively in the press. To a modern reader, the lack of sympathy is shocking.

[82] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 107 note.

[83] "Koloniaal verslag over 1876." *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* and *Java-bode*, 22 November 1875, *Sumatra-Courant*, 8 December 1875. Other sources are mentioned in Paul van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1969), 170-1.

[84] *Deli-Maatschappij, Gedenkschrift vijftigjarig bestaan* (1919), 28.

[85] Bool, *De Chineesche immigratie*. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 113-32. Werblowsky, "Empire and Cigars," *Beaten Track*, 37-49. From 1902 on, *Mr.* H.J. Bool (Batavia, 1866 – Hilversum, 1965) was charged with several investigations by the Deli Planters Committee, one of which resulted in this book, and he became its secretary in 1905–18. Werblowsky's account is informative because he made use of De Groot's *Nachlass* in Berlin, but it is flawed with numerous errors: De Groot's letters requesting a study mission in 1885 were not destroyed and are still in the archives (*Beaten Track*, p. 23, n. 20), De Groot did receive a mandate from the Deli-Maatschappij and a few other companies in 1886, in November even by notarial mandate (p. 42, centre); "the plenipotentiary Fei" is not unknown but is J.H. Ferguson, then stationed in Swatow (p. 47, also note 27), and De Groot's contribution to emigration was later fully acknowledged, not only by Bool (1905, p. 14) but also by both the Deli-Maatschappij (*Gedenkschrift*, 1919, p. 49) and the Deli Planters Committee (*Gedenkboek van de Deli Planters Vereeniging*, 1929, pp. 48-9).

[86] IB 14/3/1886 no. 21 inv. 7889.

[87] De Groot, *Notizen*, 20-1.

[88] According to Bool, De Groot was mandated while in Deli (p. 8), but Modderman in the *Gedenkboek van de Deli Planters Vereeniging* (1929) (pp. 48-9) stated that this was done by a notarial mandate of 28 November 1886, quoting part of the text. Probably he was mandated twice, the second time in a more formal manner.

[89] Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 8.

[90] "Na lang tobben mocht het mij gelukken de firma Pasedag en Co alhier in Maart van het afgeloopen jaar een proefuitzending te doen wagen. Zeshonderd tot zevenhonderd arbeiders waren reeds voor Banka aangeworven en tot inscheping gereed, toen, hoofdzakelijk door toedoen van vijandige concurrenten van de firma, allerhand vertelsels onder hen werden uitgestrooid over slavernij, menschenhandel, beri-beri, Atjeh, enz., en alle aangeworvenen op een klein gedeelte na, deden uiteen stuiven." Request to the Governor-General dated Amoy 6 January 1888, Mailrapporten 1888 no. 91. Also recounted in *Notizen*, 25. De Groot wrote an extensive report about this incident dated 19 March 1887 (now in his *Nachlass* in Berlin), directed to the Director of Education, Religion and Industry, a position held by Groeneveldt as from 4 April 1887.

[91] De Groot's request to Governor-General O. van Rees dated Amoy 6 January 1888, Mailrapporten 1888 no. 91.

[92] Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 20.

[93] Zhang Zhidong (Chang Chih-tung, 1837–1909), who was "a brilliant scholar and official, widely esteemed for his integrity and patriotism," held this position in 1884–9 (De Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. II, 81; Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 27-32).

[94] De Groot, *Notizen*, 25 (15 August 1887).

[95] Note the different prices for Hailokhongs (Hoklos) and Hakkas. Bool, *Chineesche Immigratie*, 5-6. *See also* Broersma, *Oostkust van Sumatra*, Vol. I, 239.

[96] De Groot telegraphed the news from Shanghai on 24 April 1888 (*Notizen*, 28), which the planters received on 29 April (Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 14).

[97] De Groot, *Notizen*, 28 (9 May 1888). Bool, *Chineesche Immigratie*, 14.

[98] De Groot, *Notizen*, 26-7.

[99] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 102-4.

[100] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 125.

[101] Ferguson, *The Philosophy of Civilization*, 305-8. The preface is dated "China, 1889." Later two Dutch editions of this book entitled *De wetten der maatschappelijke ontwikkeling* appeared in 1893 and 1906. In the preface of 1893 he noted that an investigation of the

Straits coolie markets had been done in 1891—perhaps inspired by his book—showing that the situation was indeed as bad as he and the Deli planters had asserted. Werblowky's quotations without context from Ferguson's book give a completely erroneous idea of his opinions (*Beaten Track,* 41, note 8).

[102] Ferguson, *The Philosophy of Civilization*, 308.

[103] Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 46.

[104] De Groot, *Notizen*, 28-9 (15 Mei).

[105] Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 46.

[106] Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 17.

[107] Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 117. Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, [76-7].

[108] He was ordered to take along his interpreter J. Rhein, but since he did not do so, he lacked an essential assistant in his contacts with the local Chinese government. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 122-3.

[109] Letter from F. Gransberg, I. Pratje, R. von Seutter (the Deli Planters Committee) to Governor-General Van der Wijck, dated Medan, 11 December 1888, and letter by Scherer dated 14 December 1888, in Mailrapporten 1889 no. 95.

[110] Advice by Groeneveldt, dated Batavia 2 February 1889, Mailrapporten 1889 no. 95.

[111] IB 8/2/1889 no. 20 inv. 7959. Also in Mailrapporten 1889 no. 95.

[112] Letter from Ferguson to Van der Wijck, dated Swatow 22 February 1889, in Mailrapporten 1889 no. 249.

[113] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 10 May 1889.

[114] IB 23/5/1889 no. 1 inv. 7966. Also in Mailrapporten 1889 no. 249.

[115] Partial text of mandate in Modderman, *Gedenkboek Deli Planters Vereeniging*, 53.

[116] Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 21-2.

[117] For instance, De Groot was reprimanded by the First Government Secretary in Batavia for the manner in which he had expressed himself about Ferguson in letters to the Minister of Colonies (Mailrapporten 1889 no. 436).

[118] Copies of Hoetink's Chinese correspondence with the *Daotai* of Hainan in April-May 1890 are kept in Ms Hoetink H 421b, KITLV Collection, pp. 95-104, and *see also* pp. 87-94. However, according to Broersma, emigration from these places already stopped in 1896 and (almost) in 1891 (Broersma, *Oostkust van Sumatra*, Vol. I, 243).

[119] The following years the need was smaller and so were the numbers of emigrants. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 127 and note. Hoetink's list is now in inv. 36, toegang 2.05.90, Nationaal Archief. Complete list in Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, [76-7].

[120] *See* Chapter Ten, section "Studying Hakka in Kia Ying Chow."

[121] Hoetink, *Reis naar China in verband met de Deli emigratie*, Swatow, 6 June 1898 (typoscript, Leiden University Library).

[122] "B. Hoetink," *De Sumatra Post*, 7 July 1906.

[123] Emigration of coolies (1888-1901), inv. 36, toegang 2.05.90.

[124] IB 6/6/1900 no. 18 inv. 8231. Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 244-6.

[125] Reports kept in the National Archives are listed by Breman, *Koelies, planters* (1992), 337-8.

[126] Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 273. It should be noted that Rhemrev found that very few crimes were perpetrated by Europeans. A *Raad van Justitie* was established in Medan on 15 March 1908 (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1908, no. 554). (The first public prosecutor was *Mr.* H. Rahder, uncle of the Leiden professor of Japanese J. Rahder, whose father W.J. Rahder became Resident in the same place on 16 February 1910.)

[127] Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 274.

[128] Request dated Weltevreden, 22 January 1903. IB 11/3/1903 no. 27 inv. 8297. His previous leave was eleven years earlier, in 1890-1892.

[129] IB 30/4/1904 no. 1 inv. 8324. Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 275, based on V 14/3/1904 no. 8.

[130] Modderman, *Gedenkboek Deli Planters Vereeniging*, 101-2.

[131] IB 24/1/1904 no. 9. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1904, no. 100.

[132] Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 276.

[133] IB 24/7/1904 no. 3 inv. 8330.

[134] IB 24/7/1904 no. 3 inv. 8330. In part quoted by Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 276.

[135] "Een-en-ander. Deli, De Arbeidsinspectie II," *De Sumatra Post*, 9 July 1906.

[136] "Hartelijke woorden," *De Sumatra Post*, 9 July 1906.
[137] *Rili Mianlan Tongshanju daishou Zhonghua xinju zhangcheng* 日里棉蘭同善局代收中華信局章程, Medan, 1905. *See also* Chapter Thirteen, section "Relations with the Chinese."
[138] Hoetink, "Eene Chineesche Remise-Bank," *De Sumatra Post*, 16 June 1905.
[139] The N.V. Deli Bank was founded on 20 June 1907. Statutes are in *De Sumatra Post*, 9 September 1907. Modderman, *Gedenkboek Deli Planters Vereeniging* (1929), 54, 112-3, 146-7. The Deli Planters organised a similar postal service. *Deli-Maatschappij, Gedenkschrift* (1919), 29-30. Problems with a postal service in 1888 are described by Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 19-20.
[140] Bool, *Chineesche immigratie*, 18.
[141] *Deli-Maatschappij Gendenkboek* (1919) 27, 29. Ong Eng Die, *Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 82-4.
[142] "B. Hoetink," *De Sumatra Post*, 7 July 1906; "Een-en-ander. Deli, De Arbeidsinspectie II," and "II," De Sumatra Post, 7, 9 July 1906. "Hartelijke woorden," *De Sumatra Post*, 9 July 1906.
[143] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1908, no. 400 (IB 6/6/1908 no. 3).
[144] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1915, no. 421.
[145] Modderman, *Gedenkboek Deli Planters Vereeniging* (1929), 101-2.
[146] Ong Eng Die, *Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 77-8. Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, 541.
[147] "Rapport over Singkep 24 maart – 4 april 1904," (summary) No. 232, Borel ongecatalogiseerd, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[148] Borel, "Een boek over Sovjet Rusland," *Het Vaderland*, 20 May 1928. Two years before, in 1902, Singkep had been inspected by Hoetink. He had advised to charge the Official for Chinese Affairs in Riau with regular inspections (this and other reports in V 31/3/1903 nos. 34 and 40, inv. 170, toegang 2.10.36.04). However, Borel stated earlier that he was demoted as a result of his newspaper article criticising the sultan of Lingga (Borel, "Voorwoord," *Wijsheid en schoonheid uit Indië* (1919)).
[149] IB 7/4/1905 no. 2 inv. 8347.
[150] J. Stecher, "Chineezen werving voor Banka 1905" (typoscript in Leiden University Library).
[151] "Goede dingen uit Banka," *De Sumatra Post*, 5 March 1906. IB 7/2/1906 no. 1. inv. 8367.
[152] IB 2/1/1908 no. 33 inv. 8413. Director H.J.E. Wenckebach was appointed on 30 April 1908.
[153] He was assigned together with the *Controleur* A.A. Burgdorffer, the medical doctor J.D.W. Rost van Tonningen and some native and Chinese personnel by IB 2/1/1909 no. 2 inv. 8437. Borel received a copy of his report which is now in the Borel Archive in the Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[154] Borel ongecatalogiseerd, 233, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[155] *Deli-Maatschappij Gedenkschrift* (1919), 10.
[156] According to Franke, De Groot "only had to occupy himself with the recruitment of Chinese workers for Sumatra for a short time." Franke, "Gedächtnisrede," p. CXX.
[157] Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 302. Breman's book, which was published in three editions, received a lot of criticism for his judgement of historical matters purely according to certain modern standards (for instance V.J.H. Houben, "History and morality: East Sumatra incidents as described by Jan Breman," *Itinerario* 1988, 97-100). To this could be added that he showed little understanding of cultural differences and was prejudiced against Hoetink.

## *Notes to Chapter Fifteen*

[1] "Bepalingen tot aanwijzing der standplaatsen en regeling van den werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken," *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1896, no. 96. IB 21/5/1896 no. 43. Dutch text in Appendix S.

[2] "III. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken dienen de rechterlijke en administratieve autoriteiten en colleges in hun ressort rechtstreeks van advies in aangelegenheden Chineezen betreffende, zoo dikwijls dit van hen wordt verlangd. / Zij kunnen aan deze autoriteiten en colleges omtrent dergelijke aangelegenheden zelfstandig voorstellen en vertoogen indienen. / Zijn deze van algemeene strekking, dan geschiedt de indiening aan den Directeur van Justitie, hetzij rechtstreeks, hetzij door tusschenkomst van het Hoofd van het gewest, waarin hun standplaats gelegen is. / IV. Het Hoofd van het gewest, waarin de standplaats is gelegen van een ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken, raadpleegt dezen bij het nemen en het voorstellen van maatregelen en bij de behandeling van aangelegenheden, waarbij meer in het bijzonder Chineezen zijn betrokken of welke in het bijzonder voor de Chineesche bevolking in dat gewest van belang zijn. …" *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1896, no. 96.

[3] "V. Waar daartoe gelegenheid bestaat, wordt door het Hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur van de diensten van den ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken gebruik gemaakt tot verzekering van de goede werking van regelingen en bepalingen betreffende Chineesche werklieden voor en van ondernemingen van land- of mijnbouw." *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1896, no. 96.

[4] Letters by Buddingh and Gijsbers dated 23 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. *See also* Chapter Six, Chinese Teachers/Clerks in the Indies, section "Reports on the Need of a Teacher/Clerk."

[5] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1863, no. 33 (IB 24/3/1863 no. 7).

[6] Advice dated 20 October 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[7] "XII. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken kunnen bij de uitoefening van hunnen dagelijkschen dienst of op dienstreizen de volgende distinctieven dragen: / a. een jas van donkerblauw laken met eene rij gouden knoopen met de gekroonde letter W; / b. een pet van dezelfde stof met goud galon ter breedte van 4 centimeter." *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, 1896, no. 96.

[8] "Aan de betrekking van tolk voor de Chineesche taal of van ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken blijft altijd de onaangename zijde verbonden, dat men geen vasten kring van bemoeienis heeft, maar altijd afwachten moet totdat men door anderen in eenige zaak wordt betrokken; zoo ziet men veel buiten zijne medewerking regelen, waarin men belangstelling gevoelt en waarvan men de overtuiging heeft dat het beter zou geweest zijn als men er zich mee had kunnen bemoeien; dat schept een gevoel van onvoldaanheid, dat velen niet kunnen overwinnen en dat hen zal blijven nopen naar een anderen werkkring uit te zien." Groeneveldt's *nota*, in Advice of the Council of the Indies, 12 October 1894, pp. 50-1, no. XX, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[9] Jackson mistakenly assumed that in the 1870s the Dutch sinologists were already organised in a Bureau for Chinese Affairs. This anachronism was probably due to his personal experience; he was the last British China specialist in Malaya. Jackson, *Pickering*, 53 and p. VII.

[10] Jackson, *Pickering*, 18-19, 35, 52-3.

[11] "De betrekking van 'chinese protector', en de meeste andere betrekkingen, die de engelsche sinologen van de Straits Civil Service bekleeden, geven hun oneindig veel meer gelegenheid zich met het chineesche volk mede te doen leven, en hun kennis van taal, zeden en gewoonten met elken dag te vermeerderen, dan de zoo stiefmoederlijk bedeelde betrekking van onze tolken voor de chineesche taal in onze koloniën." Borel, "Een Chineesche loterij," *De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 42-3. This article was first published in *Deli-Courant*, 6 November 1895. Borel mentioned that he knew Hare on p. 47. Elsewhere he called him his good friend.

[12] "De Engelschen zijn den geheelen dag bezig, (maar nooit als djoeroebahasa, waarvoor Chineezen worden gebruikt), en hebben van 9 tot 4 uur hard werk, hetzij als magistraat, hetzij op het protectorate, of elders, terwijl de hollandsche tolken voor de chineesche taal, indien zij niet voor zichzelven werken en dan nog zonder den minsten officieelen prikkel, zoo goed als niets te doen hebben, en zich zeker wel eens zullen afvragen, waarom zij na de inderdaad schitterende, royale opleiding aan hun besteed, altijd maar zoo goed als werkeloos moeten blijven, met nu en dan een vertalinkje van een verordening of een stukje Staatsblad. Er zijn er, die in geen maanden Chineesch hebben gesproken, eenvoudig omdat zij niet in de gelegenheid worden gesteld." Borel, "Een Chineesche loterij," 43.

[13] *Notas* by Hoetink and Ezerman in V 6/12/1912 no. 54, inv. 986, toegang 2.10.36.04. They proposed to establish Bureaus for Chinese Affairs in each of the main towns of Java.

[14] "Is de tolk niet onbedreven in redactiewerk en genegen om mede te werken, dan wordt door de residenten, die zelden over goede redacteurs te beschikken hebben, in dat opzicht wel partij van hen getrokken, hoewel door het Gouvernement met hunne plaatsing niet het doel wordt beoogd om het personeel der gewestelijke bureaux te versterken." *Nota* by Albrecht, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[15] *See* Appendix B, Dates of appointment and discharge of European interpreters.

[16] "De ondergeteekende is van 1860–1864 op Banka geplaatst geweest; men heeft hem daar gelaten omdat hij op het residentiebureau werkzaamheden verrichtte, die men rechtens niet van hem mocht vergen, doch waarvan hij zich gaarne kweet, omdat hij zich anders erg zou vervelen en ook gaarne zich op de hoogte wilde stellen van de Bankasche toestanden en van de administratie in het algemeen. Hij heeft de voldoening gehad dat hem twee malen onder den resident Bossche de waarneming der betrekking van secretaris der residentie, telkens voor geruimen tijd, werd opgedragen." *Nota* by Albrecht, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191. The Resident's actual name was J.R.F.S. van den Bossche.

[17] IB 29/3/1863 no. 4 inv. 7345.

[18] "Verklaring van een twaalftal Chinesche muntstukken," dated Muntok 11 June 1862, originally in APK 13, no. 160, Geldmuseum, Utrecht (now in Nationale Numismatische Collectie, Amsterdam). Such coins were often discovered in the Indies and then described by sinologists.

[19] The Residency's Secretary Gijsbers' *nota*, 23 August 1865, in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.

[20] "Zijn opvolger was eene andere meening toegedaan; daardoor kwam het beter uit, dat men hem konde missen en diens volgens heeft men de betrekking van tolk te Muntok ingetrokken." *Nota* by Albrecht, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[21] The decision was published in *Staatsblad voor Ned.-Indië* 1869, no. 51. Padang had a *Raad van Justitie* and Orphans Chamber. In 1896 several posts were abolished, and also in 1912.

[22] From his letters from China to his uncle Herman Schlegel in Leiden, we know him as a kind, sensitive, but also sickly young man. *See* Chapter Four, Contributions to Science, section "Buddingh collecting fauna," and Chapter Three, Studying in China (1855–1867), section "Student Life in Amoy 1862–1863."

[23] "… de eenige tolk, die op Banka flink gewerkt heeft, is A.A. de Jongh, … die veel bemoeienis had met de tinwinning, veel administratief werk deed en herhaaldelijk het secretariaat van het gewest waarnam. Zoo hing het ook hier weer van de personen af: de Resident Hooghwinkel wist van den Heer *de Jongh* partij te trekken en deze was bereid ook buiten zijne betrekking zich nuttig te maken, twee omstandigheden op welke men niet altijd rekenen mag." Groeneveldt's *nota* with the Council of the Indies' Advice of 12 October 1894, pp. 11-12, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[24] Groeneveldt's *nota* with the Council of the Indies' Advice of 12 October 1894, p. 11, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[25] *Leidsch Dagblad*, 2 November 1895.

[26] *See* Chapter Eleven, The Compilation of Dictionaries, section "Manuscript Chinese Dictionaries and Word Lists."

[27] "Schets van Montrado in 1861," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 13 (1864), 457-91.

[28] "Ik heb daar eenige jaren als tolk voor de Chineesche taal gediend en heb daar veel gewerkt maar voornamelijk buiten mijn eigenlijken werkkring. Ik voerde de correspondentie met Serawak, omdat ik beter Engelsch kende dan de andere ambtenaren, over wie de Resident daarvan kon beschikken, en nam dientengevolge op verschillende wijzen deel aan de behandeling der Dajaksche quaesties met dat land; vaak was ik den Resident behulpzaam in het uitwerken van grootere stukken en in zijne correspondentie met de Regeering, maar als tolk heb ik weinig gedaan. Toch verkeerde ik te dien aanzien in bijzonder gunstige omstandigheden, want uit een gevoel van onvoldaanheid trachtte ik zooveel mogelijk invloed uit te oefenen op alles wat de Chineezen betrof, en de Residenten onder wie ik achtereenvolgens diende, waren mij daarin zeer ter wille, vermoedelijk wegens de diensten, die ik hun vrijwillig bewees; zoodoende heb ik met de Chineesche zaken in

het gewest meer bemoeienis gehad dan een mijner voorgangers of opvolgers, maar toch kon ik niet met eenige voldoening terugzien op wat ik daar als tolk gepraesteerd heb." Groeneveldt's *nota* with the Council of the Indies' Advice of 12 October 1894, pp. 6-8, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[29] IB 28/8/1865 no. 41 inv. 7398. Cornelis Kater (Hendrik Ido Ambacht, 1824 – Bandoeng, 1891) began his career as a clerk, but was later promoted to the position of Assistant Resident and Resident (Stamboeken I 470 includes his career up to 1864).

[30] Meeter, "Indische Chinoiserieën III," *Java-bode*, 15 December 1896 (refusal to take work), and idem no. IV, 23 December 1896 and no. XII, 2 April 1897 (unsuitable as a government official).

[31] Schlegel, "Nécrologie J.W. Young," *T'oung Pao* 10 (1899), 223.

[32] C. Kater had become Resident on 23 December 1867, but had also been on leave several times. This time he was in function until he was succeeded by B. van Zutphen on 23 February 1882.

[33] "De Engelsche correspondentie met den Radja van Serawak, mij door resident Kater opgedragen, wordt door mij met belangstelling gevoerd. Want, dank het geheim archief, waartoe zij mij den toegang opent, krijg ik veel wetenswaardigs te lezen omtrent de ware verhouding van Serawak tot de Engelsche kroon en die van de Kron tot Nederland, voor zoover het landschap betrokken is. Geen enkele controleur of assistent-resident in het gewest schijnt bedreven genoeg in het Engelsch te wezen om die correspondentie op zich te nemen, hetgeen treurig pleit voor de resultaten van het taalonderwijs op de Hoogere Burgerscholen, waarvan alle controleurs het eindexamen hebben afgelegd. Kater zelf kan ook geen regel Engelsch zonder fouten schrijven, en is dus tot het behoorlijk leiden van die vaak uiterst moeielijke politieke aangelegenheden in hooge mate van mij afhankelijk; rechtens kan ik weigeren dat werk te doen, aangezien het niet tot mijn ambtsbezigheden behoort. Het gevolg is, dat hij, schoon berucht bij elkeen voor de ruwe, onmenschkundige, slechte en in den regel onbillijke behandeling, die zijn ambtenaren van hem te verduren hebben, mij in het oog loopend ontziet. Misschien komt dit ook, dewijl hij blijkbaar gaarne zou zien, dat ik zijn tweede dochter ten huwelijk vroeg; doch ik trouw geen nonna, daartoe heb ik het ras te goed leeren kennen. … Pontianak zou bijna in staat wezen, mij met mijne betrekking te verzoenen; doch het voornemen eruit te loopen staat tè onwrikbaar vast om te worden prijsgegeven." De Groot, *Notizen*, 14.

[34] De Groot, *Notizen*, 16.

[35] These troubles stimulated De Groot to write his *Kongsiwezen van Borneo*. And they led to C. Kater's early retirement. Kater had been again appointed in August 1884, but after the riots in Mandor after Lioe A Sin's death, which he had not handled well, he was put on a pension on 27 February 1885 (IB no. 1/c). Later that year, he sent a request to the King for rehabilitation, adding his version of what had happened in a long appendix (*Request aan Z.M. den Koning van C. Kater, oud Resident der Westerafdeeling van Borneo* (1885); *see also* his "Mandor," *De Locomotief*, 22 February 1886, also separately published). In these reports Kater did not mention that Moll played any role except translating a Chinese document.

[36] Letter from S.W. Tromp, 7 November 1894, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926. In this way, one of the two arguments in Parliament by J.T. Cremer for training new interpreters in 1885 was denied by the regional government!

[37] "Cheribon heeft volgens de regeringsalmanak een Chinesche bevolking van 15.803 zielen, en is dus in dit opzicht de tweede residentie van Java. Ik meen dat een groot gedeelte dier bevolking nogal inlandsch is, zoodat vertalen weinig vereischt wordt, maar ook al is de kennis van het Maleisch algemeen, toch blijft de Chinesche bevolking een eigenaardig element, voor de behandeling van welks zaken een Chineesch tolk een nuttige steun zijn kan. De behoefte aan dien steun is echter vroeger niet gevoeld en de functiën van den daar geplaatsten tolk bepaalden zich voornamelijk tot de agentuur van de Bataviaasche Wees- en Boedelkamers, het opnemen der pakhuizen en ander inferieur werk, waarin op goedkooper wijze kan worden voorzien." Letter from Groeneveldt to Director of Justice Buijn, 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

[38] "Men zou echter thans de proef kunnen nemen of de tegenwoordige resident er anders over denkt." Ibidem.

[39] "De werkelijkheid ten aanzien van de betrekking van tolk is een grote ontnuchtering. Al het voortreffelijke, door Schlegel ons daarvan voorgespiegeld, blijkt humbug, en ongegrond; ik ben er feitelijk ingevlogen. Ambtshalve heb ik zoowat niets te doen." De Groot, *Notizen*, 11.

[40] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1883.

[41] This incident is described in Chapter Thirteen, section "The Weak Position of the Interpreters as Advisors."

[42] J.J.M. De Groot, *Nota* for the Minister of Colonies accompanying a letter dated Leiden, 2 March 1911, p. 3, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

[43] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1886–1889.

[44] Letter from G. Scherer to the Governor-General, Medan 14 December 1888, Mailrapport 1889 no. 95.

[45] "[zij heeft Hoetink] wiens bekwaamheid door vriend en vijand erkend wordt, nimmer de gelegenheid gegeven, te toonen wat in hem stak. Met vertaalwerk dat een Chineesche schrijver verrichtte, of in het gunstigste geval als 'fait tout' van een Resident, moet hij zijn tijd zoek maken, terwijl het van zijn kant niet ontbrak aan ernstige pogingen om een meer werkzaam ambtelijk bestaan te verkrijgen." *De Locomotief*, 25 October 1895, quoting *Deli-Courant*.

[46] He was mentioned as possible candidate as director of an insurance company, the N.I. Levensverzekering- en Lijfrente-Maatschappij, succeeding H. Ypes who had suddenly died in Colombo (*Java-bode* and *De Locomotief*, 22 July 1895), but he was not appointed (*De Locomotief*, 23 July 1895).

[47] Letter from Director of Justice Mulock Houwer to Governor-General Van der Wijck, 8 July 1896, in V 15/10/1896 no. 14, inv. 5093.

[48] Decision by the Director of Justice of 18 June 1912 no. 9009. *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië*, no. 7666.

[49] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 29 March and 13 April 1880.

[50] "… de tolken voor de Chineesche taal staan te hoog voor het werk van commies op een residentie-bureau en hebben bij gebleken geschiktheid, zeker aanspraak op eene gelegenheid om hun wieken [p. 19] verder uit te slaan dan tot den rang van gewestelijk Secretaris." Groeneveldt's *nota* with the Council of the Indies' Advice of 12 October 1894, pp. 18-19, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[51] Groeneveldt's *nota*, in Advice of the Council of the Indies, 12 October 1894, p. 50, no. XX, in V 22/4/1895 no. 23 inv. 4926.

[52] The question of interpreters pursuing other careers was also discussed in detail in the newspaper article "Tolken en taalmeesters," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24 April 1894. *See* Chapter Nine, section "The Reorganisation of the Interpreters' Corps and Another Moratorium."

[53] "Uit den Archipel. W.P. Groeneveltd [*sic*] †," *De Sumatra Post*, 2 September 1915, quoting *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*.

[54] *Java-bode*, 19 August 1892.

[55] J. Deen quoted in *De Locomotief*, 25 October 1895. He was appointed on 5 February 1895. Van Dongen, *Neutraliteit*, 139.

[56] "Reglement voor den Tolkendienst bij Onze Gezantschappen en Consulaten in China en Japan," *Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk de Nederlanden* 1910, no. 156 (decision of 4 June 1910).

[57] Many documents about his studies in China are in inv. 71 and 72, toegang 2.05.27.02. Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren U' 139.

[58] Tin mining on Billiton started in 1852. The Billiton Maatschappij was founded in Amsterdam in 1860. The company developed into an international mining enterprise, but stopped its tin mining in Indonesia in 1958. In 2001 it merged with the Australian mining company BHP (founded in 1885) to become BHP Billiton, exploiting mines world-wide, listed in London and Australia (www.bhpbilliton.com, About us, Our history).

[59] *Gedenkboek Billiton 1852–1927*, I, 66.

[60] *Gedenkboek Billiton 1852–1927*, II, 62-63.

[61] Founded in 1869, when it obtained a concession to exploit tobacco in Deli. In 2006 it stopped its tobacco activities and now is mainly a supplier of timber, listed in Amsterdam (www.Deli-maatschappij.com).

[62] "Intusschen zijn de meesten prachtig terechtgekomen." In comments on De Groot's *nota* of 4 March 1911. Voorl. brief ad exh. 4 Mrt 1911-17, in V 11/12/1911 no. 21, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.

## *Notes to Epilogue*

[1] His inaugural lecture was entitled *Over Chineesche oorlogsgoden* (Leiden: Brill, 1919).

[2] "Voorwaarden tot benoembaarheid tot- en uitzending van ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken ten behoeve van den dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Staatsblad van Nederlands-Indië* 1918, no. 82. Royal Decree 5 September 1917 no. 23.

[3] *Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 1920, 13. De Bruin, *Een onopgehelderd geval* (1920), 5-7.

[4] Duyvendak, "Het Sinologisch Instituut, Rede uitgesproken bij de opening van het Sinologisch Instituut …," *China, een driemaandelijks tijdschrift* (1930), 259. Also separately published. For a recent account of Duyvendak's contribution to Dutch sinology *see* Barend ter Haar, "Between the Dutch East Indies and Philology (1919–1974)," in Idema, *Chinese Studies in the Netherlands* (2014), 69-104.

[5] In 1948 Hulsewé became lecturer in Leiden and in 1956 he succeeded Duyvendak; for the third and last time a sinologist from the Indies became professor. He was the first incumbent officially charged by Royal Degree to teach 'Chinese language and literature' (*Chinese taal- en letterkunde*) instead of just 'Chinese.'

[6] *Jaarboek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden* (1930-1), 76, 184-5. In an interview Duyvendak explained the legal status of the Institute: "The Institute is a foundation which has the purpose of promoting Chinese studies in Leiden University." (Het Instituut is een stichting en stelt zich ten doel: de bevordering van de studie in het Chineesch aan de Leidsche Universiteit.) "Het Sinologisch Instituut te Leiden, een onderhoud met prof. dr. J.J.L. Duyvendak," *Het Vaderland*, 28 October 1930 (evening).

[7] "Chineesch instituut te Leiden," *Het Vaderland*, 18 January 1930. "Het Sinologisch Instituut, een onderhoud met prof. dr. J.J.L. Duyvendak," *Het Vaderland*, 28 Oktober 1930. Duyvendak, "Het Sinologisch Instituut, Rede…," 253-60.

[8] In 1901, the Netherlands were allotted 0.18% of the total Boxer indemnity for the destruction of the Legation, costs of sending navy vessels to Shanghai and personal damages. In 1925 it was decided to use 65% of the Indemnity for water conservancy projects in China and 35% for China-related cultural projects. The latter resulted in 1933 in a foundation having *f* 400,000 in capital, the profits from which were divided: 53% was directly donated to the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and 47% was allotted to the Sinological Institute. Muller, *Azië gespiegeld* II, 172 note. "De Nederlandsche Boxerindemniteit," *Het Vaderland*, 30 May 1933. In 2010, the foundation was abolished and the remaining funds were equally divided between the Dutch and Chinese Academies of Sciences. The funding that went to the Dutch side was reinvested in a foundation for the study of Chinese at Leiden University (*Stichting voor de studie van het Chinees aan de Universiteit Leiden*).

[9] In 1981 it moved to the Arsenaal (Arsenaalstraat 1). On 1 January 2009 the library (*bibliotheek Sinologie*) became fully subordinate to the Leiden University Library; on 1 September 2009 it merged with the Japanese and Korean libraries into the 'East Asian Library,' marking the formal end of the Sinological Institute library. In the near future this library will be moved to the main university library building, where it will merge with the libraries concerning India (Kern Institute) and Indonesia (KIT, KITLV); an 'Asian Library' will be created, thereby effectively dissolving the last vestige of the Sinological Institute.

[10] Their title was in Dutch "candidaat-sinoloog bij den Belasting-Accountantsdienst in Nederlandsch-Indië." IB 21/4/1931 no. 9, *Bijblad op het Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* no. 12523. Also (with correspondence) in box D, kast 2, Archiefkasten, East Asian Library;

=Archief Sinologisch Instituut. In the same year, the library acquired a large collection of Chinese account books from Batavia to be used as training material.

[11] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1913, no. 350 (Royal Decree 10 March 1913 no. 84. IB 28/4/1913 no. 34).

[12] "Reglement voor den dienst der Chineesche Zaken," *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1916, no. 377. IB 16/5/1916 no. 16.

[13] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1925, nos. 194-5. IB 28/4/1925 no. 33. *See also* Liem Ting Tjaij's plea for adding ethnic Chinese Officials to the staff and its refusal in "De Dienst der Chineesche Zaken," *Orgaan der Centrale Chung Hsioh*, 4 (1928) no. 7, 188-9, no. 10, 269.

[14] Effective on 1 January 1933. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1932, no. 583. IB 7/12/1932 no. 12.

[15] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1935, no. 311. IB 4/7/1935 no. 22. Van Anrooij, *De Koloniale Staat*, 47.

[16] Jaquet, *Aflossing van de wacht, bestuurlijke en politieke ervaringen in de nadagen van Nederlands-Indië*, 61-66. Ph. de Heer, "A.F.P. Hulsewé, A Biography," in Idema and Zürcher, *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China*, 8-11, mentioning other sources about this period. For an overview of this period and a list of sources in the Nationaal Archief, *see* Van Anrooij, "Hoofdstuk 6, De Dienst voor Oost-Aziatische Zaken en voorgangers," *De Koloniale Staat* (2009), 47-50.

[17] Van der Valk, "De studie der Sinologie in Indonesia," *Hari-ulang ke-50 Tiong hoa hwee koan* (Djakarta: Tiong hua hwee koan, 1950), 21-2. *See also* Nishi Hideaki, "Oranda ni okeru Chūgoku Hōgaku."

[18] He held his inaugural address on 25 May 1951, entitled *De regel nullum crimen sine lege en het Chinese recht* (Leiden: Brill, 1951). His successor in Jakarta was Tjan Tjoe Som, who had been librarian in Leiden in 1942–52.

[19] Obituary by Roland Altenburger and Robert H. Gassmann, "Robert P. Kramers (1920–2002)," *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques*, LVI.1.2002, 5-13. Also available online (www.ostasien.uzh.ch/sinologie) in *Jubilaeumbrochure 50 Jahre Sinologie*.

[20] On Lovink and Meijer *see Gids van het departement van buitenlandse zaken en de buitenlandse dienst* (1956), 135, 137. On Meijer and Van der Valk *see also* Nishi Hideaki, "Oranda ni okeru Chūgoku Hōgaku."

APPENDIX A

# BIOGRAPHIES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF THE SINOLOGISTS
(26 short biographies)

## *Introduction to the biographies*

The following are short biographies of 24 interpreters of Chinese (Officials for Chinese Affairs) who worked or began working in the Netherlands Indies before 1900. Among them are eight students of J.J. Hoffmann, four students originating from Batavia, and twelve students of G. Schlegel.

Biographies of Hoffmann and S.H. Schaank are included, but do not figure in the analysis below.

The biographies only give an outline of the lives of the sinologists, including family background, studies in Leiden and in China, careers as interpreters and other careers, and publications and honours. More information about these subjects can be found in the main text, except for their family background and certain details as to their personal lives, stationings, publications and honours.

Hoffmann personally selected his students; they all came from Leiden or had some connection with Leiden. Schlegel selected his students through a public competitive examination. Most (8) were from the Western part (the provinces of South and North Holland), and only four from the East (Deventer, Arnhem) and North (Assen) of the Netherlands.

Most sinologists were of middle-class background; they were sons of shopkeepers (7), of teachers (6), of military officers (2), and of a tax-receiver, a Protestant minister, a postmaster and an interpreter. Only Schlegel, De Groot, De Jongh, Borel, and Von Faber were from a higher class background; they were sons of a professor, the director of a company, a mayor, and the governor of a military academy. Von Faber was the son of an East Indies official of German noble birth. Most (17) came from large families with 5 to 12 brothers and sisters.

For most of them (16), a career in the Indies was not an individual matter but a family affair: close relatives also had careers in the Indies. This applied all the more to the four students from Batavia. These relatives were sometimes even stationed in the same place. Many (10) found their wives in the Indies (at least four of whom were of Eurasian descent); others (7) found wives in the Netherlands or Europe (two of them after their final return to Europe); four were lifelong bachelors, and three died young. Most of their children also had careers in the Indies.

About one-third (9) left the interpreter corps before reaching the age of retirement (20 years of service), and about one-third (7) stayed in function until retirement. The remaining one-third (8) died relatively young while in function, including three of Hoffmann's eight students. Two died in their twenties (Francken, De Breuk), two in their early thirties (Buddingh, Roelofs), and four in their forties (Young, A.E. Moll, Van Wettum, Thijssen).

Those who left the interpreter corps (9) often pursued remarkable other careers: two in scholarship (Schlegel, De Groot), four in other positions in the colonial government (Groeneveldt, Albrecht, De Jongh, Hoetink), and two with a private company (Van de Stadt, De Bruin). Three sinologists went to study Japanese as well (Van Wettum, Ezerman, Van de Stadt). Only one sought a second career without any connection with his Chinese studies (Van der Spek).

One-third (9) received honours from the Dutch government, and five of them from foreign governments as well.

Most published scholarly and popular articles and books in Dutch (18), and some also in other languages (mainly Schlegel, Groeneveldt, De Groot). Some (6) published lavishly in newspapers in the Indies and the Netherlands (Schlegel, Meeter, Young, Van der Spek, Borel, De Bruin).

The bibliographies are as complete as possible, but do not mention all published legal reports. Schlegel's, De Groot's and Borel's bibliographies only contain publications that are related to their work as interpreters or that are mentioned in the text.

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ALBRECHT, Johannes Eduard

Johannes Eduard Albrecht (usually known as Eduard) was born on 25 February 1838 in Batavia and died on 7 May 1890 in Batavia.[1] In one Chinese document his name was transcribed as Ba-lát (*Bali*) 吧力.[2]

His father was Jan Hendrik Albrecht (Amsterdam, 6 May 1799 – Weltevreden, 22 April 1851), who came to the Indies in 1825 as a corporal and made a career as accountant in the military administration; he worked most of the time with the General Staff; his final rank was Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry.[3] J.E. Albrecht's mother was Johanna Geertruida Mackaij, who also died in 1851.[4] There were at least eight children in the family. Five sons had military careers in the Indies: Willem Alexander (Batavia, 31 August 1836; military career from 1851 to 1875), Frederik Hendrik (Weltevreden, 19 February 1839 – Malang, 28 August 1872; military career beginning in 1860), August Ernst (Weltevreden, 28 November 1844; military career from 1866 to his retirement in 1890), Gerrit Jan (Weltevreden, 24 March 1846; military career from 1868 to his retirement at his request in 1887); Jan Hendrik Albert (Weltevreden, 12 June 1851; military career from 1870 to his discharge at his request in 1879).[5] Starting in the 1880s, the last-named was proprietor of the well-known printing firm Albrecht & Co.[6]

Johannes Eduard Albrecht attended a private secondary school, Herwijnen (near Bogor), which existed from 1851 to 1856.[7] On 10 October 1855, Governor-General Duymaer van Twist decided to send Albrecht and his fellow student Von Faber to Canton to study Chinese under the supervision of the Dutch Consul, J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, who had just been appointed there, in order to become interpreters of Chinese in the Indies and also train other interpreters.[8] They left for China in January 1856, studying Cantonese and written Chinese for nine months in Canton and two and a half years in Macao, finally studying Hokkien for a year in Amoy[9] together with De Grijs, Schlegel, Francken, and Schaalje.

On 21 April 1860, after more than four years of study, Albrecht and Von Faber, who were still in China, were appointed as interpreters in the Indies, but it was not specified where they would be stationed. They were the first European interpreters for the Chinese language appointed in the Netherlands Indies. As of 15 May 1860, Albrecht hired Tan Kioe Djin 陳求仁, from Amoy, as a teacher to accompany him to the Indies, in order to further his studies and facilitate the training of other interpreters.[10]

After arriving in Batavia on 4 July 1860, Albrecht was appointed on 9 August 1860 as interpreter of the Chinese language in Mentok (Muntok).[11] However, his teacher Tan Kioe Djin, whose son was living in Batavia, refused to follow him to Mentok. Tan was dismissed and would

be sent back to China.[12] In Mentok, Albrecht would discover that he had studied the wrong dialect in China: not Cantonese but Hakka was the most common dialect spoken in the Outer Possessions.

Two years later, on 26 August 1862, he was allowed two weeks of leave within the country. He requested this while he was in Batavia,[13] doubtless to meet his fellow students Schlegel and Francken who had just arrived from China, and Von Faber who had been transferred to Batavia.

On Banka, Albrecht had very little to do as an interpreter, but he served temporarily in other official functions several times, for which he was paid.[14] For instance, on 29 March 1863 he was accorded a remuneration of *f* 300 for temporary duty as Secretary and Magistrate as well as General Tax Receiver (*algemeene ontvanger van 's lands Kas*) and Auctioneer (*vendue meester*) in Mentok during more than two months.[15]

On 11 February 1864, he was allowed two months' leave within the country for important but unspecified reasons.[16] This was perhaps because of the illness of his colleague Francken in Surabaya, who passed away on 6 February 1864. On 25 March 1864 Albrecht was, at his own request, appointed as interpreter in Surabaya, succeeding Francken. At the same time, Governor-General Sloet decided that one of the new interpreters should as soon as possible be appointed on Banka.[17] Albrecht also took over Francken's teacher Oei Tsoe Khing.[18]

On 9 June 1864 he became a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, and he remained a member until 30 July 1867.[19] His membership would be restored in 1878.

He married Wilhelmina Adriana Frederika Henriette de Quay (ca. 1845 – The Hague, 27 August 1898) in Surabaya on 7 April 1866. They had eight or more children.[20] One daughter was Cornelia Johanna Louise (Surabaya, 20 January 1867 – Driebergen, 22 December 1944). In 1885, when he went on sick leave to the Netherlands, he took along his wife and the following seven youngest children, including the only son: Louise Constance (born 14 June 1869), Jeanne Juli (12 July 1870) Antoinette Josephine (21 September 1871), Wilhelmina Johanna (4 November 1873 – Buitenzorg, 24 February 1892), Eduard Johannes (14 October 1875 – Blitar, 19 May 1897), Sophie (30 November 1877), and Albertina Hendrika Johanna (15 November 1877).[21]

Just as on Banka, Albrecht had little to do as interpreter and extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber in Surabaya, and he considered his functions in most places a sinecure. But on his own initiative he did much work for the Orphans Chamber outside of this official function.[22] He also developed a special interest in law, and from about 1875 on, he compiled an index to Netherlands Indies laws and regulations, which was regularly published and updated from 1879 on. This was the well-known *Albrecht's klapper*.

He remained in function in Surabaya for twelve years. On 11 March 1876, he was allowed two years of sick leave in the Netherlands,[23] but already on 15 November 1877, he was appointed as interpreter in Batavia and extraordinary member of the Estate Chamber (*College van Boedelmeesteren*).[24] He remained in function until 5 September 1879. Including leave, he worked as an interpreter for nineteen years.

On 27 August 1879 he was appointed President of the Orphans Chamber (*Weeskamer*) in Batavia as from 5 September 1879, with a monthly salary of *f* 1,000.[25] He was the second interpreter after Groeneveldt who left the interpreters' corps to pursue a different official career in the Indies.

His name was on the list of those who had passed the Lesser Notary Examination (*klein-notaris-examen*) from 1877 to 1887.[26] Officials of the Interior Administration who had to perform notary functions were obliged to have passed this examination.

On 2 April 1878, he was again added to the list of members of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. On 17 July 1878, he became a member of the Board of Directors, and two months later, on 17 September 1878, he became both librarian and editor of its journal *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde* (the latter until 14 October 1884). In 1879, he published one article in this journal, and he would also occupy himself with the publication of Francken and De Grijs' Chinese–Dutch dictionary. On 9 June 1885, when he went on sick leave to the Netherlands, he left the Board and gave up his position as librarian.

On 26 July 1884, he was charged to draft new regulations for the Estate Chamber, which could include a supplement to the regulations (*instructie*) of the Orphans Chamber. He was to present his draft before the end of June 1885, and would receive an extra allowance of *f* 250 per month.[27]

After six years as President of the Orphans Chamber, he was suddenly discharged on 6 June 1885. The Resident of Batavia granted him immediate sick leave in the Netherlands.[28] On 19 June 1885, Governor-General Van Rees granted him foreign sick leave for two years.[29] Albrecht was succeeded as President of the Orphans Chamber by H.A. van de Pol.[30]

After he left the Indies, he was on 11 July 1885 charged to continue his drafting of the new regulations of the Estate or Orphans Chamber as soon as he had recovered enough to do so, for a period of six months, but now with a monthly allowance of *f* 100.[31] He finished this assignment by sending some documents to the Director of Justice in January 1887.[32]

In 1886, while on leave in the Netherlands, he answered for an irregular act of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia from the time when he was President. This concerned the requisition, auction, acquisition and sale of a piece of land belonging to a minor, after a complaint by a lawyer representing this minor. From Albrecht's explanation, the Director of Justice and the Council of the Indies concluded that he had acted in good

faith. Thereupon the Minister of Colonies informed him that his case was cleared.[33]

While on leave in the Netherlands, he was declared unfit for service in the Indies and was at his request honorably discharged and pensioned from 1 July 1887.[34] In January 1888, he, his wife and their seven young children returned to Batavia.[35]

On 19 August 1888, he was appointed as President of the Board of the Widows and Orphans Foundation of Civil Servants in the Netherlands Indies (*Weduwen- en Weezenfonds van burgerlijke ambtenaren in NI*).[36]

On 7 May 1890 he passed away in Batavia, 52 years old. Three short obituaries appeared in Batavian newspapers, one of which wrote:

> A long and grievous suffering ended his highly useful life … By his humanity and his noble heart, the deceased obtained so much general respect, that he leaves the most pleasant and durable remembrances. … Indies society loses in him a broadly educated man, with a clear judgement and fine gift of observation.[37]

After his death, the publication of *Albrecht's klapper* was continued in several editions by his brother J.H.A. Albrecht's publishing firm Albrecht & Co, and later by other publishers. New editions appeared until 1921, and yearly supplements (*Albrecht's klapper Jaarvervolg*) were published for the years 1922 until 1937.

## *Publications*

"Het schoolonderwijs onder de Chineezen op Java," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, vol. 25, 1879, pp. 225-41.

"L'instruction primaire chez les Chinois dans l'île de Java," *Annales de l'Extrême-Orient*," vol. 3, 1880–1881, pp. 225-40 (French translation of the preceding).

"Nota omtrent den staatsrechtelijken toestand der Chineezen in Ned.-Indië, bijgewerkt tot ultimo December 1883," *Bijblad op het Indisch staatsblad*, no. 4017, 1890.

"Soerat betrangan dari pada hal kaädaän bangsa Tjina di negri Hindia Olanda," *Bijblad op het Indisch staatsblad*, no. 4017, 1890, 61 p. (Malay translation of the preceding).

*Albrecht's klapper op de wetboeken, het Staatsblad en de daarbij behoorende bijbladen van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1879, later frequent reprints and supplements until 1937).

*Verzameling van verordeningen en bepalingen voor de residentie Oostkust van Sumatra bijgewerkt tot ultimo 1888* (1889, later reprints with additions).

## *Translation into Chinese*

"Chineesche vertaling van Staatsblad 1878, No. 86, handelende omtrent de heffing der belasting op het bedrijf van vreemde Oosterlingen op Sumatra's Westkust, in Benkoelen, de Lampongs, Palembang, Groot Atjeh, de Zuider- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo, Celebes en onderhoorigheden en Amboina" (Chinese translation of *Staatsblad* 1878, No. 86, concerning taxation on business of Foreign Orientals in Sumatra's West Coast etc.) (1 f.) (BPL 2106 I:10).

*26. H. Borel as a student, ca. 1892 (Frederik van Eeden Collection, Amsterdam University Library).*

BOREL, Henri Jean François

Henri Jean François Borel was born on 23 November 1869 in Dordrecht and died on 31 August 1933 in The Hague.[38] His Chinese name was Bú-lé 武禮 (*Wuli*),[39] but Bú-liét 武烈 (*Wulie*) was also used. In 1913 he was called Bô-lé 謀禮 (*Mouli*) in a letter from a Chinese friend,[40] which coincides better with the Hokkien sound.

His great-frandfather, a minister in the Walloon Church, moved from Switzerland to Belgium (near Liège) and later to the Netherlands. His father was George Frederik Willem Borel (Maastricht, 27 August 1834 – Bad Nauheim, 4 August 1907), artillery officer in the Dutch Army. In 1857 he was stationed as 2nd lieutenant in the East Indies, where he became commander of an expeditionary force in Borneo in 1859 and remained for five years. In 1873 he was, as a captain, again stationed for two years in the Indies, taking part in the war in Atjeh. In 1875 he returned to the Netherlands because of illness.[41] He wrote two books critical of the too humane manner in which, in his opinion, the war in Atjeh was waged:[42] *Onze vestiging in Atjeh* (The Hague 1878) and *Drogredenen zijn geen waarheid: naar aanleiding van het werk van den luitenant-generaal van Swieten over onze vestiging in Atjeh* (The Hague 1880). His final rank was lieutenant-colonel. From 1894 to 1898 he was Governor of the Royal Military Academy (*gouverneur van de KMA*) in Breda. His three brothers and some of their sons also had careers in the military. Henri Borel's mother was Suzanna Elisabeth Marcella (Nijmegen, 23 May 1839 – Ermelo, 6 October 1910).[43] Out of this marriage three children were born: an elder sister Julie Désirée (Maastricht, 31 July 1867), Henri and a younger brother Eduard Arnold (The Hague, 28 December 1876 – Breda, 21 December 1892).[44] Julie Désirée married Edward Ludwig Martin Kühr (1858–1935) who had a career as an East Indies official.[45]

Henri Borel went to school at the HBS in The Hague, Goes and Roermond.[46]

According to his diary, the reason why he chose to study Chinese was

that by taking the examination for the interpreters, he could have a day off from his school in Roermond and go to The Hague. He thought the reason he passed the examination might have been his knowledge of literature. Without finishing the HBS, he went to study in Leiden.[47]

Of the original 43 candidates, 26 took part in the competitive examination, and four were accepted; Borel was second in rank. However, the examination committee was not very satisfied with the level of these candidates.[48]

From 1888 to 1892, Borel studied Chinese under Schlegel, together with J.L.J.F Ezerman, B.A.J. van Wettum, and E.R. Goteling Vinnis; the last-named quit after one and a half years of study.[49] Borel was not a run-of-the-mill student. During his studies, he was very active in literature, art and music. He had contacts with well-known writers such as Frederik van Eeden and artists such as Johan Thorn Prikker. In his diaries and letters to Van Eeden, he wrote a lot about these activities, but very little about his Chinese studies.[50] Since Borel and Ezerman did not do well in the first year, all the students had to study in Leiden for four years instead of three.[51] On 15 July 1892 Borel entered the colonial service in order to be appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies after about one year of study in China.[52]

On 8 June 1892,[53] he married Maria Christina Zur Haar (The Hague, 16 September 1872). His wife accompanied him in 1892 to China, where his daughter Wilhelmina Suzanna was born on 5 October 1893; later they also had a son Paul Frederik (Tanjung Pinang, 23 August 1896 – Surabaya, 10 July 1920). After their divorce on 28 October 1902, Borel remarried on 10 December of that year with Helena Maria de Hartog (Wageningen, 13 August 1884), but they were also divorced six years later, on 6 May 1908. Out of this marriage one son was born, Louis Borel (Amsterdam, 6 October 1905 – Amsterdam, 24 April 1973); he became a well-known actor, also in Britain and the USA. Afterwards Henri Borel married Anna Maria Huffstadt (Utrecht, 21 November 1878 – The Hague, 20 April 1967). Out of his last marriage one daughter was born: Machteld Irmgarde (Surabaya, 30 May 1911 – Oegstgeest, 6 March 1994), who became a lawyer.

On 6 October 1892 he arrived in Amoy,[54] where he lived together with his wife and later their baby daughter. On 28 January 1893, all three students filed an official complaint (*reclame*) on their financial situation, and on 20 May their claims were satisfied,[55] but a final settlement was only achieved in September.

After one year in China, on 12 September 1893, the students were allowed to stay another year, at the request of Van Wettum and Ezerman, and later also Borel. Borel, however, wished not to be sent to the Hakka districts.[56]

While studying in China, he published articles about China in *De Gids*,

and he became famous for his "The Chinese Theatre" (*Het Chineesche Tooneel*) and "Wu wei," which both appeared in the literary monthly *De Gids*.

On 24 October 1894, he was appointed as interpreter for Chinese in Tanjung Pinang (Riau).[57] When he published an article revealing that a Chinese *luitenant* in Riau had more than once seriously broken the law,[58] the Governor-General considered this "a slanderous attack on the Resident of Riau" and expressed the government's serious dissatisfaction with Borel.[59] Many years later it became clear that Borel's allegation had been unfounded; he had been hoodwinked by his Chinese informant.[60]

On 26 August 1896, he was transferred and appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Makassar, as from 1 October 1896.[61] In both posts, judging from his very few diary notes, he was rather unhappy.[62]

On 15 April 1897, Borel send a request to be stationed as consular agent or interpreter in China, to which Director of Justice Mulock Brouwer had no objections. His request was forwarded to Minister of Colonies Bergsma, and by him to his colleague at Foreign Affairs, Röell.[63] On 6 July the latter informed Borel that for the time being no personnel was needed, but his request would be seriously considered when needed in the future.[64] On 12 July, Röell notified Bergsma that he was keeping Borel's request in consideration in case personnel were needed, and asked information about Borel.[65] A few months later, after consulting Governor-General Van der Wijck, the new Minister of Colonies Cremer answered that Borel had shown himself to be a well-qualified sinologist, but that the Governor-General had been obliged to express the government's serious dissatisfaction with him on account of his 1895 newspaper article against the Resident of Riau.[66]

On 3 April 1898, Borel was transferred to Surabaya,[67] which was a promotion for an Official from the Outer Possessions.

On 23 June 1899, he was allowed two years of sick leave to Europe.[68] He left Batavia for Europe on 19 July 1899, actually planning to leave the Indies forever.[69] This was almost five years after he had been appointed in the Indies, just about enough time to be able, if needed, to quit the East Indies service without having to restitute all study allowances, travel costs, and other fees.

More than four years later, on 25 November 1903, he returned to the Indies and was appointed Official for Chinese Affairs in Tanjung Pinang. At the same time, Ezerman was at his own request transferred from Tanjung Pinang to Makassar.[70]

Just half a year later, on 27 July 1904, during leave within the country on half pay in Sukabumi, Borel was honourably discharged from this position as from 2 August.[71] Borel wrote fifteen years later that in the spring of 1904 he was to be transferred to Makassar (just as in 1896), because he

had written a critical article on the sultan of Lingga, but he could escape by requesting unpaid leave to Europe.[72] Indeed, on 19 October 1904 he was, while still in Sukabumi, granted one year of leave to Europe for important reasons, half of which was unpaid leave.[73] But in 1929 Borel gave another reason for his transfer. His findings while investigating the implementation of the *Coolie Ordinance* in the tin mines at Singkep (Lingga) had led to conflicts with his superiors, resulting in his sick leave and finally his return to the Netherlands.[74]

The next year, when Governor-General Van Heutsz sent him a telegram asking him to return to the Indies to be appointed in Semarang, he considered this a kind of rehabilitation and returned.[75] The previous Official for Chinese Affairs in Semarang, A.E. Moll, had passed away on 21 March 1905, and on 23 September Borel was appointed as his successor.[76]

Soon afterwards, he was confronted with the nascent Chinese Movement, striving for emancipation of the Chinese in the Indies. In 1906 he became patron (*beschermheer*) of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan 中華會館 in Semarang.

He wrote a complaint against the Assistant Resident in Semarang,[77] who sent in a counter-complaint about Borel, after which criminal investigations were started against Borel.

In 1907 he was the first to point out the need for at least one Official for Chinese Affairs knowing Mandarin. He asked to be allowed a Mandarin teacher from Peking to study Mandarin with, and pleaded to have Mandarin added to the curriculum of the Candidate-Officials in China. Since the Director of Justice first wished to await the outcome of legal proceedings concerning the complaint against Borel, his request was not immediately granted, but De Groot was charged with arranging for his students to study Mandarin in China.[78] Actually, the criminal investigation against Borel had by that time already been dismissed.[79]

On 16 April 1908 he was transferred to Mentok,[80] succeeding De Bruin who had left government service on 2 February; but on 26 August this transfer was cancelled at his request, dated Weltevreden, 26 April 1908. Instead of Mentok, he was transferred to Pontianak.[81] He probably never went to Mentok.

A few months after arrival in Pontianak, the 39-year-old Borel requested an extra monthly allowance of *f* 50 to study Mandarin for one year, and an allowance of *f* 50 for textbooks, to which Governor-General Van Heutsz agreed on 4 February 1909.[82] On 1 March he began studying with local teachers who spoke a little Mandarin with Hakka or Hoklo accents.[83] This marks the beginning of the shift to Mandarin in Dutch sinology.

On 28 July 1909, he was transferred to Surabaya as from 2 August, when Thijssen went on sick leave. Borel's extra allowance for studying Mandarin was continued.[84] Already one month later, on 28 August 1909,

he was at his request directed to go to China for four months to complete his studies of Mandarin Chinese. He went to Peking, where he stayed during the autumn of 1909. About this visit to China he wrote *Het daghet in den Oosten* (Twilight in the East), translated into English as *The New China*. He engaged his Mandarin teacher Wang Fung Ting 王鳳亭 from Peking to accompany him to Surabaya, and continued studying Mandarin with him for two years.

On 7 November 1911, he was given the personal title of "Advisor for Chinese Affairs,"[85] simultaneously with Van Wettum in Batavia and Ezerman in Padang. This title was given to Officials for Chinese Affairs stationed in towns where a Chinese consulate could be established.

At Chinese New Year in 1912, serious riots by the "Macao Chinese" (Cantonese) took place in Surabaya following the establishment of the Republic of China. One of the reasons was the question of flying the new five-colour flag of the Republic, which was allowed by the government. This later led to a general refusal in the Chinese district to fly the Dutch flag on the birthday of Princess Juliana (30 April). There were also some other incidents. Borel was blamed for all this, and on 1 June 1912 he was for the third time transferred to Makassar, where for the preceding seven years no Official for Chinese Affairs had been stationed.[86] There were many protests against this measure for a man of his stature.[87] At the same time, he lost his "personal title" of Advisor for Chinese Affairs.

Half a year later, as from 3 January 1913 he was allowed nine months' leave to Europe in view of seven years of service, but with the proviso that other measures might be taken after the conclusion of the current investigation against him.[88]

Three years later, as from 1 February 1916 he was honourably discharged on grounds of physical unfitness (he had lost part of his eyesight in an accident),[89] and obtained a pension of *f* 1,124,[90] about a third of that of most Officials for Chinese Affairs. He was interpreter/Official for Chinese Affairs for more than 21 years, of which 8½ years were spent on leave.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 7 April 1896 until 4 January 1898. The minutes of the board meeting of 4 August 1896 recorded that he had presented to the library a manuscript handbook of a secret society, and offered to make a translation of it. Hoetink did not consider this necessary, as this text had already been translated before by Schlegel and others.[91]

While in the Indies, Borel had already become a well-known literary figure and art connoisseur; he was an authority on Oriental philosophy (Buddhism, Taoism), art and all things Chinese. He also was the first sinologist to translate Chinese literature (parts of the Chinese classics) directly into Dutch. After his return to the Netherlands, he became an editor of the

daily *Het Vaderland* in The Hague. He settled in Scheveningen, but also lived in Paris for some time (before 20 September 1926). He often gave popular lectures on subjects such as Oriental philosophy and art, but also on modern developments in China.

He was an active supporter of the Chinese Republic, and a proponent of the rights of the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies, at a time when many were only worried about the Chinese revolutionaires and their possible influence on the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies.

He also had pronounced opinions on sinology in the Netherlands. He was against the old system of only learning southern dialects and not Mandarin, and he criticised Prof. J.J.M. de Groot for his studies of ghosts and goblins and his disdainful remarks about the Chinese in his works, and for paying no attention to the New China which was just being born. Although many of these complaints were refuted by his colleague De Bruin,[92] in the end some of his opinions would gain the upper hand. Borel also tried to become De Groot's successor, but in the struggle for the professorship between the Ministry of Colonies and that of Foreign Affairs, the latter won. In 1917, the accepted successor of De Groot was J.J.L. Duyvendak, who had worked at the Dutch Legation in Peking for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and had not served in the Indies. He was not even familiar with the southern dialects, knowing only Mandarin.

In the Netherlands, Borel remained active as a journalist, a music and literature critic in the daily newspaper *Het Vaderland*, and as a China specialist. In one of his obituaries it was written: "One must admire Borel as a journalist for his amazing energy and almost incomprehensible speed with which he could write an article. Those articles—he said so himself—won him many enemies, but also many friends and admirers."[93]

He passed away on 31 August 1933 in The Hague, 63 years old. On his deathbed Borel converted to Roman Catholicism.[94]

## *Publications*

Borel was a prolific writer on many subjects. He wrote innumerable articles in various periodicals. The Netherlands Central Library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) has 99 titles of books written by him or with contributions by him. Many of his books were translated into English, French, and German. In the following select bibliography, only works related to his study of Chinese or his work as interpreter or Official for Chinese Affairs are mentioned. A list of his publications, in part on-line available, can be found at www.dbnl.org.

"Serment d'Amitié Chinois," *T'oung Pao* A 4 (1893), 420-6.
"Het Chineesche tooneel," *De Gids* 58 II (1894), 363-93.
"Korea," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 16 September, 11 December 1894.
"De Chineesche taal," *De Telegraaf*, 7 December 1894 (also in *Java-bode*, 11 January 1895; *Soerabaya-Courant*, 15 January 1895; by "Pi-tik," probably 彼得, i.e. "Peter" or "Piet"; style and idiom of the article compellingly suggest Borel as the actual author).

"Nog eens de Chineesche consulaats-quaestie," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 15 December 1894, by "X."
"Wu wei, een studie naar aanleiding van Lao Tsz's filosofie," *De Gids* 59 I (1895), 415-49.
"Iets over den Chineesch-Japanschen Oorlog," *Soerabaya-Courant*, 10 January 1895 (Dated Riouw 6 Dec. 1894).
"De Chineesche consulaats-quaestie," *Java-bode*, 19 January 1895 (from *NRC*, 15 Dec. 1894).
"Een antwoord aan prof. Schlegel. Chineesche waarheid." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 23 January 1895.
"Nog eens: Professor Schlegel, over den Chineesch–Japanschen Oorlog." *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 9 March 1895.
"Het Chineesch karakter," *Deli-Courant*, 8 May 1895 (review of Arthur Smith's *Chinese characteristics*).
"Ingezonden stukken" (about Schlegel), *Java-bode*, 21 May 1895.
"Consulaten in China," *Deli-Courant*, 1 June 1895, by "B."
"Christendom in Zuid-China," *Java-bode*, 5 July 1895, from *NRC*, by "B." (reaction by S. Ulfers, reprinted in *Java-bode*, 19 July 1895).
"Riouw-schandalen," *Soerabaya-Courant*, no. 147, 29 Juni 1895.
"Chineesche overwinningen," *Deli-Courant*, 3 August 1895.
"Zendingen in China als gevaar voor den vrede," *De Locomotief*, 30 September, 1 (not extant), 2 and 4 October 1895.
*Wijsheid en schoonheid uit China*, [1895] (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon).
*De Chineesche filosofie toegelicht voor niet-sinologen I. K'oeng Foe Tsz' (Confucius) III. Mêng Tsz' (Mencius), China's volkstribuun* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1896).
"Iets over Chineesche wetten," *Deli-Courant*, 11 January, 15 February, 20 May 1896, by "H.B."
"De vreemdelingenhaat in China," *Deli-Courant*, 17 June 1896.
"Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden I," *Deli-Courant*, 16 September 1896, "II," 3 March 1897, by "H.B."
"Een oorlogszuchtige Professor," *Deli-Courant*, 12 December 1896 (about Schlegel).
*Kwan Yin, een boek van de goden en de hel* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1897).
*De Chineesche filosofie toegelicht voor niet-sinologen II. Lao Tsz'* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1896).
"Het jongetje," *De Gids* 62 (1898), 183-231 and 387-443, as a book : Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, several editions.
"Opmerkingen over de ontworpen nieuwe regeling van den privaatrechtelijken toestand der Chineezen," *De Indische Gids*, 20 II (1898), 780-99; (first reaction to De Groot's article). *Also* in *Indisch weekblad van het recht*, no. 1835, 29 August 1898.
"Dupliek aan Prof. Dr. J.J.M. de Groot," *Indisch weekblad van het recht*, no. 1836, 5 September 1898 (dated 29 August 1898).
*De Chineesche kwestie* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1900).
*De Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1900).
*Het recht der liefde: eene studie uit het Indische leven* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, [1902]).
"Een bezoek aan de koelie-dépots in Singapore," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad*, 4 March 1904.
"Het gele gevaar," *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad*, 4 August 1904.
*Wijsheid en schoonheid uit Indië* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1905), 220 p.; 2nd printing [1919].
*Het daghet in den Oosten*, 1910; 2nd printing (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1926).
"De nieuwe banen der sinologie," *De Gids*, IV (1911) 297-309.
"De Nederlandsche sinologie," *De Gids*, III (1912), 262-74.
*The New China: A Traveller's Impressions*, by Henri Borel, Official Chinese interpreter in the Dutch East Indies, translated from the Dutch by C. Thieme (London: Fisher Unwin; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1912) (translation of *Het daghet in den Oosten*).
*De Chineesche kwestie*, by M. H (=Henri Borel) (Batavia: Papyrus, 1913).
"De Chineesche Kwestie en de Ambtenaren van 't Binnenlandsch Bestuur," *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, 1913, no. 1, pp. 40-54.

*Een werkkring in Indië, pro: Creusesol; contra: Henri Borel* (Creusesol is a pseudonym of I.P.C. Graafland) (Baarn: Hollandia-drukkerij, 1913), 40 p. Series: Pro en contra betreffende vraagstukken van algemeen belang; serie 8, no. 10.
"De ongeregeldheden in West-Borneo," *Indologenblad*, 6 (1914–1915), 106-8.
"De opleiding der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 9 September 1915.
*De Geest van China* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, [1916]).
*Het schoone eiland, een tweede boek van wijsheid en schoonheid uit China* (Amsterdam, P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, [1922]).
*Van leven en dood* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1925).
"Een boek over Sovjet Rusland," *Het Vaderland*, 20 May 1928.
"Henri Borel (Autobiografie en autocritiek)," *Het Vaderland*, 23 November 1929.
"Henri Borel, op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 November 1929, Bijvoegsel [short biography].

## *Obituaries*

"Henri Borel † 23 Nov. 1869 – 31 Aug. 1933," *Het Vaderland*, 31 August 1933.
"Het overlijden van Henri Borel. Een levensloop vol moeilijkheden. Enkele boeken van blijvende waarde," *De Telegraaf*, 31 August 1933.
"Henri Borel, Zijn loopbaan in Indië," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 31 August 1933.
"Begrafenis Henri Borel," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 September 1933.
R.H. van Gulik, "In Memoriam Henri Borel," *China, een driemaandelijks tijdschrift* (October 1933), 167 (Amsterdam). *Also* published as "Henri Borel 23 Nov. 1869 – 31 Aug. 1933," *Chung Hwa Hui Tsa Chih* 1933, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 68.
Many other obituaries appeared in Dutch journals and newspapers.

## *His library*

Borel's books and manuscripts were auctioned by Brill. Auction catalogue of his books: *Bibliothèque de feu M. Henri Jean François Borel, ancien conseiller d'affaires Chinoises*, Partie Orientale, E.J. Brill, Leyde (Cat. no. 87) [ca. 1934] (a copy is in the Letterkundig Museum, The Hague, B 745 P Catalogus bibl. H. Borel).

*27. J. de Breuk as a student in Macao, probably 11 January 1866 (Internet).*

BREUK, Johannes de

Johannes de Breuk was born on 14 May 1844 in Leiden, and died on 10 November 1870 in Cirebon.

His father was Dr. Hendrik (or Henderik) Roelof de Breuk (Haarlem, 25 September 1814 – Gouda, 24 September 1861), by profession a teacher of Latin and Greek, but mostly working as a printer (*boekdrukker*) and bookseller, acting in various functions in the Society for Public Welfare (*Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen*). He was a member of the Society for Netherlands Literature (*Maatschappij der Nederlandsche letterkunde*)[95] and for some time also a member of the municipal council (*gemeenteraad*) of Leiden. After his political demise and financial failure, he moved to IJsselstein in 1855.

Johannes de Breuk's mother was Johanna Helena Hazenberg (Leiden, 13 September 1813 – 2 May 1850). Johannes was the eldest child; he had three younger sisters. Shortly after the birth of the fifth child, who died on the same day, the mother also passed away. On 5 July 1852, Hendrik Roelof was again married, to Geertruida Johanna Bazendijk (Rotterdam, 9 September 1820). Out of this marriage two sons were born, the first one of whom died in infancy; both were named Hendrik Roelof;[96] later one other child was born.

Johannes studied Chinese and Japanese under Hoffmann at the same time as J.A. Buddingh and W.P. Groeneveldt starting on 1 September 1858; he was then 14 years old.[97] In 1859 they were joined by a student of Japanese, R.J. de Saint Aulaire. De Breuk studied more slowly than the others, since until 1862 he was also attending secondary schools. There was thought to be a plan of the Japanese government to invite him as a teacher of Dutch, but when this was not realised, like Buddingh and Groeneveldt he was sent to China. He studied with Hoffmann for six years.

On 4 April 1864 he entered the colonial service.[98] On 14 May 1864 (his twentieth birthday), being a minor and an orphan, he was granted the legal status of adulthood (*handlichting*).[99] On 10 June 1864 he left the Netherlands, being the first to travel by the 'overland' route via Marseille and Suez to Hong Kong. The Netherlands Consul in Hong Kong, A.W.P. Kup, was

ordered to receive De Breuk and offer help needed.[100] De Breuk went to live in the house of the Netherlands Consul J. des Amorie van der Hoeven in Macao. He studied in Macao and not in Amoy: De Grijs had already left Amoy in 1863, and the other students were also leaving. From May until October 1864, De Grijs was in Macao and probably offered help. De Breuk concentrated on the Hakka dialect. He also studied for a few months in a Hakka-speaking region in the interior of Guangdong.[101] He acted as secretary and Chinese interpreter for Consul J. des Amorie van der Hoeven during the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin (1863) from October 1864 until July 1865. De Breuk studied in China for two years.

In July 1866, he engaged the Chinese teacher Li Phoe-nien from Amoy to accompany him to the Indies and serve him as a teacher and clerk. He probably took a teacher from Amoy because he would be stationed on Java, where Hokkien was spoken—a dialect that he had not studied. On 9 September 1866 he was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Cirebon.[102] His functions were mainly restricted to the agency of the Batavian Orphans and Estate Chambers, checking the warehouses and other simple jobs.[103]

Four years later, on 10 November 1870, he passed away in Cirebon, 26 years old. He had worked as an interpreter for four years.

*28. A.G. de Bruin, ca. 1942 (Nationaal Archief).*

BRUIN, Annes Gerardus de

Annes Gerardus (in birth register: Gerhardus) de Bruin was born on 1 January 1874 in Deventer and died on 23 March 1947 in Amersfoort. His Chinese name was Bî-lûn An-tun 眉綸安敦 (*Meilun Andun*). In China, De Bruin seems to have used the more internationally familiar name Anton instead of Annes.[104]

His father was Peter (or Pieter) de Bruin (Vaassen, 1 May 1845 – Deventer, 30 April 1914), shopkeeper (*winkelier*), later grocer and owner of a mustard factory (*kruidenier en mosterdfabrikant*). His mother was Gerritje Veldwijk (Welsum, 26 May 1846 – Deventer, 3 February 1904). Out of this marriage at least eight children were born, three daughters and five sons, two of whom died in infancy or youth. Annes Gerhardus was the second son. His sister Gerhardina Catharina Petronella (Deventer, 17 July 1880 – Amersfoort, 23 April 1936; at that time she was living in Paris) accompanied him to the Indies in 1907[105] and lived together with him until around 1915, because he was in poor health.

He studied Chinese in Leiden under Schlegel from September 1892 to 1895, together with P.A. van de Stadt and E.F. Thijssen. He was registered as a student in Leiden University together with E.F. Thijssen on 3 February 1894.[106] At his graduation, Schlegel considered him the brightest student of his group.

On 12 November 1895, he entered the colonial service, and was to be appointed Official for Chinese Affairs after the completion of his studies.[107] All three students left for Hong Kong at the end of 1895, and went to study in Amoy first. In January 1897 all three went to Chao Chow Foo (Chaozhou) to study the Hoklo dialect for almost three months.[108] On 25 June 1897 they were ordered to proceed to Kia Ying Chow (Jiayingzhou, now Meixian, Guangdong), to study the local Hakka dialect until the end of his study period in China, where they studied from 30 August to mid-December. In total, they studied in China for two years.[109]

On 20 February 1898, De Bruin was appointed Official for Chinese Affairs in Mentok.[110] The same year, on 21 November he was transferred to Medan,[111] where he worked for six years.

From 21 September until 20 November 1902, he temporarily fufilled the functions of auctioneer, cashier and accountant at the local auction house (*venduhuis*), for which he was a year later afforded an allowance of *f* 400.[112]

In the summer of 1903 he acted twice as interpreter for J.L.T. Rhemrev, the public prosecutor who investigated the situation of Chinese coolies on the North Coast of Sumatra.[113] Rhemrev's report would make clear that the situation was much worse than expected.

On 16 November 1904 he was transferred to Pontianak.[114]

On 10 November 1905 he was allowed one year of sick leave to Europe.[115] From 27 February 1906 to 20 October 1907, he lived with his father in Deventer.[116]

After two years of leave, on 22 November 1907 he was appointed Official for Chinese Affairs in Mentok,[117] succeeding Van de Stadt who had left the interpreter corps in May.

Two months later, on 24 January 1908 he was at his request honourably discharged as from 2 February 1908.[118] He worked as an Official for Chinese Affairs for ten years, including two years of leave.

He became advisor for Chinese affairs at the Deli Company (Deli-Maatschappij) and worked there for almost eight years. During 1910–12 he published more than twenty articles in *De Sumatra Post*, in which he showed great understanding of and sympathy for the Chinese. He published also on European subjects, such as the theatre, but these articles are not listed here.

After the sinologist and diplomat W.J Oudendijk had told him in 1913 and 1914 that he was the right candidate for the professorship in Leiden as successor to De Groot, he made preparations, resigning at the Deli Company at the end of 1915. Thereupon, he spent the first half year of 1916 in Peking learning Mandarin.[119] He published ten articles detailing his impressions in *De Sumatra Post*, showing that he was in Peking from March until July 1916. According to De Bruin in the last issue, these were meant as miscellaneous notes that one reads at the tea table and then forgets.

During his leave in 1914 and after his final return to the Netherlands in 1916, he compiled and published at his own expense a textbook in three volumes: *Introduction to Modern Chinese*. The book was well received by H.A. Giles and others. It should be noted that "Modern Chinese" refers to the literary or classical Chinese then used in newspapers, not the national language (*guoyu*) taught in schools in China from 1920 on.

From 1 June 1917 to 1 June 1918, he was the archivist of the East Coast of Sumatra Institute (*Oostkust van Sumatra Instituut*) in Amsterdam, which was established in 1917. In that year he published *De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra*, a study of the Chinese on the East Coast of Sumatra, as Publication vol. 1 (*Mededeeling no. 1*) of this institute.

In the meantime, he applied for the post of professor of Chinese in

Leiden University. He was supported by the Ministry of Colonies, but the Ministries of Home Affairs and Foreign Affairs were in favour of another candidate. To his great disappointment, the little-known J.J.L. Duyvendak was appointed at the beginning of 1917 to become a lecturer (*lector*) as from 1919. Duyvendak had studied from 1910 to 1912 with De Groot in Leiden and Berlin, and in Paris, and worked as interpreter of Mandarin at the Dutch Legation in Peking and Consulate in Shanghai from 1912 to 1919.[120]

In 1920, De Bruin wrote and privately published a pamphlet comprising two articles, one expressing his anger at having been misled in his application for the Leiden professorship (*Een onopgehelderd geval* [An unsolved case], pp. 1-8), and the other defending himself against M.W. de Visser, Professor of Japanese in Leiden from 1917, who had rebuked him for criticising the poor literary style of the late Prof. H. Kern (*Een verbolgen hoogleeraar* [A furious professor], pp. 9-44, esp. p. 14).[121]

On 21 December 1920, De Bruin was appointed for three years as a temporary tax official in the Netherlands Indies. After the tax reforms of 1920, the Chinese continued to keep accounts in Chinese, and the local Tax Accountants Offices in the Netherlands Indies employed several sinologists.[122] From 29 March 1921 to 2 December 1931, De Bruin worked at the Tax Accountants Office (*Belasting Accountants Kantoor*) in Semarang. He was first "Official at Disposal with the Title of Interpreter," then "Official of the First Class for Chinese Bookkeeping," and finally "Sinologist."[123]

In January 1932, he returned to Amsterdam, and in October he moved to Amersfoort.[124]

In Amersfoort, he lived in the boarding house run by Mrs. J.F.M.A. Boelen-Brinck (Sloten, 24 September 1890), who was divorced from the rubberplanter J. Boelen in Bandung in 1922. In 1937, she became an active member of the Dutch Nazi Party (NSB). In the East Indies, among Dutch colonialists there was a lot of sympathy with the Nazis, especially as a counterweight to rising Indonesian nationalism. On 12 May 1940, the third day of the five-day war between the German invaders and the Netherlands, De Bruin and his landlady were immediately interned, but they were released again after the Dutch surrender on 14 May. In 1941, De Bruin also became a member of the NSB. In September 1944, as many Dutch Nazis did, Mrs. Boelen-Brinck fled to Germany and stayed there with her daughter and German son-in-law until the 1950s.

After the German capitulation on 5 May 1945, De Bruin was arrested on 13 May. When questioned by the Political Investigation Department (POD) about his membership in the Dutch Nazi Party, he said he had joined it because he considered it a vigorous force which could establish a strong government both in the Netherlands and the colonies. He was pro-German, and thought Germany would lay the foundation for a Uni-

fied Europe. He did not join any other Nazi organisations and did not actually fulfill any function in the party. He was in favour of a solution to the problem of the Jews, but not by the use of violence. Two neighbours who were questioned as witnesses said he was a calm man, and, although he wore a Nazi badge,[125] he was not seen taking part in any activities of the party and did not harm anyone.

On 31 May 1945, he was released on grounds of ill health, but he remained under house arrest. He then went to live with the retired minister E. Schouten in Amersfoort, as he could not return to his former house. All his belongings and money had been immediately seized and were later put in official custody (*beheer*) from 15 October 1945 to 14 November 1946; the custody was finally lifted on 24 January 1947, but he was not informed. De Bruin was prosecuted in order to stand trial at a special Tribunal on grounds of his membership in the Dutch Nazi Party. Now (2006), his file has disappeared, so not much is known regarding the facts of his case. On 11 October 1946, the Public Prosecutor decided to end the prosecution on the condition that De Bruin pay 12,000 guilders (one-third of his fortune) before 1 November 1946 (*voorwaardelijke buitenvervolgingstelling*). This deadline was later extended to 1 March 1947, because he still had no access to his money. His collection of 487 Chinese books was originally considered the property of Mrs. Boelen-Brinck, and its value was at first rumoured to amount to 100,000 to 200,000 guilders. According to his own list of belongings, the books were worth 500 guilders. Confiscation was considered in July 1946, but a few years later the books were still there. In 1948, the Netherlands Control Institute (NBI) decided "to offer the books to the university or the professor concerned," but in the East Asian Library in Leiden no trace of his books could be found. According to his will (1936) all his possessions, probably including his books, were to be inherited by Mrs. Boelen-Brinck.[126]

On 23 March 1947, A.G. de Bruin passed away suddenly in Amersfoort after a short illness, at 73 years of age. He remained a bachelor all his life.

## *Publications*

"Iets over China en de Chineezen," *De Sumatra Post*, 30 September 1910;
"De raadselachtige Chinees," *idem*, 30 September 1910;
"Zullen de assistenten Chineesch leeren?" *idem*, 29 October 1910;
"De schaar in een Chineesche courant," *idem*, 8 parts: 10, 19, 22, 30 November, 8, 22 December 1910, 12 January, 3 April 1911;
"Chineesche vaderlandsliefde," *idem*, 11 November 1910;
"Een Chineesche jammerklacht," *idem*, 26 January 1911;
"De jammerklacht verhoord," *idem*, 1 February 1911;
"Het daghet in den Oosten," *idem*, 4 February 1911;
"De Jezuïeten in China," *idem*, 18 April 1911;
"China onder de Keizerin-Weduwe," *idem*, 17 July 1911;

"De nieuwe banen der sinologie," *idem*, 20 December 1911;
"De jong-Chineezen en de opstootjes in Soerabaija," *idem*, 13 April 1912;
"Chineesche Varia," *idem*, 17 May 1912;
"Het dreigement van den heer Van Geuns," *idem*, 15 June 1912;
"Het jongste artikel van den heer Borel," *idem*, 10 September 1912.
*Introduction to Modern Chinese,* 3 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1914–1917), 136, 248, 276 p.
"Indrukken uit China," *De Sumatra Post*, 10 parts: 18, 30 May, 15, 24, 30 June, 4, 21, 29 July and 12, 14 August 1916 (dated Peking, 2 April until 20 July 1916).
*De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra*, Mededeelingen van het Oostkust van Sumatra-Instituut, no. 1, 1918, 8+127 p.
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*Een onopgehelderd geval en Een verbolgen hoogleeraar*, [1920], [S.l.]: [s.n.], 43 p.
"Het wezen van den Chinees. (Toegelicht uit de Chineesche litteratuur). Lezing, gehouden op het 4de Congres van het Indonesisch Verbond van Studeerenden te Lunteren." *Koloniaal tijdschrift* 9 (1920), 585-610.
*A descriptive catalogue of a rare and valuable collection of CHINESE PRINTED BOOKS constituting the libraries of the late Mr. W.P. Groeneveldt, Author of the well-known "Notes on the Malay Archipelago", of the late Mr. F.G. Kramp, Map Curator of the Royal Dutch Geographical Society, and of Mr. A.G. de Bruin, Ex-superintendent of Chinese Affairs in Netherlands India*, Which will be sold by auction on Friday, May 27th, 1921, [compiled by A.G. de Bruin] E.J. Brill, Leyden.
*Het Chineesche zakenleven in Nederlandsch-Indië*, door den belasting-accountantsdienst onder leiding van J.L. Vleming Jr. (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1926) [one of the compilers is A.G. de Bruin].

## *Manuscript*

"Rapport uitgebracht aan de Deli planters vereeniging over de wervingstoestanden op Java in het algemeen en over de laukehwerving in het byzonder," Mr. H.J. Bool en A.G. de Bruin, December 1911 (104 p. typoscript, KIT colonial collection, Leiden University Library).

## *His library*

Some Chinese books bought in Peking by A.G. de Bruin were auctioned in 1921. Catalogue: *A descriptive catalogue of a rare and valuable collection of Chinese printed books, constituting the libraries of W.P. Groeneveldt … Mr. F.G. Kramp, …Mr. A.G. de Bruin,* which will be sold on Friday May 27, 1921 by E.J. Brill, Leiden.
A box of Chinese manuscripts from Medan (1900s) collected by De Bruin, including many copies made by his clerk, probably no. 356 in this catalogue, is now in the East Asian Library (Archiefkast; = Or. 27.044).
De Bruin's Western books were auctioned in 1921. Catalogue: *Catalogue des bibliothèques de feu MM. le Dr. P. van Geer, anc. Professeur de Mathématiques à l'Université de Leyde, H. Doeff, anc. Fonctionnaire d'État aux Indes néerl. et Journaliste, M. A.-G. de Bruin, anc. fonctionnaire des Affaires chinoises aux Indes néerl., d'un assyriologue inconnue et de plusieurs autres bibliothèques*, Vente 30 mai-4 juin 1921, E.J. Brill, Leyde.

BUDDINGH, Johan Adriaan

Johan Adriaan Buddingh (or: Buddingh'; also known as Arie) was born on 4 April 1840 in St. Oedenrode, and died on 16 August 1870 in Batavia.[127]

His father was Dr Johan Daniël Buddingh, a Protestant minister in St. Oedenrode (Alkemade, 7 May 1813 – St. Oedenrode, 6 October 1873); his mother was Christina Cornelia Marijt (Oegstgeest, around 1814 – 17 April 1874). Dr Johan Daniël Buddingh was a brother of the well-known Protestant minister and missionary Dr Steven Adriaan Buddingh (Kaag, 26 March 1811 – Katwijk, 29 July 1869) who worked in the East Indies in the years 1833–50 and 1852–7, and of Cornelia Buddingh (Alkemade, 17 June 1815 – Oegstgeest, 2 December 1864), the first wife of Herman Schlegel. Therefore Johan Adriaan was a cousin of Gustaaf Schlegel. Johan Adriaan was the eldest son; he had five sisters and one brother who died in infancy. Three of his sisters were Christina Cornelia (St. Oedenrode, 3 November 1841 – Zwolle, 20 November 1907), who after the death of her younger sister Agatha married the notary Conrad van Leenhof on 1 November 1881; Agatha Petronella Magdalena (St. Oedenrode, 17 July 1845 – Oirschot, 4 April 1878), who became the first wife of Conrad van Leenhof on 13 August 1869; and Catharina Elisabeth Gesina (9 August 1857 – 13 July 1897; an orphan since 1874 under the guardianship of Conrad van Leenhof), who married her 17-years-older cousin Gustaaf Schlegel on 9 May 1878, but divorced him on 3 December 1890.

Starting on 1 September 1858, Johan Adriaan Buddingh studied under Hoffmann, together with J. de Breuk and W.P. Groeneveldt. He studied Chinese for one year and then Japanese for two years.[128] During his studies he lived with his aunt Cornelia Schlegel-Buddingh and his uncle Herman Schlegel. All three students planned to go to Japan to become Japanese interpreters. In 1859 they were joined by a student of Japanese, R.J. de Saint Aulaire.

On 10 June 1861, Arie entered the colonial service as a "student of the Chinese and Japanese languages" (*kweekeling voor de Chinesche en Japansche taal*) to be trained as an interpreter.[129] He and Groeneveldt left the Netherlands on 3 October 1861 and arrived in Batavia on 20 January 1862, expecting to continue their voyage to Japan, but to their disappointment and under protest they were sent instead to China to become Chinese interpreters. On the way from Macao to Amoy, Buddingh visited his cousin G. Schlegel, who was then studying with Francken and Schaalje in Canton. Buddingh and Groeneveldt arrived at the beginning of May 1862 in Amoy, where they studied until 1864. The first year they studied Hokkien, but in November 1862 they were ordered to concentrate on Hakka, which they did in 1863 and 1864.

During his stay, Buddingh collected specimens of birds, insects, rep-

tiles, and other animals for his uncle Herman Schlegel, just as Gustaaf and Schaalje had done earlier. In total he sent 76 items and a box of insects. Around September 1863, he took a short trip to Formosa.

Plans to send the young interpreters to Hong Kong to learn Hakka were postponed several times, since it was thought they could learn Hakka just as well or even better in the Indies.[130] Later they were taught Hakka in Amoy by Hakka teachers.

On 15 June 1864, he engaged the Chinese teacher Tsen Kin Sioe, a Hakka from Hong Kong, to accompany him to the Indies and serve as a teacher and clerk.[131]

On 16 August 1864, he was appointed as interpreter for the Chinese language in Mentok, Banka.[132] In the beginning, his task as interpreter would prove almost impossible: he had to speak two very different dialects that he had studied for only two years, and he had very little opportunity to practice his Hakka. Moreover, he was often assigned against his will to other work.[133]

On Banka, he continued to collect specimens of birds and so on for his uncle, making contributions to the Museum of Natural History in Leiden. He also sent many specimens of plants to the Botanical Garden in Bogor.[134]

On 25 June 1869, Buddingh was discharged in Mentok and appointed as interpreter in Padang. The reason was that an interpreter could be dispensed with in Mentok, and could be more useful in Padang.[135] According to Albrecht, Buddingh had not been interested in doing work outside of his very few official functions, and therefore the position of interpreter on Banka had been abolished.[136]

On 16 August 1870 he passed away in Batavia, only 30 years old. He had worked as an interpreter for six years.

### *Publications*

Notes about the origins of the words *chit*, *junk*, *pidgin* and *wai-lao*, signed "J.A.B." in Banka, *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, III (1869), 58, 59, 75, (83), 127.

EZERMAN, Johannes Lodewijk Juliaan Franciscus

Johannes Lodewijk Juliaan Franciscus Ezerman (Lodewijk or Lo) was born on 24 August 1869 in Dordrecht and died on 3 December 1949 in The Hague.

His father was Adrianus Ezerman (Zutphen, 13 February 1825 – Dordrecht, 22 May 1903), shopkeeper with a grocery and delicatessen store (*winkelier; Koloniale waren en comestibles*).[137] His mother was Catharina van Beuningen van Helsdingen (Ommeren, 8 August 1829 – Dordrecht, 19 January 1907). Out of this marriage four sons were born. Lodewijk was the youngest son. His eldest brother Reinier Arent (Renkum, 26 February 1863), a primary school teacher (*onderwijzer*), was stationed in the Indies as a military clerk and school teacher for six years from 1889 to 1895.[138] His two other brothers left for America in 1881.[139]

In 1888 he passed the competitive examination and was ranked number one. From 1888 to 1892 he studied Chinese under Schlegel, together with H.J.F. Borel and B.A.J. van Wettum. He shared Borel's interest in literature, arts and music. Since he and Borel did not achieve good results in the first year, all students studied in Leiden for four years instead of three.

On 22 September 1892, Lodewijk Ezerman entered the colonial service; he would be appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies after about one year of study in China.[140] In China, on 28 January 1893, all three students filed an official complaint (*reclame*) on their financial situation, and on 20 May their claims were satisfied,[141] but a final settlement was only achieved in September.

After one year in China, on 12 September 1893, the students were allowed to stay another year (at the request of Ezerman and Van Wettum, later joined by Borel).[142] In total, they studied the Hokkien dialect for two years in Amoy.

On 24 October 1894, Ezerman was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Mentok.[143] He was allowed to engage another teacher for learning the local Hakka dialect.[144]

On 26 August 1896, he was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Tanjung Pinang (Riau), as from 1 October 1896.[145]

On 25 November 1903, he was at his request transferred to Makassar; he was succeeded by Borel returning from leave in Europe.[146]

On 21 February 1904, his appointment was cancelled and he was temporarily placed at the disposal of the Director of Justice in order to work in the Justice Department in Batavia.[147]

On 1 November 1904, he was granted one year of leave to Europe in view of long service, leaving his office on 10 November.[148]

On 6 September 1905, Ezerman and Van Wettum, who were both on leave in the Netherlands, were charged by Royal Decree (no. 31) to study

Japanese at the Seminar für Ostasiatische Sprachen in Berlin. After theoretical studies in Berlin, they were to go to Japan for practical studies. The government wished to appoint them as chiefs of a Section for Japanese Affairs that was to be established soon.[149] Ezerman studied with Van Wettum in Berlin, but no evidence could be found that he also went to Japan. In January 1908, his leave was extended by another nine months.[150] In that year he was living in Leiden for some time.[151]

After four years of leave, he was on 22 October 1908 appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Semarang.[152] The next year, on 28 August 1909, he was given a monthly allowance of *f* 100 as extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Semarang.[153]

On 7 November 1911, he was given the personal title of 'Advisor for Chinese Affairs' and appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Padang. This title was also given to Borel in Surabaya and Van Wettum in Batavia,[154] since Chinese Consuls were to be stationed in these three towns.

On 1 June 1912, Ezerman was transferred to Surabaya, succeeding Borel, who was demoted to Makassar, keeping the same title.[155]

On 1 October 1914, he was transferred to Batavia (switching with Bruineman), keeping his title, succeeding B.A.J. van Wettum who had passed away.[156]

On 1 November 1915, he was ordered to go to China for a maximum of four months to study various subjects of interest to the Bureau for Chinese Affairs. That bureau would be established in the following year. During this time Mouw was acting Advisor for Chinese Affairs in Batavia.[157] During his visit to China, Ezerman wrote letters that were published in *De Indische Gids*. He first paid a visit to Dr. Lim Boen Khing 林文慶 in Singapore, and visited Hong Kong, Canton, Shanghai, Peking, Hankow, and Amoy. In his letters he reported on political and social conditions in China, for instance the reactions to Yuan Shikai's coup.

On 30 May 1916, he was was granted nine months of leave to Europe because of his seven years of service, and would be discharged as from 2 July.[158]

On 29 March 1917, he was appointed as Advisor for Chinese Affairs and the first Chief of the newly established Bureau for Chinese affairs (*Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken*) in Batavia.[159] (Mouw had been acting Chief from 24 June 1916). The bureau was staffed by the five Officials for Chinese Affairs: J.A.M. Bruineman, A.D.A. de Kat Angelino, J.Th. Moll, H. Mouw, and J. Snellen van Vollenhoven.

On 2 May 1919, he was discharged at his request, having fulfilled his period of service, as from 5 May, and received an official expression of gratitude for his long service to the country.[160]

He worked as an interpreter/Official for Chinese Affairs/Advisor for Chinese Affairs for 25 years, including eight months in the Department of

Justice, two years as Chief of the Bureau of Chinese Affairs, and four years and nine months of leave.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 23 August 1909 to an unknown date, and from 7 December 1914 to 13 September 1916, when his membership was transferred to the Bureau for Chinese Affairs (*Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken*) in Weltevreden (Batavia).

On 12 September 1919, he settled down in The Hague. In the following years he also stayed in Paris and Brussels for a long time, but mostly lived in The Hague, and from 1936 on in Wassenaar. He translated at least ten historical novels and other books from English and German into Dutch, only one of which was related to China. In 1937–40 he contributed several book reviews and articles to *China, een driemaandelijksch tijdschrift*. In addition to his work as a translator and literator (*letterkundige*), he worked as a music teacher.[161] Posthumously a children's book containing two fairy tales was published. The first is called a "Chinese fairytale" and is about a boy who can talk with flowers and plants. Set in a Chinese environment, it is reminiscent of Van Eeden's *Kleine Johannes*.

He died after a traffic accident on 3 December 1949 in The Hague,[162] 80 years old.

He remained a bachelor all his life.

## *Publications*

"An Alphabetical List of the Emperors of China and of their Year-titles or Nien-hao, with the Date of their Reign and Duration," compiled with B.A.J. van Wettum, *T'oung Pao* A 2 (1891), 357-89.

*Alphabetical List of the Chinese and Japanese Emperors.* I: *An Alphabetical List of the Emperors of China and of Their Year-titles or Nien-hao, with the Date of Their Reign and Duration*, compiled by J.L.J.F. Ezerman and B.A.J. van Wettum – II: *Alphabetical List of the Mikados and Shoguns of Japan as also an Alphabetical List of the Year Title or Nen-Go, Adopted during Their Reign*, by G. Schlegel (Leiden E.J. Brill, 1893), 70 p.

"Twee Chineesche rechtsquesties," *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 95 (1910), 339-54.

"Praeadvies over het onderwijs aan Chineezen in Ned.-Indië van den Heer J.L.J.F. Ezerman, Adviseur voor Chineesche zaken te Batavia," *Prae-adviezen van het Eerste Koloniaal Onderwijscongres te houden te 's-Gravenhage op Maandag 28, Dinsdag 29 en Woensdag 30 Augustus 1916* etc. ('s-Gravenhage, Korthuis, 1916), XIX, 335 p., pp. 301-9.

"Advies in zake Chineesch erfrecht," *Indisch tijdschrift van het recht*, vol. 111 (1918), 265-8 [P.H. Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, p. 613 criticised his opinions, but in this reprint the author was mistakenly called J.*C.*J.F. *So*zerman].

"Van Batavia naar China en terug: reisbrieven," *De Indische Gids* 39 (1917), 23-41, 169-78 [travelogue dated 12 December 1915 to 3 March 1916].

*Beschrijving van den Koan Iem-tempel "Tiao-kak-Sie" te Cheribon* (Weltevreden, 1920), 62 p. Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en Wetenschappen. Populair wetenschappelijke Serie No. II. [dedicated to his younger colleagues at the Bureau for Chinese Affairs].

*Peri hal kelenting Koan Iem "Tiao-kak-Sie" di Tjeribon*, translation by S.M. Latif (Weltevreden: Drukkerij Volkslectuur, 1922), 57 p. Bureau voor Volkslectuur. Balai Pustaka serie no. 582. [Malay translation of the preceding].

"De Loya-feesten te Riouw," *Tijdschrift voor parapsychologie*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1931), 49-64.
"China en Japan," *China, een driemaandelijksch tijdschrift,* vol. 12 no. 1 (1937), 6-18.
"Chineesche heilwenschen in symbolen uitgedrukt," I, *idem,* vol. 12, no. 2 (1937), 66-76; II, *idem,* no. 3 (1938), 105-16.
"Hiao, Chineesche kinderliefde," by H. van Meurs, *idem,* vol 12, no. 4 (1938), 196-7.
"Mi Fu on Ink-stones, a Study of the Yen-shih," by R.H. van Gulik, *idem,* vol. 12, no. 4 (1938), 197-8.
"Over Chineesche inktsteenen," *idem,* vol. 13, no. 1 (1938), 221-35.
"De ziel van het Oosten en de geest van het Westen," by Dr. Herman Wolf, *idem,* vol. 13 no. 1 (1938), 250-2.
"The House of Exile," by Nora Waln, *idem,* vol 13, no. 1 (1938), 252-3.
"Moderne Chineesche schrijvers," *idem,* vol. 13 no. 4 (1939), 372-85.
"North China Front," by James Bertram, *idem,* vol. 13, no. 4 (1939), 399-404.
"Mondfrau und Silbervase," by Dr. Franz Kuhn, *idem,* vol. 14, no. 1-2 (1940), 84-6.
*Schemering over Shanghai: een roman uit het moderne China, [door] Mao Tun; uit het Chineesch bewerkt door F.Kuhn en J.L.J.F. Ezerman* (Den Haag: J. Philip Kruseman, 1939), 325 p. [Retranslation of Mao Dun's *Ziye* from the German translation by Franz Kuhn, *Schanghai im Zwielicht*, 1938].
*Een Chinees sprookje, en Hoe het kerstboompje in de wereld is gekomen*, illustrations by E.J. Kindermann, De mens en zijn boeken; 10 (Leiden: L. Stafleu, 1950), 67 p.

*29. M. von Faber during leave in the Netherlands, ca. 1876 (courtesy Mrs. L. Lokerse-Von Faber, Rijswijk).*

FABER, Maximiliaan von

Maximiliaan von Faber was born on 1 September 1838 in Batavia (Meester Cornelis), and died on 7 December 1917 in Surabaya. His Chinese name as used in one document was Hun Hoat 紛發 (*Fen Fa*).[163]

His father was Ernst Ludwig Wilhelm von Faber (Berlin, 27 June 1798 – Blinjoe (Banka), 29 January 1859). He was the son of a Prussian officer named Faber who was knighted during the Napoleonic wars (1798) after which the prefix *von* was added to his surname. In 1826, like many young Germans, Ernst Ludwig Wilhelm went to the Netherlands Indies, where he became a civil servant. In 1827 he married Franciska Caroline Friederika Daum (Warsaw, 17 May 1804 – Oegstgeest, 13 October 1871) in Banka. She was a commoner and had therefore not been allowed to marry him in Prussia. He had various official functions in Banka (1827–34), Batavia (1834–43, in the Department of Finance) and again in Banka (1843–59, as Administrator of the tin mines). They had a family of ten children (two of whom died in infancy).[164] Maximiliaan's brothers Ernst (Muntok, 27 February 1832 – Batavia, 25 February 1894) and Eugenius (Batavia, 2 June 1841 – Amsterdam, 25 March 1896) also became East Indies Officials.

From 1852 to 1855, Maximiliaan von Faber attended a private school, Herwijnen (near Bogor), which existed from 1851 to 1856.[165] On 10 October 1855, Governor-General Duymaer van Twist decided to send him and his fellow student J.E. Albrecht to Canton to study Chinese, in order to become interpreters of the Chinese language in the Indies and also train other interpreters. They would be supervised by the Dutch Consul, J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, who had just been appointed there.[166] They left for China in January 1856, studying Cantonese and written Chinese for nine months in Canton and two and a half years in Macao, finally studying Hokkien for a year in Amoy together with De Grijs, Schlegel, Francken, and Schaalje.

On 21 April 1860, after more than four years of study, Von Faber and Albrecht, then still in China, were appointed as interpreters in the Indies, without specification of the place of stationing.[167] They were the first Eu-

ropean interpreters of Chinese appointed in the Netherlands Indies. Starting 15 May 1860, Von Faber hired Han Bong Ki(e) 韓蒙杞, a *juren* (graduate of the provincial examinations) and native of Canton, as a teacher to accompany him to the Indies, in order to further his studies and facilitate the training of other interpreters.[168]

After returning to Batavia on 4 July, he requested to be stationed in Batavia or elsewhere, and on 9 August 1860 he was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Pontianak.[169] He was stationed in Montrado.

Since he had studied Cantonese, he was stationed in the Outer Possessions. Unfortunately, it soon became clear that Cantonese was not understood on Borneo, and that Von Faber had studied a dialect that was hardly spoken in the Indies; therefore he applied himself to the study of Hakka. However, he did not reach a level in Hakka such that he could interpret at a court of law or teach it.

In February 1862 he was allowed two months' leave to Pelantoengan because of illness, which was later extended by another month.[170] Pelantoengan was a well-known rehabilitation resort with hot springs in the hills near Semarang. Three months later his leave was, at his request, extended for another three months,[171] to a total of six months.

While Von Faber was still on leave, on 20 August 1862, Governor-General Sloet decided there should be two interpreters in Batavia, and Von Faber was transferred from Montrado to Batavia. He was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Batavia simultaneously and together with G. Schlegel.[172] Schlegel, who had studied for three years in Amoy took care of interpreting while Von Faber, who had only studied there for one year, did mostly translations.

From 27 March 1863 to 5 January 1869, he was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. Together with Schlegel, he made plans and preparations for training interpreters in Batavia. Probably for this purpose, he compiled a word list of the Hakka language as spoken on Borneo and Banka, with a preface, introduction, stories, and dialogues, which he presented to the Batavian Society in October 1866 for publication. Two months later, the Board decided not to publish it because it was said to be lacking in scholarly value, but since it would be very advisable for government officials to learn some Hakka for daily conversation, they suggested sending the manuscript to the Government Press (*Landsdrukkerij*) for printing. In 1871, publication was cancelled because of lack of Chinese type at the Government Press.[173]

On 23 March 1864 Von Faber married Francina Jeanette Andeweg (Batavia, 11 June 1847 – Surabaya, 15 September 1910). They had nine children, one of whom died in infancy.[174]

On 9 August 1864, Han Bong Ki handed in his resignation in order to return to China because of family affairs, which was granted on 24 Sep-

tember 1864. Lo Ling Kaai, who was already living in Batavia, succeeded him as teacher and clerk.[175]

On 11 April 1867, Von Faber was ordered, together with G. Schlegel, to train an interpreter of Chinese in Batavia. From 1871 to 1872 Schlegel trained J.J. Roelofs, and in 1873–5 Von Faber trained J.W. Young.

After Schlegel left the Indies in June 1872, Von Faber was the only European interpreter of Chinese in Batavia for two and a half years. On 18 September 1875, he was granted a gratification of *f* 1,000 for (unspecified) extraordinary services from mid-1872 until the first months of 1875.[176]

On 8 October 1875 he was granted two years of sick leave in Europe.[177]

Two years later, on 26 September 1877, he was again appointed interpreter of Chinese in Batavia. He was also made an extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber, and temporarily acting extraordinary member of the Board of Directors of the Estate Chamber (*Collegie van Boedelmeesters*), until a second interpreter became available in Batavia.[178] He would be discharged when Albrecht was appointed on 15 November.[179]

On 11 June 1890, he was allowed five months of leave to the Netherlands because of twelve years of continuous service.[180] Including leave, he was stationed in Batavia for 28 years.

On 19 November 1890, he was appointed interpreter of Chinese in Surabaya, and extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber (*Wees- en Boedelkamer*).[181]

On 26 August 1896 (effective from 6 September), he was at his request honourably discharged from government service.[182] He had worked as an interpreter for 36 years, including three years of leave, the longest period of any interpreter. A few months after retirement, he was on 28 December 1896 appointed as an independent, unsalaried translator of the Chinese language (*translateur voor de Chineesche taal buiten bezwaar van den lande*) in Surabaya, and he remained in that capacity for twenty years.[183]

In 1898 he offered a Chinese–Dutch dictionary which was being compiled by himself for sale to the government, but this proposal was rejected.[184]

On 7 December 1917, he passed away in Surabaya at 79 years of age.

His son Godfried von Faber (Batavia, 8 November 1867 – Surabaya, 16 February 1927) studied law in Utrecht and wrote a thesis *Het familie-en erfrecht der Chineezen in Nederlandsch-Indië* (1895) (Family law and inheritance law of the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies). He later had a career in the judiciary in the Indies and retired in 1917. Godfried's son Godfried Hariowald (Surabaya, 1 December 1899 – Surabaya, 28 September 1955) became a well-known journalist.

## *Publications*

"Schets van Montrado in 1861" (Sketch of Montrado in 1861), *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 13 (1864), 457-91.

*De munten van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 31 (1864), 156-7 and 216-8. [Some contributions by Von Faber in this work by E. Netscher and J.A. van der Chijs.]

"Ingezonden stukken" [letter to the editor about the Chinese oath dated 17 October 1867], *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 21 October 1867.

"De Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 226, pp. 171-2, 28 October 1867 [reprint of the preceding].

"Ingezonden stukken" [letter to the editor about the Chinese oath dated 30 October 1867], *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 4 November 1867.

"Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 232, pp. 195-6, 9 December 1867 [reprint of the preceding].

"Beschrijving van drie Chineesche kaartspelen" (A description of three Chinese card games), *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 26 (1881), 413-22.

"De Chineesche eed. Open brief aan den WelEdelGestr. heer J.W. Young, tolk voor de chineesche taal te Padang," *Sumatra-courant*, 19 January 1882 [another polemic about the Chinese oath].

"Kee tjoa," [解詛] *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 25 January 1882, also in *Sumatra-courant*, 14 February 1882.

"Trancendentale voorstellingen der Chineezen" (Chinese ideas of the transcendent), *De Indische Gids*, vol. 6 no. 2 (1884), 702-36.

"Herwijnen, bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het middelbaar onderwijs in Ned.-Indië" (Herwijnen, a contribution to the history of secondary education in the Netherlands Indies), *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 30 (1885), 519-57.

## *Translations into Chinese*

"Chinesche vertaling van staatsblad 1871 no. 78," [Batavia: Landsdrukkerij], [1871], 14 p. with the Chinese title: 調理獄犯有法及調停獄犯之工例. Translation of "Reglement van orde en tucht onder de gevangenen in Nederlandsch-Indië en tot voorloopige regeling van hunnen arbeid." (Regulations of order and discipline, and temporary labour arrangement for prisoners in the Netherlands Indies) (in KITLV Collection);

"Chineesche Vertaling van de Zegel Ordonnancie, Stbl 1885 No. 131, en Lijst van Vrijstellingen" (Chinese translation of the Ordinance on Stamps, *Staatsblad* 1885, no. 131, and List of Exemptions) (12 ff.). (BPL 2106 I:11).

"Zegelrecht van wisselbrieven enz. in Nederlandsch-Indië opgemaakt en in Nederland betaalbaar" (*Staatsblad* 1885, no. 132), 2 pp. (Stamp fees of bills of exchange etc. drawn up in the Netherlands Indies and payable in the Netherlands); "Opheffing der vrijstelling van zegelrecht voor de vergunningen aan Vreemde Oosterlingen om op plaatsen waar geen wijken voor hen zijn aangewezen zich neder te zetten en elders zich buiten de aangewezen wijken te vestigen" (*Staatsblad* 1885, no. 136), 1 p. (Abolition of the exemption from stamp fees on permits for Foreign Orientals to settle in places where no districts have been assigned to them and to settle elsewhere outside of the assigned districts) [mentioned in *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 25, p. 50, dd. 3 Maart 1886].

*30. J.J.C. Francken (courtesy J.J.M. Francken, Bloemendaal).*

FRANCKEN, Johannes Jacobus Cornelis

Johannes Jacobus Cornelis Francken (Jan Francken) was born on 1 December 1838 in Leiden, and died on 6 February 1864 in Surabaya.[185] His name was once transcribed in a letter as Hoa-lân-kun 花瀾君 (*Hualanjun*).[186]

His father was Jacobus Johannes Francken (Leiden, 17 June 1810 – Leiden, 27 November 1854), bookseller (*boekverkoper*). His mother was Wilhelmina Adriana Hoogenstraaten (Leiden, 26 January 1814 – after 1864). The family had eight children, one of whom died in infancy. Jan was the eldest child. His younger brother Henri Marie Josephus (Leiden, 11 March 1845 – Interlaken, 23 August 1893) also wished to be trained by Hoffmann to become a Chinese interpreter, but he was not admitted in 1862 because he would only finish the *gymnasium* in 1864, while the other candidate P. Meeter would finish in 1862.[187] Henri studied law in Leiden starting in 1863 and became a barrister (*advocaat en procureur*) at the High Court in Batavia in 1868, and at the *Raad van Justitie* in Surabaya from 1870 on; he retired in June 1893 and passed away soon afterwards.[188] Two of his sisters became nuns. His youngest brother Jacobus (Jacques) Marinus Wilhelmus (Leiden, 11 November 1850 – Bloemendaal, 4 October 1929) also went to the Indies and made a fortune as a planter in East Java.[189]

In July 1855, Francken, who was still a student at a *gymnasium*, started to study Chinese together with Schaalje under Hoffmann. He continued his other education at a school of classical languages, the *Paedagogium* of Dr J.J. de Gelder, and was originally planning to study at Leiden University and then at the Academy in Delft in order to obtain the *radikaal* (qualification) of a civil servant in the Netherlands Indies. In January 1856, he chose to study Chinese exclusively, in order to become a translator in the Netherlands Indies. Hoffmann considered him a very promising and talented student, and thought he should later concentrate his studies on Mandarin.[190] Francken studied for two years in Leiden, during which time he also studied botany with Prof. W.F.R. Suringar.

He entered the colonial service as a trainee for the Chinese language (*kweekeling voor de Chinesche taal*) on 16 June 1857, and left for China together with Schlegel on 27 October of the same year. They arrived in Batavia on 5 February 1858, then on 26 February left for Hong Kong, where they arrived on 12 March. They first stayed a few months in Macao, arriving in Amoy on 1 June 1858. C.F.M. de Grijs had already been studying there since 1857. He had been appointed as acting Vice-Consul, and he took care of his younger fellow students. Francken and Schlegel studied in Amoy for three years. On 12 November 1860 they were ordered to go to Canton, where they arrived the next year, on 17 July 1861. There they studied Cantonese and continued their Hokkien studies. After studying in Canton for almost a year, they left China on 27 June 1862, travelling by way of Singapore and arriving in Batavia on 22 July. Francken and Schlegel studied for four years and three months in China.

In China, Francken began compiling a Chinese–Dutch dictionary, while Schlegel began working on his Chinese–Dutch dictionary. Francken's dictionary was published in 1882.

From April 1862, Francken hired the Chinese teacher Oei Tsoe Khing to accompany him to the Indies.

On 22 September 1862, Francken was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Surabaya.[191] He continued to work on his dictionary. He did not have much to do as official interpreter, but tried to obtain private work, coming into contact with all kinds of Chinese.[192] He worked as an interpreter for one and a half years.

After a short illness, suffering from dysentery, he passed away in Surabaya on 6 February 1864, only 25 years old. His death was deeply regretted. A two-page obituary by W.H. s'Jacob was printed.[193] Since his funeral was on Chinese New Year's Day (8 February), the Chinese came to pray and sacrifice at his grave in Peneleh cemetery two weeks later. Many Chinese attended to show their attachment.[194] Two years later, a Dutch translation of a long Chinese elegy, recited at his grave by his friend Tshoa-dsien-sing, appeared in several newspapers.[195] It contains a short biography and description of his last days.

### *Publications*

"Koop-, Huur- en Hypotheekbepalingen bij de Chinezen," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 20 (1862), 375-93 (October 1862).

"Godsdienst en bijgeloof der Chinezen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, 14 (1864), 38-74 (September 1862).

*Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1882), viii, 774 p., Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (with C.F.M. de Grijs).

## *Manuscript*

"Vertaling van de chinesche 'wet op de erfopvolging'" (with his comments). Report for the *Raad van Justitie* of Surabaya, dated 28 November 1862 (V 24/4/1865 no. 30 inv. 1600).

## *His library*

By decision of Governor-General Sloet of 14 January 1866 (no. 42), 36 books and five manuscripts from his estate were donated to the Batavian Society. On 28 June 1866 the Board of Directors of the Society decided to place the books in the library of the Society.[196]

GRIJS, Carolus Franciscus Martinus de

Carolus (or Karolus, Karel) Franciscus Martinus de Grijs was born in Leiden on 29 December 1832 and died in Haarlem on 26 February 1902.[197] His Chinese name was *Kaishi* 凱士.[198] His father was Henricus Bartholomeus de Grijs (Amsterdam, ca. 1790 – The Hague, 31 October 1887), who ran a haberdashery and drapery shop (*winkelier in garen, band en manufacturen*) on the Botermarkt 24 in Leiden.[199] His mother was Johanna Maria Wilhelmina de Graaff (Leiden, ca. 1795 – Leiden, 19 February 1856).[200] Out of this marriage twelve children were born, four of whom died in infancy. Karel was the ninth child. His elder brother Johannes Henricus (Leiden, 19 February 1822 – at sea near Padang, 7 December 1852) was a medical doctor in the Dutch East Indies Army from 26 May 1851 on.[201] His younger brother Ludovicus Hendricus (Henri) (Leiden, 16 November 1838 – after 1902) was an Infantry Captain in the Dutch East Indies Army.[202]

Probably in 1849, he went to study at the Pharmaceutical School in Utrecht. This school was established in 1845 and offered a four-year program under supervision of Professor G.J. Mulder of Utrecht University.[203] In May 1851, while still studying in Utrecht, [204] De Grijs was drafted for military service in Leiden, and placed in the 5th Infantry Regiment. After passing the final examination in Utrecht, De Grijs was appointed pharmacist of the third class (*Apotheker 3de klasse*) in the Army Medical Corps in the East Indies (*militaire geneeskundige dienst in Oost Indië*) on 2 July 1853. As was usual, he was then assigned for four months to the Colonial Drafting Depot (*Coloniaal Werf Depot*) in Leiden[205] from 1 September 1853 on, where he was to study the collections of animals and minerals in the Museum of Natural History and of tropical plants in the National Herbarium. Inspired by Hoffmann, he had already decided to study Chinese several years before. Hoffmann recognised the importance of a knowledge of Chinese for the study of the natural history of China. De Grijs was given permission to study with Hoffmann as from 1 February 1854,[206] and studied for a year and a half.[207] On 25 June 1855, he left the Netherlands by ship, arriving on 1 November of the same year in Batavia, where he was placed in the Garrison Hospital in Weltevreden (Batavia). The following year he published a short article on Chinese coins in the journal of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, in which he was introduced as "one of the few Dutchmen who are seriously studying Chinese."[208]

Since the Governor-General, Duymaer van Twist, realised it would be difficult for De Grijs to be both a competent pharmacist and sinologist at the same time, and very few youngsters were willing to study Chinese, he suggested to the Minister of Colonies to allow him to continue his studies in China in order to be appointed as a translator, just as Albrecht and Von

Faber.[209] On 26 September 1856, his successor Pahud ordered him to go to China as a student of the Chinese language (*élève in de Chinesche taal*).[210] He arrived in Hong Kong on 4 November 1856, and first stayed with the Consul J. des Amorie van de Hoeven in Macao for a few months. He then decided to go to Amoy (also on the advice of Van der Hoeven), because most Chinese on Java came from that region;[211] he arrived on 6 May 1857.[212] In 1858 Governor-General Pahud decided that he would later be appointed as interpreter on Java.[213] De Grijs stayed in China for seven and a half years, studying the Amoy dialect, and from 1857 to May 1863 he also was acting Vice-Consul for the Netherlands in Amoy (*waarnemend Vice-Consul*).[214] During his stay in Amoy, he took care of the younger Dutch students.

In 1858, through the intermediacy of Mr P. Kup, Netherlands Vice-Consul in Hong Kong, he bought a set of 5,375 Chinese model type from the London Missionary Society. This kind of type had been used before to print the Delegates' Bible in 1854 and 1855. These type were sent to Hoffmann in Leiden and were later used to produce matrices, from which again type were made for printing Hoffmann's Japanese works.[215] This type would be used by Brill until 1964.

On 12 November 1860, Governor-General Pahud approved of his suggestion to translate the *Qing Code* into Dutch.[216] In 1862 he dispatched his draft text of *Het strafwetboek van China* (The Criminal Code of China) from Canton to Batavia, but it was lost in a shipwreck.[217] He later sent a translation of a handbook on forensic medicine which was meant to be published as an appendix to the *Code*; this was published by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1863. In 1865, De Grijs again offered his translation of the *Code* and an article on Chinese inheritance law to the Batavian Society, which decided to publish it,[218] but this was later postponed and De Grijs was urged to try to present it for publication to the Royal Institute for the Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of the Netherlands Indies (KITLV) in The Hague.[219] In the end it was not published, as it was about criminal rather than civil law and therefore not necessary for the Indies; besides, translations in English and French were available. The manuscript translation of the *Code* is still kept among De Grijs' papers in Leiden, together with the article on Chinese inheritance law.[220] On 20 September 1862, he became a corresponding member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, and on 10 February 1865 he became an ordinary member, but by December 1872 he was no longer a member.

In his researches in Chinese botany, De Grijs made several discoveries of new plants that were named after him. Best known is the *Camellia Grijsii* Hance (1879) discovered in 1861. Other plants named after him are *Elaeagnus Grijsii* Hance, *Machilus* (or *Persea*) *Grijsii* Hance, *Echinops Grijsii* Hance, *Pellionia Grijsii*, *Syzygium Grijsii*, *Iris Grijsii* Maxim, etc.

In October and November 1857, Henri Fletcher Hance (London, 1827 – Amoy, 1886), who came to Hong Kong in 1844, visited Amoy and doubtless met De Grijs. From then on, De Grijs collected plants for him in the neighbourhood of Amoy and in the tea-hills of Anxi. Hance later became Vice-Consul in Whampoa (1861–78) and Consul in Amoy (1878–81, 1883 and 1886).[221]

In 1863 and 1864, De Grijs was also secretary and interpreter for the Dutch Consul J. des Amorie van der Hoeven. From 29 July to 6 October 1863, De Grijs accompanied him on a Dutch warship to Tientsin (Tianjin). He negotiated the details of the first Dutch-Chinese Treaty on Trade and Friendship with Chinese officials from 14 to 30 September. On 6 October the treaty was signed, and the next day De Grijs left Tientsin to take the original text to the Netherlands in person. He first went to Peking, planning to travel back via Siberia, but because the winter was nearing he changed his plan and returned by ship. He arrived in Holland on 14 December.[222] In March 1864, he left the Netherlands and brought the letter of ratification that was to be exchanged back to China. For this purpose, De Grijs remained in China as temporary Chinese secretary and interpreter of the Dutch Consul.[223] On 20 October, it became clear that the Chinese did not accept the letter of ratification and wished to exchange the original treaty, as they had said before. The exchange was postponed, and on 22 October, De Grijs was allowed to go to Java. The exchange took place with De Breuk as interpreter in Canton on 26 July 1865.

On 12-14 June 1864, he was made honorary member of the Netherlands Society for the Promotion of Industry (*Nederlandsche Maatschappij ter bevordering van Nijverheid*).[224]

On 26 August 1864, De Grijs engaged the Chinese teacher K'eng [康] to accompany him to the Indies and serve him as a teacher and a clerk.[225]

On 19 November 1864, he returned to Batavia.[226]

On 4 February 1865, he was honourably discharged from military service, and at the same time temporarily appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Semarang.[227] He worked there as an interpreter for twenty years.

In March 1866, he went to Hong Kong for three months to recruit 400 coolies for the Netherlands-Indies Railroad Company.[228]

On 23 September 1866, he became an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber (*Wees- en Boedelkamer*) in Semarang. He also had other functions, such as secretary of the second inspection department of education (from 12 February 1867 on), and in 1871 he became a member of the board of the Semarang Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and Industry (*Samarangsch Genootschap ter bevordering van landbouw en nijverheid*), and captain and secretary of the court martial (*krijgsraad*) of the Semarang militia (*Schutterij*).[229]

On 4 June 1885 he was allowed two years of sick leave in the Netherlands.[230] In all, he worked as an interpreter in the Indies for more than twenty years.

On 22 June 1865, Carolus de Grijs married Agatha Petronella Sijbrandi (Amsterdam, 6 February 1845 – Haarlem, 9 August 1935) in Amsterdam. She was the daughter of Jan Dirks Sijbrandi, bookseller in Amsterdam, who acted as proxy at the wedding (*huwelijk met de handschoen*). Out of this marriage three children were born: Karel (Semarang, 8 November 1867 – Haarlem, 7 November 1885, almost 18 years old, a student of medicine at Leiden University),[231] Agatha (Semarang, 10 January 1868, later married to Johannes Jacobus Verstege, civil servant at the Haarlem Post Office) and Dora (Semarang, 5 June 1869, later married to Willem Frederik Engbert van Bevervoorde, Assistant Resident in Yogyakarta).

He went to live in Haarlem on 16 August 1885, and was discharged as interpreter of Chinese on 26 June 1888.[232]

Stricken with cancer, he passed away on 26 February 1902 at 69 years of age.

## *Publications*

"Munten met Chinesche stempels uit Cheribon," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* 5 (1856), 487-8.

"Over de bereiding en het gebruik der groene Chinesche verfstof 綠糕 of 綠餻, *Lŏ Kaô* (groene koek)," *De Volksvlijt* (1857), 313-9 [dated Amoy 30 May 1857].

*Geregtelijke geneeskunde, uit het Chineesch vertaald*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 30 (3) (Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1863), VI, 118 p.

Wang (In-hoai), *Gerichtliche Medizin der Chinesen.* Nach der holländische Uebersetzung des Herrn C.F.M. de Grys herausgegeben von Dr. H. Breitenstein (Leipzig: Grieben, 1908), vii, 174 p. [German translation of the preceding].

*Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1882), viii, 774 p. [editor of J.J.C. Francken's manuscript].

## *Manuscripts*

Some of his manuscript translations are described in Chapter Three, Studying in China (1856–1867), section on translations by De Grijs. Many of his manuscripts are kept in Leiden University Library and described in *Catalogue* 2005, 40-1, 86-116.

## *Translation into Chinese*

"Chinesche vertaling van Staatsblad 1875, No. 236, Bijlagen litt. A, B, C" (Chinese translation of *Staatsblad* 1875, No. 236 and Appendices litt. A, B, C.). (an ordinance on the tax-farming of opium, alcoholic beverages, gambling etc., with appendices) Printed

translation (7 ff.; 34.5 × 42 cm) (BPL 2106 I: 9; another copy without Appendix C is in BPL 1782:18).

## *Obituaries*

J.J. Verwijnen, "In Memoriam Carolus Franciscus Martinus de Grijs," *Tijdschrift der Nederlandsche Maatschappij ter Bevordering van Nijverheid* 69 (1902), 169-72.
"C.F.M. de Grijs," *De Locomotief*, 8 April 1902.

## *His library*

At least 38 of his Chinese books are kept in the KNAG collection in the East Asian Library in Leiden. Listed in Kuiper, *The KNAG Collection: Introduction and Catalogue*.

*31. W.P. Groeneveldt in the costume of a member of the Council of the Indies (1889–1895) (courtesy R. D. Groeneveldt).*

GROENEVELDT, Willem Pieter

Willem Pieter Groeneveldt was born on 28 May 1841 in Gorinchem (Gorcum) and died on 18 August 1915 in The Hague. His Chinese name was K'u Bík-lîm 瞿墨林 (*Qu Molin*).[233]

His father was Hendrik Groeneveldt (Gorinchem, 23 March 1797 – Gorinchem, 12 November 1855), Postmaster of the Horse Postal Service (*postmeester paardenposterij*).[234] His mother was Bastianette Maria Adriana Constantia Jackson (Enkhuizen, 6 July 1802 – Voorburg, 6 February 1884). Out of this marriage seven children were born, four sons and three daughters; Willem Pieter was the youngest but one. His younger brother Matthijs (born in 1844) died at sea in 1865. His elder brother Hendrik (Gorinchem, 1 March 1838 – Baarn, 9 February 1920) had a career as Indies official, starting as a clerk at the Residency Office in Pontianak (at *f* 150) in 1867, when W.P. Groeneveldt was also stationed there, and ending as Residency Secretary in Bantam in 1889 (at *f* 500).[235]

While attending the *gymnasium* in Leiden, Groeneveldt began studying Chinese with Hoffmann from 1 September 1858, at the same time as J. de Breuk and J.A. Buddingh. He first studied Chinese for one year, and then Japanese. All three students planned to go to Japan to become Japanese interpreters. In 1859 they were joined by the student of Japanese R.J. de Saint Aulaire. When Groeneveldt was only 20 years old, together with his older fellow student R.J. de St. Aulaire he published a handbook on the Chinese cursive script (*see* below). After almost three years of study, on 10 July 1861 he entered the colonial service as 'student in the Chinese and Japanese languages' (*kweekeling voor de Chinesche en Japansche talen*) to be trained as an interpreter of Chinese and Japanese.[236]

Groeneveldt and Buddingh left the Netherlands on 3 October 1861 and arrived in Batavia on 20 January 1862. They believed that they were on their way to Japan, but to their disappointment and under protest they were sent to China instead to become Chinese interpreters.[237] Groeneveldt and Buddingh first went to Macao, then to Amoy where they arrived at the beginning of May 1862; they studied there at least until December 1863. In

*32. W.P. Groeneveldt, portrait by J.Th. Toorop, 1897. Note his* Shiji 史記 *and* Mingshi 明史 *(courtesy R. D. Groeneveldt; Arsip Nasional, Jakarta).*

December 1862, they were charged to study the Hakka dialect.[238] Plans to send the aspirant interpreters to Hong Kong to learn Hakka were postponed several times, as it was thought they could just as well or even better learn Hakka in the Indies. Groeneveldt managed to study in Lilong (Lilang) for three months. This was a missionary outpost in a Hakka-speaking region near present-day Shenzhen. Groeneveldt en Buddingh studied in China for two years.

On 27 June 1864, Groeneveldt engaged the Chinese teacher Tsjoetsjoek-kong, a Hakka, to accompany him to the Indies as a teacher and clerk.[239]

On 20 August 1864, Groeneveldt was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Pontianak.[240] On 8 October 1864, he was officially allowed by Royal Decree to hire a Chinese teacher for five years.[241] The Resident of Pontianak recognised his talents and charged him several times with directing a division (*afdeeling*). Groeneveldt was lauded with the "special satisfaction of the government" after he helped to pacify a conflict among Dayak tribes in Sambas and Sarawak together with the Assistant Resident C. Kater in 1865.[242] Groeneveldt also put in order a great number of Chinese documents on secret societies and wrote a detailed report which he left at the office of the Resident for his successors. Without the help of police or military, he managed to avert a revolt, as he knew the grievances of the Chinese and eliminated them.[243]

On 14 September 1870, he was transferred to Padang[244] to become the successor of his fellow student Buddingh, who had passed away on 16 August 1870. However, with the exception of responding to occasional requests for advice by the Orphans and Estate Chamber, he had very little to do. He probably devoted his time to research.

Two years later, on 28 August 1872, he was made secretary-interpreter for the Minister Resident and Consul General J.H. Ferguson in Shanghai for one year,[245] and on 29 October 1873 it was decided he would stay for another year.[246] Ferguson resided in Shanghai and later in Chefoo, while Groeneveldt was mostly in Shanghai, but he also stayed in Peking for some time.[247] Groeneveldt was the first Dutch sinologist who learned to speak Mandarin well. While working at the Dutch Legation he wrote his main

work *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from Chinese Sources*.

On 25 December 1874 he was appointed again in the Indies, as interpreter of Chinese in Batavia and as extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber.[248] He probably engaged the Chinese *xiucai* (graduate) Tan Siu Eng 陳琇榮 (1833–1906) as his teacher/clerk in Amoy in 1874 and brought him to the Indies; Tan also acted as his assistant after his change of career in 1877.[249]

From August 1875 to February 1876, he was sent to Hong Kong to make arrangements for the emigration of Chinese workers for Atjeh, but this mission was not successful.

In the meantime, Groeneveldt had an impressive scholarly career. On 7 July 1865, he became an ordinary member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. On 9 March 1875 he became a member of the Board of Directors; he was editor of the journal for three years starting 6 May 1878, secretary for three years from 16 October 1877 to 2 March 1880, and conservator of the archaeological collection for twenty years (from 6 April 1875). In 1887 his catalogue of the archaeological collection was published; it is still a standard work. From 6 August 1889 to 5 July 1895, he was President of the Board. After retirement he became an honorary member.[250]

In 1884 he became corresponding member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (and after his return to the Netherlands ordinary member in 1896, and retired member in 1911). He was a member of the Royal Netherlands Geographical society (KNAG) and after returning to the Netherlands became President, but he retired two years later because of ill health.

On 21 August 1878, he married Johanna Carolina Elisabeth van Dijk (Pekalongan, 31 October 1851 – The Hague, 18 May 1931). Out of this marriage three sons and two daughters were born. The first son Willem Groeneveldt (Batavia, 6 March 1881 – The Hague, 29 March 1971) was an East Indies official from 1909 to 1935; the son of the latter, named Willem Pieter after his grandfather, was born in 1919; in 1942 he was a student and artillery sergeant in the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (KNIL); he died in Suwa-Hidachi, Japan in 1943. The second son Mr. Hendrik Groeneveldt (Weltevreden, 3 December 1883 – The Hague, 6 June 1959) was Inspector of Immigration in Batavia, translator for the Netherlands government.[251] The third son Pieter Groeneveldt (Batavia, 27 March 1889 – Voorschoten, 19 October 1982) became a well-known ceramist.

On 7 August 1877, after having been an interpreter for almost thirteen years, two of which were spent in Shanghai and Peking, he became Referendary (*Referendaris*) at the Department of Education, Religious Affairs and Industry (*Departement van Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid*),

and honorary advisor for Chinese affairs (*adviseur honorair voor Chineesche zaken*), but he remained acting Chinese interpreter[252] until Albrecht was appointed on 15 November 1877.

From now on he had an impressive career as a government official that lasted for eighteen years. On 1 April 1881, he became Secretary of the same Department, and on 4 April 1887 Director (with a monthly salary of *f* 2,000); finally, on 19 July 1889 he became a member of the Council of the Indies (*Raad van Indië*).[253] He was made Vice-President of the Council of the Indies on 31 May 1893 (with a salary of *f* 3,000 per month),[254] thereby being second only to the Governor-General.

At his request he was honourably discharged on 5 July 1895, receiving official thanks for his long-lasting and loyal services to the country.[255] After studying and working in the Far East without interruption for almost 34 years (he took no leave to Europe), of which 31 years as a government official, he finally returned to the Netherlands. He received a yearly pension of *f* 12,000.[256]

While a member of the Council of the Indies, Groeneveldt was charged with two major government assignments. In 1888, E.B. Kielstra's article in *De Gids* on the fraudulous practices of Chinese opium farmers had shocked the Netherlands, and it was decided to study and introduce another system. In 1890, Groeneveldt was sent to French Indo-China, together with the interpreter A.A. de Jongh as his secretary and Tan Siu Eng as his Chinese assistant, to study the system of opium monopoly there. He published a detailed report the same year, and the state monopoly (*opiumregie*) was gradually introduced on Madura and Java in the years 1894–1904. His Chinese assistant kept a diary of this mission.[257]

The second assignment was given him in August 1892. He was charged to investigate the economic situation of Foreign Orientals (*vreemde oosterlingen*) on Java and Madura.

Although he was aware of Chinese shortcomings, he sympathised with the Chinese and often protested against the restrictions on their freedom of movement. He wrote a *nota* and travelled through Java discussing it with local government officials. But because of his appointment as Vice-President of the Council of the Indies in May 1893, his assignment was taken over by F. Fokkens, who wrote the final report. In 1909 the system of travel passes and Chinese residential areas was finally abolished.

After his return to the Netherlands in 1895, he acted as advisor and commissioner. He accompanied Li Hongzhang during his visit to the Netherlands in July 1896, acting as Mandarin interpreter of the speech by the Queen. But he devoted most of his time to study. He published vol. 1 of *De Nederlanders in China* (The Dutch in China). Because of ill health he never finished the second part, the manuscript of which is now in the KITLV Collection.

Many expected him to become the new Governor-General, but in 1899 W. Rooseboom was appointed instead of him.[258]

After fifteen years of illness, suffering from partial paralysis but lucid in spirit, he passed away on 18 August 1915 in The Hague.

## *Honours*

1876 Knight in the Order of Franz-Joseph of Austria[259]
Commander in the Royal Order of Cambodia
Commander in the Order of the Dragon of Annam
Knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*) while he was a member of the Council of the Indies.
1895 Knight of the second class with Star in the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia
Orders of Portugal and of China

## *Obituaries and biographies*

[G.P. Rouffaer,] "W.P. Groeneveldt," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 20 Augustus 1915.
"W.P. Groeneveltd.†" (*sic*), *De Sumatra Post*, 2 September 1915 (from *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*).
Jongh, A.A. de, "Willem Pieter Groeneveldt," *Eigen haard*, no. 37, 11 September 1915.
Visser, M.W. de, "Levensbericht" (Obituary) in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, 1916 (also in www.dbnl.org).
"Groeneveldt, Willem Pieter," *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 1 (1917), 819-20.

## *Publications*

*A Manual of Chinese Running-hand Writing, Especially as It is Used in Japan, Compiled from Original Sources* by R.J. de St. Aulaire and W.P. Groeneveldt; Printed for the authors; Sold by G.M. van Gelder (Amsterdam; Printed by J.C. Drabbe, Leyden; 1861), IV, 60 p.
"Dr. Williams' Dictionary" [Review of: S. Wells Williams' *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*], *The China Review*, vol. III, no. 4 (1874), 226-41.
"The Expedition of the Mongols against Java," *The China Review*, vol. IV, no. 4 (1875), 246-54.
"Books Wanted, Exchange" etc.: 島夷志略，安南志略，越史略，交州記, *The China Review* (1877), 145, repeated in 1878 and 1879. [The first three titles were mentioned in Wylie, pp. 47, 33].
*Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from Chinese Sources*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 39 (1) (Batavia: Bruining, 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1880), X, 144 p. Preface dated 1876. Reprinted in 1887 in England, and in 1960 by Bharata [Djakarta] as *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya, Compiled from Chinese Sources*. Indonesian translation by Gatot Triwira and David Kwa (ed.), *Nusantara dalam catatan Tionghoa* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2009).
*De Hindoe-Ruinen by Moeara-Takoes aan de Kampar-rivier* by R.D.M. Verbeek and E.Th. van Delden; with notes by W.P. Groeneveldt, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 41 (4) (Batavia: Bruining, 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1882).

*Catalogus der archeologische verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, door W.P. Groeneveldt; met aanteekeningen omtrent de op verschillende voorwerpen voorkomende inscripties en een voorlopige inventaris der beschreven steen- en door J.L.A. Brandes (Batavia: Albrecht, 1887).

*Rapport over het opium-monopolie in Fransch Indo-China in verband met de vraag in hoever beheer in régie van dat middel voor Nederlandsch-Indië wenschelijk is, uitgebracht in voldoening aan artikel 1 van het Gouvernements-besluit van 21 Januari 1890 no. 1* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1890). On top of title page: Geheim (secret).

*Nota omtrent het onderzoek naar den economischen toestand der vreemde oosterlingen op Java en Madoera, bij het besluit van 9 Augustus 1892 no. 11 opgedragen aan het lid van den raad van Nederlandsch-Indië* [Batavia: Landsdrukkerij], 13 p. (KITLV Collection).

"Het aannemen van duiten bij de opium-regie in Indië," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 27 October 1895.

"De financieele uitkomsten van de opium-regie in Indië," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant,* 2 November 1895. [Comments on these topics by "XX" in "De opiumregie en de duiten kwestie," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 25, part 1 (1896), 169-214].

"Supplementary Jottings to the 'Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from Chinese Sources'," *T'oung Pao* A 7 no. 2 (1896), Leiden: Brill, 113-34.

"Eene reis van eene Nederlandsche vloot in het begin der 17e eeuw," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (1897), 397-410 (lecture held for the general assembly of the KNAG, 5 June 1897).

"De Chineezen-quaestie in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 13 maart 1897. [Summary and review of this article: "De heer W.P. Groeneveldt in de Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant over de 'Chineezenquaestie in Ned.-Indië'," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 19, I (1897), 521-4].

"Advies over de ontworpen 'nieuwe regeling van den privaatrechtelijke toestand der Chineezen'," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 20, II (1898), 389-400 [publication of Groeneveldt's comments written to and at the request of the Minister of Colonies, dated The Hague 24 January 1898].

"De Nederlanders in China: Deel I: De eerste bemoeiingen om den handel in China en de vestiging in de Pescadores (1601–1624)" ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1898), *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI* ; 6e volgr., part. 4, VI, 598 p.

"Nederland en China. Interview met den heer W.P. Groeneveldt," [by Jhr. O. van Beresteyn] in *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22 August 1900.

"Nederland en China," letter to the editor *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5 September 1900; *also* published in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1900), 504-11.

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## *Manuscript*

The second part of *De Nederlanders in China*, [1899–1915], the continuation of: *De Nederlanders in China* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1898), VI, 598 p. The manuscript contains four chapters with appendices: 1) Rule of Martinus Sonck; 2) Rule of G.F. de Wit; 3) Pieter Nuyts in Japan; 4) Rule of Pieter Nuyts. [ca. 500 pp.] (KITLV Collection).

## *Translation into Chinese*

"Verordening op het Bouwen & Slopen in de Residentie Riouw, 31 Maart 1875" (Ordinance on Building and Demolition in the Riau Residence) (7 ff.). Printed Chinese translation (BPL 2106 I:8).

## *His library*

His Western and Chinese books were auctioned at Brill's Bookshop in Leiden respectively in 1920 and 1921. The catalogue for his Western books is entitled *Catalogue des bibliothèques de feu MM. … W.P. Groeneveldt, anc. Directeur du Département de l'Instruction et des Cultes aux Indes Néerl.* …. Vente 3-12 mai 1920, E.J. Brill, Leide. The catalogue for his Chinese books, compiled by A.G. de Bruin, has the title *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Rare and Valuable Collection of Chinese Printed Books Constituting the Libraries of the Late Mr. W.P. Groeneveldt, Author of the Well-known "Notes on the Malay Archipelago"*… auction on Friday, May 27th, 1921, E.J. Brill, Leyden.

Some rare Chinese books were bought by Leiden University Library, and these are now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden. A few other books are in Utrecht University Library. His books can be easily recognised from the hardcover Western-style binding and the neatly written titles on the back. Some of his books can be seen in the background of his portrait by J.Th. Toorop.

*33. J.J.M. de Groot in Berlin (East Asian Library).*

## GROOT, Johannes Jacobus Maria de

Johannes Jacobus (also: Jan Jacob) Maria (also: Marius) de Groot was born on 18 February 1854 in Schiedam near Rotterdam and died on 24 September 1921 in Berlin.[260] His Chinese name was Ko Iên 高延 (*Gao Yan*); on one of his seals his name is Ko Iên Iâ-kok hâng dzī 高延琊崹行二 (*Gao Yan Yaguo hang er*, second son, Jan Jacob de Groot).[261]

His father was Johannes Seraphinus Matthias de Groot (Schiedam, 25 February 1824 – Schiedam, 5 April 1912), wine merchant (*wijnkooper*) and later commission merchant (*commissionair*), and distiller of Dutch gin (*genever*) in Schiedam. His mother was Helena Wilhelmina Elisabeth Beukers (Schiedam, 4 January 1830 – Schiedam, 27 April 1920).[262] Out of this marriage thirteen children were born, four of whom were sons. Two children died in infancy. Jan was the fourth child. Three sisters later became schoolteachers.

As a youngster, Jan de Groot had a strong wish to travel and see the world, but he was rejected twice for the naval officers' school and once for the school for marines officers. In 1872, after finishing the HBS, he began to study at the Indies Institute (*Indische Instelling*) in Delft[263] to become a civil servant in the Netherlands Indies. He did not like the lessons given by most of the teachers, and quit after one year when he heard of the new possibility of studying Chinese in Leiden. He took part in the competitive examination and obtained the highest score of thirteen candidates, but was ranked second to Hoetink, who had better results in languages and arithmetic. In contrast to other sinologists (until 1894), he had himself registered as a student (of Law) in Leiden University on 30 September 1873, since otherwise he could not become a member of the Student Corps (students' fraternity).[264] He then studied Chinese under Schlegel from October 1873 to December 1876, together with B. Hoetink and H.N. Stuart. In 1874 he broke with the Catholic Church. On 28 November 1876, all three entered the colonial service and were ordered to go to Amoy; after about one year of practical training they would be appointed as interpreters for Chinese in the Netherlands Indies.

They left the Netherlands on 11 December 1876 and arrived in Amoy on 2 February 1877. One year later, on 9 February 1878, they left Amoy

and travelled to the East Indies. During his one-year stay in China, De Groot not only studied the languages but also did research on local festivals in Amoy, and undertook long travels in Southern China. He was also Chancellor at the Consulate and Registrar in the Dutch Consular Court.

On 13 April 1878, De Groot was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Cirebon (Cheribon). This became a great disappointment for him, since there was hardly anything for him to do; moreover, the climate was unbearable. He realised this occupation was not suitable for him, and that his real ambition was to do research. He spent most of his time writing his book on the festivals in Amoy.

On 7 January 1880 he was transferred to Western Borneo,[265] but he first went to Sindanglaya (1,084 m, near Mount Gede) for three months to recover his health. From May 1880 to January 1883 he was stationed in Pontianak on Borneo. He often accompanied the Dutch Resident on his travels, applied himself to learn the Hakka dialect and continued to work on his book on Chinese festivals.

On 7 March 1883, he was granted two years of sick leave to the Netherlands.[266] This was the end of De Groot's five-year career as an interpreter, but he officially remained 'interpreter of the Chinese language' until his discharge at his own request in 1892.

After his return to the Netherlands, he settled down in The Hague.

He took part in the sixth international conference of Orientalists held in Leiden in September 1883, and gave a lecture about Buddhist Masses for the Dead.[267]

On 5 December 1884, he received a doctorate in the University of Leipzig for his book *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezen* (Yearly festivals and customs of the Amoy Chinese), which was published in two volumes in 1881 and 1883.

A little earlier, on 18 November 1884, he requested permission to do research in China for two or three years, in order to get a better understanding of the regions of origin of the Chinese in the Indies, which would be useful for the codification of Chinese law in the Indies etc., and on 18 December he added that he could study two more dialects in China (Hoklo and Hakka) in order to train others.[268] On 8 May 1885, after consultation of the Indies government (including Groeneveldt), he was notified by the Minister of Colonies, Sprenger van Eijk, that on return to the Indies he would be ordered to do research on the languages, geography, and ethnography in China in general,[269] which was even more than he had asked for.[270]

He donated the objects collected during his first stay in China to the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden, and he sold the Chinese books bought in Amoy to the University for cost price. Schlegel compiled a supplement of his *Catalogue* for these books in 1886.

De Groot left the Netherlands in December 1885, travelling via France

to Batavia, where he arrived in February 1886. On 14 March he was ordered to go to China for a period of two years to study the languages, geography, and ethnology (*taal- land- en volkenkunde*) of China in general. At the same time he was also charged to study and promote the emigration of Chinese workers to Banka and Sumatra.[271] On 31 March 1886, he left Batavia, travelled first to Mentok and Deli, then via Canton to Amoy where he arrived in June 1886. Two years later, on 30 January 1888, his stay was at his request prolonged for a maximum of another two years.[272] In 1888, he also successfully negotiated for the direct emigration of coolies to Deli, in order to avoid exploitation by Chinese coolie-brokers in the Straits Settlements. He was given the Légion d'Honneur for his scholarly works in 1888.[273] He collected or had made many Chinese objects, paid for by Brill, and finally sold to the Musée Guimet in Lyon. In 1888, Serrurier falsely accused De Groot of having bought Chinese objects on commission and sold them to a French museum, and having received the Légion d'Honneur for this, but De Groot refuted these accusations successfully in a letter to the Government Secretary in Batavia.[274] De Groot travelled extensively in southern China, and before leaving China also visited Shanghai, Tientsin, and Peking.

In January 1890 he accepted an offer to teach Chinese and Malay at the Amsterdam Public School of Commerce, and on 28 January he was allowed two years of unpaid leave as from 14 March 1890.[275] He left China in April 1890 and returned by way of Japan and the USA to the Netherlands. From September 1890 he taught for one year in Amsterdam.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 3 December 1878 to 10 April 1883 and from 2 March 1886 to 1 April 1890, when he became corresponding member.

On 24 October 1891 he was made professor of the geography and ethnography of the Indies Archipelago (*Land- en Volkenkunde van de Indische archipel*) at Leiden University, as successor to G.A. Wilken (1847–91).[276] He gave his inaugural address on 9 December 1891. On 11 February 1892, he was at his request discharged as interpreter of the Chinese language and finally left the East Indies civil service. The Minister of Colonies thanked him for his services and expressed hope of continuing to receive valuable information from him in the future.[277]

In Leiden he taught about 70 students yearly. From 3 January to 15 August 1900 he also gave private tutorials to Queen Wilhelmina.

From 1893 on he gave private tutorials on (written) Chinese to future interpreters at the Dutch Legation in Peking: in 1893–4 W.J. Oudendijk for more than one year, in the first half of 1894 W.J. van Duysberg for more than half a year, and in 1897–9 the candidate-consul G.S.D. Hamel for two years.

He was invited to take up professorships in Berlin and New York in

1902, but declined. For this reason he was made *Commandeur in de orde van Oranje-Nassau* in that year.

After Schlegel passed away on 15 October 1903, De Groot was asked to become his successor in the chair of sinology. He was reluctant to accept, as he would lose so many students and could no longer influence the colonies and their inhabitants through his students. But since in the Netherlands no other suitable candidate could be found and otherwise the chair would be left vacant,[278] he accepted in January 1904, and he was later allowed to continue teaching about the Indies Chinese by his successor A.W. Nieuwenhuis.[279]

His students included M.W. de Visser in 1902–4, and the Candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs J.A.M. Bruineman, H. Mouw, J. Snellen van Vollenhoven, C.G. Riem[280] in 1907–10, and A.D.A. de Kat Angelino and J.Th. Moll (who both followed him to Berlin) in 1911–4. An extraordinary student was the American missionary and sinologist Lewis Hodous, who followed his lectures in 1909-10 (for him given in English).[281] He also trained two interpreters who were destined for the Dutch Legation in Peking: J.J.L. Duyvendak and Th.H.J. de Josselin de Jong in 1910–2. Like Schlegel, De Groot would assert that systematic teaching of grammar was of little use to beginners.[282] While in Berlin he was even said to "despise grammar."[283]

In 1908, 1910 and 1911 he visited the USA for several months each time, giving lectures in New York, Princeton, Harvard and other places.

He remained a bachelor all his life, but lived together with his unmarried sisters in Leiden. He also had two foster sons. In Leiden, from 1891 on he lived at Rembrandtstraat 17, and from 5 March 1897 on in *Villa Kidoel* (Villa South), Zoeterwoudse Singel 48a (later no. 57), a stately house that he designed himself, surrounded by a large garden.[284]

De Groot was opposed to the hazing practices of the Student Corps, and published an anonymous pamphlet against hazing in 1904, which met with a lot of opposition from both students and colleagues. In 1910 he published a second pamphlet under his own name. In 1911 new excesses took place, in which the freshmen had to act in obscene plays, leading to quite a stir in university circles. Since De Groot was not satisfied by the disciplinary measures taken, he wrote a closed letter to the members of Parliament. His plea received support from many professors, except for those of the Faculties of Law and Medicine. This question may have been one of the reasons for De Groot's departure to Berlin.[285]

When he was again invited to accept a professorship in Berlin in 1911, this time on even better conditions, he finally accepted. Reasons for this were long-standing conflicts in Leiden: with the Student Corps on hazing practices and with the university on the appointment of the Iranist Josef Marquart. In January 1912, De Groot left Leiden for Berlin.

He became a professor at the Friedrich Wilhelms Universität in Berlin,

where he gave his inaugural lecture on 4 July 1912. He also became a member of the Royal Academy. As in Leiden, he was an enthusiastic teacher devoted to his students. Some of his students were Franz Kuhn[286] and Erich Haenisch.

The German Emperor appointed him as Royal Secret Government Advisor (*Königliche geheime Regierungsrat*), and De Groot became a fervent supporter of his new fatherland. In 1914, he was one of 93 German academics who signed the Appeal to the Civilised World (*Aufruf an die Kulturwelt*) (4 October 1914), claiming that Germany was not the aggressor in the Great War.[287] By doing so, he estranged himself from his Western colleagues. De Groot was blamed for his blind loyalty, but he was in good company: the appeal was also signed by Max Planck (Nobel prize in physics in 1918), who, however, distanced himself two weeks after signing it.

After the armistice of 1919, he ended a broken man, not because of the atrocities of the war itself, but by the German defeat and its consequences: revolution, forced abdication of the Emperor, and establishment of the Weimar republic.[288]

Although in his youth De Groot deplored his position as interpreter and wished to leave the corps as soon as possible, in later years he preferred to consider himself a simple, humble translator, believing that in this way he could be of the most use to scholarship.[289]

After a life of extremely hard work—he always worked fifteen hours per day, year after year—he passed away on 24 September 1921 in Berlin, 67 years old.

### *Honours*

1888 Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur (France)
1898 (31 August) Knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*)
1902 Commander in the Order of Orange-Nassau (*Commandeur in de Orde van Oranje-Nassau*) (after his refusal to go to Berlin)
1911 (13 June) Honorary degree of Princeton University
1914 (18 January) Kronenorden 2. Klasse
1918 (2 January) Verdienstkreuz für Kriegshilfe

Prix Stanislas Julien (shared prize)
1894 for *Le code du Mahâyâna en Chine*
1898 for *The Religious system of China* [vols. I-III]
1902 for *The Religious system of China*, vol. IV

### *Memberships*

1 May 1887 Corresponding member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW)

1 April 1890 Corresponding member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (*Bataviaasch Genootschap*)
21 April 1892 Member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW)
15 July 1893 Member of the Society for Dutch Literature (*Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*)
1893 Member of the Provincial Utrecht Society (*Provinciaal Utrechts Genootschap*)
1903 (December) Corresponding member of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai
1905 Membre associé etranger de la Société Asiatique de Paris
1908 Corresponding member of the Institut de France
1912 Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences (*Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften*), Berlin

## *Publications*

Only publications that have direct bearing on his work as an interpreter or that are quoted are mentioned here. An extensive bibliography can be found in Zwi Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 115-23.

"Iets over bals bij Chineezen," *Java-bode*, 24 December 1878 (from *Samarangsche Courant*).
"Chinese Oaths in Western Borneo and Java" (Notes and Queries), *The China Review*, X (1881), 212-8.
"Emoy en de Java Chineezen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 17 October 1881.
*Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezen; eene vergelijkende bijdrage tot de kennis van onze Chineesche medeburgers op Java. Met uitgebreide monographieën van godheden die te Emoy worden vereerd*. Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 42 (1882), xiii, 644 p. [published in two parts in 1881 and 1883].
*Eenige aanteekeningen omtrent Chineesche gerechtelijke eeden in de Nederlandsche koloniën: Een poging tot oplossing van de vraag, welke eed aldaar den Chineezen voor de rechtbanken behoort te worden afgenomen* (Batavia: W. Bruining & Co., [July] 1883), 18 p.
"Buddhist masses for the dead," *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leyde*, part 4, section IV (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1885), 1-120.
*Het kongsiwezen van Borneo*. *Eene verhandeling over den grondslag en den aard der Chineesche politieke Vereenigingen in de koloniën, met eene Chineesche geschiedenis van de kongsi Lanfong* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1885), viii, 193 p. [Chinese translation by Yuan Bingling 袁冰凌譯, *Poluozhou Huaren gongsi zhidu* 婆羅洲華人公司制度，中央研究院近代史研究所史料叢刊 (33), 臺北市南港 (1996).]
"Lioe A Sin van Mandohr," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, vol. 34 (1885), 34-42.
*Les Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui (Amoy): étude concernant la religion populaire des chinois.* Traduite de l'hollandais, 2 vols. Annales du Musée Guimet. Tome 11-12. Translation of *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken*.
"Een en ander over de beschouwingen van de heer Perelaer omtrent de Chineezen," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 8, I (1886), 112-24. Reply by Perelaer: *id.*, 124-6.
"De rechtstoestand van den Chineeschen emigrant," *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag*, no. 69, 20 januari 1891.
"De oorzaken der Chineesche emigratie," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 20, no. 1 nieuwe serie (1891), 210-4.
"China's consulaire politiek," *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag*, no. 75, 3 March 1891, and no. 77, 17 March 1891.
"Nogmaals China's consulaire politiek," *De Indische tolk van het nieuws van den dag*, 20 and 26 May, 2 June 1891.
*Over het belang der kennis van China voor onze koloniën, uit een politiek en wetenschappelijk oogpunt*. Inaugural address (Leiden: Brill, 1891), 35 p.

"De lijkbezorging der Emoy-Chineezen," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, dl. 41 (1892), 1-114.
*The Religious System of China, Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect. Manners, Customs and Social Institutions Connected Therewith* (book I, vols. I-III; book II, vols. IV-VI) (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1892–1910).
*Le Code du Mahâyâna en Chine: Son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque.* Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Vol. I, N° 2 (Amsterdam 1893).
"Heeft bezorgdheid voor overgrooten toevloed van Chineezen naar onze koloniën recht van bestaan?" *Verslagen der vergaderingen van het Indisch Genootschap*, 13 maart 1894, pp. 67-91.
"De nieuwe regeling van het privaat-recht der Chineezen in onze koloniën," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 20, I (1898), 133-49. Also in *Indisch weekblad van het recht*, no. 1822, 30 May 1898.
"De Groot in de *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* over de polemiek Corsten–Deen en het tot stand komen der directe Chineesche emigratie naar Deli," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 20, II (1898, 977-8) [concerning an article by De Groot].
"Repliek aan den heer Henri Borel," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 20, II (1898), 987-9. Also in *Indisch weekblad van het recht*, no. 1835, 29 August 1898.
"Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China. A Page in the History of Religions," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, IV, N° 1-2 (Amsterdam 1903-4).
*Groenloopen. Een ernstig woord aan ouders en voogden van aanstaande studenten, door een hoogleeraar* (Amsterdam, 1904).
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Bidder, Hans, "Erinnerungen an J.J.M. de Groot," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 9 (1921–2), 276-81.
Franke, Otto, "Gedächtnisrede des Hrn. Franke auf J.J.M. de Groot," *Sitzungsberichte der preussische Akademi der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse* (Berlin, 1923), pp. CXVIII-CXXVI.
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R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, *The Beaten Track of Science: The Life and Work of J.J.M. de Groot* (2002).

## *His library*

In 1885, De Groot sold 49 books and manuscripts to the Leiden University Library that he had collected during his first stay in China in 1877. These are described in G. Schlegel's *Supplément au Catalogue* of 1886. Most of these books bear his name seal Gao Yan.

His correspondence and scholarly manuscripts are kept as his *Nachlass* in the archives of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin.

He bequeathed his Chinese books to the library of the Sinologisches Seminar of the Royal Academy in Berlin.[290] At the end of the Second World War, this library was heavily damaged. Some of his books later seem to have turned up in Russia.[291]

*34. B. Hoetink, ca. 1910 (91205 KITLV).*

HOETINK, Bernardus

Bernardus Hoetink was born on 27 September 1854 in Deventer and died on 6 December 1927 in The Hague.[292] His Chinese names were Hu-ting 富亭 (*Futing*)[293] and later Huding 胡定 (according to Mandarin pronunciation).[294] His name could also be written Hu-ting 富庭 (*Futing*).[295] In one of his books a seal was found with his complete name 富亭印篾達裕士行一, Hu-ting ìn Bih-tát-dzū-sū hâng it, "seal of Hoetink, the eldest son Bernardus."[296]

His father was Hendrik Richard Hoetink (Deventer, 13 May 1825 – The Hague, 21 November 1907), a baker. His mother was Johanna Stegeman (Deventer, 30 December 1829 – Deventer, 4 September 1898). Out of this marriage four sons and four daughters were born, of whom Bernardus was the third child and eldest son. The eldest daughter Johanna (1851–1902) later married H. Heukels, author of *Flora van Nederland*. The second son Berend Jan (1860–1928) later worked at the Ministry of Finance. The third son Hendrik Richard (1863–1922) worked as a medical doctor at the Deli Company in the East Indies from 1888 to 1902. His son, also named Hendrik Richard (1900–63), later became a well-known lawyer who taught at the University of Law (*Rechtshogeschool*) in Batavia (1929–34), and in 1949 became *Rector-Magnificus* of the University of Amsterdam. His daughter Everardina Wilhelmina (1904–45) became an agricultural law specialist. The fourth son Julius Gerardus (1865–1935) became a notary in Groningen. The other three daughters died in infancy.[297]

From October 1873, after passing the competitive examination with the highest rank, Bernardus Hoetink studied Chinese under Schlegel in Leiden together with J.J.M. de Groot and H.N. Stuart. They learned colloquial Hokkien and written Chinese.

Three years later, on 23 November 1876, he entered the colonial service and was sent to China with his two fellow students. He was to study Chinese in order to be appointed later as interpreter for Chinese in the Netherlands Indies. He studied for one year in Amoy and Zhangzhou. When he finished his studies, he engaged the teacher Jo Hoae Giok 楊懷玉 from Amoy and took him to the Indies.

On 13 April 1878 he was appointed as temporary interpreter (*tijdelijk*

*tolk*) in Makassar.[298] This was a temporary appointment, since Makassar was not an officially prescribed position for an interpreter. After just a year and a half, he was transferred. According to his successor Van der Spek, he had been 'declared dead' since he was said to be practicing the wrong kind of love (*de verkeerde liefhebberij*). Some of the reasons for this serious allegation were that he had good friends in China, he wished to engage a Chinese 'boy,' and he longed to go to China again.[299] When Hoetink left, his teacher Jo Hoae Giok stayed in Makassar.

On 28 November 1879, he was transferred to the East Coast of Sumatra, and became an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber.[300] He was stationed in Medan, a new position for a Chinese interpreter in a region with many Chinese immigrants.

On 5 September 1883 he was to be transferred to Padang, and would be appointed as extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Padang,[301] but one month later, on 4 October 1883, this decision was withdrawn.[302] Instead of him, Van der Spek was now stationed in Padang, coming from Mentok.

In Medan he mostly did notarial and other administrative work.[303] From 8 March 1885 on he was a member of the Residency's Court (*Residentieraad*), and from 1 July 1887 of the *Landraad* in Medan. He was also secretary of the *Immigranten-Asyl*.[304]

In 1888 he was notified that at his request he would be allowed one year of unpaid leave in China in order to facilitate the emigration of Chinese workers to Deli.[305] At that time, J.J.M. de Groot was already trying to achieve the free emigration of workers, and his efforts met with success in 1888, but the Deli Planters now wished to send someone who was well acquainted with the situation in Deli.

After a repeated request by the Deli Planters Committee in April 1889, on 23 May of that year Hoetink was charged to go to Swatow to study the languages, geography, and ethnology (*taal-, land- en volkenkunde*) of Southern China, and at the same time to promote direct emigration.[306] This assignment was similar to De Groot's in 1886, but the emphasis was on the latter task. Hoetink arrived in Swatow on 8 July, where he assisted J.H. Ferguson who was then stationed in Swatow, but who left later that month and went on leave to Holland a few months later. After a year of negotiating with various Mandarins, also on Hainan, he succeeded in arranging free emigration from Hoihow and Pakhoi (Haikou and Beihai).[307]

On 30 September 1889 he was awarded *f* 300 for temporarily acting in other functions in Medan, where, in addition to his own assignment, he had been acting auctioneer (*vendumeester*) and General Tax Collector (*Algemeen ontvanger van 's lands kas*) for two months in 1887 and 1888.[308]

On 7 June 1890, in reply to his request from Swatow, he was allowed two years of leave to the Netherlands by reason of twelve years of uninter-

rupted service.[309] He worked in Medan for ten and a half years, including one year in China. He left for Europe in the end of May.

On 21 July 1892, he was appointed as interpreter and extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chambers in Batavia.[310]

The same year, on 24 August 1892, after the Consul General in Southern China in Amoy, P.S. Hamel, fell seriously ill and had to be repatriated, the Deli Planters Committee requested Governor-General Pijnacker Hordijk to appoint him as Consul General in Southern China.[311] The Minister of Colonies submitted the same request to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but without success.

In May 1893 he passed the Higher Officials Examination in Batavia.[312]

Two years later, on 10 February 1894, he was willing to be temporarily appointed as consul in Jeddah,[313] and later for the new position of Consul-General in Hong Kong, but in both cases F.J. Haver Droeze was appointed instead of him.

The next year, on 27 Juli 1895, he was at his request honourably discharged as interpreter and extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia as from 31 July.[314] The reason for his resignation is not known.[315] Two months later, on 29 September, he was at his request reappointed in both of his original functions.[316]

On 26 August 1896, he was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Batavia as from 1 October.[317]

On the same day, Governor-General Van der Wijck—wishing to reduce the number of Officials for Chinese Affairs—wrote to Minister of Foreign Affairs Röell that Stuart and Hoetink, who had both passed the Higher Officials Examination, might be suitable and available for an appointment as Consul in China or Singapore. On 15 October, Minister of Colonies Bergsma submitted the same proposal to Röell.[318] Three weeks later, on 4 November, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs replied that it did not need anyone at the time.[319] But the next year, on 10 April 1897, the latter Ministry requested information about Stuart and Hoetink, because a new Consul was needed after the establishment of a Consulate in Shanghai. In reply to Minister Bergsma, Governor-General Van der Wijck wrote that he considered Stuart and Hoetink both suitable, in particular Hoetink, who was highly appreciated by his former superiors in Medan and Batavia.

> As an interpreter in Medan and later here [in Batavia], he continuously remained in contact with China and kept himself informed about everything concerning China that was of importance for the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies.[320]

But in his letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bergsma guessed that since E.D. van Walree had just been appointed Vice-Consul in Shanghai, there would be no opportunity for Hoetink, which proved to be correct.[321]

Although this opportunity did not materialise, the next year Hoetink would have an even better chance to go to China.

On 21 December 1897 and 10 February 1898 he wrote two *notas* requesting to be allowed to do research in China, similar to De Groot's request of 1886 and his own of 1889. Now he wished to visit China for two years in order to continue his studies of the languages, geography, and ethnology of China, but also to make a Chinese translation of the Netherlands Indies *Civil Code* and *Commercial Code* as far as applicable to the Chinese, and to prepare an official spelling list of Chinese names.[322] His request was granted on 3 April 1898,[323] and as with the previous missions to China, it was combined with another assignment. On 8 May he was also ordered to promote direct emigration of suitable workers to Deli.[324] Hoetink spent two years in China, mostly in Peking and Tientsin (Tianjin). As a result of this mission there are manuscript translations of the *Civil Code* book 1 and 3 and the *Commercial Code for the Netherlands Indies*, now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden.[325]

On 6 June 1900, he was temporarily stationed at the Justice Department, and made inspection tours on the working conditions in various mines and plantations.[326] On 11 March 1903, he was allowed one year of leave to Europe on grounds of long service, as from 7 April.[327] At this time Hoetink's career as an interpreter of the Chinese language/Official for Chinese Affairs ended after 25 years, nine of which had been spent in other locations (three years in China, three years in the Justice Department, three years on leave).

In 1902 appeared the pamphlet *De millioenen uit Deli*, written by the sollicitor J. van den Brand, criticising the working conditions of coolies on the East Coast of Sumatra. The next year, the public prosecutor Rhemrev from Batavia investigated the local situation and published a report. Because their reports were received with a shock in the Netherlands, it was decided the *Coolie Ordinance* of 1889 should be revised and there should be created a government Labour Inspection Bureau.

On 30 April 1904, Hoetink was charged with the revision of the *Coolie Ordinance*,[328] and on 24 July of the same year he was appointed in the newly created position of temporary Inspector of Labour on the East Coast of Sumatra, at *f* 1,200 monthly.[329] However, the revised version of the *Coolie Ordinance* was never put into effect, but in his report Hoetink refuted most of Van den Brand's criticism.

In 1905, at his initiative a Chinese Postal Service (Tong Sian Giok 同善局) was established in Medan to assist the Chinese living in outlying plantations in sending letters and money to China.[330] Hoetink wrote about this initiative in "Eene Chineesche Remise-Bank." (*De Sumatra Post*, 16 June 1905). The purpose of this was to facilitate correspondence and remittances and thereby also to promote emigration to Deli.

On 23 June 1906, Hoetink was at his request honourably discharged from government service as from 7 July 1906,[331] after a career of 28 years (including three years of leave).

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 12 October 1880 to 1892 [?], and again from 1 May 1894 to 1903 [?], and from 9 May 1904 to 25 June 1906. He became a member of the Board of Directors on 3 July 1894, was Secretary from 5 March 1895 and Curator (*conservator*) from 4 June 1895, both until 5 April 1898.[332]

On 19 December 1906, he settled in The Hague, coming from Medan.[333]

In 1907 he donated many Chinese books to Leiden University; they are now kept in the East Asian Library. His books in Western languages on China and the Indies were later donated to the Athenaeum library in Deventer.[334]

He published several articles on the history of the Chinese officers in the Indies.

From 1920 to 1927 he was secretary of the KITLV in The Hague.

He remained a bachelor all his life.

He passed away on 6 December 1927 in The Hague, 74 years old.

## *Honours*

1901 (19 August) Knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*)

## *Publications*

*Nederlandsch–Chineesche almanak voor de jaren 1861–1920* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1900) [compiler].

*Concept-ordonnantie*: naar aanleiding van de hem gedane opdracht in verband met eene herziening of wijziging van de vigeerende koelie-ordonnantie, is door den tegenwoordigen tijdelijken Inspecteur van den arbeid in de residentie Oostkust van Sumatra, den Heer B. Hoetink, aan de Regeering ingediend het navolgend Ontwerp van eene gewijzigde koelie-ordonnantie voor genoemd gewest [1904], 15 p.

*Concept-koelieordonnantie voor de residentie Oostkust van Sumatra*, *Bijvoegsel van de Deli-Courant*, 4 October 1904 [Medan], 22 p.

*Ontwerp tot herziening der voor de residentie Oostkust van Sumatra geldende koelie-ordonnantie, samengesteld door den tijdelijken inspecteur van den arbeid in dat gewest*, Medan [1904] (part 1, 15 p.; part 2, Toelichting, 37 p.).

*Gewijzigd ontwerp van eene koelie-ordonnantie voor de residentie Oostkust van Sumatra*, Medan, *Deli-Courant*, 1905. 15 p. (12 Jan. 1905 ingediend).

"Eene Chineesche Remise-Bank," *De Sumatra Post*, 16 June 1905.

"So Bing Kong, het eerste hoofd der Chineezen te Batavia (1619–1636)," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, vol. 73 (1917), 344-415.

*Hikajat kapitein Souw Beng Kong*: kapala bangsa Tionghoa jang pertama di Batavia (1619–1636), menoeroet karangannja B. Hoetink, Batavia: Lie Tek Long, 1918, 77 p. (Malay translation of the preceding).

"Ni Hoekong, kapitein der Chineezen te Batavia in 1740," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, vol. 74 (1918), 447-518.
"De weduwe van kapitein Siqua. - Djanda kapitein Siqua," *Chung Hwa Hui Tsa Chih*, vol. 2, no. 1-2 (1918), 16-25, 98-107.
*Verhaal van het vergaan van het jacht De Sperwer en van het wedervaren der schipbreukelingen op het eiland Quelpaert en het vasteland van Korea (1653–1666) met eene beschrijving van dat rijk / door Hendrik Hame* ; edited and with preface and notes by B. Hoetink. Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging; 18, 1920. Original author: Hendrik Hamel (1630–1692).
"Chineesche officieren te Batavia onder de compagnie," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, vol. 28 (1922), 1-136.
"So Bing Kong, het eerste hoofd der Chineezen te Batavia (1619-1636), eene nalezing," *Bijdragen tot de TLV in NI*, vol. 79 (1923), 11-14.
*Ni Hoe Kong: Kapitein Tiong Hoa di Betawie dalem tahon 1740*, oleh B. Hoetink; disalin oleh Liem Koen Hian (Batavia: Handel-Mij. & Drukk. De Pertoendjangan, 1923), 80 p. (Malay translation of the above).

## *Manuscripts*

*Handboek voor het Tsiangtsiu dialect* (ca. 1875, according to catalogue data now in Deventer) (probably a copy of Schlegel's translation of E. Doty's handbook)
*Uitgaande brieven van de ambtenaar voor Chinese zaken ter Sumatra's Oostkust*. Draft letters and two translations of the Official for Chinese Affairs on the East Coast of Sumatra, numbered 1-12, thereafter not numbered, 1880–1886, with two pasted-in Chinese letters. 42 p. (Ms Hoetink H 421a, KITLV).
*Reis naar China in verband met de Deli emigratie*, Swatow, 6 Juni 1898 (typoscript).
*Verslag van eene reis naar Deli en Singapore, in voldoening aan de opdracht bedoeld by het Gouvernementsbesluit van 12 Januari 1901*, Weltevreden, 16 fol. (typoscript).
*Verslag van eene reis naar de Oostkust van Sumatra*, Weltevreden, 1902 (Onderzoek op landen mijnbouwondernemingen naar de naleving van de zgn. koelie ordonnantie) (typoscript).
*Nota voor de resident van de Oostkust van Sumatra naar aanleiding van eene voorgenomen regeling van de verhouding op panglongs* (1904), 6 p. (Handgeschreven nota over vernieuwing van de koelie-ordonnantie en enkele documenten, afkomstig uit het dossier Hoetink).

## *Translations into Chinese*

*Chinese vertalingen van Nederlands–Indische ordonnancies e.d. en originele Chinese stukken*. Copies of 68 Chinese translations of notifications and ordinances of the Netherlands Indies local government of Makassar, the East Coast of Sumatra and Medan, regulations etc. on Chinese officers, opium and slaughter tax-farming, traffic rules, recruitment of coolies etc. and original Chinese texts (letters) (1878–1892), 93 p. (Ms Hoetink H 421b, KITLV Collection).
*Minlü* 民律, manuscript [1900], 11 vols. bound in 6 hard cover vols., no name of translator mentioned, translation of parts of *Burgerlijk Wetboek voor Nederlandsch-Indië* applicable to the Chinese (SINOL. VGK 4891.9.52.2).
*Helan Yandi Hua min shangfa* 荷蘭煙地華民商法, Helan huawusi Huding yi 荷蘭華務司胡定譯, manuscript, [1900], 7 vol. bound in 3 hard covers, translation of *Wetboek van koophandel voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (as far as applicable to the Chinese) (SINOL. VGK 4893.52.1).

## *Manuscript copies*

*Zeli shujuan* 則例書卷, [three characters crossed out:] 辛丑年, 富亭手抄 Chinese translation of a Straits Settlements' law on the tax-farming of opium, alcoholic beverages, copra etc., with penal sanctions (*sanzhoufu* 三州府: Singapore, Malakka, Penang) copied by or for Hoetink, 1881 (SINOL. VGK 4231.14)

*Huaren meisegan tiaoli* 華人美色甘條例. Translation of "Reglement voor het Collegie van Boedelmeesteren te Batavia," *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1828 no. 46. Not translated by Hoetink, but by Chinese, and probably copied by Hoetink's Chinese clerk (SINOL. VGK 4891.9.52.1).

*Shumu* 書目, *Futing shouding* 富亭手訂. Booklet wit a list of 60 titles of Chinese books that Hoetink collected during his studies in China in 1877 (SINOL. VGK 9598.8).

## *Obituary*

"B. Hoetink †," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 8 December 1927.

## *His library*

Some of his Chinese books were donated to Leiden University Library in 1907, some having a sticker "Schenking (Donation) B. Hoetink 1907." Some other Chinese and Western books and manuscripts were donated to the KITLV. The rest of his library (mostly Western books) was donated to the Athenaeum Library in his birthplace Deventer, listed in C.J. Van Slee's catalogue.

*35. J.J. Hoffmann (East Asian Library).*

## HOFFMANN, Johannes Josephus

Johannes Josephus (Philippus) Hoffmann was born on 14 February 1805 in Würzburg, Bavaria and died on 19 January 1878 in Leiden.[335]

His father was Adam Hoffmann from Senfriedsburg, officer of the courts (*Amtsdiener bei allen Gerichten*), and his mother was Margarete Gössmann.[336]

He studied philology, probably mainly Latin and Greek, at the University of Würzburg. He was gifted with an exceptionally beautiful voice, and from 1825 to 1830 he was an actor and singer, and lived the life of an actor.

While travelling through the southern part of the Netherlands, on 17 July 1830, in Antwerpen he by chance met his fellow countryman Philip von Siebold, who also happened to be a native of Würzburg. Von Siebold had just returned from Japan, where he had stayed more than seven years. A few days after this meeting, Hoffmann decided to quit his life as an actor and become Von Siebold's assistant in preparing his magnum opus on Japan, *Nippon: Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern* [etc.], which was published in 1832–51. All this happened before 25 August 1830, the day the riots in Brussels broke out which finally led to Belgian independence from the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Hoffmann arrived in Leiden in October 1830, and began learning Chinese in March 1831, using Abel Rémusat's *Élémens de la Grammaire Chinoise*. His teacher was Ko Tsching Dschang (Ko Tsing-tsang, Guo Chengzhang 郭成章), a Hakka born in Dama township, Dabu county (Guangdong) in 1802[337]. His name was originally spelled in Hakka pronunciation as Kok Sin Tjong; this was later changed by Hoffmann to a Mandarin spelling, although Ko probably did not speak Mandarin. Originally Ko was an printing assistant of W.H. Medhurst and had come from Batavia with Von Siebold, in order to prepare the lithographs for Chinese and Japanese texts. In order to be able to communicate with Ko, Hoffmann had first to learn Malay. After having learnt some Chinese, Hoffmann taught himself Japanese, with Chinese–Japanese dictionaries as his only help. As there were hardly any materials for learning Japanese, he started to work on a Japanese grammar and a Japanese–German dictionary, the general plan of which was finished in 1839.

In November 1835, Ko left the Netherlands and returned to Batavia, where he worked for W.H. Medhurst again, drawing lithographs for his Chinese translations.[338] After Ko had left, it was Hoffmann who painfully and meticulously prepared the Chinese and Japanese texts for *Nippon Archiv*.

Hoffmann published his first article based on translations of Chinese and Japanese texts in 1837, on a botanical subject.

According to Serrurier in his obituary, in 1840 he was made doctor honoris causa at a German university, but this could not be confirmed. Hoffmann sometimes called himself "Dr." and was sometimes addressed by others as "Dr.," but no doctorate is mentioned in obituaries by others or in the archives of the Dutch Royal Academy of Sciences and the Berlin Academy, of both of which Hoffmann was a member.

Since Von Siebold knew no Chinese and little Japanese, it was Hoffmann who wrote a large part of *Nippon Archiv* (in vols. III, IV, V, VII). All the credit, however, went to Von Siebold, which grieved Hoffmann and put an extra strain on his relationschip with the assertive and arrogant Von Siebold.

In 1846, Von Siebold left the Netherlands and returned to his native Germany, and Hoffmann's financial position became insecure. From the 1840s, Hoffmann was in correspondence with Stanislas Julien (1799–1873), professor of Chinese at the Collège de France and conservator of the Chinese books in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, who had a very high opinion of him and gave him many Chinese books. When in 1846 G.Th. Staunton wished to establish a chair for Chinese at King's College in London, Julien recommended Hoffmann. Hoffmann was invited and became torn between his wish to stay in the Netherlands with its rich source materials on Japan and accepting a well-salaried professorship in London. Finally the Minister of Colonies, J.C. Baud, decided on 11 December 1846 to appoint Hoffmann as Japanese translator of the Netherlands-Indies government, stationed in the Netherlands, at a yearly salary of *f* 1,800.

From 13 November 1849 on, Hoffmann taught Chinese to the nine-year old Gustaaf Schlegel, son of the originally German zoologist and ornithologist Herman Schlegel. Gustaaf studied with him until 1857 and was joined by C.F.M. de Grijs in 1854-55.

On 21 March 1855, Hoffmann was appointed titular professor of Japanese and Chinese at Leiden university and the next month his salary was raised to *f* 2,800, the normal salary of a professor in Leiden.[339] He was the first professor of Japanese in the Western world.

Later, Hoffmann was charged by the Minister of Colonies to train interpreters and taught Chinese to J.J.C. Francken in 1855–7 and M. Schaalje in 1855–9, Chinese and Japanese to W.P. Groeneveldt, J.A. Buddingh (both

1858–61) and J. de Breuk (1858–64), Chinese and Japanese to R.J. de Saint Aulaire (1859–61), and Chinese to P. Meeter (1862–5).

Hoffmann was a member of the Board of Directors of the Royal Institute for the Linguistics, Geography, and Ethnology of the Netherlands Indies (KITLV van NI) in 1853–9, 1861–4 and 1869–73. In 1873, he was succeeded by G. Schlegel as teacher of future interpreters.

In 1860 he had the first set of Chinese matrices and type made, necessary for printing his Japanese grammar and dictionary. The original type were delivered by C.F.M de Grijs and were bought from the London Missionary Society in Hong Kong. In 1854 and 1855, type from the same matrices had been used to print the Delegates' Bible by Medhurst and others. In 1861, the first book to be printed in Holland with these type was the Japanese *Shopping Dialogues*, and in 1868, Hoffmann's Japanese grammar followed. In 1875, the type were sold by the Ministry of Colonies to E.J.Brill's publishing house, where they were used until 1964.[340]

After the transfer of responsibility for Japanese affairs from the Ministry of Colonies to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1862, Hoffmann's title of 'Japanese translator of the Netherlands-Indies government' was revoked, but his professorial title was changed to 'professor charged with the training of interpreters for the Chinese and Japanese languages'[341] by Royal Decree as from 1 January 1863.[342]

In 1862 Hoffmann accompanied the Japanese delegation of the *shōgun* in the Netherlands, acting as translator for the Dutch King William III at their audience with him.[343]

Later he helped the Japanese students, especially Nishi Amane 西周 and Tsuda Mamichi 津田真道, who came to Leiden. They were the first Japanese students to study abroad. Originally they had planned to go to the United States, but because of the Civil War they chose to come to the Netherlands. From his direct contacts with the Japanese students, he studied the Japanese spoken language, and learned about Japanese intonation. As a result of this, he published a Japanese transcript of *The Grand Study (Ta Hio or Dai gaku)* [大學] including intonation.

In 1862, Hoffmann had already been charged by the Minister of Colonies with publishing a Japanese–Dutch–English dictionary, but he considered it necessary to publish a Japanese grammar first. In 1868 he finally published his *Japansche spraakleer* (Japanese grammar) and simultaneously an English translation. In 1876 a revised English translation and in 1877 a German translation appeared. In the meantime he continued working on his dictionary.

From the late 1860s it was decided to train future Chinese interpreters in the Indies rather than in Leiden, but only two such students were trained in Batavia by G. Schlegel and M. von Faber: J.J. Roelofs and J.W. Young. After Schlegel returned to the Netherlands on sick leave

in 1872, he began teaching a new group of three students in Leiden in 1873.

During the last ten years of his life, Hoffmann was in bad health, but he still taught a few students Chinese and Japanese: W. Vissering,[344] P. Maclaine Pont,[345] and L. Serrurier.[346]

Hoffmann remained a bachelor all his life. He lived at Hogewoerd 124 from at least 1849 to October 1856; from then on he lived with the family of Dr. C.A.X.G.F. Sicherer, German teacher at the *gymnasium* and lecturer at Leiden University, at Hooglandse Kerkgracht 23.[347]

He was the first to seriously study the Chinese and Japanese books kept in Leiden University Library. In 1845 he published, together with Von Siebold, a Latin catalogue of almost 600 Japanese books, many of which were Japanese prints of Chinese books. In 1836 and 1854 he also prepared Latin and Dutch descriptions of some Chinese books in the library, which are still kept in the library. Many of the older Chinese books in the library have his descriptions on pieces of paper pasted inside. Hoffmann himself also had a large collection of Chinese books comprising more than 100 titles, which was bought by the library after his death. He thus should not only be considered the founder of sinology and japanology in Leiden, but also of the Chinese library in Leiden University.

The printing of his dictionary was begun in 1875, but because of ill health, the editing was to be taken care of by L. Serrurier. Only three volumes appeared of his Japanese–Dutch and Japanese–English dictionaries in 1881–92.

Hoffmann passed away on 19 January 1878.

After his death, from 1887 to 1896 L. Serrurier was lecturer in Ethnology and Japanese, but no professor of Japanese was appointed at Leiden University until W.M. de Visser became professor in 1917.

Hoffmann's manuscripts, including the manuscript of his Japanese–Dutch–German dictionary, are kept in Leiden University Library (BPL 2180 and 2186, Or. 26.313 and 26.971). A description (except the last one) is in *Catalogue* 2005. Other manuscripts are in the Special Collections Department of Utrecht University Library.

Hoffmann became a member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) from the establishment of the Literary Section in 1855, and of the Berliner Akademie in 1874.

### *Honours*

1875 (30 January) Knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*)[348]
1877 Albrecht's Order 1st class, from the King of Saxony

## *Publications*

Hoffmann is best known for his Japanological works. Here only his works concerning China and Chinese studies and major Japanological works are listed. A more complete list of his many books and articles on Japanese subjects may be found in the obituary by H. Kern (*see also Catalogue* 2005, BPL 2186 K, pp. 167-71).

*Bibliotheca Japonica* (dictionaries and texts in Chinese characters, each published in 100 copies; together with Von Siebold and Ko Tsching Dschang): Vol. I, Sin Zoo zi lin gjŏk ben 新增字林玉篇, Novus et auctus literarum ideographicarum thesaurus (1834); Vol. II, Wa Kan won seki sio gen zi ko 和漢音釋書言字考, Thesaurus linguae Japonicae (1835); Vol. III, Tsián dsü wèn 千字文, sive Mille literae ideographicae (1833); Vol. IV, Lui Ho 類合, sive Vocabularium Sinense in Kôraïanen conversum (1838) (Some were later also published in translation in *Nippon*).

*Die Angaben aus Schinesischen und Japanischen Naturgeschichten von dem Illicium religiosum (dem Mang tshao der Schinesen, Sikimi no ki der Japaner) und dem davon verschiedenen Sternanis des Handels* (Leiden: 1837).

*Lui Ho*, eine Schinesiche Wörtersammlung mit Koraischer Uebersetzung und Angabe des Koraisch Schinesischen Dialects, Kritisch bearbeitet und verdeutscht von J. Hoffmann (*Nippon* VII, 1839) (Chinese–Korean wordlist).

Das *Tsiän dsü wen* oder Buch von tausend Wörtern, aus dem Schinesichen met Berücksichtiging der Koraischen und Japanischen Uebersetzung ins Deutsche übertragen von Dr. J. Hoffmann (*Nippon* IV).

*Catalogus librorum et manuscriptorum Japonicorum a Ph. Fr. de Siebold collectorum, annexa enumeratione illorum, qui in museo regio Hagano servantur*, auctore Ph. Fr. de Siebold; libros descripsit J. Hoffmann (Lugduni Batavorum: apud Auctorem, 1845), VI, 35, 16 p. Acc. tabulae lithographicae XVI; fol. Bibliotheca Japonica.

"Mededeelingen uit het gebied der Chinesche en Japansche Taal- en letterkunde, door Dr. J. Hoffmann, te Leiden. Iets over het werk: *Anfangsgründe der Chinesische Grammatik*, von Stephan Endlicher, Wien 1845" (Leiden 12 October 1846). From: *Algemeene Konsten Letterbode*, Nos. 50, 51 (1846), 11 p.

"Observations sur l'ouvrage intitulé *Anfangsgründe der Chinesische Grammatik*, von Stephan Endlicher, Wien 1845. Extrait de la revue *Algemeene Konst- en Letterkunde*, No. 50 et 51, année 1846," 13 p. [French translation of the preceding].

"Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis, verspreiding en kultuur der pioenen in China en Japan, uit oorspronkelijke bronnen." *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot aanmoediging van den Tuinbouw*, 19-37.

"Notes relating to the history, distribution and cultivation of the peony in China and Japan," tr. by Polman Mooy, *Paxton's magazine of botany and register of flowers*, vol. 16 (1849), 85-89 and 109-14 [translation of the preceding].

"Iets over een' Chineschen Almanak voor het jaar 1851," *De Gids* (1852), 3-12 [on D.J. MacGowan's *Bowu tongshu* 博物通書].

"Noms indigènes d'un choix de Plantes du Japon et de la Chine, determinés d'après les échantillons de l'herbier des Pays-Bas, par MM. J.J. Hoffmann et H. Schultes, Paris 1853." *Journal Asiatique*, 1852, no. 10. ("Over Japansche en Chinesche planten-namen, door Dr. J. Hoffmann." Dutch review and abstract by "d. V." (W.H. de Vriese?) of the French edition in *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot aanmoediging van den tuinbouw*, 1853 (2 ff.).) (an enlarged Dutch translation was published in 1864).

"Aanteekeningen omtrent het geneeskrachtig gebruik van de papaver getrokken uit de Chinesche Materia Medica Pèn-ts'aò Kâng Mŏ 本草綱目 van Lì Schî tschîn," Bijlage 1 in: J.C. Baud, "Proeve van eene geschiedenis van den handel en het verbruik van Opium in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 1 (1853), 195-9.

"Het Hemel-Aarde-Verbond, T'iên-Tí-Hoeí, een geheim genootschap in China en onder de Chinezen in Indië," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 1 (1853), 260-90.

"Bijdragen tot de kennis der Geheime Genootschappen van de Chinezen, bepaaldelijk het T'iên-tí-hoeí," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 2 (1854), 292-329.

"Het Chinesche knolgewas Tsch'ú-yú 薯蕷, de NAGA-IMO of YAMANO-IMO van Japan. (Dioscorea Batatas DCNE, Dioscorea Japonica THUNB.), een onlangs aangeprezen surrogaat van den aardappel. Volgens Japansche bronnen toegelicht; door Dr. J. Hoffmann. Medegedeeld door en met een naschrift van W.H. de Vriese," W.H. de Vriese, *Tuinbouw-flora van Nederland en zijne overzeesche bezittingen* (Leyden: Sythoff, 1855–1856), part 1, pp. 289-300.

"De Chinesche feestdagen volgens den Javaanschen almanak voor het jaar DAL 1783 (J.C. 1854/55) toegelicht door D. J. Hoffmann," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 4 (1856), 264-77.

*Proeve eener Japansche spraakkunst*, van J.H. Donker Curtius, toegelicht, verbeterd en met uitgebreide bijvoegselen vermeerderd (Leiden: Sythoff, 1857).

Review of *Catalogus medicamentorum sinensium quae Pekini comparanda et determinanda curavit ALEXANDER TATARINOV, Doctor medicinae, medicus missionis Rossicae Pekinensis spatios annorum 1840–1850*, Petropoli 1856. Mededeeling door J. Hoffmann (4 pp.). From: *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde*, Deel V, p. 68 [1859].

"Mededeeling van J. Hoffmann aangaande de Chinesche matrijzen en drukletters, krachtens magtiging van Z.M. den Koning en op last van Z.E. den minister van Staat, minister van Koloniën J.J. Rochussen vervaardigd onder toezicht van den hoogleeraar, translateur van het Nederlandsch-Indisch gouvernement voor de Japansche en Chinesche talen, Dr. J. Hoffmann." Uitgegeven door de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam, 1860 (16 pp.).

*Catalogus van Chinesche matrijzen en drukletters, krachtens magtiging van Z.M. den Koning en op last van Z.E. den Minister van Staat, Minister van Koloniën J.J. Rochussen vervaardigd onder toezigt van den hoogleeraar, translateur van het Nederlandsch Indisch gouvernement voor de Japansche en Chinese talen Dr. J. Hoffmann* (Leiden 1860).

*Shopping Dialogues in Dutch, English and Japanese. Published by J. Hoffmann. Japanese interpreter to the government of the Dutch-Indies. Winkelgesprekken in het Hollandsch, Engelsch en Japansch, bewerkt en met voorkennis van Z.E. den Minister van Koloniën Jhr. J.P. Cornets de Groot van Kraaijenburg uitgegeven door Dr. J. Hoffmann, translateur van het Nederlandsch Indische gouvernement voor de Japansche taal.* Sold by Martinus Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, and Trübner & Co., London.

"Iets over Chinesche lombardbriefjes," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, Nieuwe Volgreeks, 4e Deel, pp. 145-9.

[J. Hoffmann, ed.,] *The Japanese Treaties, Concluded with the Netherlands, Russia, England, the United States and France in 1858 at Jedo. Fac-simile of the Japanese text. De Japansche traktaten met Nederland, Rusland, Engeland, de Vereenigde Staten en Frankrijk in 1858 te Jedo gesloten. Facsimile van den Japanschen tekst* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1862).

*The Grand Study - De Groote Studie* (*Ta Hio* or *Dai gaku*), Pt. I, The Chinese text with interlinear Japanese version; Pt. II, Reading of the Japanese text [in Roman character] (Leiden: Brill, 1864); preface and title page also in Dutch.

(with H. Schultes) *Inlandsche namen eener reeks van Japansche en Chinesche planten, bestemd naar de op 's Rijks herbarium te Leyden aanwezige exemplaren* (Leyden 1864, second, enlarged edition of the 1852 French original).

"De Japansche traktaten, Manual of Chinese running hand," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, Nieuwe volgreeks, 7de deel (1864), 175-8 [review].

*Japansche spraakleer* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1867).

*A Japanese Grammar* (Leyden: Sythoff, 1867).

*Catalogue d'une collection de livres en langue Japonaise et Chinoise, suivis d'ouvrages de linguistique, d'histoire, de géographie etc. du Japon et de la Chine, provenant de la succession de M.R.-J. de Saint-Aulaire, interprète pour la langue japonaise à Nagasaki; en vente aux prix marqués chez Martinus Nijhoff, à la Haye, Ramstraat, 49. La liste des livres japonais et chinois est dressée par Mr. le Prof. J.-J. Hoffmann.* La Haye, Martinus Nijhoff, 1872; Février 1872. Cat. no. 128 (BPL 2186 J 2).

*A Japanese Grammar*, second edition (Leiden: Brill, 1876).

*Japanische Sprachlehre* (Leiden: Brill, 1877).

*Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek* and *Japanese–English Dictionary* Vols. I, II (the letters A and O) in 1881, Vol. III (the letter B) in 1892, all edited by L. Serrurier (Leiden: Brill).

## *Lithographies and manuscripts* (see also *Catalogue* 2005)

Lithograph copy of the local Edict of toleration of the Christian religion from Shaoxing of 1848, one with a note by J.J. Hoffmann, with Dutch text "Naar het oorspronkelijk op steen get. Leiden, Junij, 1850 J H" (Lithograph after the original, Leiden, June 1850, J Hoffmann) (SINOL. VGK 1982.3.5; Archiefkast 3D; = Or. 27.031).

*Si schi hiën wen* 昔時賢文: *wijze spreuken uit ouden tijd*, lithography of the Chinese text drawn by J.J. Hoffmann [ca. 1855].

"Chinesche spreuken" (Chinese maxims). Dutch and German translation of J.F. Davis, *Hien Wun Shoo* 賢文書, Chinese moral maxims (Macau 1823), manuscript copied by G. Schlegel, with original Chinese and English text, 428 p. (BPL 2044).

Wang Jiaoluan bainian chang hen 王嬌鸞百年長恨 *Wâng Kiâo luan pĕ niên tschang han oder die Blutige Rache einer junger Frau*, Chinesische Erzählung mit einer hochdeutschen Uebersetzung (Leiden, 1857), contains also the German translation by Adolf Böttger (1846) after the English translation by Sloth (Robert Thom, Canton, 1839). The story of Nian'er niang 廿二娘, copied by G. Schlegel (Archiefkast 3B; = Or. 27.030).

## *Obituaries*

Vissering, W., "Dr. J.J. Hoffmann," dated 22 January 1878, *Het Vaderland*, 23 January 1878.

Schlegel, G., "Dr. J.J. Hoffmann," *The Atheneum*, 9 February 1878.

Serrurier, L., "Johannes Josephus Hoffmann," dated Leiden 29 January 1878, *De Nederlandsche Spectator* 1878, 16 February no. 7, pp. 50-52 (BPL 2186 K:20)

H. Kern: "Levensbericht van J.J. Hoffmann." *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 1878.

"In Memoriam," *Almanak van het Leidsch(e) Studenten Corps* 1879 no. 65, pp. 241-6.

P.J. Veth, "Nekrologie," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, no. 4 (1880), 32-4.

Franz Babinger, "Johann Joseph Hoffmann (1805–1878) Ein Würzburger Orientalist," *Archiv des historischen Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg* 1912.9.

## *His library*

His Chinese, Japanese and many Western books on the Far East were bought after his death by Leiden University Library. Lists of his Chinese and Japanese books are in Bibliotheekarchief C 45* (Special Collections, Leiden University Library); a list of books in Western languages bought by the library is in Bibliotheekarchief J 39 (Lijst der nieuwe ingekomen boekwerken 1880–1881) for the period July-September 1880.

*36. A.A. de Jongh, ca. 1880 (courtesy F.R. van der Spek, Noordwolde).*

## JONGH, Arie Arend de

Arie Arend de Jongh was born on 23 November 1856 in Zuidland and died on 4 January 1941 in The Hague. His Chinese name was Yông A-lí (*Yang Yali*) 楊亞理.[349]

His father was Martinus Johannes de Jongh (1819 – Zuidland, 14 February 1899), mayor (*burgemeester*) of Zuidland (near Rotterdam) from 1852 to 1896.[350] His mother was Adriana van Pernis (1828 – Zuidland, 8 October 1897). Out of this marriage eight children were born, two of whom died in infancy. Arie was the second child and eldest son.[351]

After passing the competitive examination as third highest, he began to study Chinese with Schlegel in October 1875, together with A.E. Moll and J. van der Spek. On 18 December 1878, the three students entered the colonial service and were requested to go to China to study Chinese for one year, in order to be appointed as interpreters of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies.[352] On 6 January 1879, they left the Netherlands, and on 28 February they arrived in Amoy, where they studied for nine months. From 25 June to 13 July they made a trip to Northern Formosa. From 1 December 1879 to 25 February 1880, they studied in Zhangzhou for almost three months, and from 4 to 27 March 1880 they travelled via Singapore to Batavia.[353]

On 26 April 1880, A.A. de Jongh was appointed temporary interpreter in Rembang.[354]

On 23 November 1882, he married Alberdina Anna Geertruida Crébas (Wonseradeel, 29 February 1864 – The Hague, 21 June 1931) in Rembang. She was a daughter of Johannes Idskens Crebas (Nieuweschans, 11 March 1832 – Apeldoorn, 1 October 1896), Protestant minister in Rembang, who worked in the Indies from 1873 until 1895. Out of this marriage three children were born, a son Johannes Idskeüs (Hilversum, 28 May 1886 – Driebergen, 19 October 1965), who had a career as engineer in the Indies; a daughter Albertine Anna Gertrude who passed away in early childhood (Mentok, 26 July 1887 – Mentok, 30 April 1889), and a daughter Martine Johanna (Batavia, 22 March 1892).[355] After the death of his first wife, A.A. de Jongh married Anna Maria van de Pol (Alkmaar, 12 June 1873) on 17 November 1933.

On 13 March 1885, he was transferred to Padang, replacing J. van der

Spek who was granted leave on the same day, and he became extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber there.[356]

Two months later, on 26 May 1885, he requested two years of sick leave in the Netherlands. On the next day, the Governor of the West Coast of Sumatra allowed him to leave immediately. On 20 June 1885, Governor-General O. van Rees agreed and also allowed two years of foreign sick leave.[357]

After two years of leave in the Netherlands, on 14 May 1887 he was appointed as interpreter in Mentok.[358]

From 15 March to 12 May 1890, he accompanied the sinologist and member of the Council of the Indies Groeneveldt as his secretary on a mission to French Indo-China to study the system of opium monopoly there.[359] On 26 September 1890, Governor-General C. Pijnacker Hordijk expressed the government's satisfaction with the manner in which he had assisted Groeneveldt on his mission.[360]

On 28 July 1890, he was transferred to Batavia, and also became extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber there, succeeding Von Faber.[361]

In May 1892 he passed the Higher Officials Examination in Batavia.[362] On 21 July 1892, he was (temporarily) put at the disposal of Groeneveldt, who was charged to do an experiment with a government monopoly of opium, for an extra monthly allowance of *f* 250. At the same time he was honourably discharged as extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia.[363]

On 11 August 1893 he was put at the disposal of the Chief Inspector of Opium Affairs, H.F. Hooghwinkel, since Groeneveldt became Vice-President of the Council of the Indies and gave up his involvement with opium affairs.[364]

On 8 August 1895, he was again made extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia.[365]

On 24 September he was accorded the rank and title of Inspector at the Office for Opium Affairs (*dienst der opium aangelegenheden*).[366]

On 29 September 1895, he was honourably discharged as extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia. He was succeeded by Hoetink, who became at the same time interpreter in Batavia. The decision of ten days earlier[367] to assign the Chinese clerk Tan Siu Eng (Tan Sioe Ing) to him for his work in the Orphans Chamber, as long as there was no interpreter for Chinese in Batavia, was cancelled at the same time. [368]

On 26 August 1896, he was appointed Official for Chinese Affairs as from 1 October 1896, but kept his rank and title of Inspector at the Office for Opium Affairs and continued to be temporarily put at the disposal of the Chief Inspector for Opium Affairs.[369]

On 18 February 1898, he was appointed as Inspector at the Govern-

ment Opium Monopoly (*dienst der Opiumregie*), at *f* 800 monthly.[370] He immediately received two raises in salary, resulting in *f* 1,000 per month. In this manner, his career as interpreter of Chinese and Official for Chinese Affairs ended after eighteen years, including two years of leave and four and a half years of actual service in the Office of Opium Affairs. From 1894 to 1904 the Opium monopoly was gradually introduced on Madura and Java, replacing the system of opium tax-farming.

As from 10 April 1898 he was temporarily assigned to be acting Chief of the Opium Monopoly, while the Chief, H.J. Hooghwinkel, went on one year's leave to the Netherlands,[371] but on 30 December of the same year he was honourably discharged.[372]

On 19 February 1899, he was granted one year of leave to Europe in view of long service, as from 8 March 1899.[373]

On 17 March 1900, he was again appointed as Inspector of the Opium Monopoly.[374]

On 28 August 1901, he was again temporarily charged to be acting Chief of the Opium Monopoly as from 3 September 1901, and later that month, on 25 September, he was made Chief Official (*Hoofdambtenaar, Chef van den Dienst*), succeeding his superior Hooghwinkel.[375] Two years later De Jongh's title was changed to General Inspector (*Hoofdinspecteur*).[376]

From 18 May 1904 on, Van de Stadt, Official for Chinese Affairs in Mentok (Banka), was temporarily assigned to De Jongh. He could be charged with office work or to accompany De Jongh on official travels.[377]

On 17 October 1905, at De Jongh's initiative, Thijssen, Official for Chinese Affairs in Surabaya, was assigned to work for him.[378] De Jongh had been charged with investigating the conditions of tin mining on Banka. They went to Banka, had meetings with Dutch officials and did investigations in the field. De Jongh's originally secret report of January 1906 was later printed (*see* his list of publications below). After completion, on 20 January 1906, this assignment was withdrawn. At the same time Governor-General Van Heutsz expressed the Government's gratitude and satisfaction for the manner in which both De Jongh and Thijssen had fulfilled their tasks.[379] Van Heutsz later decided to demand improvements in the living and working conditions of the Chinese labourers.[380]

On 3 July 1906, De Jongh was allowed one year of sick leave to Europe. He would leave his office on 2 August 1906.[381]

Two years later, on 10 November 1908, he was again appointed as Inspector General of the Opium Monopoly, at *f* 1,500 monthly.[382] In the same year he was assigned by the Ministry of Colonies to represent the Netherlands in the International Opium Commission convening in Shanghai on 1 February 1909.[383] The Commission represented thirteen countries; as a result of this meeting, the first International Opium Con-

ference was held in The Hague in 1912; it was followed by two other similar conferences in The Hague in 1913 and 1914.

On 28 July 1910, De Jongh and W.G. van Wettum, Inspector at the Opium Monopoly, a brother of the sinologist B.A.J. van Wettum, were directed to go to the Netherlands for consultations with Minister of Colonies J.H. de Waal Malefijt as from 15 September, and as long as the Minister would deem necessary.[384] This was in preparation for the International Opium Conference in The Hague planned for the next year.

On 7 August 1911, De Jongh was at his request discharged from government service, and Governor-General Idenburg expressed gratitude for his many and loyal services to the Country.[385] On 25 August 1911, he was granted a pension.

He worked on opium affairs for 19 years, of which ten years as Chief of the Opium Monopoly. This total period is inclusive of three years of leave and six years in the capacity of interpreter/Official for Chinese Affairs. In total he worked in the Indies for 31½ years (including five years of leave).

In December 1911 and January 1912, he attended the International Opium Conference in The Hague, representing the Netherlands as "former Inspector General, head of the Opium Monopoly of the Dutch East Indies," together with W.G. van Wettum, who would succeed him on 3 February 1912. This Conference decided in the *Hague International Opium Convention* of 23 January 1912 for the first time upon rules for the production, distribution, import and export of raw and prepared opium and some other drugs, measures against smuggling and the exchange of information and regulations among the various countries.[386]

De Jongh was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 4 November 1890 to 8 January 1896, again from 7 June 1898 until 13 February 1899 [?], and from 23 December 1901 until 15 January 1906. He was a member of the Board of Directors from 28 July 1898 until 13 February 1899, when he went on leave.

From 1902 until 1906, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Netherlands Indies Society for the Protection of Animals (*Nederlandsch-Indische Vereeniging tot bescherming van dieren*, established in 1898).

After his return to the Netherlands, he was mayor of Hoorn from 1913 to 1921.[387] He lived in Hoorn until his death.

On 4 April 1941, he passed away in The Hague, 84 years old.

### *Honours*

1890 Knight in the Order of Cambodia
1906 (10 September) Knight in the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*)

## *Publications*

*Verslag omtrent eenige aangelegenheden betreffende de tinwinning op Banka* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1906), IV, 106 p., Bijgevoegd: Nieuwe modellen der overeenkomst voor Banka.

*Bescheiden betreffende eene herziening van het passenstelsel voor de Vreemde Oosterlingen op Java en Madoera* / [by A.A. de Jongh ... et al.] (Batavia, 1909), VI, 98 p.

*Bescheiden betreffende eene herziening van het wijkenstelsel voor de Vreemde Oosterlingen op Java en Madoera* / [by A.A. de Jongh ... et al.] (Batavia, 1909), 93 p.

"Willem Pieter Groeneveldt," *Eigen haard*, no. 37, 11 September 1915 [obituary].

## *Translation into Chinese*

*Chineesche vertaling van het reglement op de brandweer in de afdeeling stad en voorsteden van Batavia, vastgesteld door den resident van Batavia den 30 Januari 1891*, Chinese title: *Fangjiu huohuan shi zhi tiaogui* 防救火患事之條規 (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1891), [26 pp.], 13 double pp. (in Leiden University Library and KITLV Collection).

## *Manuscript*

*Hollandsch–Chineesch handboekje van het Tsiang-tsiu dialect*, manuscript copy of Schlegel's translation of E. Doty's *Anglo–Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect* (Canton, 1853). Date at the end: 14 October 1877, 347 pp. With some Hakka transcriptions added (SINOL. 15.730.8).

## *His library*

On 15 January 1936, he donated his Chinese books to the Sinological Institute in Leiden. Now 26 of these have been identified, most of which can be recognised by their hard-cover binding and a sticker inside. A list is available.

*37. P. Meeter, ca. 1880 (courtesy Karin Meeter).*

MEETER, Pieter

Pieter Meeter was born on 14 September 1844 in Arum (Friesland), and died on 13 September 1901 in Lausanne.[388] His official name was Pieter Meeter, but his family sometimes called him Pieter Andries(zoon) Meeter.[389] His Chinese name was perhaps Meide 美德.[390]

His father was Andries (Pietersz.) Meeter (Huizum, 28 November 1817 – Gorssel near Zutphen, 31 March 1889), who was principal (*hoofdonderwijzer*) in Arum from 1841 to 1857, director of the reformatory institution for boys (*directeur van het huis tot verbetering en opvoeding van jongens*) in Alkmaar from 1857 to 1874, director of the Nederlandsch Mettray agricultural colony from 1874 to 1885, and director of the Oldenhof psychiatric institution (*inrichting voor zenuwleiders en zwakken*) in Gorssel starting in 1885. He was the author of many schoolbooks, children's books, and articles and books on educational subjects.[391] His mother was Elisabeth Bolman (Leeuwarden, 30 September 1818 – Alkmaar, 19 March 1869). Out of this marriage nine children were born, four of whom died in infancy. The three sons and two daughters who lived into adulthood were Rinske (1843 – after 1907), Pieter (1844–1901), Reinouw (1847–1907), Andries (1851 – before 1904?), and Ybo (1854–1913). All the children later went to the Indies. Rinske and Reinouw followed their husbands; the latter went to Magelang, Java in November 1872. Andries was a florist and later became a tobacco planter.[392] Ybo was a clerk (1881), Administrator at the tin mines on Banka (1882), and later notary in Kota Raja (1897), Makassar (1907), and Medan (1912).[393]

Pieter Meeter was the last of Hoffmann's students. He had been recommended by J.J. de Gelder, director of the Alkmaar *gymnasium*, who praised him as a 'solid Frisian' (*degelijke Fries*),[394] and he began his studies in Leiden on 1 August 1862. Two and a half years later, on 15 March 1865, he entered the colonial service as a student-translator (*élève-translateur*).[395] He went by 'overland mail' to China and studied the Hakka dialect in Macao for two years. He also studied in the interior of Guangdong for a few months, doubtless in the Hakka districts, and travelled to Kia Ying Chow. When in Macao, he studied together with De Breuk for one year. He also did some translation work for the Dutch Consul N. Peter.

As of 13 February 1867, he engaged the Chinese teacher Tsjhin Koei Liem, probably a Hakka, to accompany him to the Indies and serve as a teacher and clerk.[396]

On 28 June 1867 he was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Riau.[397] At that time, M. Schaalje was interpreter in Tanjung Pinang, Riau.

Already one year later, on 6 July 1868, he was granted two years' sick leave to Europe.[398]

On 9 December 1869, he married Josephine Francisca Glasbergen (Amsterdam, 22 January 1844 – Paris, 1898) in Koudekerk aan den Rijn, a village near Leiden, where her family was living.

On 27 March 1870, Pieter Meeter and his wife left the Netherlands for the Indies.[399]

On 14 September 1870 he was appointed interpreter of Chinese in Pontianak, succeeding Groeneveldt.[400] A year later he was allowed a second teacher to help him study the Amoy dialect for one year.[401] Meeter was a member of the Local School Committee.

After four years in Pontianak, on 23 October 1874, he was transferred to Padang, again succeeding Groeneveldt.[402] By 28 December 1874, he had been discharged as a member of the Local School Committee of Pontianak. On 11 January 1875, he and his family left Batavia for Sumatra.[403]

One year later, on 30 March 1876, he was transferred to Surabaya,[404] where he remained for twelve years. As usual, he was also an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber.[405]

On 31 March 1888 he was allowed two years of leave to Europe, because of 15 years of continuous service.[406]

He returned to the Indies and arrived in Batavia on 5 April 1890.[407] On 17 April 1890 he was appointed interpreter in Semarang and extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber.[408] But only a few months later, on 13 September of the same year, he was at his request honourably discharged, and from then on he received a pension.[409] He had worked as an interpreter for 23 years, including four years of leave.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 17 December 1872 until 9 December 1884.

Pieter Meeter was also active as a journalist, contributing regularly to the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* in 1881–4. He was a commissioner of this newspaper, and in 1883–4 acted temporarily for eight months as chief editor. Because of his outspoken opinions on Chinese affairs (concerning tjap-djie-kie, a kind of gambling), he then came into conflict with the Dutch traders; this had serious consequences for the newspaper when many European companies cancelled their subscriptions and stopped advertising.[410]

In Surabaya, he was deputy chief of the fire brigade (*adjunct-brandspuitmeester*), and a member of the local committee of the boys' orphanage.

During his leave and after his retirement, from 1888 to 1894 (except for a short stay in Semarang), the family lived in Leiden, where Pieter Meeter did some work for Schlegel at the University.[411] He left Leiden after "a controversy with persons in the university."[412]

After his retirement, he contributed regularly to the *Java-bode* and other newspapers, for instance with his serial "Indische Chinoiserieën," in which he wrote about the Chinese interpreters and the Chinese in the Indies. This serial was quite popular; in advertisements of the *Java-bode* Meeter was mentioned as the first on their list of contributors.

He and his wife had seven children, one of whom died in infancy. These were: Pieter (Pontianak, 25 – 31 March 1871), Betty (Pontianak, 6 April 1873 – The Hague, 1907), Friso (Padang, 27 December 1875 – Utrecht, 18 October 1916), Marie (Surabaya, 3 December 1878 – Amsterdam, 24 December 1957), Hilda (Surabaya, 4 August 1880 – died in Switzerland), Emma (Surabaya 28 July 1882 – Seattle, 1956), Martha (Surabaya, 18 May 1884 – The Hague, 1968). The only son, Friso, studied at the Agricultural University of Wageningen and later became a planter in the Indies, and the five daughters were also well educated. His wife Josephine Glasbergen became seriously ill in Surabaya and did not recover in Leiden. In 1894 her family took her to a hospital for treatment in Paris, where she passed away in 1898.

In 1894 Pieter Meeter and his daughters moved to Geneva. He remarried in 1899, but passed away on 13 September 1901 in Lausanne, almost 57 years old.

A family history was written by his great-granddaughter Karin Meeter *Meeterverhalen, in drie eeuwen van Leeuwarden naar Rotterdam* ([Kaag] 2009); it includes a chapter about Pieter Meeter (chapter 6, pp. 49-59) containing several photographs of him and his family.

## *Publications*

"De onbedrevenheid van Chinezen bedoeld in art. 7 der ordonnantie van 8 December 1855, staatsblad no. 79," *Indisch Weekblad van het Regt*, no. 733, 16 July 1877.

"De regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw" (The legal position of Chinese women), *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 32 (1879), 345-73.

"Advies van een deskundige in zake boekhouding en faillissementen van Chineezen" (Advice from an expert concerning bookkeeping and bankruptcy of the Chinese), *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 parts: 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31 December 1881. Published as a booklet by *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, offered to new subscribers for 1882 (KITLV Collection).

"Mr. J.W.T. Cohen Stuart over den regtstoestand der Chinesche vrouw," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 28 and 30 October 1882. Also published in: *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. 39 (1882), 316-25. Fully quoted by J.W.T. Cohen Stuart in "De rechtstoestand der Chineesche vrouw," *Recht en Wet: rechtsgeleerd maandschrift*, no. 6 (1883), 297-307.

"Mr. J.W.F. Cohen Stuart over den rechtstoestand der Chineesche vrouw," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 2 and 4 May 1883.

"Het middelbaar onderwijs voor Chineezen in Indië," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 5 and 6 June 1883.
"Een kijkje in de Chineesche ambtenaarswereld," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 14 June 1883.
"De vos die de passie preekt, of …?" *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 2 October 1883.
"Eene zaak van den dag. Het tjap-dji-ki rekest. Antwoord aan de HH. handelaren te Soerabaia," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 6 October 1883.
"Het tjap-dji-ki rekest. Antwoord aan Dr Schagen van Soelen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 October 1883.
"De speelpacht kwestie," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 19, 27 October, 11 November 1883.
"Nog meer hulptroepen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 14 November 1883.
"Naar aanleiding van het ongeteekend artikel tegen P.M. in de Soerabaia Courant van gisteren," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 16 November 1883.
"De Chineesche boekhouding in de Tweede Kamer," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 5 January 1884.
"Eene idée fixe," (about bankruptcy) *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 8 parts: 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15 and 16 February 1884, and "Repliek," 20 February 1884.
"Aan den lezer," (the end of his editorship), *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 21 February 1884.
"De begrooting voor Ned.-Indië en de vreemde oosterlingen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 7, 8 July 1884.
"Aangeboden," (correspondence about the costs of advice on Chinese inheritance law), *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 9 August 1884.
"Ingezonden stukken," Letter to the editor in defense of J. van der Spek, *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 19 January 1885.
"Europeaan of Chinees?" *Java-bode*, 8 March 1889 (About Oei Jan Lee. Reaction by "X." in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 9 March 1889, announcing new legislation).
"De Chineezen in Indië," by P.M., *Java-bode*, 20 March 1889.
"Europeesche rechters en Chineesch erf- en versterfrecht," *Java-bode*, 7 August 1889.
"Opiumverpachtingen en Chineesche officieren," *Java-bode*, 21 August 1889. Also in *De Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van den dag*, nos. 2-3, 8 and 15 October 1889.
"Chineesche Officieren nuttig of schadelijk?," *Java-bode*, 18 September 1889.
"De Burgerlijke Stand van Chineezen in N.I.," *Java-bode*, 2 October 1889.
"De meerderjarigheid van Chineezen," *Java-bode*, 23 October 1889.
"De ouderliefde bij de Chineezen," *Java-bode*, 19 February 1891. (From now on signed "P.M.")
"De adoptie bij de Chineezen in China," *Java-bode*, 17 March 1891.
"De adoptie voor de Chineezen in N.I.," *Java-bode*, 16 April 1891.
"Testamenten van Chineezen in N.I.," *Java-bode*, 27 May 1891 (followed by an open letter to P.M. by 'a notary' in *Weekblad van het Recht* no. 1462, 6 July 1891, reprinted in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 9 July 1891).
"De vrijheid van testeeren bij de Chineezen," *Java-bode*, 24 June 1891 ("Ingezonden stukken," reaction on this article by "A" in "B", 30 June 1891).
"Testamenten van Chineezen in N.I.," reply by 'an interpreter' (this must be P. Meeter)[413] to 'a notary' in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 28 July 1891 (followed by a second open letter by 'a notary' in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 6 August 1891).
"De Chineesche wetten betreffende het huwelijk," *Java-bode*, 29, 30 July, 4 August 1891.
"De Tweede Kamer over de Chineezen," *Java-bode*, 28 January 1892.
"De heer A.C. Wertheim in de Eerste Kamer over de handelsboekhoudingen der Chineezen," *De Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van den dag*, 26 January 1892, 2 February 1892 (also in *Java-bode* 23 and 24 February 1892) (Wertheim's reaction "Chineesche tolken" in *De Indische Tolk*, 9 February 1892, also in *Java-bode*, 14 March 1892).
"De heer A.C. Wertheim contra de tolken voor de Chineesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië," *De Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van den dag*, 9 February 1892. Also published in *Java-bode*, 17 March 1892.
"Ingezonden" (Letter to the editor) with J. van der Spek, *Leidsch Dagblad* (and other newspapers), 29 March (a debate followed between Schlegel and Meeter on 30 and 31 March, and 1 April 1892 in the *Leidsch Dagblad*).
"Misbruiken bij faillissementen van Vreemde Oosterlingen," *Java-bode*, 8 parts: 1, 2 (II),

7 (II), 8 (II), 16 (III, IV), 28 (V) June, 12 (VI), 13 (VI) July 1892 (reactions by F. de Hartog in *Java-bode*, 26 July, 2 November, also 12 March 1892).
"Chineezen op boedelvendutiën van Europeesche ambtenaren in N.-Indië," *Java-bode*, 15 September 1893.
"Een Chineesch lesje in wellevendheid," *Java-bode*, 25 and 26 October 1894.
"Wees- en Boedelkamerherinneringen," *Java-bode*, 5 parts: 20 November 1894, 8 January, 5 February, 19 March, 4 April 1895.
"Twee professoren over China en Japan," *Java-bode*, 25 and 26 April 1895.
"Indische Chinoiserieën," *Java-bode*, 42 parts: 1, 8, 15, 23, 30 December 1896; 12, 26 January; 9, 12, 19, 26 February; 2, 9 April; 6, 19 October; 1 November; 3 December 1897; 3, 4 January; 15, 25 February; 14 March; 5, 10 May; 10, 16 June; 4, 26 July; 12, 15 August; 22, 30 September; 1 November; 8, 20, 30 December 1898; 25, 27 January; 13 February; 2, 15, 22 March 1899. (In 2013, the *Java-bode* was digitised until 1897).
"De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken," *Java-bode*, 5 parts: 4, 12, 18, 19, and 26 March 1897.

*38. A.E. Moll, ca. 1880 (courtesy F.R. van der Spek, Noordwolde).*

MOLL, Alexander Eliza

Alexander Eliza (Elisa) Moll was born on 17 August 1857 in Zutphen, and died on 21 March 1905 in Semarang, 47 years old. His Chinese name was Bú P'ik 武珀 (*Wu Po*).[414] Perhaps he had the common Dutch nickname Pik.

His father was Barend Johannes Moll (Zutphen, 2 September 1820 – Zutphen, 10 July 1889), shopkeeper (*winkelier*). His mother was Anna Elisabeth Staal (Zwolle, 24 March 1824 – The Hague, 18 May 1899). The family later lived in Assen. Out of this marriage three sons and two daughters were born; the latter two died in infancy. Alexander Eliza was the middle son. His younger brother Henri Coert (Zutphen, 18 April 1859 – Deventer, 5 January 1943) was an infantry officer in the Netherlands Army, who went to the Indies, became First Lieutenant in 1886 and fought in the Atjeh War in 1888–90. He finally became a Major and commander in Ambarawa (near Semarang). In 1904 he retired because of a health problem and returned to the Netherlands.[415]

Alexander went to school at the HBS in Assen and Groningen, where he passed the final examination.

In October 1875, after passing the competitive examination as second in rank, Moll began studying Chinese under Schlegel, together with A.A. de Jongh and J. van der Spek. They were taught colloquial Hokkien and written Chinese for three years.

On 18 December 1878, the three students entered the colonial service and were ordered to go to China to study Chinese for one year, in order to be appointed as interpreters of Chinese in the Netherlands Indies.[416] On 6 January 1879 they left the Netherlands, and on 28 February they arrived in Amoy, where they studied for nine months. From 25 June to 13 July they took a trip to Northern Formosa. From 1 December 1879 to 25 February 1880, they studied in Zhangzhou (Tsiangtsiu) for almost three months. They studied in China for one year. From 4 to 27 March 1880 they travelled via Singapore to Batavia.[417]

On 26 April 1880, A.E. Moll was appointed temporary interpreter (*tijdelijk tolk*) of Chinese in Cirebon.[418] He also became extraordinay substitute clerk (*buitengewoon substituut griffier*) at the *Landraad* on 17 January 1881.[419]

In December 1881 he started publishing anonymous articles revealing the complicated relations between the new Resident J. Faes and a Chinese opium tax-farmer. This led to an enormous row between those who supported Faes and those who did not. In the end many officials, including Moll, were discharged, and Faes was pensioned in 1883.

On 29 November 1882 he married Maria Cornelia Yda Snethlage (Batavia, 5 October 1862 – Surabaya, 15 June 1889) in Buitenzorg (Bogor). No children were born of this marriage.[420]

A few weeks before his marriage, on 1 November 1882, Governor-General F. s'Jacob expressed "the government's serious dissatisfaction with him because … he had written articles in daily newspapers against the regional government of Cirebon." At the same time he was transferred to Western Borneo, in order to be stationed in Montrado or Singkawang, [421] some of the least popular places in the Outer Possessions. Half a year later, on 24 May 1883, he was transferred from Singkawang to Pontianak, replacing De Groot who had a few months before left on sick leave to the Netherlands.[422]

On 3 March 1887 he was transferred to Batavia. This was because at the moment when an interpreter was urgently needed in Western Borneo, Moll had been absent. A 'missionary' (*zendeling*) of a secret society from Singapore had been apprehended on Borneo and the matter should have been investigated with the help of a European interpreter. At the time Moll happened to be in Batavia to act as witness in a law case; moreover he had requested two months' leave within the country, and he had already auctioned his belongings in Pontianak. Subsequently, Young was transferred from Batavia to Western Borneo to take his place. [423]

One year later, on 21 April 1888, Moll was transferred to Surabaya and appointed an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber, succeeding Meeter.[424]

On 15 June 1889, Moll's wife met with a tragic death: she died after having been poisened at home, together with three guests. Moll survived by drinking lots of castor oil.[425] Afterwards he asked for sick leave to Batavia and later to Sukabumi, and on 29 August 1889, he was at his request transferred to Medan; he was also honourably discharged as extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Surabaya.[426] He probably never went to Medan, since on 6 October he requested from Bogor two years of sick leave to Europe; this was granted on 9 October.[427]

He remarried in The Hague in 1892, to Elisabeth Petronella Windt, born 8 August 1873 in The Hague. Out of this marriage were born one son (Carel Alexander, Mentok, 5 October 1893, later *controleur* in Palembang) and two daughters (Annie Elisabeth, Padang, 7 May 1895; Gerardina, Medan, 17 October 1898).

After three years of leave, on 29 October 1892, Moll was appointed interpreter in Mentok (Banka).[428]

On 24 October 1894 he was transferred to Padang (Western Sumatra).[429]

On 26 August 1896 he was appointed as Official for Chinese affairs in Medan as from 1 October of that year.[430] Probably during the time when he was stationed in Medan he investigated the Chinese troubles in Bagan Si Api-api on the East Coast of Sumatra.[431]

On 17 October 1898 he was transferred to Semarang, succeeding Young who had passed away.[432]

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 14 September 1880 to 6 July 1886, and again as from 3 January 1888, probably until he went on sick leave. On 1 November 1892, he was again put on the list of members. In 1888 he helped to catalogue and order the Chinese coins acquired after 1885.[433]

On 21 March 1905 he passed away in Semarang, 47 years old. He had worked as an interpreter and official for Chinese affairs for 25 years, including three years of leave.

### *Publications*

"De zaak van den opiumpachter te Cheribon," *Het Indisch Vaderland*, 12 December 1881.
"Errata," [Schlegel,] *Nederlandsch–Chineesch woordenboek met de transcriptie der Chineesche karakters in het Tsiang-tsiu dialekt, Aanhangsel* (Appendix) [1891], 41-61 [this Appendix also contains some additional vocabulary by him].

ROELOFS, Johannes Jacobus

Johannes Jacobus Roelofs was born on 5 December 1851 in The Hague, and died on 25 May 1885 in Doetinchem, near Arnhem.[434] His father was Hendrik Jan Roelofs (Terschelling, 1823 – Batavia, 1 January 1888), bookkeeper (*boekhouder*). His mother Petronella de Weijer operated a kindergarten (*bewaarschoolhouder*) and later worked as a midwife (*accoucheuse*).[435] The family first lived in The Hague, where eight children were born, four of whom died in infancy. In the summer of 1862 they moved to Batavia,[436] where Hendrik Jan Roelofs opened a shop (*toko*), and in 1867 he became shipping agent of the Java Bank (*expediteur van de Javasche Bank*).[437] Johannes Jacobus was the eldest son.[438] His brother Johannes Gerardus Roelofs (The Hague, 11 January 1854 – Geneva, 20 March 1892) also became an East Indies official.[439] His youngest brother was Hendrik Jan Roelofs Jr. (The Hague, ca. 1860 – 26 October 1891).[440] All three sons died relatively young.

After J.J. Roelofs had failed the Higher Officials Examination, he was the first candidate to pass the competitive interpreters' examination in 1871. He studied Hokkien and written Chinese with Schlegel in Batavia, officially being a student-interpreter (*élève tolk*) as of 20 April 1871.[441] After Schlegel was granted sick leave on 8 June 1872, there appeared an opportunity for Roelofs to go to China.[442] In September 1872, he was allowed to accompany Groeneveldt, who was assigned to the Dutch Consulate General for one year.[443] Roelofs was granted a maximum of two years' study leave in China. They left Batavia on 21 October 1872 and proceeded to Shanghai. Roelofs later studied in Amoy, but he stayed in China for two and a half years.

On 17 June 1875, he was appointed interpreter of Chinese in Pontianak. At the same time, he was notified of the serious dissatisfaction of the government because he had exceeded his two-year study leave by several months.[444]

One year later, on 22 May 1876, he was transferred to Padang and appointed an extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber.[445] He was a member of the militia in Padang.

On 3 October 1879 he was transferred to Batavia, succeeding Albrecht when the latter was made President of the Orphans Chamber. Roelofs was also made extraordinary member of the Estate Chamber (*Collegie van Boedelmeesteren*).[446] From some time on until 1883, he engaged the Chinese literator Tan Kaij Thee (Kah Tee) 陳開堤 (1862–85) as his clerk.[447] Tan Kaij Thee was the son of Tan Siu Eng, who was successively the teacher and clerk of four interpreters: Groeneveldt, De Jongh, Hoetink, and Stuart. Tan Siu Eng had probably been engaged by Groeneveldt in Amoy, and was brought to the Indies in 1874.[448]

On 7 October 1880, Roelofs became second lieutenant in the militia (*schutterij*).

In 1882 he sent three letters to the editor of the *Java-bode* (*see* below).

On 29 June 1883 he was granted two years of sick leave in Europe.[449] He worked as an interpreter for eight years.

From 6 May 1877 to 10 April 1883, he was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.

He was married to Aethina (Minerva) Saduca (Smirna, 6 October 1863), probably during his leave period.[450]

He passed away on 25 May 1885, at only 33 years of age, just three days after he had officially registered as a resident of Doetinchem. He probably went to Doetinchem because his sister-in-law, the wife of Johannes Gerardus Roelofs, married in 1881, was from Doetinchem.[451]

### *Publications*

"Ingezonden stukken," *Sumatra-Courant*, 14 October 1876 (complaint about "furious driving" by natives); *Java-bode*, 19 October 1882 (about the difficulty of translating the *abracadabra* of a government decision); 4 November 1882 (about Francken and De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch dictionary and Schlegel's Dutch–Chinese dictionary); 23 November 1882 (supporting Moll in Cirebon, arguing that the interpreters were better educated than the Residents, since some of them had reached high positions; for this argument Roelofs was ridiculed the next day in the same newspaper).

SCHAALJE, Maurits

Maurits Schaalje was born in Maastricht on 31 October 1840, and died in Amsterdam on 2 November 1899.[452] His Chinese name was Shalie 沙烈.[453]

His father was Maurits Schaalje (Amsterdam, 27 July 1806 – Leiden, 11 October 1894), tax collector (*ontvanger der directe belastingen*) in Zoeterwoude (in the 1850s), a village near Leiden. His mother was Wilhelmina Frederika (Wilhelmine Frederike) Steup, who passed away in Montfoort after a long illness on 2 January 1844. Maurits had one older sister, Philippine Georgette (Valkenburg, 23 September 1839 – Abcoude-Baambrugge, 2 April 1916).[454] On 2 March 1849, his father married Hendrika van Langeveld (Rotterdam, 20 April 1801). This marriage was dissolved on 24 July 1860.[455]

In July 1855, the fourteen-year old Maurits Schaalje, who was still attending secondary school, started studying Chinese under Hoffmann, together with Francken. He then received private lessons in the English language, and attended classes in a school of mathematics in Leiden (*Genootschap Mathesis Scientiarum Genitrix*). His basic education was typically that of the commercial class.[456]

On 12 February 1856 the Minister of Colonies decided that Schaalje and Francken would be sent to the Netherlands Indies and China for further training, as soon as Hoffmann considered them ready to go.[457]

The next year, on 30 January 1857, Hoffmann reported to the Minister that Francken and Schlegel were now ready to go to China for further studies, but not Schaalje. Hoffmann still found Schaalje deficient in general preparatory education; he would be kept in Leiden for another year. He had to learn Latin in order to get a better understanding of etymology and language in general.[458]

A year and a half later, on 24 February 1859, Schaalje entered the colonial service. He left the Netherlands in April 1859 and travelled directly to Hong Kong. Then he continued to Amoy, where he arrived some time before 12 July 1859,[459] and studied Hokkien. A year later, the Governor-General ordered him, at the same time as Schlegel and Francken, to go to Canton to study Cantonese. In that way, he could later also be stationed in the Outer Possessions. From May[460] to December 1862, he studied Cantonese in Canton for half a year. In November 1862, after Schlegel and Francken arrived in the Indies and Governor-General Sloet realised that Cantonese was not spoken in the Indies, Schaalje was ordered to proceed to Ka-ying-tsiu (Kia Ying Chow) to study Hakka.[461] However, since it was too dangerous to travel in the interior, he returned to Amoy and studied Hakka starting in January 1863, with a Hakka teacher.[462] While in China, he compiled an (Amoy) Chinese–Dutch dictionary and made or copied lists of Cantonese and Hakka words and phrases; these have survived.

As of 15 June 1864, he engaged the Chinese teacher Tsioe Tot Koan to accompany him to the Indies and serve him as a teacher and a clerk.[463]

On 16 August 1864, he was appointed interpreter of Chinese in Tanjung Pinang, Riau.[464] A few days later, his fellow students Groeneveldt and Buddingh were appointed elsewhere in the Outer Possessions.

On 12 December 1865, he married Henriëtte Elisabeth van Angelbeek (Riau, 19 April 1847 – Batavia, 3 December 1911).[465] She was of Eurasian descent.[466] Out of this marriage three sons and one daughter were born: Maurits Johan Eduard (Riau, 24 September 1866), Henri Wilhelm Frederik (Riau, 1 November 1867), Otto Wilhelm Frederik (Riau, 30 March 1869) and Henriëtte Elisabeth Emma (Riau, 15 September 1876). All were still living in 1899, the year in which Maurits Schaalje passed away. The eldest two sons had careers in the Indies, where Maurits Johan Eduard worked as a notary until 1906, and Henri Wilhelm Frederik lived at least until 1900.[467] His grandson Maurits Henri Pieter (1902–43) died in the Japanese POW camp at Kanchanaburi (Thailand).[468]

In Riau, Schaalje also had other functions. He was an extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber, and member of the Management Comittee of Cemeteries for Europeans and persons of the same legal status (*gelijkgestelden*). In 1867, he was a regular member of the fire brigade (*algemeen brandspuitmeester*) under chief (*brandspuitmeester*) J.E. van Angelbeek, his father-in-law, and he became chief himself in 1869. In 1871 he became a member of the local school board. He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 7 July 1865 until 19 November 1872.

On 16 October 1872, he was granted two years of sick leave in the Netherlands.[469] His leave was twice lenghtened by the Minister of Colonies by six months.[470]

Three years later, on 10 November 1875, he was appointed again as interpreter of Chinese in Riau.[471]

Schlegel reported in 1877 that Schaalje had managed to quell a revolt without the help of police or military, because he knew the grievances of the Chinese and could alleviate them.[472] In that year he also wrote a long report about the Chinese secret societies on Riau.

On 27 April 1888, he was granted two years of leave in Europe because of twelve years of continuous service in those districts.[473] Including leave, he served for 26 years in Riau. He went to live in Haarlem and The Hague.

On 30 May 1890, he was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Medan (East Coast of Sumatra).[474] He also was secretary of the Immigrants' Home (*Immigranten-Asyl*) in Medan.

In July 1893 he obtained three months of sick leave to Garut (Java), which was later lengthened by another month.[475]

On 26 August 1896 he was honourably discharged as from 2 September

1896.[476] Including five years of leave, he had worked as an interpreter for 32 years.

On 2 November 1899, he passed away in Amsterdam, 59 years old.

## *Publications*

"Bijdrage tot de kennis der Chinesche geheime genootschappen" (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1870), dated Riouw, January 1869 (BPL 2105 I:2); also published in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 20 (1873), 1-6.

"De kleine voeten der vrouwen in China; eene bijdrage tot de kennis van Chinesche gewoonten," (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1870), dated Riouw 1869 (Deventer Stadsarchief en Atheneum bibliotheek); also published in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 20 (1873), 33-57.

## *Translation into Chinese*

"Chineesche vertaling van het eerste hoofdstuk en van de twee eerste titels van het derde hoofdstuk van het reglement op het rechtswezen in de Residentie Riouw (*Staatsblad* 1882, No. 84), vertaald door M. Schaalje, tolk voor de Chineesche taal te Riouw. Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, 1884" (21.5 × 13 cm). Chinese title: *Liao fu nei anjian zhi li* 廖府内案件之例. The front cover (with a photocopy of the translation) is kept in BPL 2106 II: 12D. The Chinese text without the cover is kept in the NEHA archives in the IISG in Amsterdam (M. Schaalje special collection, no. 2) (*see* illustration 22).

## *Manuscripts*

Most of the manuscripts and documents left by Schaalje were bought by the Leiden University Library in 1917 and are kept in BPL 2104-2106. The rest are kept in the NEHA Archives in the International Institute for Social History (IISG) in Amsterdam. A complete description can be found in *Catalogue* 2005 and Kuiper 2004. The most important manuscripts are probably a policy document (*nota*) on secret societies and various dictionaries and word lists.

*Dictons van het Emoi Dialect* bijeen verzameld door M. Schaalje (Sayings in Amoy dialect collected by M. Schaalje) (1862–3) (BPL 2106 II: 11).

*Emoisch Hollandsch woordenboek*, M. Schaalje, 1864 (Amoy–Dutch dictionary) (BPL 2104 I).

*Ka yin tsiu P'ak wá* [Jiayingzhou baihua] 嘉應州白話 (The colloquial language of Kia Ying Chow) 2 vols. (ca. 1864) (BPL 2106 II: 23B).

*Namen van Ambtenaren & Collegien in Nederlandsch Indie* (Names of officials and boards in the Netherlands Indies) *Yandi guanxian* 燕地官銜 (ff. 1-8) (ca. 1860) (BPL 2106 II: 35).

*De Geheime Genootschappen*, I, II, door M. Schaalje (The Secret Societies, I, II, by M. Schaalje). Vol. II also has the title *De werking der Geheime Genootschappen onder de Chinezen in Nederlandsch-Indië* (The functioning of the Secret Societies among the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies). 1877–8 (BPL 2105 I:3).

*Handboek bij het beoefenen van het Emoi dialect*, Haarlem februari 1889 (Handbook for studying Amoy dialect). 3 vols. (BPL 2104 II). (This is a reverse version of Francken and De Grijs' dictionary.)

*39. S.H. Schaank (*T'oung Pao *1937, p. 298).*

SCHAANK, Simon Hartwich

Simon Hartwich Schaank was born on 23 October 1861 in Groningen and died on 15 December 1935 in The Hague.[477] His father was Roelf Schuringa Schaank (Groningen, 15 October 1826 – Groningen, 29 November 1913), bookseller (*boekhandelaar*). His mother was Grietje Boerman (Groningen, 29 June 1830 – Groningen, 14 January 1906).[478] Out of this marriage three sons and later three daughters were born; Simon Hartwich was the third son.

After passing the final examination of the HBS in Groningen in 1880, on 17 September 1880 Simon Hartwich was registered at the Indies Institute, the municipal training college for civil servants in the Indies (*Indische Instelling*, official name *Gemeentelijke Instelling voor opleiding van Indische ambtenaren*) in Delft; he passed the Higher Officials Examination for civil servants in the East Indies in 1882,[479] and on 16 August 1882 he entered the colonial service to be appointed as a civil servant at a monthly salary of *f* 150. On 31 October he was put at the disposal of the Director of the Department of Interior Administration (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*), and as from 1 November 1882 he was stationed on the East Coast of Sumatra. He started to learn Chinese, for which he had a great talent. The next year, on 9 July 1883, he was appointed Aspirant Controller (*Aspirant Controleur*)[480] in the Outer Possessions at a monthly salary of *f* 225, and was in that month stationed in Western Borneo (*Westerafdeeling van Borneo*). Perhaps he never went there, since on 29 August 1883 while in Batavia, he requested a two-year sick leave to the Netherlands, which was granted him on 4 September.

According to R.H. van Gulik's obituary, the Government allowed him to study Chinese in the Netherlands because he had shown an extraordinary talent for learning languages. He was registered as a student in the Faculty of Arts at Leiden University on 16 November 1884[481] and studied (Hokkien) Chinese with Schlegel for two years. In June 1885 he registered in Groningen, as living with his parents; he left again for Batavia on 31 January 1886.[482]

On 24 April 1886, he was appointed *aspirant controleur* in the Outer Possessions, and on 31 July he became Second-class Controller. In 1886,

he was stationed in Benkulen (Sumatra), and soon afterwards in Western Borneo in several places, first in Pamangkat (Sambas). In 1888 he was stationed in Montrado, and in 1890 in Lara and Lumar. In 1893 he was appointed First-class Controller (*controleur 1e klas*), at a monthly salary of *f* 400. In the same year he published an important study of the Chinese *kongsi* in Western Borneo.

On 1 April 1896, he was allowed one year of leave to Europe in view of long service. He had been stationed on Borneo for ten years. During his leave he settled down in The Hague. At his request and with support from Schlegel, his leave was extended for three months until 1 July 1897, in order to finish writing his study of the Hakka dialects in Sambas (Western Borneo),[483] which was published in the same year. During this leave and afterwards he also wrote his pioneering studies on Chinese phonetics, which were published in *T'oung Pao*. These were actually "preliminary studies" for his research on the Hakka dialects.

In 1897, he was appointed First-Class Controller and stationed on the East Coast of Sumatra.[484] In 1900, he was appointed *controleur*. In 1902, after five years on Sumatra, he was again transferred to Western Borneo. The next year, in 1903, he was first made acting Assistant Resident of Sambas at a monthly salary of *f* 600, and later full Assistant Resident in the same place. In 1904 he was appointed Assistant Resident of Deli at a monthly salary of *f* 650, and on 27 February 1907, Resident of Langkat (East Coast of Sumatra) as from 22 March. On 5 March 1908 he was granted one year's leave in view of long service, and was actually discharged as from 15 May. He had been stationed on Sumatra for nine years and on Borneo for two years.

One year later, on 2 July 1909 he was appointed Assistant Resident of Kendangan (Southern and Eastern Borneo) as from 4 September 1909. On 23 August 1910 he was again appointed Assistant Resident of Langkat, but one month later, on 24 September, this was rescinded. On 12 June 1912, he was appointed Assistant Resident of Ulu-Songei (Southern and Eastern Borneo) as from 1 July at *f* 650. On 27 April 1914, he was at his request discharged as from 2 May 1914. He was honourably discharged from government service, having completed his period of service. The last five years he had again been stationed on Borneo. He worked as an East Indies official for 32 years (17 years on Borneo, ten years on Sumatra and five years of leave).

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 7 August 1886 to 2 July 1896, and again from 13 February 1899 to 21 January 1907.

He published important studies on the Chinese on Sumatra and Borneo, but is best known for his linguistic studies. He was one of the first to study ancient Chinese phonetics, laying the basis on which almost twenty

years later Bernard Karlgren wrote his famous *Études sur la phonologie chinoise* (1915).[485] He also was one of the first sinologists to publish a linguistic study of a Hakka dialect.

On 21 January 1915, he was granted a yearly pension of *f* 3,612.

He was married to Anna Margaretha Seilbergen (Makassar, 8 November 1871). They had three children, one of whom was the daughter Margaretha Geertruida (Singkawang, 19 August 1889).[486]

After his return to the Netherlands he went to live in The Hague in 1923.

On 15 December 1935 he passed away in The Hague, 74 years old.

Robert Hans van Gulik wrote an obituary for him that was published in *T'oung Pao* in 1937 and in which he called him the "dean of the Dutch sinologists" (*le doyen des sinologues néerlandais*), and characterised him as an extremely modest man who had had a remarkable career both as a civil servant and as a scholar.

## *Publications*

"De onlusten der Chineezen in Deli," *Het nieuws van den dag: Kleine courant*, Amsterdam, 2 March 1885, also *De Locomotief*, 14 April 1885, signed "H." [Written by a sinologist, probably S.H. Schaank[487]; it is an earlier version of the next article; containing an urgent plea for better treatment of and higher wages for the Chinese.]

"De Chineesche stammen in Deli," *De Indische Gids*, vol. 7, II (1885), 1503-14.

"De staart der Chineezen," *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, 2 (1888-89), 379-93.

"Iets over Dajaksche sterrenkunde," Mededeeling in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 32 (1889), 435-7.

"De kongsi's van Montrado. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis en de kennis van het wezen der Chineesche Vereenigingen op de Westkust van Borneo," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 35 (1893), 498-657. Errata, vol. 36 (1893), 417-8. Also published as a book, Batavia: Albrecht & Rusche, 1893.

"Stamps on Malay letters," *T'oung Pao* A 8 (1897), 106-7.

"Ancient Chinese phonetics," *T'oung Pao* A 8 (1897), 361-77, 457-86.

*Het Loeh-foeng-dialect* (Leiden: Brill, 1897), 226 p.

"Ancient Chinese phonetics, continued from Vol. VIII p. 457," *T'oung Pao* A 9 (1898), 28-57.

"Ancient Chinese phonetics (Supplementary note)," *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902), 106-8.

"Nota over de nageri-politie in de afdeeling Bandjirmasin en ommelanden (Z. en O. afd. van Borneo)," *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, vol. 44 (1913), 488-90.

## *Manuscript*

"Aanteekening bij eene verzameling van zegelafdrukken der Chineesche Kongsi's in de Westerafdeeling van Borneo," [1890–3], text by S.H. Schaank, Controleur Onderafdeeling Lara en Loemar (Benkajang); Appendix: "Zegelafdrukken Chineesche kongsi's etc. Westerafdeeling van Borneo," a note-book with seal prints of Chinese kongsi in Borneo and notes, 2 pieces (KITLV Collection).

*40. G. Schlegel, 1870s (KNAW, Internet),*

SCHLEGEL, Gustaaf

Gustaaf Schlegel was born on 30 September 1840 in Oegstgeest (on the Maredijk, now in Leiden) and died on 15 October 1903 in Leiden.[488] In the birth register his given name was "Gustaaf," but when writing in German he used "Gustav," while in French and English he used "Gustave;" in his youth he was sometimes informally called "Gusje."[489] His Chinese names on seals are Si-lī-ka 施利加 (*Shi Lijia*), Si-lī 施利 (*Shi Lì*), Si-lí 施理 (*Shi Lǐ*); written names on books are Si-lī-ka 士利架 (*Shi Lijia*) and Si sū 施士 (*Shi shi*). He transcribed his given name Gustaaf as Gû tap 漁答 (*Yuda*).[490]

His father was the zoologist Herman(n) Schlegel (Altenburg, Saxonia, 10 June 1804 – Leiden, 17 January 1884), who became curator (*conservator*) in the Museum of Natural History in Leiden in 1828, and director with the personal title of director-professor in 1858. His mother was Cornelia Buddingh (Alkemade, 17 June 1815 – Leiden, 2 December 1864; for her family background *see* the biography of J.A. Buddingh). Out of this marriage five children were born, two of whom died in infancy. Gustaaf's elder sister Cécilia (Oegstgeest, 26 April 1838 – Amsterdam, 4 August 1910)[491] and younger brother Leander (Oegstgeest, 2 February 1844 – 20 October 1913)[492] later became musicians. Leander was a composer and director of the Haarlem Music School.

Gustaaf Schlegel originally wished to become an artist; a collection of twelve of his drawings when he was around 12 years old have survived.[493] But as his father thought it would be difficult to make a living as an artist, he pursued another career. He was educated by his father at home, and only went to school (*gymnasium*) for some time when he was 11 years old.

On his own initiative, he began learning Chinese from J.J. Hoffmann, who was a good friend of his parents, on 13 November 1849,[494] when he was only nine years old. Many years later he recounted what inspired him to do so. Hoffmann, who had been an actor, often amused the Schlegel children with all kinds of conjuror's tricks. Once, as Gustaaf watched entranced while Hoffmann made a peacock feather dance on his nose, Hoffmann laughed and said: "If you want to learn this, you must know Chinese." Gustaaf kept this advice in mind, and as soon as an opportuni-

*41. G. Schlegel, 1900s. Posthumous portrait by Thérèse Schwarze (Van Zijderveld,* Duitse familie*, p. 256-7; Leiden University).*

ty appeared, he went to Hoffmann's house and asked him to teach him Chinese.[495] Five years later, in 1854, he was joined by C.F.M. de Grijs, and in 1855 by J.J.C. Francken and M. Schaalje, who, when possible, were taught in combined classes.

On 17 January 1854, as an added incentive to his Chinese studies, he was allowed a monthly stipend of *f* 25 as from 1 January so that he could take private lessons and finish the *gymnasium* in three instead of five and a half years.[496]

On 30 January 1857 Hoffmann suggested sending Schlegel to China instead of Schaalje.

Half a year later, on 16 June 1857, he entered the colonial service as trainee in the Chinese language (*kweekeling voor de Chinesche taal*), together with Francken. On 19 September 1857, he passed the *admissie-examen*, an examination qualifying him to enter the University.[497] On 24 October 1857 he and Francken left for China.

They arrived in Batavia on 5 February 1858, then on 26 February left for Hong Kong, where they arrived on 12 March. They first stayed a few months in Macao, arriving on 1 June 1858 in Amoy, where C.F.M. de Grijs had been studying since 1857. De Grijs had been appointed as acting Vice-Consul, and he took care of his younger fellow-students. Schlegel and Francken studied in Amoy (and perhaps also in Zhangzhou) for three years. On 12 November 1860, they were ordered to study Cantonese in Canton, where they arrived the next year, on 17 July 1861. They studied Cantonese for almost a year. In total they studied in China for four years and three months.

In China, Schlegel began compiling his Dutch–Chinese dictionary, while Francken worked on his Chinese–Dutch dictionary.

They left China on 27 June 1862, travelling by way of Singapore and arriving in Batavia on 22 July.

In Amoy, Gustaaf Schlegel also collected specimens of birds, insects and reptiles, totalling 1,922 items (including 370 bird skins), which he sent to his father, thereby making important contributions to the Museum collection. He discovered one kind of pipit (common English name Pechora pipit, common Dutch name *Petsjora pieper*) which was (officially) first de-

scribed in 1863 by his friend Swinhoe, interpreter at the British consulate, but named after him *Anthus Gustavi*.[498]

From June 1862, he hired the Chinese teacher Ti Tik Khing from Tsjangtsaaúw (probably Zhangzhou) to accompany him to the Indies. Two years later, when Ti wished to return to China, he engaged Poei Boen Phiauw from Batavia from 1 January 1865 on.

On 20 August 1862 he was appointed as one of the two first European interpreters for Chinese in Batavia, together with M. von Faber, while Francken was appointed in Surabaya a few weeks later. On 10 March 1863, he was allowed permission to hire a Chinese teacher and clerk for 25 Mexican dollars a month, and after dismissing him, on 9 May 1865 to hire a new one.

On 25 October 1864, he was put at the disposal of the Resident of Bagelen (near Kedu, Central Java) to check the accounts of the local opium tax-farmer, and afterwards he was put at the disposal of the Resident of Kedu for some time.[499]

On 19 January 1865, he was assigned as an advisor to the commission for regulation of the law of persons, in particular inheritance law, of the Chinese on Java and Madura. The regular members of this commission were T.H. der Kinderen, F.A. Mees, and H.A. des Amorie van der Hoeven.[500] After having given their advice in 1867, the commission was dissolved in 1871. This subject was finally regulated in the Ordinance of 2 November 1892, which however never took effect.[501]

On 23 September 1865, he was appointed extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber.

On 11 April 1867 Schlegel was notified he would be charged with training an interpreter for Chinese. From April 1871 on, he taught the student-interpreter J.J. Roelofs until the summer of 1872.

On 12 June 1869, while staying in Batavia, he obtained his doctorate at the University of Jena. His thesis was on Chinese children's games in Europe.[502]

He was an ordinary member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 12 September 1863 on, and was a member of the Board of Directors from 12 June 1870 to 4 June 1872. On 6 May 1878, at the centennial celebration of the Batavian Society, he was made an honorary member.

On 8 June 1872 he was granted two years of sick leave to the Netherlands.[503] He was suffering from diabetes.

He returned to the Netherlands and soon afterwards, in October 1873, he began teaching Chinese to three students in Leiden (De Groot, Hoetink, Stuart). By Royal Decree of 1 September 1875, he was made titular professor of Chinese at Leiden University, the same position Hoffmann had held since 1855. By Royal Decree of 3 October 1877, he was made (ordinary) professor charged with teaching the Chinese language. He held

his inaugural lecture on 27 October 1877; its title was *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie* (On the importance of the study of the Chinese language). During his active professorship of 24 years, he trained a total of twelve interpreters for Chinese, but he also taught other students such as S.H. Schaank (1883–5), A. Lind (1876–7) and E. von Zach (1896–7).

In 1873, Schlegel succeeded Hoffmann as a member of the Board of Directors of the Royal Institute for the Linguistics, Geography, and Ethnology of the Netherlands Indies (KITLV) in The Hague. He resigned in 1877, but remained an ordinary member.

On 9 May 1878, the 37-year old Schlegel married his 20-year old maternal cousin Catharina Elisabeth Gesina Buddingh (St. Oedenrode, 9 August 1857 – 's-Heerenberg, 13 July 1897),[504] orphaned daughter of Johan Daniël Buddingh and Christina Cornelia Marijt. She was a sister of the late J.A. Buddingh (*see also* his biography). No children were born out of this marriage. The marriage was dissolved on 3 December 1890.

On 7 April 1873, he was named corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences in Amsterdam, and on 21 April 1888 he became an ordinary member.

In 1889, he and Henri Cordier founded the sinological journal *T'oung Pao*, which has since then been edited in Leiden and Paris.[505]

He kept on studying and publishing relentlessly, but in some of his philological and scholarly works he let his imagination play an excessive role.[506]

He published on many subjects, for instance on law (mainly in the 1860s), secret societies, astronomy, and he translated literary works. His best known work is his Dutch–Chinese dictionary in four volumes. A bibliography of 256 works appeared in 1902.

In 1899 he lost sight in his left eye. In June 1902, he was obliged to stop teaching his last two students, one of whom was M.W. de Visser, because of sudden blindness in his remaining eye.

On 15 October 1903, he passed away in Leiden, 63 years old.

In his later years, in particular after his marriage broke up in 1889, Schlegel became more and more a moody, vindictive person who was hard to deal with. This may also in part have been caused by his illness (diabetes), which eventually led to blindness in his left eye in 1899 and in his right eye in 1902. His friend the ethnologist and then director of the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden, Dr. J.D.E. Schmeltz[507] wrote in his sympathetic obituary of Schlegel:

> Schlegel had a great need for contact with other people, and now [in 1889] that he did not have anyone around him, he gradually became more self-centered. The cause of this can partly be sought in the fact that he had during his stay in the East absorbed too much of the customs, habits and opinions of the Chinese people, and as a result he could not identify with a good deal

of the customs and opinions of our European society. Therefore he often caused fierce discussions, which quite a few people found unpleasant, who then withdrew from him. We also had that experience with him, but we knew that our friend was amenable to a serious word and willing to listen to the truth about himself. As a friend we therefore never hesitated to tell him that, and we attribute it to this that from our first acquaintance in 1889 until the end, we were able to remain in friendly contact with him.[508]

## *Honours*

1884 Knight in the Ernitistinic House-Order of Saksen-Coburg-Gotha[509]
1885 Commandeur de l'ordre Royal de Cambodge[510]
1896 (3 February) Knight of the Order of the Netherlands Lion (*Ridder in de Orde van den Nederlandschen Leeuw*)[511]
1898 (February) Commander (3rd class, 3rd grade) in the Order of the Double Dragon (China)

1887 Prix Stanislas Julien for *Nederlandsch–Chineesch woordenboek*

## *An interview, short biographies, and obituaries*

Johan Gram, "Een bezoek aan Professor G. Schlegel" (A visit to Prof. G. Schlegel), *Het leeskabinet, maandschrift gewijd aan vaderlandsche en buitenlandsche letterkunde*, no. 2 (1902), 80-93.
Dr. J.D.E. Schmelz, "Prof. Dr. G. Schlegel. †," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 October 1903.
H. Cordier, "Nécrologie," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 407-15.
H. Kamerling Onnes, in *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden* 1903–1904, 36-8.
A.F.P. Hulsewé: "Chinese and Japanese studies in Holland," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 7 (1957–8), 355-60.
J.L. Blussé van Oud Alblas in *Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland* 3 (The Hague, 1989; new version dated 2003 on the internet).

## *Publications*

An almost complete list of his publications until 1901 can be found in his *Liste chronologique des ouvrages et opuscules publiés par le Dr. G. Schlegel: 1862–1901* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1902). Only publications related to his work as interpreter or discussed in the text are mentioned here.

"Chineesch regt: iets over Chinesche testamenten, donatiën en erfopvolging," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 20 (1862), 369-74 (September 1862).
"Wettelijke bepalingen omtrent de huwelijken in China en beschrijving der daartoe gebruikelijke plegtigheden," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 20 (1862), 394-408 (November 1862).
"Chinesche mouches," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 14 (1864), 569-72.
"De Chinesche eed," *Het regt in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 21 (1865), 247-59 (May 1863).
*Thian ti hwui: the Hung-league, or Heaven-earth-league: a secret society with the Chinese in China and India*; with an introduction and numerous cuts and illustrations, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 32 (2) (Batavia: Lange, 1866), XL, 253 p., XVI bl. pl. Reprinted by the Government Printer in

Singapore [1958]. Chinese translation: 施列格 (Gustave Schlegel) 著, (香港) 薛澄清譯, 天地會研究, [長沙] 商務印書館 (1940). Photographic reprints by 臺北古亭書屋 (1975) and 上海文艺出版社 (1991) .

*Hoa Tsien Ki* [花箋記]*, of De geschiedenis van het gebloemde briefpapier*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 32 (1), 1866. Danish translation: *Hoa Tsien Ki. Historien om det blomstrede-brevpapir,* Fra Nederl. ved V. Schmidt, København (1871).

*Iets over de prostitutie in China*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 32 (3) (Batavia: Lange, 1866), 25 p., XVI.

German translation of "Iets over de prostitutie in China" by M. von Scherzer in *Ausland* 1867 nos. 2-3, 34-39, 57-61.

*Histoire de la prostitution en Chine*, par le docteur Schlegel; traduit du hollandais par le docteur C***S***, Curiosités bibliographiques; 8 (Rouen: Lemonnyer, 1880), 46 p.

"Mededeeling aangaande eenen te Batavia gevestigden Chineschen speel-club," *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 4 (1866), 238-40 (25 September 1866).

"Staaltjes van Chineesch-Regterlijke scherpzinnigheid medegedeeld uit den Wijsheidsbundel [*Zhinang* 智囊]," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, 9 and 23 July, 3 September, 1 and 29 October, 24 December 1866, 15 January 1867.

"Chinesche letterkunde in Engeland," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 10 December 1866.

"Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 24 December 1866 (about an interpreter's work in general).

"Chinesche faillissementen," *Java-bode*, 3 July 1867; also *Indisch Weekblad van het Regt*, no. 210, 8 July 1867.

"De Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 223, p. 160, 7 oktober 1867. Reprinted as "Chinesche eed," *Java-bode*, 16 October 1867 and in other newspapers.

"Chinesche eed," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 28 oktober 1867 (dated 23 October 1867, signed with "X," polemic with M. von Faber). Also published as "De Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 226, pp. 171-2, 28 October 1867, dated 23 October 1867 (together with M. von Faber's earlier letter).

"Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 9 November 1867 (dated 4 November 1867). Also published as "Chinesche eed," *Indisch weekblad van het regt*, no. 232, pp. 195-6, 9 December 1867 (together with M. von Faber's earlier letter).

*Chinesische Bräuche und Spiele in Europa* (Breslau: Robert Nischkowsky, 1869), 32 p. [Dutch translation by C.P.K. Winckel in *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 20, 23 and 27 October 1869].

*Sinico-Aryaca, ou recherches sur les racines primitives dans les langues chinoises et aryennes*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 36 (1872).

"Iets omtrent de betrekkingen der Chineezen met Java vóór de komst der Europeanen aldaar," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 20 (1873), 9-31.

[星辰考原 *Sing chin khao youen*] *Uranographie chinoise ou Preuves directes que l'astronomie primitive est originaire de la Chine, et qu'elle a été empruntée par les anciens peuples occidentaux à la sphère chinoise*, KITLV van NI (Leiden: E.J. Brill; The Hague: Nijhoff, 1875).

*Le Vendeur-d'huile qui seul possède la reine-de-beauté ou splendeurs et misères des courtisanes chinoises.* Roman chinois traduit pour la première fois sur le texte original (Leyde: E.J. Brill, Paris: Maisonneuve & Cie., 1877). French translation and Chinese text.

*Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, Inaugural lecture Leiden (Leiden: Brill, 1877).

"Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek van wijlen Prof. Dr. J.J. Hoffmann," *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, no. 5 (10 December 1881), 435-6.

*Hô Hoâ Bûn-Gí Luī-Tś'am* 荷華文語類參. *Nederlandsch–Chineesch woordenboek met de transcriptie der Chineesche karakters in het Tsiang-tsiu dialekt. Hoofdzakelijk ten behoeve der Tolken voor de Chineesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië, bewerkt door Dr. G. Schlegel, Hoogleeraar in de Chineesche taal- en letterkunde aan de Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden* (Leiden, E.J. Brill (4 vols., Aanhangsel), 1882-91).

*Catalogue des livres chinois qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque de l'université de Leide* (Leiden: Brill, 1883).

"Sur l'importance de la langue Hollandaise pour l'interprétation de la langue Chinoise,"

*Travaux de la 6e Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leide,* Vol. II (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1884), 123-42.
"Note Concerning the Urgency of a Complete Chinese and English and English and Chinese Dictionary," *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leide*, Première partie (Leiden: Brill, 1884), 231-5.
"Het kongsiwezen van Borneo," *Revue Coloniale International*, Tôme I (1885), 448-65.
"Eene Chineesche begrafenis- en huwelijksonderneming" [Soerabaja], *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, Vol. 32 (1884), 517-59.
"Chineesche begrafenis- en huwelijksonderneming" [Soerabaja] (Leiden: Brill, 1885), 43 p., second printing with corrections. Offprint only to *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 4e volgreeks, deel viii.
*Supplément au Catalogue des livres chinois qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque de l'université de Leide* (Leiden: Brill, 1886).
"Philippica des Chinesen Tan-Iok-po gegen den Kapitän der Chinesen Li-Ki-thai," *T'oung Pao* A 1 (1890), 29-41.
"Chinese Loanwords in the Malay Language," *T'oung Pao* A 1 (1890), 391-405.
"Iets over Chineesche doodkisten," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Band 4 (1891), 9-31.
"Ingezonden," *Leidsch Dagblad*, 30 March and 1 April 1892 (debate with Meeter).
"Het Godsdienststelsel in China," (review of De Groot's *Religious System*) in *De Indische Gids* (1892), 1132-8.
"La stèle funéraire du Téghin Giogh et ses copistes et traducteurs chinois, russes et allemands," *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne de Helsingfors*, 1892.
"Japansch Nederlandsch woordenboek," *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI* (1893), 33-40.
*Repliek op Mr. L. Serrurier's beantwoording van mijne kritiek van het Japansch–Nederlandsch en Japansch–Engelsch woordenboek, deel III* [privately published], 22 January 1893.
"A Canton Flower-boat," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Bd. VII, 18 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1894), 9 p.
"Het geschil tusschen China en Japan in Korea," *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Academie van Wetenschappen* (speech held on 12 Nov. 1894), 3e reeks, Deel XI (1895), 159-74.
"Korea (*Ingezonden*)," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 18 November 1894 (Blad A).
"Korea. Prof. Schlegel over het gevaar van Japan's hegemonie (*Ingezonden*)," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 26 January 1895 (debate with Borel).
"Voorspellingen en uitkomsten," *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 's-Gravenhage*, 29 September, 8 and 13 October 1896 (plea for Dutch and Western intervention on Formosa, provoking many reactions in the press).
"La fête de fouler le feu (tah ho) célébrée en Chine et par les Chinois à Java, le treize du troisième mois, anniversaire du 'grand dieu protecteur de la vie' (Pao chîng Ta Ti)," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Band 9 (1896), 193-5.
*La loi du parallélisme en style chinois, démontrée par la préface du Si-yü ki* (西域記)*, la traduction de cette préface par feu Stanislas Julien défendue contre la nouvelle traduction du Père A. Gueluy* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1896).
"La visite de Li Houng-tchang à Schéveningue," *T'oung Pao* A 7 (1896), 407-13.
"De Nederlanders in China," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, jrg. 1897, 12e afl., Review of: W.P. Groeneveldt, *De Nederlanders in China. Eerste stuk; De eerste bemoeiingen om den handel in China en de vestiging in de Pescadores (1601–1624)* ('s Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1898), 22 p.
"Nécrologie" [of] J.W. Young, *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899), 223-5.
"Bulletin critique" (about Tjoa Sien Hie's *Regeling der erfopvolging bij versterf bij Chineezen*), *T'oung Pao* 1 (1900), 501-2.
"De oorsprong van den vreemdenhaat der Chineezen," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (September 1901).
"Nécrologie: Lindor Serrurier," *T'oung Pao* 2 (1901), 279-82.
["Nécrologie" of J. van der Spek], *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902), 355.
*Liste chronologique des ouvrages et opuscules publiés par le Dr. G. Schlegel: 1862–1901* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1902).

## *Manuscripts*

Index (together with J.J.C. Francken) on *Chinesche spreuken* (Chinese sayings) translated by J.J. Hoffmann from J.F. Davis' *Hien Wun Shoo, Chinese moral maxims* (BPL 2044).

*Hollandsch–Chinesche & Chineesch–Hollandsche Woordenlijst der Familiebetrekkingen. Alphabetisch gerangschikt*. G. Schlegel. Kolongsu (Emoi) 1860 (Dutch–Chinese and Chinese–Dutch vocabulary of family relations, alphabetically arranged (Amoy, 1860). Small manuscript booklet (8 ff., 9.6 × 6.6 cm). (Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.036).

*Kwang Sse Loui Fou* 廣事類賦, *Recueil encyclopédique de Choses diverses òu Bibliotheca Classica Sinensis, traduit du Chinois et compilé par Gustave Schlegel, Interprête pour la langue Chinoise*. 5 vols. (Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.034) [1863–1864].

*Chinese Chronological Tables, showing the Succession of Dynasties, Emperors, and Princes, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. From Fuh-Hi to the Present Dynasty* (Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.033).

*Anglo-Chinese Calendar from A.D. 1644 to 1900*, compiled by Dr. G. Schlegel, Professor of Chinese, Leyden, 1875 (Archiefkast 3D, East Asian Library, Leiden; = Or. 27.032).

## *His library*

His library was first offered for sale to Leiden University Library for *f* 1,250, but a week later Gustaaf's brother Leander decided it was more profitable for his brother's heir (Leander's only child, Lydia Schlegel, born in Haarlem, 7 January 1881, a minor) to auction the books at Burgersdijk and Niermans in Leiden.

Catalogue: *Catalogue de la bibliothèque Orientale Chino–Japonaise de feu Gust. Schlegel ...: contenant des ouvrages recherchés sur la linguistique, l'histoire, et la jurisprudence des Indes-Néerlandaises, jurisprudence des Pays-Bas, folklore, etc. et d'autres successions*, vente du 9 - 11 mai 1904 chez MM. Burgersdijk & Niermans, Leyde, 1904.

A part of these books were later that year offered for sale in London in *Probsthain's Oriental Catalogue no. 6: The Far East (second part), containing a large proportion of Professor Gustave Schlegel's Library* (London: Probsthain & Co, 1904).

Leiden University Library only bought 13 printed books at the Burgersdijk & Niermans auction.[512] Later also some of Schlegel's manuscripts were bought which are now kept in the East Asian Library, Leiden.

Some other Chinese printed books that once belonged to Schlegel are kept in the KNAG collection in the East Asian Library, Leiden.

*42. Dr. J. van der Spek (CBG;* Wereldkroniek*, 13 December 1902).*

SPEK, Jacobus van der

Jacobus van der Spek (also known as Koos) was born on 5 January 1857 in Delft, and died on 3 December 1902 in Amsterdam.[513] His Chinese name was Sih-peh 薛伯 (*Xuebo*)[514] and his style was Pang Kiét 邦傑.[515]

His father was Jacob van der Spek (Maasland, 14 March 1819 – Delft, 23 April 1890), who was a farmer (*bouwman, veehouder*). The family lived in the centre of the town of Delft. His mother was Anna de Jong (Maasland, 6 April 1827 – Delft, 12 September 1895). The family had three sons and three daughters, one of whom died in infancy. Jacobus was the middle son and middle child. His elder brother Jacob (Delft, 11 November 1854 – Delft, 13 August 1904) was a milkman; his younger brother Isaak (Delft, 26 November 1861 – Delft, 29 October 1944) was a primary school teacher and later deputy manager of Braat N.V.

Jacobus van der Spek went to school at the HBS in Delft, passed the competitive examination for Chinese interpreters in July 1875 ranked as the first and with the best scores ever, and also passed the final HBS examination on 18 August. He began studying Chinese in Leiden under Schlegel on 1 October 1875, together with A.A. de Jongh and A.E. Moll. They studied the Tsiangtsiu dialect (Hokkien) and written Chinese.

Three years later, on 18 December 1878, the three students entered the colonial service and were requested to go to China to study Chinese for one year, in order to be appointed as interpreters of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies.[516] On 6 January 1879 they left the Netherlands, and on 28 February they arrived in Gulangyu (Amoy), where they studied for nine months. From 25 June to 13 July, they took a trip to Northern Formosa. From 1 December 1879 to 25 February 1880, they studied in Zhangzhou (Tsiangtsiu) in a completely Chinese environment for almost three months. In total, they studied in China for one year. From 4 to 27 March 1880, they travelled via Singapore to Batavia.[517]

During this period, Jacobus van der Spek kept a diary from 6 January 1879, the day they left home, until 28 May 1880, when he was sworn in as interpreter, and 29 May, the reception by the Governor of Celebes in Makassar. This diary has remained in the family and was presented to the

Leiden University Library by F.R. van der Spek, grandson of J. van der Spek, in 2010; it is the only known complete diary of a nineteenth-century Dutch sinologist. Van der Spek also published fourteen "Letters from China" (*Brieven uit China*) in the Amsterdam daily newspaper *Het Nieuws van den dag: kleine courant* from 11 October 1879 to 5 August 1880. In 1881–3 he published many articles about Chinese subjects in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, just as Meeter did.

On 26 April 1880, Jacobus van der Spek was appointed as *temporary* interpreter of the Chinese language in Makassar.[518] On 24 March 1882, he became an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Makassar,[519] from which position he was honourably discharged on 1 June 1883.[520] In the meantime, on 3 March 1883 he had been transferred to Mentok,[521] but half a year later, on 4 October 1883, he was again transferred to Padang and appointed as extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Padang.[522] He was sworn in for the latter on 14 November 1883. When the President of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Padang, W.F. Maijer, was accused of illegal practices,[523] and all other members were also suspects, Van der Spek was for a short period temporarily appointed as President in Maijer's place.[524]

In December 1884, when Van der Spek was required to act as interpreter in a criminal court hearing in Padang, he could not understand the accent of the accused and was therefore replaced by Young, who happened to be present and knew the case.[525] Afterwards, Van der Spek was heavily criticised in the newspapers for his 'incompetence,' and when Meeter came to his support, the criticism intensified.[526] A few weeks later, a notice appeared in the *Sumatra-Courant* stating that Van der Spek had been nominated for dismissal, adding that he wished to take leave because of illness, or was even planning to resign, since he could not stand it in the Indies. Moreover, he was considering whether to put aside his Chinese and study medicine.[527] Actually, he had already been studying medicine by himself for some time.[528]

On 17 February he requested two years' sick leave in Europe, which was granted on 13 March 1885.[529] He had already left Batavia on 4 March, arriving in Marseille on 7 April.[530] In total, he served as an interpreter for almost five years. Two years later, on 3 August 1887, he was at his request discharged from Netherlands Indies government service.[531] He was the only nineteenth-century Dutch sinologist who, after the prescribed minimal five years of service, left the colonial service and took up a completely different career.

In September 1885, he registered as a student of Medicine at Amsterdam University. He also studied in Kiel and Strassbourg (then part of Germany), and acquired his physician's diploma on 6 March 1891 in Amsterdam. Afterwards, on 4 August 1891, he acquired his M.D. (cum

laude) in Berlin; the title of his thesis was *Ueber Pemphigus und andere bullöse Hautkrankheiten.* On 11 January 1892, he set up as a dermatologist in Amsterdam. He gave lectures and published regularly on syphilis and other dermatological diseases.[532]

On 20 September 1895, he married Gerardine Jacqueline Westhoff (Amsterdam, 18 June 1867 – Nijmegen, 24 February 1928). Out of this marriage were born two sons, Friedrich Reinhardt (1896–1945; an engineer) and Jacob (1900–54; a surgeon), and one daughter Anna (1901–21). After Van der Spek's untimely death, the studies of his sons were paid for by De Jongh.

On 3 December 1902, he passed away after a sudden illness (traumatic fever, Angina Ludovici) in Amsterdam, almost 46 years old.

G. Schlegel wrote a short necrology for him in *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902), 355.

## *Publications*

"Brieven uit China" (Letters from China), *Het nieuws van den dag*, 11, 31 October; 15 November; 3, 11 December 1879; 1, 16, 21, 24 January; 14 February; 29 March; 5 April; 17 May; 5 August 1880) [Dated 17 August 1879 – 20 February 1880; numbered I-XVI; nos. XI and XII are missing].
"Een en ander over het opiumgebruik in China," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 16, 17 November 1881.
"Chineesche karaktertrekken," *idem*, 10, 12, 13, 14 December 1881.
"Spiritisme in China," *idem*, 6, 7 and 9 January 1882.
"Nog iets over faillisementen van Chineezen," *idem*, 16 January 1882.
"De vrouw in China," *idem*, 28 and 30 January 1882.
"Chineesch Nieuwjaar," *idem*, 20 February 1882.
"Het Chineesche lantaarnfeest," *idem*, 4 March 1882.
"De Chineezen in Borneo," *idem*, 4, 20, 21, 22 March 1882.
"Vreemde gewoonten der Chineezen," *idem*, 5 April 1882.
"Foeng-shoei," *idem*, 2 and 3 May 1882.
"Een uitstapje in Formosa," Feuilleton, *idem*, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 May 1882.
"Bouw en bereiding van thee in China," *idem*, 28, 29, 30 June, 1 July 1882.
"Handelsusantiën in China," *idem*, 23, 24, 25 August, 6, 7, 22, 23 September 1882.
"Iets over den tijger in China," *idem*, 13 October 1882.
"Bedelaars in huis," *idem*, 8 January 1883.
"Een Chineesch chevalier d'industrie," *idem*, 7, 8 May 1883.
"Over het Boeddhisme in China," (On Buddhism in China) *De Indische Gids* V, August (I) and September (*vervolg*, II) (1883), 263-73 and 414-35.
*Ueber Pemphigus und andere bullöse Hautkrankheiten* (thesis, Berlin, 1891).
"Ingezonden" (Letter to the editor), together with P. Meeter, *Leidsch Dagblad*, 29 March 1892 [a debate followed between Schlegel and Meeter on 30 and 31 March and 1 April in the *Leidsch Dagblad*].
"Chineesche gewoonten ten aanzien van kinderen," (Chinese customs relating to children) *De Indische Gids*, XVI (1894), 940-5 and 1116-20.
*Atlas en handleiding der syphilis en venerische ziekten* (Amsterdam: Scheltema en Holkema, 1903) (after Mraček's work).

## *Manuscript*

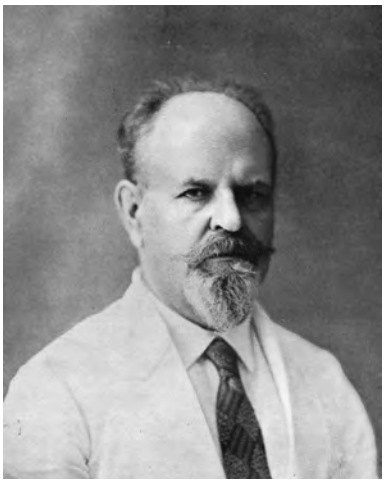
*Diary* from the day he left for China until the day of his meeting the Governor in Makassar (6 January 1879 – 29 May 1880). This *Diary* is now in the Leiden University Library (Or. 26.922).

## *Obituaries*

"Dr. J. van der Spek. †" *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3 December 1902 (taken over by many other newspapers).
"Dr. J. van der Spek. †" *Wereldkroniek*, 13 December 1902 (with photograph).
G. Schlegel, "Nécrologie," *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902), 355.

## *His library*

Twenty of his Chinese books are now kept in the East Asian Library in Leiden, mostly in the KNAG Collection.



*43. P.A. van de Stadt, 1930s (*Engel van de Stadt*, The Hague, 1951).*

STADT, Peter Adriaan van de

Peter Adriaan van de Stadt was born on 9 March 1876 in Arnhem and died on 20 March 1940 in Batavia.[533] His Chinese name was Si-tát Pit 施達闢 (*Shi Dapi*).[534]

His father was Dr. Hendrik van de Stadt (Amsterdam, 2 September 1842 – Arnhem, 10 May 1915), who studied at Leiden University and received a Ph.D. cum laude in mathematics and physics in 1866; he became a vice-director and teacher of physics and cosmography at the HBS in Arnhem; from 1874 to 1907 he was principal. He also wrote textbooks on physics and knew many languages. He was married to Hendrika Arnoldina Matthes (Zutphen, 15 January 1844 – Amsterdam, 24 June 1902). Out of this marriage three sons and one daughter were born, of whom Peter Adriaan was the youngest. The eldest son Hendrik Justus (Arnhem, 26 January 1868 – Hattem, 1 April 1954) studied chemistry and was a secondary school teacher, and from 1925 to 1933 principal. The second son Johan Willem (Arnhem, 5 January 1869 – The Hague, 6 October 1922) worked for the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij in the Indies from 1890 to 1906, then in The Hague as director of the Stoomrijstpellerij "Hollandia," in Rangoon, and as head administrator of the Nederlandsche Guttapercha Maatschappij (Rubber Works) in Singapore from 1911 to 1920.[535]

Peter Adriaan finished the HBS in 1892 and was admitted as number one on the list to be trained as an interpreter of Chinese. He studied under Schlegel together with A.G. de Bruin and E.F. Thijssen. He was registered as a student in Leiden University on 30 September 1892,[536] probably in order to become a member of the Student Corps. After three years in Leiden, he was third on Schlegel's ranking list; Schlegel's high expectations of him had not been realised. This may have been caused by his activities in the Student Corps.

After three years of study in Leiden, all three students entered the colonial service on 12 November 1895.[537] They left for Hong Kong at the end of 1895.

They studied for two years in China. In January 1897 they went to Chaochow (Chaozhou) to study the Hoklo dialect for almost three months.[538]

In September 1897, Van de Stadt was the first sinologist to request permission to study Mandarin and the Chinese government in Peking for some time. On 24 April 1897, this request was rejected by Governor-General Van der Wijck, "because that study is of no importance for service in the Indies" (*omdat die studie niet van belang voor de Ind. dienst is*).

On 25 June 1897, all three were ordered to proceed to Kia Ying Chow (now Meixian, Guangdong), to study the local Hakka dialect until the end of their study period in China. They studied there for almost four months. At the request of the Dutch Consul General in Hong Kong, Van de Stadt wrote a report on the local situation. The students left China on 13 January 1898.

On 20 February 1898, Van de Stadt was appointed Official for Chinese Affairs in Rembang (Java).[539]

On 23 June 1899 he was appointed in Makassar.[540]

He first married Maria Cornelia Ernestine Ketjen (Pekalongan, 5 November 1875 – Makassar, 20 February 1900) in Bakoen (Kediri) on 9 March 1898, but two years later his wife died in childbirth together with her infant child. A year and a half later, on 14 November 1901, he married Wilhelmina Adriana Moraux (Makassar, 4 August 1881 – The Hague, 8 August 1952), a Eurasian, daughter of Willem Adriaan Moraux and the Makassarese woman Sanning. Out of this marriage four daughters and one son were born. The daughters were Henriette Arnoldine (Makassar, 14 October 1902), Wilhelmina Adriana (Makassar, 2 January 1904 – West Vancouver, 3 December 1981); Dorothea Sophie (Mentok, 5 April 1907 – probably 18 September 1944 during transport of prisoners at sea) and Louise Alexandra (Tandjong Pandang, 15 October 1915). His son Huibert Cornelis (Billiton, 12 December 1912 – 1975) later became a naval officer.

On 9 November 1903, Van de Stadt was temporarily appointed in Mentok.[541]

From 18 May 1904, apart from his function of Official for Chinese Affairs, he was temporarily assigned to the General Inspector of the Opium Monopoly, A.A. de Jongh, with an extra monthly allowance of *f* 100. He could also be charged with office work or official travels together with De Jongh.[542]

On 7 April 1905 he was charged to proceed to Singapore, Pakhoi (Beihai) and if needed other places in Southern China to investigate the employment of coolies and to try to arrange a regular supply of labour for the tin mines on Banka. He was authorised to arrange the engagement and transport of at most 6,000 workers to Mentok,[543] but this mission was not successful.

On 1 March 1906, he and the engineer P.J. Stigter were charged to go to Singapore and the Federated Malay States to investigate the tin mining.[544]

On 27 April 1907, he was at his request honourably discharged from government service as from 5 May 1907.[545] He had worked as Official for Chinese Affairs for nine years.

He then worked in Tanjung Pandan (Billiton), and from 1914 on in Weltevreden (Batavia), for the Billiton Maatschappij (Billiton Mining Company). In 1916 he became General Representative in Batavia.[546] Two years later, when the Head Administrator (*hoofdadministrateur*) P.J. Stigter was discharged because of budget reporting problems, Van de Stadt also took leave, disagreeing with the company's treatment of Stigter. After working for this company for eleven years, he resigned in May 1918.[547]

In 1917 a system had been created for East Indies Officials to study Japanese in Leiden for three years and in Japan for two years, in order to work for the Netherlands Indies government,[548] just as in the new system for Chinese studies that had been promulgated ten days earlier. In accordance with the new system, Van de Stadt and his family went to Japan where he would study for two years with a government stipend, starting 1 August 1918.[549]

On 3 September 1920, he arrived with his family in The Hague from Tokyo. Thereupon he stayed for one year in the Netherlands, where he may have studied Japanese in Leiden with the newly appointed Professor M.W. de Visser. On 5 August 1921, he left The Hague for Batavia.[550]

On 18 October 1921, he was temporarily put at the disposal of the Director of Interior Administration (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*) with the title Advisor for Japanese Affairs,[551] and two months later, on 29 December, he was appointed Civil Official (*burgerlijk ambtenaar*) with the same title.[552] In the beginning he was the only official in the Bureau for Japanese Affairs (*Bureau voor Japansche zaken*). Before Van de Stadt's appointment in 1921, from 1908 to 1914, B.A.J. van Wettum had been the first Advisor for Japanese Affairs, and in the years 1915–7, H.L. Bense, lieutenant of infantry, was charged with handling Japanese affairs in Batavia.[553]

On 7 June 1922, the Bureau for Japanese Affairs was officially established. Van de Stadt was appointed as Advisor for Japanese Affairs and Bureau Chief. The Bureau also had a translator, a European interpreter of Japanese, and other personnel.[554]

As from 2 November 1927, Van de Stadt was granted eight months of leave to Europe by virtue of six years of government service.[555]

On 12 July 1928, he was again appointed Advisor for Japanese Affairs.[556]

On 7 December 1932, the government decided to abolish the Bureau for Japanese Affairs as from 1 January 1933, in order to cut expenses. The work was to be taken over by the Department of Chinese Affairs (*Dienst der Chineesche Zaken*), which would be called Department of Chinese Affairs and East Asian Matters (*Dienst der Chineesche Zaken en Oost-Azia-*

*tische Aangelegenheden*).[557] By this decision Van de Stadt's position was effectively abolished. On 22 December 1932, he was at his request honourably discharged as from 28 December 1932, with gratitude for his long service.[558] He had worked as Advisor for Japanese Affairs for eleven years.

On 20 March 1940 he passed away in Batavia, 64 years old.

## *Honours*

1910 Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau (*Officier in de Orde van Oranje-Nassau*)
1926 4th class Order of the Rising Sun (of Japan) (1925)
1928 Legion of Honour (France?)

## *Publications*

*Hakka-woordenboek* [Dutch–Hakka and Hakka–Dutch dictionary] (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1912), xxxi, 412 p.

*Nederlandsch–Japansch woordenboek = Jitsuyō Ran-Wa jiten* 實用蘭和辭典 (Tokyo: Nan'yō Kyōkai, Okura shoten 東京: 南洋協會, 大倉書店, 1922), 597 p.

*Japansch–Nederlandsch woordenboek = Nichi-Ran jiten* 日蘭辭典, Fan-de-sutatto cho ファン•デ•スタット著, (Taihoku (Taipei): Nan'yō Kyōkai Taiwan Shibu 臺北: 南洋協會臺灣支部, Shōwa 9 [1934]), 3, 1311 p. [The text of this dictionary is available on www.jiten.nl].

*44. H.N. Stuart (*Tilburgsche Courant, *5 November 1916)*

## STUART, Hermanus Nicolaas

Hermanus Nicolaas Stuart was born on 16 June 1855 in Kralingen (near Rotterdam) and died on 20 October 1916 in The Hague.[559]

His father was Adrianus Leonardus Stuart (around 1820 – Rotterdam, 2 May 1900), a primary school teacher (*onderwijzer*). His mother was Sijtje van den Heuvel (1820 – 30 December 1859); she passed away when she was almost 40 years old. Out of this marriage at least five children were born, one daughter and four sons, one of whom died in infancy. Hermanus Nicolaas was the youngest son. In 1864, his father married D. van den Heuvel (died The Hague, 8 March 1902), perhaps his first wife's sister. Out of this marriage at least two children were born, one of whom died in infancy.[560]

He passed the final examination of the five-year HBS in Rotterdam in 1873. After the competitive examination, in which he was third on the ranking list, he studied from October 1873 Chinese under Schlegel in Leiden, together with J.J.M. de Groot and B. Hoetink.

Three years later, on 28 November 1876, he entered the colonial service and was sent to China together with his two fellow students. He was to study Chinese in order to be appointed later as interpreter for Chinese in the East Indies. He studied for one year in Amoy.

On 13 April 1878, he was appointed as interpreter in Mentok (Banka). Since he had only studied Hokkien, he was allowed to engage a second teacher at *f* 25 per month "for learning the locally most spoken dialect," probably Hakka.[561]

On 3 March 1883 he was transferred to Makassar,[562] changing places with Van der Spek, and on 1 June 1883 he was appointed an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Makassar as from 1 May 1883.[563]

On 28 July 1885, he was transferred to Semarang, succeeding De Grijs, and also appointed extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber.[564]

Probably when he was stationed in Semarang, Stuart married Jeanne Angelique Descelles (Semarang, 28 March 1862 – The Hague, 8 September 1934), who was of Eurasian descent.[565] Out of this marriage one daughter was born, Mary Stuart (Pontianak, 29 August 1890 – The Hague, 2 Feb-

ruary 1985),[566] who later became a lawyer and was president of the Dutch Foundation against Vivisection.[567]

On 26 March 1889, he was honourably discharged as interpreter in Semarang and transferred to Pontianak.[568]

On 19 May 1892, he was allowed two years of sick leave to Europe as from 8 June 1892.[569]

On 26 September 1893, he registered as a third-year student at the Indies Institute (*Indische Instelling*) in Delft. His purpose was to obtain the diploma, not to start a career as East Indies official.[570] He only chose to study one language, namely Malay, in contrast with most of his fellow-students who took three or four languages.[571] The following year he passed the Higher Officials Examination (*grootambtenaarsexamen*).[572]

On 21 December 1894, he was appointed as interpreter of the Chinese language in Makassar.[573]

As from 1 October 1896, he was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Surabaya.[574]

On 15 October 1896, Governor-General Van der Wijck wrote on his own initiative to the Minister of Foreign Affairs that Stuart and Hoetink, who had both passed the Higher Officials Examination, might be suitable and available for an appointment as Consul in China or Singapore, but on 4 November the Ministry of Foreign Affairs replied that it did not need anyone at the time.[575] But the next year, on 10 April 1897, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested information about Stuart and Hoetink, because a new consul was needed after the establishment of a consulate in Shanghai. In reply to the Minister of Colonies, Governor-General Van der Wijck wrote that he considered Stuart and Hoetink both suitable, but since Stuart was married to a Eurasian lady, it would be less advisable to appoint him on account of the dominant English element in Shanghai.[576] In any case, it turned out that Stuart was not interested in this function.[577]

On 3 April 1898, Stuart was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Batavia, and extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber.[578]

Eleven years later, on 27 April 1909, he was at his request allowed one year of leave to Europe in view of long service. On 2 June 1909, he was to withdraw from office.[579] After this leave he did not return to the Indies. He worked as interpreter and Official for Chinese Affairs for 31 years, including three years of leave.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 14 September 1880 to 7 June 1892, and again from 5 March 1895 to 29 March 1909. He became a member of the Board of Directors from 26 August 1900 on, secretary from 1 July 1901 on, and treasurer (*thesaurië*r) from 1 January 1902 on. After retirement on 29 March 1909, he was made honorary member. He published a catalogue of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese coins in the Batavian Society Museum.

On 26 August 1909 he settled in The Hague.
On 20 October 1916 he passed away in The Hague, 61 years old.

## *Honours*

1902 (28 August) Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau (*Officier in de Orde van Oranje-Nassau*)

## *Publications*

"Over verdeeling van het familiegoed en stamvoortzetting bij de Chineezen," *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 75 (1900), 273-306.

"Adoption posthume chez les Chinois," *Hommage au Congrès des Orientalistes de Hanoi de la part du Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, [with articles by] Ph. S. van Ronkel, J. Brandes, G.A.J. Hazeu en H.N. Stuart, Congrès des Orientalistes (1902; Hanoi) (Batavia: Albrecht, 1902), 52 p., pp. 36-44.

*Catalogus der munten en amuletten van China, Japan, Corea en Annam, behoorende tot de numismatische verzameling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavia [etc.]: Landsdrukkerijen [etc.], 1904), XXIV, 227 p.

"Chineesch voogdijrecht, advies … dd. 14 Januari 1906, naar aanleiding van een verzoek van de Wees- en Boedelkamer te Soerabaja …" *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië* 86 (1906), 1-6.

## *Manuscript*

*Hollandsch–Chineesch handboekje voor het Tsiang-tsiu dialect*, dated July 1875, 223 + [5] pp. Copy of Schlegel's Dutch translation of E. Doty's *Anglo–Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect* (Canton, 1853) (now in a private collection).

THIJSSEN, Emile Franciscus

Emile Franciscus Thijssen was born in The Hague on 27 June 1873 and died in the same city on 24 March 1914.[580] His Chinese name was Tài-sien I-bîng 戴先意明 (*Daixian Yiming*).[581]

His father was Petrus Thijssen (5 April 1836 – Loosdrecht, February 1888),[582] in 1873 first lieutenant on the infantry staff, and in 1877 captain. His mother was Henriette Margaretha Marnstra (Makassar, 10 December 1848).[583] He was the only (living) son.

While attending the fifth grade of the HBS, he passed the competitive examination for Chinese student-interpreters ranking as third. He studied Hokkien and written Chinese in Leiden under Schlegel from September 1892 to 1895, together with A.G. de Bruin and P.A. van de Stadt. He was registered as a student in Leiden University at the same time as De Bruin on 3 February 1894.[584]

On 12 November 1895, all three students entered the colonial service, and were to be appointed as Officials for Chinese Affairs after the completion of their studies.[585] The students left the Netherlands at the beginning of December 1895 and arrived in Hong Kong on 10 January 1896, and one or two days later in Amoy. They first studied Hokkien in Amoy for one year. For the year 1897 Thijssen was appointed as Registrar (*griffier*) at the Consular Court in Amoy. In January 1897, all three Candidate-Officials for Chinese Affairs, as they were now called, went to Chaochow (Chaozhou) to study the Hoklo dialect for almost three months.[586] On 25 June 1897, they were ordered to proceed to Kia Ying Chow (now Meixian, Guangdong), to study the local Hakka dialect until the end of their study period in China, which they did for almost four months from 30 August until mid-December 1897. After two years of study, on 13 January 1898 they left China for Batavia.

On 3 April 1898, Thijssen was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Pontianak.[587] During this stationing he once acted as *controleur* of the division (*afdeeling*) Sukadana for twelve days.[588]

On 22 October 1904, he was temporarily appointed in Surabaya, succeeding Van Wettum. He received *f* 100 as extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber.[589] He was a member of the first Municipal Council of Surabaya (*Gemeenteraad*) in 1905–8.[590]

On 27 October 1905, while still in office in Surabaya, he was temporarily assigned to the Chief Inspector of the Opium Monopoly, A.A. de Jongh, with an extra monthly allowance of *f* 100.[591] De Jongh had been charged with investigating the conditions of tin mining on Banka (*see* De Jongh's biography). On 20 January 1906 this assignment was withdrawn, and Governor-General J.B. van Heutsz expressed the Government's gratitude and satisfaction for the manner in which both had fulfilled their task.[592]

In February and March 1906 he accompanied for the first time a group of 683 Chinese miners from Banka repatriating to Pakhoi (Beihai), Hoihow (Haikou) and Hong Kong. He was charged to accompany the miners and pay their savings to them at their arrival in China, to prevent them being robbed in Singapore, as happened often. Since Van de Stadt had not succeeded in recruiting coolies for Banka in the previous year, it was hoped that the news of their relatively high salaries in the Indies would attract more coolies to Banka. The full report was printed in several newspapers, showing Thijssen's sympathetic and helpful attitude towards the coolies.[593]

On 11 December 1907, while still officially stationed in Surabaya, he was temporarily put at the disposal of the Director of Education, Religious Affairs, and Industry (*Onderwijs, Eeredienst and Nijverheid*), to work on certain assignments.[594] This probably referred to the repatriation of coolies.

On 2 January 1908, he was temporarily put at the disposal of the Resident of Banka in order to arrange the repatriation to Southern China of miners whose contract ended in February. He was to leave Batavia on 18 January after consultation with the Director of the soon to be established Department of Government Enterprises (*Gouvernementsbedrijven*).[595]

In January and February 1909, he escorted a similar repatriation of 1,139 workers from Banka to Southern China.[596] He wrote a detailed description of the whole procedure, including the payment of wages after arrival in China. In this report, he criticised the small quantities and miserable condition of the food for the workers on board the ship, contrary to regulations. Despite his efforts and those of the captain and first officer, the food and rationing hardly got any better. The food was provided by a (Chinese) comprador at the cheapest rate. This report was not published. Borel received a copy which is now in the Borel Archive in the Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. This was the last time an Official for Chinese Affairs accompanied repatriating coolies.

On 28 June 1909, he was allowed one year of leave in view of long service, as from 2 August 1909.[597]

While on leave in the Netherlands, on 31 May 1910, he married Johanna Louisa Boekwijt (Leiden, 16 October 1871). The marriage took place in Teteringen.[598]

On 11 November 1910, he was appointed as Official for Chinese Affairs in Pontianak, succeeding Borel who had left a year earlier.[599]

On 7 December 1911, he was transferred to Semarang, succeeding Ezerman who went to Padang.[600]

On 28 February 1914, he was at his request allowed two years of sick leave. He suddenly withdrew from office on 2 February 1914, and was to

leave for the Netherlands immediately.[601] Less than two months later, on 24 March 1914, he passed away in The Hague,[602] only 40 years old.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 8 June 1908 to 29 December 1913.[603]

He worked as Official for Chinese Affairs for almost 14 years, including one year of leave.

### *Honours*

1907 (31 August) Knight in the Order of Orange-Nassau (*Ridder in de Orde van Oranje-Nassau*)

### *Publication*

"Verslag van den reis naar China in Februari en Maart 1906 ondernomen door den Ambtenaar voor Chineesche Zaken E.F. Thijssen in het belang der werving van Chineesche mijnwerkers voor Banka," [Report about the repatriation of Chinese workers from Banka] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* and *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 20 April 1906.

### *Manuscript*

Untitled manuscript report for the Resident of Banka, about the repatriation of Chinese workers from Banka, dated Soerabaja 20 April 1909 (Borel Archives, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague).

*45. B.A.J. van Wettum, 1914 (CBG, The Hague)*

WETTUM, Bertus Anton Jacobus van

Bertus Anton Jacobus van Wettum (Bertus van Wettum) was born on 5 December 1870 in Stompwijk, a small village 7 km to the south of Leiden and died on 7 August 1914 in Batavia.[604] In Leiden he had the Chinese nickname Putam.[605] His later Chinese name was Bík-tam 墨湛 (*Mozhan*), and style (*zi* 字) Hanxiang 翰香,[606] but he also used P'oan (or P'oa˘) Bík-tam 潘墨湛 (*Pan Mozhan*).[607]

His father was Willem van Wettum (Naarden, 12 April 1827 – Stompwijk, 30 March 1882), a teacher of mathematics and headmaster of a school in Leidschendam; he also ran a boarding school. His mother was Johanna de Graaf(f) (Maassluis, 16 October 1830 – The Hague, 4 January 1920). Out of this marriage thirteen children were born, four of whom died in infancy. There remained six sons and and three daughters. From 1885 the family lived in The Hague.[608] Bertus was the second-youngest child. His younger brother Willem Gideon van Wettum (Stompwijk, 13 December 1872 – 1936) was an East Indies official from 1892; from 1901 on he worked for the Government Opium Monopoly, of which he became Inspector General in 1912. He retired in 1921.

Bertus van Wettum went to school at the HBS in The Hague (Bleyenburg), and he was acccepted for training as a Chinese interpreter; he passed the competitive examination ranking fourth; after which he still took and passed his HBS examination.[609] From 1888 to 1892, he studied Hokkien and written Chinese under Schlegel in Leiden, together with Ezerman, Borel, and Goteling Vinnis. Because his fellow students Borel and Ezerman did not do well in their first year, all three of them studied in Leiden for four years instead of three.

On 15 August 1892, he and his fellow students entered the colonial service. They were sent to Amoy to study Chinese for one year, in order to be subsequently appointed as interpreters for Chinese in the Netherlands Indies. They arrived in Amoy on 6 October 1892. On 28 January 1893, all three students filed an official complaint (*reclame*) about their financial situation, and on 20 May 1893 their claims were met,[610] but a final settlement was only achieved in September.

After one year in China, on 12 September 1893, the students were giv-

en permission to stay another year; this was at the request of Van Wettum and Ezerman, later also supported by Borel.

On 24 October 1894, Van Wettum was appointed interpreter of the Chinese language in Pontianak.[611]

As from 1 October, together with all other interpreters, his title was changed to 'Official for Chinese affairs' (*ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken*), and he continued in this capacity in Pontianak.[612]

On 3 December 1896, he married Anne Maria Tromp (Tanjung Pura, 22 April 1879 – 1951). She was a daughter of his superior, S.W. Tromp (1848–97), Resident of Western Borneo.

In 1898, he was also extraordinary substitute clerk (*buitengewoon substituut griffier*) at the District Court (*Landraad*) in Pontianak.[613]

On 3 April 1898, he was transferred to Makassar, succeeding Borel.[614]

The following year, on 23 June 1899, he was transferred to Surabaya, again succeeding Borel who went on sick leave.[615]

On 24 September 1904, he was allowed one year of leave to Europe in view of long service, as from 4 October.[616]

On 6 September 1905, Van Wettum and Ezerman, who were both on leave in the Netherlands, were charged by Royal Decree (no. 31) to study Japanese at the Seminar für Ostasiatische Sprachen in Berlin. After theoretical studies in Berlin, they were to go to Japan for practical studies. The government wished to appoint them as chiefs of a Section for Japanese Affairs that was to be established soon.[617] Van Wettum went with his family and Ezerman to Berlin where he studied Japanese for one year.

On 20 November 1906, he was, pursuant to the Royal Decree of 19 August 1906 no. 31, charged by Governor-General Van Heutsz to go to Japan to study Japanese language, geography, and ethnology (*taal-, land- en volkenkunde*).[618] Actually, he and his family had already arrived in Japan on 4 November, and he studied there for two years.[619] He was first stationed at the Dutch Legation in Tokyo, and later in the Consulate in Kobe, where he was acting Consul for some time. During his stay in Japan he translated a booklet about Japanese rice culture and processing, and he wrote a *nota* about sugar culture on Formosa.[620]

He returned to the Indies on 28 November 1908. On 30 November 1908, he was temporarily assigned to work in the Department of Justice.[621]

On 26 January 1909, Van Wettum was at his request temporarily appointed as Advisor for Japanese Affairs.[622]

A few months later, on 30 April 1909, he was appointed retroactively as Official for Chinese Affairs in Batavia from 30 November 1908, temporarily assigned to work as Advisor for Japanese Affairs (*adviseur voor Japansche zaken*) in the Department of Justice.[623]

On 17 August 1909, he was made extraordinary member of the Orphans Chamber and of the Estate Chamber in Batavia. For this, and sepa-

rately also for his temporary Advisorship of Japanese Affairs, he received a monthly salary of *f* 100.[624]

On 7 January 1911, he was accorded the personal title of Advisor for Chinese Affairs (*adviseur voor Chineesche zaken*).[625] All three officials posted in cities where Chinese Consuls would be stationed obtained this title (Borel, Ezerman, and Van Wettum).

On 14 March 1913, Van Wettum was temporarily assigned to work in the Department of Interior Administration (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*) in order to design a plan for the organisation of an agency for Chinese affairs in Batavia.[626] Later that year the diplomat W.J. Oudendijk, who had studied Chinese in Peking, was temporarily appointed as an External Advisor for Chinese Affairs. Oudendijk proposed the establishment of a Bureau for Chinese Affairs under the Central Government.[627] This Bureau for Chinese Affairs was finally established in 1916.[628] From that time on, all Officials for Chinese Affairs worked for that Bureau and were stationed in Batavia.

On 7 August 1914, Van Wettum passed away after a sudden illness (dysentery)[629] in Batavia, at only 43 years of age. His death was much regretted. He was considered a very capable Advisor for Chinese Affairs, very well versed in Chinese.[630]

He was at the time the senior sinologist and the only japanologist in the Netherlands Indies, and probably would have been the first Director of the Bureau for Chinese Affairs (*Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken*) in Batavia, had he not passed away so early.

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 8 September 1896 to 4 January 1899 and again from 18 January 1909 until his death. He became a member of the Board of Directors on 22 February 1909, and was Secretary-Treasurer for five years starting on 29 March 1909. After his death, the functions of Secretary and Treasurer were fulfilled by two members of the Board.[631]

He had two sons: Solco Walle (Makassar, 8 December 1898 – The Hague, 30 September 1953) and Johannes (Surabaya, 26 November 1900 – The Hague, 10 June 1989). Both studied at the Technical University in Delft and became engineers. Solco Walle worked in the Indies starting in 1925, was detained in a Japanese prison camp in 1942–5 and passed away early in 1953; one of his sons died in a Japanese POW camp in Thailand.[632] In 1925, Johannes (Jan van Wettum) became a teacher at the first Waldorf School in The Hague, established in 1923; he later became a well-known Waldorfian.[633]

## *Publications*

"An Alphabetical List of the Emperors of China and of Their Year-titles or nien-hao" (together J.L.J.F. Ezerman), *T'oung Pao* A 2 (1891), 357-89.

*Alphabetical List of the Chinese and Japanese Emperors.* I: *An Alphabetical List of the Emperors of China and of Their Year-titles or Nien-hao, with the Date of Their Reign and Duration*, compiled by J.L.J.F. Ezerman and B.A.J. van Wettum - II: *Alphabetical List of the Mikados and Shoguns of Japan as also an Alphabetical List of the Year title or Nen-Go, Adopted during Their Reign*, by G. Schlegel, Leiden E.J. Brill, 1893 [enlarged version of the preceding].

"A Pair of Chinese Marriage Contracts," *T'oung Pao* A 5 (1894), 371-85, signed "Dutch Chinese student-interpreter, Amoy, January 1894."

"A Chinese Opinion on Leprosy, Being a Translation of a Chapter from the Medical Standard-work 御纂醫宗金鑑 [*Yuzuan Yizong jinjian*]. Imperial Edition of the Golden Mirror for the Medical Class (1st chapter of vol. 87)," *T'oung Pao* 2 (1901), 256-68.

*Nederlandsch–Chineesche almanak (oude stijl) voor de jaren 1861–1980* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1913) [editor; revision of Hoetink's earlier edition].[634]

"Aanteekeningen over japansche adoptie en erfrecht en den chineeschen invloed daarop" (Notes on Japanese adoption and inheritance law and the Chinese influence on it), *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 92 (1908), 1-71.

"Het familie- en erfrecht in het nieuw ontworpen Chineesche Burgerlijk Wetboek" (Family and inheritance law in the newly devised Chinese Civil Code), *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 102 (1914), 105-50.

*Hak familie dan hak poesaka di Burgerlijk Wetboek baroe di Tiongkok* (Batavia, Hoa Siang In Kiok), 62 p. [Malay translation of the preceding].

## *Manuscripts*

*Nederlandsch–Chineesch handboekje van het Tsiang-tsiu dialect, door Rev. Doty, bewerkt door G. Schlegel, 1873* (Dutch–Chinese handbook for the Zhangzhou dialect, by Rev. Doty, arranged by G. Schlegel) [signed "B.A.J. van Wettum," and dated 17 June 1888 (first page) and 15 August 1891 (last page).] (Or. 27.042).

"Du Shiniang," 杜十娘怒沉百寶箱, a story from *Jingu qiguan*, copied in Van Wettum's handwriting, 2 vols., now in the Borel Archives, B 745 H. 3 Vertalingen etc., Letterkundig Museum, The Hague [Chinese text, Hokkien transcription and Dutch translation (incomplete)].

## *His library*

His books and manuscripts were auctioned at Burgersdijk & Niermans in Leiden on 16-26 April 1917. An auction catalogue was published as *Catalogue des bibliothèques de feu M.M. B.A.J van Wettum, Conseiller pour les affaires du Japon et de la Chine aux Indes-Néerlandaises* … (KITLV Collection).

Many of his Chinese books (52) are now kept in the KNAG Collection in the East Asian Library in Leiden. At least 37 of these books were acquired while studying in China and bear his Chinese seal. Some of his Japanese books (at least two) which formed part of the KNAG Collection are now kept in the Japanese section of the East Asian Library in Leiden.[635] Some of his books in Western languages are also kept in that library.

YOUNG, James William

James William Young[636] was born on 16 October 1855 in Batavia, and died on 7 September 1898 in Semarang.

His father was James Young (Batavia, 7 January 1832 – Batavia, 2 August 1906), who worked as a clerk, secretary, and translator of the Malay language (*translateur voor de Maleische taal*); he was honourably discharged as clerk in 1880 and became acting Malay translator in Batavia from 1881 to 1885.[637] His mother was Petronella Rensing (Telok Poetjoeng (Batavia), 13 December 1835 – Batavia, 29 May 1919). Out of this marriage twelve children were born, all of whom had careers in the East Indies or whose husbands had such careers.[638]

His grandfather William Young (Dacca (Bengal), 1787 – Batavia, 28 August 1841) had come to Java in 1811 after the British conquest and had a career in the government of the East Indies. He first married Charlotte Geertruida de Haart (Colombo, 13 April 1797 – Batavia, 3 November 1825) and later Johanna Juliana Henriëtte de Lannoy (Colombo, 14 February 1810 – Batavia, 21 September 1879); out of these marriages fourteen children were born, all of whom lived in the East Indies. One of his father's half-brothers was William Young (Batavia, 4 October 1818 – London, April 1886), Chinese name Yang 楊, who started studying Chinese in 1828 with W.H. Medhurst and joined the London Missionary Society. As an assistant of the missionary J. Stronach, he went to Amoy in the 1840s. He was a minister in a Chinese church in Australia in 1854–75, sometimes also acting as Chinese interpreter, and in Singapore in 1875–85.[639]

James William went to school at the Willem III Gymnasium, and passed the competitive examination for student-interpreters on 18 November 1872 and the following days. On 2 January 1873, he was accepted as a student-interpreter (*élève tolk*)[640] to be trained as interpreter of the Chinese language in the Netherlands Indies; he was to be taught the Tsiangtsiu dialect in Batavia.[641] From January 1873 to December 1875, he studied Hokkien (and perhaps also some Cantonese) under Von Faber in Batavia.

On 22 December 1876, he was ordered to go to China to study there for one and a half years. From January 1876 to 3 February 1877, he studied in Amoy; he had to leave for Java because his allowance stopped in January. By decision of 8 February 1877, one week after he had left Amoy, he was allowed to take along an experienced Chinese clerk when he left China, to serve him for three years. He was the only interpreter of Eurasian descent.[642]

On 14 March 1877, he married his cousin Johanna Adriana Brouwer (Batavia, 3 November 1856 – after 1906). Her mother Elisabeth Young was an elder sister of his father. Out of this marriage two daughters and

two sons were born. His sons Charles Young (Pontianak, 7 December 1877 – Kediri, 29 March 1923) and Alfred Young (Batavia, 9 February 1887 – The Hague, 1 September 1932) both had careers in the East Indies. His daughters were Laura (Pontianak, 3 January 1879) and Mary (Padang, 3 June 1881).

On 16 March 1877, he was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Pontianak. On 3 June 1877, Resident Kater granted him an extra monthly allowance of *f* 25 for one year, for the salary of a second teacher, in order to learn the Hakka dialect.[643]

On 3 October 1879, he was transferred to Padang and appointed as an extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber in Padang.[644]

On 20 August 1883, he was transferred to Batavia and appointed as an extraordinary member of the Estate Chamber in Batavia.[645] In 1885 he was honourably discharged from the latter function. In September 1885 he was charged with a special mission to Atjeh (Aceh) to interpret in a lawsuit involving the possible confiscation of a Chinese ship from Canton containing weapons for the insurgents.[646] After his return to Batavia, he was accorded a monthly allowance of *f* 25 for a teacher's fee in order to learn Cantonese.[647] Young's Chinese was considered so good that a Chinese officer in Batavia even had his son study Chinese with the European interpreter of Chinese![648]

On 3 March 1887 he was suddenly transferred to Western Borneo, with orders to leave Batavia on 16 March. This was because a 'missionary' (*zendeling*) of a secret society from Singapore had been apprehended on Borneo and the matter was to be investigated with the help of a European interpreter. Although Moll was at the time stationed in Pontianak, he was actually in Batavia for other matters and seemed to have no intention of returning to Borneo. Moreover, Young had been stationed earlier in Pontianak, he knew the local situation, and he knew Hakka.[649] Two weeks after arrival, he was sent on a secret mission to Singapore[650] to further investigate the matter. As a result of this investigation, a new bylaw for suppressing secret societies was promulgated in some of the Outer Possessions. In 1890 Young published an article about law pertaining to secret societies in the Straits Settlements and the Indies.

After two years in Pontianak, on 5 March 1889 he was granted two years' sick leave in the Netherlands,[651] because of serious heart problems.

On 22 March 1891 he was appointed as interpreter of Chinese in Semarang, and as extraordinary member of the Orphans and Estate Chamber.[652]

As from 1 October 1896 he was appointed as an Official for Chinese Affairs in Semarang.[653]

He was a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences from 2 October 1883 to 10 May 1887.

On 7 September 1898, he passed away in Semarang, almost 43 years

old. Many attended his impressive funeral at which the Master of the Freemasons' lodge in Semarang, J. Stigter, gave an obituary speech.[654]

According to J.J.M. de Groot, J.W. Young was the best interpreter among all his colleagues. He spoke Hokkien (Amoy, Tsiangtsiu), Cantonese, and Hakka with a purety of accent and fluency seldom acquired by Europeans.[655]

Besides publishing many highly informative articles about Chinese customs and problems in newspapers and journals, Young also published six short stories with lively descriptions of the Chinese in the Indies. In 1895, P.A. Daum wrote a review of a collection of four stories. In his opinion these stories, although without any literary value, gave more insight into the life of the Chinese in the Indies than Snouck Hurgonje gave in his scholarly studies about the life of the Achinese.[656]

## *Publications*

A partial list of his publications can be found in Schlegel's obituary in *T'oung Pao*.

"送字紙 Procession for Written Paper at Padang (Sumatra)," *The China Review*, vol. X (1881), 428-31 (by "T.W. Young").
"'Kong Taang Poa.' [貢銅盤] Een uitdrukking bij Padang-Chineezen gebruikelijk," *Sumatra-Courant*, 26 June 1881 (also in *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 7 July 1881).
"De eed in China en in N.-Indië," *Sumatra-courant*, 27 and 29 September 1881.
"Kee tjoa" [解詛], *Sumatra-courant*, 29 December 1881.
"Open brief aan den WelEdelG. Heer M. Von Faber, tolk voor de Chineesche Taal, te Batavia," *Sumatra-courant*, 21 January 1882.
"Nog eens Kee tjoa," *Sumatra-courant*, 2 March 1882.
"Nog iets omtrent den chineeschen Eed in Ned.-Indië," *Sumatra-courant*, 16 March 1882.
"Weêr iets over den chineeschen Eed," *Sumatra-courant*, 30 March 1882.
"Eenige beschouwingen omtrent den eed voor de Chineezen," *Sumatra-courant*, 30 August 1882.
"Sāng Djie Tjoa (送字紙). De optocht der Chineezen voor het beschreven papier," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, vol. 27 (1882), 560-64 (dated Padang 1880).
"Bijdrage tot de kennis der Chineesche geheime genootschappen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, vol. 28 (1883), 546-77 (an earlier version without Chinese characters was published in the *Sumatra-courant* on 19, 21 and 24 October 1882).
"Het opbinden van de haarvlecht bij de Chineezen," *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 18 May 1883 (from *Padangsch Handelsblad*).
"De schriftteekens der Chineezen," *Sumatra-Courant*, 5 January 1884 (dated Batavia, 11 December 1883).
"Het testament bij de Chineezen," *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 43 (1884), 330-9.
"Het huwelijk bij de Chineezen te Padang. Matriarchaat in botsing met patriarchaat en daaruit voortvloeiende neiging om van het in China geëerbiedigde versterfrecht af te wijken," *De Indische Gids*, 7, II (1885), 1458-79 (also published in *Sumatra-courant*, 30 January, 9, 11, 18, 20 February 1886).
"Versterfrecht, adoptie en pleegkinderen bij de Chineezen. Behandeling der betrekkelijke artikelen van het Wetboek Tai-Tshing Loet-lé," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 31 (1886), 214-39. Translated into Malay in 1887 (1894).
"Bijdrage tot de kennis der Chineesche hazard- en kaartspelen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 31 (1886), 268-302.

*Atoeran hak poesaka orang Tjina dan hal mengangkat anak tersalin dari pada kitab hoekoem Tai Tshing Loet Lé* (Batavia: Albrecht, 1887), 26 p. Malay text and Chinese law text in characters. Translation of "Versterfrecht, adoptie en pleegkinderen bij de Chineezen." (1886).

*Idem* (Albrecht & Rusche, 1894) (2nd printing).

"De begraafplaatsen der Chineezen, zoo in Nederlandsch-Indië als in China," *De Indische Gids*, 9, II (1887), 1522-60. This article was translated into Malay by R.J.M.N. Kussendrager in 1889.

"Then Sioe Kim Njong, in de Westerafdeeling van Borneo bekend als Njonja Kaptai." In memoriam (widow of Lioe A-sin). *Bijdragen tot de TLV van NI*, 37 (1888), 149-53.

風水記 *Hal hong soei atawa pamilihan tempat-tempat pekoeboeran pada bangsa tjina*, di karangken oleh J.W. Young; dan di salin pada basa Melajoe oleh R.J.M.N. Kussendrager (Batavia: Albrecht & Rusche, 1889), 20 p. Translation of "De begraafplaatsen der Chineezen" (1887) (KITLV Collection).

"De feestdagen der Chineezen, door Tshoà Tsoe Koan. Naar den Maleischen tekst bewerkt door J.W. Young," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 32 (1889), 1-88.

"Het Hoa-Höee-spel (Hok-kiën-dialect) of Fa-foei-spel (Kheh of Hakka-dialect). Een hazardspel bij de Chineezen." *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, 4 (1890), no. 3, 161-88.

"De wetgeving ten aanzien van geheime genootschappen of broederschappen onder de Chineezen in de Straits Settlements en in Nederlandsch-Indië," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 19, nieuwe serie I (1890), 179-208, 241-91.

"Eenige aanteekeningen betreffende de Chineezen in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 19, nieuwe serie I (1890), 362-74.

"Then-A-Sioe, een slachtoffer der geheime genootschappen," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 25 and 26 July 1890 [short story, anonymous, but written in Young's style].

"Handelsgebruiken in China," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 21, nieuwe serie II (1892), 241-6.

"Het huwelijk en de wetgeving hierop in China," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 38 (1894). Translated into Malay in the same year.

*Boekoe adat-adat kawin dan ondang-ondangnja di tanah Tjina*, dikarang dalam bahasa Olanda oleh J.W. Young, serta tersalin dalam behasa Melajoe (Betawi: Albrecht en Rusche, 1894) [Malay text and Chinese law text in characters], XI, V, 118, LIX, 4 p.

"A-Liang-Ko. Opiumsluiken en weldoen," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 23, nieuwe serie I (1894) 1-30 (short story written in November 1893).

"Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van Borneo's Westerafdeeling," *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 38 (1895), 499-550.

*Uit de Indo–Chineesche samenleving* (Utrecht, H. Honig, 1895), 213 p. [short stories].

"Aanteekeningen naar aanleiding van de verhandelingen van Mr. P.H. Fromberg ten aanzien van de vraag: Mag een Chinees bij uitersten wil over zijn vermogen onbeperkt beschikken?" *Het recht in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 67 (1896), 253-62.

"Sam-Po Tong. La Grotte de Sam-Po," *T'oung Pao* A 9 (1898), 93-102.

## *Manuscripts*

Two manuscripts are mentioned in Schlegel's "Nécrologie," probably written in Dutch, location now unknown:

"Li Ban nio, une victime de vanité chinoise," Semarang 1898 [short story?]

"Tan Giok nio, la concubine chinoise: chap. 1: Papa Li Tjoen Koen et sa famille, chap. 2 Li Siang Koen se marie" [189X?] [two chapters of a novel?]

## *Translation into Chinese*

"Vertaling der Concept ordonnantie: Verqachtigen. (*sic*) Voorwaarden en bepalingen voor de verpachting voor 1885 van verschillende landsmiddelen (zoogenaamde kleine of gewone middelen) op Java en Madoera." (Translation of draft decree: Conditions and regulations for farming for 1885 of several forms of state resources (so-called small or usual resources) on Java and Madura) 和一千八百八十五年爪哇末流嘮雜項傌仔事其章程. Translation of *Staatsblad* 1885, no. 163. Printed Chinese translation by J.W. Young, Batavia (BPL 1782: 4G4).

## *Obituaries*

"Een indrukwekkende Uitvaart," *De Locomotief*, 9 September 1898.
G. Schlegel: "Nécrologie. J.W. Young," *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899) 223-5.

## *Albrecht*

[1] All data on his career is from Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren N 297, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.
[2] BPL 1782: 5A, UB Leiden. *Catalogue* 2005, 95 ill.
[3] Stamboeken Militairen 1814-1950, Inv. 3 no. 746, toegang 2.10.50, Ministerie van Koloniën, NA, The Hague.
[4] *De Indische Navorscher* 15 (2002), 26.
[5] Stamboeken Militairen 1814-1950, Willem Alexander Inv. 5 no. 1585, Frederik Hendrik Inv. 6 no 1692, August Ernst Inv. 8 no. 2092, Gerrit Jan Inv. 8 no. 2149, Jan Hendrik Albert Inv. 10 no. 2551, toegang 2.10.50, Ministerie van Koloniën, NA, The Hague.
[6] A letter from him to the publisher Sythoff (in SYT 1898 Batavia, University Library, Leiden).
[7] *See* Von Faber, "Herwijnen" (1885).
[8] IB 10/10/1855 no. 3 inv. 7175. *See also* the notice [by W.R. van Hoëvell] in *Tijdschrift voor NI* 17-1 (1855), 266 and 18-1 (1866), 160-1. Also mentioned in Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie* (1877), 13.
[9] Albrecht was in Amoy on 31 August 1859 and 18 February 1860 (Or. 26.273, UB Leiden, nos. 45, 67).
[10] IB 31/7/1860 no. 11 inv. 7287.
[11] IB 9/8/1860, no. 38 inv. 7288.
[12] IB 21/11/1860 no. 13 inv. 7295.
[13] IB 26/8/1862 no. 9 inv. 7333.
[14] Albrecht's *nota* about the work of the interpreters, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.
[15] IB 29/3/1863 no. 4 inv. 7345.
[16] Albrechts's request and a letter of the Resident of Banka dated 28 January 1864. IB 11/2/1864 no. 24 inv. 7361.
[17] Request dated Batavia, 11 March 1864. IB 25/3/1864 no. 3 inv. 7364.
[18] Report by Albrecht 30 August 1865, V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757. The date of taking over Oei is not mentioned.
[19] On that day "J.G. Albrecht" resigned as a member. Data based on *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV* and *Notulen van de Algemeene en bestuursvergaderingen*.
[20] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 30 March 1880. *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 16 April 1866. *De Locomotief*, 27 August 1898.
[21] IB 19/6/1885 no. 14 inv. 7872. *Java-bode*, 2 March 1892. *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 19 May 1897.
[22] Albrecht's *nota* about the work of the interpreters, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.
[23] IB 11/3/1876 no. 22 inv. 7648.
[24] IB 15/11/1877 no. 24 inv. 7690.
[25] IB 27/8/1879 no. 28 inv. 7732.
[26] Klein-notaris-examen, *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1877–1887.
[27] He had to revise the regulations of the Estate Chamber of *Staatsblad* 1828 no. 46 and if needed enlarge the instructions for the Orphans Chamber of *Staatsblad* 1872 no. 166. IB 26/7/1884 no. 3c inv. 7850.
[28] The Resident of Batavia had already on 4 June allowed him immediate leave (IB 19/6/1885 no. 14 inv. 7872.). On 6 June Albrecht was succeeded as President by H.A. van de Pol who was previously stationed in Surabaya (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*).
[29] Request dated Batavia, 5 June 1885. IB 19/6/1885 no. 14 inv. 7872.
[30] IB 6/7/1885 no. 2/c inv. 7873.
[31] IB 11/7/1885 no. 2/c inv. 7873.
[32] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 21 January 1887.
[33] V 11/3/1886 no. 28 inv. 3938, Albrechts's letter of The Hague 8 April 1886 in V 19/4/1886 no. 33 inv. 3947, the Minister's decision in V 6/11/1886 no. 42 inv. 4005.
[34] He was discharged by Royal Decree. *De Locomotief*, 20 May, 23 August 1887.
[35] They had left Rotterdam for the Indies by 16 December 1887. *De Locomotief*, 16 December 1887.

[36] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned. Indië*, 1889, p. 651.

[37] "Een lang en smartelijk lijden heeft een einde gemaakt aan zijn zoo hoogst nuttig leven. Door zijne humaniteit en zijn edel hart heeft de overledene zich zoo zeer de algemeene achting verworven, dat hij de aangenaamste en duurzaamste herinneringen nalaat. … De Indische Maatschappij verliest in hem een veelzijdig ontwikkeld man, met een helder oordeel en fijne opmerkingsgave." *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 7 May 1890. The other obituaries appeared in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* of the same day and *Java-bode*, 8 May 1890.

## *Borel*

[38] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren F' 7 and F' 818. Many thanks are due to Dr. Ming Govaars of Oegstgeest, who commented on earlier versions and provided some new biographical information.

[39] Seal printed on Borel's diary of 1893, B.745 H.3 dagboek 1255-1256, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague. This name was also used on some Chinese letters to him (Borel archives, Letterkundig Museum).

[40] B 745 uncatalogued (233), letter from Fang Kunshan 方崑山 announcing a visit to him in The Hague [?].

[41] Ministerie van Koloniën: Stamboeken en pensioenregisters militairen Oost-Indië en West-Indië, 1815–1954, nos. 6-1624, 9-2441, NA, The Hague.

[42] Paul van 't Veer, *De Atjeh-oorlog* (Amsterdam 1969), 126-33.

[43] www.genlias.nl.

[44] "Henri Borel. Biografische notities," Joosten (ed.), *De brieven van Johan Thorn Prikker aan Henri Borel and anderen, 1892–1904*, 1980. Overlijdensakten, Stadsarchief Breda (online).

[45] Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren IJ 282. He was stationed in Western Borneo in 1881–93 and was the author of "Schetsen uit Borneo's Westerafdeeling," *Bijdragen tot de KITLV van NI* 1896-97, reprinted as a book in 1995, KITLV Uitgeverij, Leiden (with an introduction by Hans Claessen and Harry Poeze).

[46] *Wie is dat?*, The Hague 1932, p. 38.

[47] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 10.

[48] Borel elsewhere erroneously stated that there were 63 candidates. "Henri Borel. Op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel 23 november 1929.

[49] Goteling Vinnis (The Hague 1868–94) first studied at the Art Academy of The Hague in 1885–7, and from 1887 he studied Law at Leiden (Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 10-11).

[50] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker,* passim. Dagboeken, Letterkundig Museum, passim.

[51] Verbaal 12 September 1893 no. 40, NA, The Hague.

[52] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, F' 7, F' 818, NA, The Hague.

[53] Joosten, p. 47.

[54] Verbaal 12 September 1893 no. 40, NA, The Hague.

[55] Their complaint concerned: 1) the refund of travel costs from Hong Kong to Amoy; 2) remuneration of the salary of the Chinese teacher; 3) their monthly stipend of 125 Spanish dollars being too low as a result of the devaluation of this dollar.

[56] Verbaal 12 September 1893 no. 40, NA, The Hague.

[57] IB 24/10/1894 no. 4 inv. 8096.

[58] "Riouw-schandalen," *Soerabaya-Courant*, no. 147, 29 Juni 1895.

[59] Letter from the Director of Justice to the Governor-General (secret), 8 June 1896, and IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 (*also* inv. 8140),V 15/10/1896 no. 14, inv. 5093.

[60] Extract Nota Algemene Secretarie, 1912 (typed document about Borel's career in the National Archives, precise source unknown, perhaps originally Mailrapport 1914 no. 34).

[61] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.

[62] On 29 October 1897, he wrote: "In Makassar, now almost a year. Brrr! What misery" ("In Makassar, nu al bijna een jaar. Brrr! Wat een tijd.").

[63] V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176.

[64] Letter to Borel dated 6 July 1897, in 232, uncatalogued, Henri Borel archive, Letterkundig Museum.

[65] V 12/7/1897 no. 4 inv. 5180.
[66] Letter from Governor-General dated Buitenzorg, 26 October 1897, V 4/12/1897 no. 2 inv. 5225.
[67] Four Officials for Chinese Affairs in a row were transferred when Hoetink went to China. IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.
[68] IB 23/6/1899 no. 7 inv. 8208.
[69] "Henri Borel. Op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel 23 november 1929.
[70] Since Ezerman was transferred at his own request, no travel expense fee was afforded to him. IB 25/11/1903 no. 1 inv. 8314.
[71] At the time Borel was on leave in Sukabumi. From then on he was given half pay. IB 27/7/1904 no. 26 inv. 8330.
[72] Inleiding, p. 2, *Wijsheid en schoonheid in Indië*, 2de druk (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & zoon [1919]). The article was entitled "Een bezoek bij den sultan van Lingga." This happened in the spring of 1904.
[73] Request dated Sukabumi, 1 October 1904. IB 13/10/1904 no. 11 inv. 8335.
[74] "Henri Borel. Op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel 23 november 1929. More details in "Een boek over Sovjet Rusland," *Het Vaderland*, 20 May 1928. "Rapport over Singkep 24 maart – 4 april 1904" (summary), No. 232, Borel ongecatalogiseerd, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[75] "Henri Borel. Op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel 23 november 1929.
[76] IB 23/9/1905 no. 25 inv. 8358.
[77] Borel, uncatalogued, Letterkundig Museum.
[78] V 15/8/1907 no. 44 inv. 484 toegang 2.10.36.04.
[79] IB 9/2/1908 no. 2 inv. 8415. Also in Borel, uncatalogued, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[80] IB 16/4/1908 no. 38 inv. 8420.
[81] IB 21/8/1908 no. 15 inv. 8428.
[82] Borel's request is dated Pontianak, 14 December 1908. IB 4/2/1909 no. 7 inv. 8439.
[83] Letter from Borel to the Director of Justice dated Pontianak, 15 June 1909. Mailrapport 1909 no. 1465.
[84] IB 28/7/1909 no. 9 inv. 8450.
[85] IB 7/11/1911 no. 30 inv. 8505.
[86] Ezerman succeeded him in Surabaya. IB 1/6/1912 no. 16 inv. 8519.
[87] P.H. Fromberg, *Verspreide geschriften*, 481.
[88] Request dated Makasser, 14 October 1912. IB 27/12/1912 no. 4 inv. 8532.
[89] Stamboeken F'818 (V 19/2/1916 no. 51 is not extant in inv. 1508 toeg. 2.10.36.04). "Henri Borel. Op zijn zestigste verjaardag," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, bijvoegsel 23 november 1929.
[90] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, F' 818.
[91] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*. Although not mentioned in Borel's Library's auction catalogue from around 1934, it was perhaps the manuscript acquired by the British Library from Brill in 1979 (Catalogue E.J. Brill Leiden no. 488 (1977), item no. 2720; *see* Ter Haar, *Triads*, 31 note 40).
[92] A.G. de Bruin, "De nieuwe banen der sinologie," *De Sumatra Post*, 20 December 1911.
[93] "Henri Borel † 23 Nov. 1869 – 31 Aug. 1933," *Het Vaderland*, 31 August 1933.
[94] The grave of Borel, his last wife and daughter are in Begraafplaats St. Petrus Banden, Kerkhoflaan, the Hague.

## *De Breuk*

[95] A short biography of Dr. H.R. de Breuk by J.E. Inckel was published in the *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1862), 70-82 (also on www.dbnl.org).
[96] Burgerlijke stand, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken. Also in www.janvanhout.nl/pluche2.
[97] V 11/4/1867 no. 22 (bijlage D) inv. 1900.

[98] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren Q 40, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.
[99] Dossier de Breuk, CBG, The Hague. *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 24 June 1864.
[100] V 24/5/1864 no. 22/563 inv. 1475, and V 30/8/1864 no. 42 inv. 1512.
[101] Letter from the Consul N. Peter to the Governor-General, dated Macao 26 July 1866, in V 29/11/1866 no. 85 inv. 1837.
[102] IB 9/9/1866 no. 4 inv. 7423.
[103] Letter from Groeneveldt to Director of Justice Buijn, 20 March 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

## *De Bruin*

[104] Letter from all three students dated 16 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.02. Three copies of his Chinese name card are in Archiefkast 3E, East Asian Library, Leiden (Or. 27.044).
[105] Bevolkingsregister, Gemeentearchief Deventer.
[106] *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 3013, 20 years old.
[107] V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.
[108] Letter from Knobel to the Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 18 January 1897, quoted in another letter dated 14 April 1897, inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.
[109] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, G' 623, NA, The Hague.
[110] He was appointed at the same time as Van de Stadt. IB 20/2/1898 no. 10 inv. 8176.
[111] IB 21/11/1898 no. 14. He succeeded A.E. Moll, who was transferred to Semarang after Young's death.
[112] *De Sumatra Post*, 21 August 1903, quoting the *Javasche Courant*.
[113] Breman, *Koelies, planters*, 450, 459, 462, 535.
[114] IB 16/11/1904 no. 20 inv. 8338.
[115] Request dated Medan 29 October 1905, with medical certificate. IB 10/11/1905 no. 32 inv. 8361.
[116] Gemeentearchief, Deventer.
[117] IB 22/11/1907 no. 8 inv. 8410. He succeeded Van de Stadt, who had left the interpreters' service in May.
[118] IB 24/1/1908 no. 3 inv. 8414.
[119] A.G. de Bruin, *Een onopgehelderd geval en Een verbolgen Hoogleeraar*, Leiden [1920], 5.
[120] *Staatsalmanak* 1912–1920. "Jan Julius Lodewijk Duyvendak," *Jaarboek van de Maatchappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden 1955–1956*.
[121] In an article entitled "Culturele waarden" (Cultural values), *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, Tuesday, 25 May 1920.
[122] Almost all of whom were Germans: Dr. E. von Zach, H. Tittel, Dr. E. Tospann, Dr. M.G. Pernitzsch, Dr. W. Strzoda, G.E. Dehio, Dr. L.P.H. Engelmann, Dr. A.N.W. Lorenzen. Many of them had been stationed in Tsingtao and lost their jobs when this German concession was taken over by the Japanese in 1914. *Cf.* M.G. Pernitzsch and H. Tittel: *Chinesische Buchhaltung* (Tokyo 1927).
[123] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië* 1922–1931; Stamkaarten Indische ambtenaren ca. 1912–1949, NA, The Hague; Vleming (ed.), *Het Chineesche zakenleven in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 16-18.
[124] Bevolkingsregister, Gemeentearchief Amsterdam.
[125] In the CABR file on Boelen-Brinck (107821), there is one photo of A.G. de Bruin wearing a badge with the so-called "wolfsangel" (wolf's barb), said to be an ancient Germanic symbol warning of wolves; Dutch Nazis wore the "wolfsangel," not the swastika (*see* illustration 28).
[126] CABR (Centraal Archief Bijzondere Rechtspleging) PRA Utrecht 5629 inv. 97427, NBI (Nederlands Beheers Instituut) Dossier A.G. de Bruin te Amersfoort inv. 49829, and files on J.F.M.A. Boelen-Brinck, CABR inv. nr. 107821, NBI inv. 37741, NA, The Hague.

## *Buddingh*

[127] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren O 133. Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken (Leiden archives).

[128] V 11/4/1867 no. 22 (bijlage D) inv. 1900.
[129] V 10/6/1861 no. 13 inv. 1069.
[130] Six letters by Buddingh dating from 1862 and 1863 are kept among the Letters to Herman Schlegel, Museum Naturalis, Leiden. A short biography of Buddingh based on these letters can be found in: G.F. Mees: *A List of the Birds Recorded from Bangka island, Indonesia*, Zoölogische verhandelingen uitgegeven door het Rijksmuseum voor natuurlijke historie te Leiden, no. 232 (Leiden 1986), 158.
[131] V 28/10/1864 no. 10 inv. 1534.
[132] IB 16/8/1864 no. 2 inv. 7374.
[133] Reports by Buddingh and Secretary Gijsbers dated 23 August 1865 in V 24/5/1866 no. 7 inv. 1757.
[134] "Verslag omtrent 's Lands Plantentuin over het jaar 1868," quoted in *Java-bode*, 23 June 1869.
[135] Letters of the Resident of Banka dated 23 November 1868 and the Director of Justice dated 21 May 1869. Buddingh was to take along his teacher. IB 25/6/1869, no. 12 inv. 7489. *Indisch Staatsblad* 1869 no. 51.
[136] Albrecht's *nota* about the work of the interpreters, 5 April 1878, in V 19/4/1879 no. 7/854 inv. 3191.

## *Ezerman*

[137] *Algemeen adresboek der gemeente Dordrecht*, 1893, Gemeentearchief Dordrecht.
[138] Folio 33390, Stamboeken en pensioenregisters militairen Oost-Indië en West-Indië, 1815–1954, NA, The Hague.
[139] Bevolkingsregister, Gemeentearchief Dordrecht.
[140] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, F' 6, NA, The Hague.
[141] Their complaint concerned: 1) the refund of travel costs from Hong Kong to Amoy; 2) remuneration of the salary of the Chinese teacher; and 3) their stipend of 125 Spanish dollars being too low as a result of the devaluation of this dollar.
[142] Request by Ezerman and Van Wettum in Mailrapport no. 228, 1893. Borel's request in V 12/9/1893 no. 40 inv. 4739.
[143] IB 24/10/1894 no. 4 inv. 8096.
[144] No. 654, 12 July 1897, Letter from Government Secretary Nederburgh to Consul General Haver Droeze in Hong Kong, dated Buitenzorg 25 June 1897, No. 1500a, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.01.
[145] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.
[146] Since he was transferred at his request, travel costs were not reimbursed. IB 25/11/1903 no. 1 inv. 8314.
[147] IB 21/2/1904 no. 12 inv. 8320.
[148] Request dated Batavia, 26 September 1904. IB 1/11/1904 no. 14 inv. 8337.
[149] *Het nieuws van den dag van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 27 October 1905. *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 30 March 1906.
[150] Decision by the Minister of Colonies. *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 28 January 1908.
[151] He registered in Leiden on 22 February 1908 (Bevolkingsregister 2505a, Leiden Archives) and must have left in September (embarcation in Genua, *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 22 September 1908).
[152] IB 22/10/1908 no. 14 inv. 8432.
[153] IB 28/8/1909 no. 66 inv. 8452.
[154] IB 7/11/1911 no. 30 inv. 8505
[155] IB 1/6/1912 no. 16 inv. 8519.
[156] IB 1/10/1914 no. 34 inv. 8575.
[157] IB 10/11/1915 no. 9 inv. 8601.
[158] IB 30/5/1916 no. 48 inv. 8614.
[159] IB 29/3/1917 no. 4 inv. 8634.
[160] IB 2/5/1919 no. 4 inv. 8685.
[161] Joosten, *Brieven vanThorn Prikker*, 11.
[162] Familieadvertenties Ezerman, CBG.

## *Von Faber*

[163] BPL 1782 5A. Reproduced in *Catalogue* 2005, 95 (ill. 25).

[164] E.B.G. Lokerse, *Von Faber*, Rijswijk 1988 (genealogy of the East Indies branch of the Von Faber family, kept in the Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie in The Hague), pp. 15-17. These data are used with kind permission from Mrs. L. Lokerse-von Faber of Rijswijk.

[165] *See* his article on the school in Herwijnen mentioned below.

[166] IB 10/10/1855 no. 3 inv. 7175. *See also* the notice [by W.R. van Hoëvell] in *Tijdschrift voor NI*, 1855, 17-1, p. 266 and 1866, 18-1, pp. 160-1. *Also* mentioned in Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, Inaugurele rede Leiden (Leiden: Brill, 1877), 13. Summary of Von Faber's career in Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren N 298, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.

[167] IB 21/4/1860 no. 19 inv. 7281.

[168] IB 31/7/1860 no. 11 inv. 7287.

[169] IB 9/8/1860 no. 38 inv. 7288.

[170] Request with medical certificate, 24 January 1862. IB 11/3/1860 no. 1 inv. 7324.

[171] Request with medical certificate, 20 April 1862. IB 4/5/1862 no. 1 inv. 7327. This was the maximum of leave period within the country for an official from the Outer Possessions (*Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1853 no. 47).

[172] IB 20/8/1862 no. 25 inv. 7333.

[173] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, vol. 4, 1866, 31 October 1866 (pp. 255-6), 27 December 1866 (pp. 274-5), vol. 9, 1871, 26 March 1871 (p. 23). The type was needed for other publications.

[174] List in Lokerse, *Von Faber*.

[175] V 8/12/1864 no. 1 inv. 1548, containing a summary of IB 24/9/1864 no. 5 art 1.

[176] IB 18/9/1875 no. 9 inv. 7636.

[177] Request with medical certificate, 4 October. IB 8/10/1875 no. 41 inv. 7637.

[178] IB 26/9/1877 no. 10 inv. 7686.

[179] IB 15/11/1877 no. 24 inv. 7690.

[180] IB 11/6/1890 no. 42 inv. 7991.

[181] IB 19/11/1890 no. 16 inv. 8002.

[182] Request Surabaya 29 June 1896. IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.

[183] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1897 etc. He was appointed by the Director of Justice (*Java-bode*, 30 December 1896). In 1898–9 he advertised regularly in the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*.

[184] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* and *De Locomotief*, 29 November 1898.

## *Francken*

[185] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren A 905, NA, The Hague.

[186] Letter by Runan 汝男 to De Grijs and Schaalje, BPL 2106 II: 13A p. 3, *Catalogue* 2005, 140.

[187] V 13/6/1862 no. 29 inv. 1205, letter from Hoffmann 23 February 1862; V 7/7/1862 No. 59 inv. 1213.

[188] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren R 431, NA, The Hague. Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken. He was registered as a student of Law in Leiden University on 22 September 1863 (*Album Studiosorum 1575–1875*, 1393). Death notice in *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 September 1893.

[189] His life and that of his descendants are described in Inez Hollander, *Silenced Voices: Uncovering a Family's Colonial History in Indonesia* (Ohio University Press, 2008). Dutch translation: *Verstilde stemmen en verzwegen levens. Een Indische familiegeschiedenis*, Atlas, 2009. Thanks are due to Inez Hollander Lake, J.J.M. Francken, Mrs. Enny Harm-Francken, and Floris Harm for providing information about their (great)great-uncle J.J.C. Francken.

[190] V 12/2/1856-16, inv. 490, toeg. 2.10.02, NA. Letter by Hoffmann to the Minister of Colonies dated 3 February 1856.

[191] IB 22/9/1862 no. 9, inv. 7334.

[192] Letter from De Grijs to Francken, 3 May 1863 (BPL 1782:28). "Voorbericht," Francken and De Grijs, *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek*.

[193] *Woorden uitgesproken door Mr. W.H. 's Jacob [sic], bij het graf van J.J.C. Francken, overleden te Soerabaija den 6den Februarij 1864.* Dated 8 February 1864. An original copy is in the possession of Mrs. Enny Harm-Francken.

[194] *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 14 April 1864, quoting the *Nieuwsbode van Soerabaija*, 22 February 1864. Chinese New Year's Day was on 8 February, the Lantern Festival on Monday 22 February. Also quoted in *Leidsch Dagblad*, 15 april 1864.

[195] It appeared first in the *Makassaarsch Handels en advertentieblad* (16 April 1886), was taken over by the *Samarangsche Courant* (27 April 1866), and without the original explanatory footnote in *De Locomotief* (30 April 1866); an abridged version appeared in the *Leidsch Dagblad* (18 and 20 August 1866).

[196] *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directie-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 28 June 1866, pp. 170-1.

## *De Grijs*

[197] Gezinskaarten Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken; Gemeentearchief Haarlem.

[198] A red Chinese name card and a name stamp can be found in KNAG 139, East Asian Library, Leiden. This name is also stamped on KNAG 138 v. 4. Chinese sources such as *Chouban yiwu shimo* 籌辦夷務始末 also use this name. The name *Kai laoye* "Old Master Kai" 凱老爺 was used in a letter from his Chinese teacher (BPL 2106 II 13, *Catalogue* 2005, 140). The Chinese name *Fei Lijiu* 費禮就 on his American consular passport was probably not his own name (issued on 5 October 1863 at Tientsin (Tianjin). BPL 1782: 27. *Catalogue* 2005, 112, 115).

[199] This is the present house number (Straatnamenboek, Adresboekjes, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken).

[200] Familieadvertenties De Grijs, CBG, The Hague.

[201] Stamboeken militairen Oost en West Indië, no. 1428, NA, The Hague.

[202] Dossier De Grijs, CBG, The Hague.

[203] Established by Royal Decree 26 November 1845 no. 63. All information on the Pharmaceutical School is personal communication from Prof. Dr. Harm Beukers, June 2009.

[204] Inschrijvingsregister voor de Nationale Militie, ligting van het jaar 1851, no. 92, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken.

[205] Information on his military career is from Stamboeken officieren KNIL 1814–1940, vol. 396, p. 59 and vol. 667, p. 75, NA, The Hague. *See also* Stamboeken militairen Oost en West Indië, no. 1548, NA, The Hague.

[206] V 17/1/1854 no. 19, inv. 311. In his report dated 9 December 1853, Hoffmann had requested prolongation of De Grijs' assignment in Leiden for three or four months so that he could learn some Chinese (V 12/4/1854 no. 24, inv. 330); this was granted. Hoffmann later asked for another year of leave, whereupon De Grijs' order to proceed to the Indies was postponed for another six months starting 1 June 1854 (V 7/6/1854 no. 8, inv. 342). And in December 1854, De Grijs was again given postponement for a few months until he would be ready (V 22/11/1854 no. 4 inv. 382).

[207] Beginning in January 1855, he was studying together with Schlegel. V 19/6/1855 no.1, inv. 430. Letter by Hoffmann to Minister of Colonies dated 28 May 1855.

[208] *Tijdschrift voor Indische TLV*, 5 (1856), 487-8.

[209] V 21/4/1856 no. 19/373, inv. 509. Letter from Governor-General Duymaer van Twist to Minister of Colonies Pahud dated 16 January 1856.

[210] According to Schlegel, De Grijs was sent (*gedetacheerd*) to China to study Chinese pharmacopeia. Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 13. This is not confirmed by other sources.

[211] Introduction (*Voorbericht*), in: J.J.C. Francken, C.F.M. de Grijs: *Chineesch–Hollandsch woordenboek van het Emoi dialekt* (Batavia 1882).

[212] Letter from Hoffmann to Minister of Colonies Rochussen dated 9 July 1858, in V 5/8/1858 no. 5, inv. 734.

[213] IB 21/2/1858 no. 2 inv. 7229. Mentioned in the Advice from the Council of the Indies dated 20 January 1865 no. XXXIV, in: V 13/5/1865 no. 19/555 inv. 1607.

[214] According to the *Staatsalmanak*, he was acting Vice-Consul in Amoy in 1864 and 1865; the British merchant J. Tait was Vice-Consul from 1851 to 1863. The years 1864 and 1865 are clearly mistaken. De Grijs' notary minutes as acting Vice-Consul in Amoy date from 1858 to 1862; they are kept in Leiden University Library (Or. 26.273, *Catalogue* 2005, 40-1). He left Amoy at the end of May 1863 and arrived in Hong Kong on 1 June. In June he sold all his furniture and other belongings in Amoy (letters in BPL 1782:28). After his return from the Netherlands to China in 1864, he lived with the Consul in Macao, not in Amoy.

[215] Hoffmann, *Meededeling*, 1860, pp. 5-6.

[216] Decision of 12 November 1860 no. 8. *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 3, pp. 42-3 (7 April 1865).

[217] De Grijs, *Geregtelijke geneeskunde*, p. III, note. *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 1, p. 13 (20 September 1862). Another copy dated 1863 is kept in BPL 1781: 1 (*Catalogue* 2005, 91-2).

[218] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 3, p. 10 (10 February 1865), 93-4 (15 May 1865).

[219] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 4, p. 21 (16 January 1866).

[220] BPL1781:1 and 4. *Catalogue* 2005, 91-2.

[221] E. Bretschneider listed the names of 21 plants discovered by "Dr. C.F.M. de Grijs, Dutch military surgeon," six of which had already been discovered earlier under other names (*History of European Botanical Discoveries in China* (St. Petersburg 1898, reprint Leipzig 1962), 532-4).

[222] *Catalogue* 2005, 110-6, letters in BPL 1782: 28, BPL 1783: 1D, 2.

[223] BPL 1782: 26 A, B and C. *Catalogue* 2005, 112.

[224] Verwijnen, "In Memoriam."

[225] IB 4/2/1865 no. 5 inv. 7385.

[226] IB 4/2/1865 no. 5 (ff. 116-119), inv. 7385.

[227] This decision was confirmed on 12 July 1865. His monthly salary was *f* 600, which was twice as much as that of the other interpreters (Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren Q 339, NA, The Hague).

[228] Answers by De Grijs to questions, probably by the member of Parliament A.J.W. Farncombe Sanders in 1889. BPL 1781:9, p. 2a. *De Locomotief*, 12 March 1866.

[229] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, various yearly editions.

[230] Request with medical certificate 25 May 1885. IB 4/6/1885 no. 30 inv. 7871.

[231] *Almanak van het Leidsch studentencorps voor 1886*, 369.

[232] No. 1528, inv. 5, toegang 2.10.50 (Stamboeken militairen Indië).

## *Groeneveldt*

[233] This name appears on a Chinese seal in two of his books, *Shijing bianlan* 詩經便覽, SINOL. VGK 435.4 and Stanislas Julien, *Meng tseu vel Mencium*, vol. 2 (Chinese text) (1824), SINOL. 12.364.3 II.

[234] *Nederland's patriciaat* no. 79 (1995-1996), 237-9, 245-8.

[235] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren R 316, NA, The Hague.

[236] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren O 134, O 437, NA, The Hague.

[237] IB 4/2/1862 no. 11 in V 29/8/1862 no. 7/1050 inv. 1234. Letters to Herman Schlegel from J.A. Buddingh, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[238] IB 9/11/1862 no. 6 inv. 7337. Also in V 10/3/1863 no. 3 inv. 1310.

[239] V 28/10/1864 no. 10/1301 inv. 1534.

[240] IB 20/8/1864 no. 5.

[241] V 28/10/1864 no. 10/1301 inv. 1534.

[242] IB 28/8/1865 no. 41 inv. 7398.

[243] Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 21.

[244] In Pontianak he was succeeded by Meeter. IB 14/9/1870 no. 27 inv. 7515.

[245] IB 5/8/1872 no. 9 in V 5/10/1872 no. 46 inv. 2531.

[246] V 3/10/1873 no. 45 inv. 2626.

[247] This can be concluded from his preface to *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, 1877.

[248] IB 25/12/1874 no. 3, inv. 7617.
[249] Kuiper, "Du nouveau sur la mystérieuse mission de Batavia à Saïgon en 1890," in *Archipel* (2009).
[250] *Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1862–1922.*
[251] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren V' 425, NA, The Hague.
[252] IB 7/8/1877 no. 12 inv. 7683.
[253] IB 1/4/1881 no. 23 inv. 7771; IB 4/4/1887 no. 2/c inv. 7915; V 24/7/1889 no. 17 inv. 4281 (by Royal Decree 19/7/1889 no. 14).
[254] V 8/7/1893 no. 4/1138 inv. 4708. Appointment by Royal Decree 31/5/1893 no. 25.
[255] Royal Decree 13 April 1895 no. 31, mentioned in Stamboeken O 437.
[256] V 26/8/1895 no. 21 inv. 4968.
[257] Kuiper, "Du nouveau sur la mystérieuse mission de Batavia à Saïgon en 1890," *Archipel* (2009).
[258] *De Sumatra Post*, 2 September 1915, quoting *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*.
[259] Request for permission to accept the Order dated Batavia 19 June 1876. Proposal to the King in V 16/8/1876 no. 16 inv. 2908. Permission by Royal Decree 21 August 1876 no. 20 in V 29/8/1876 no. 3 inv. 2912.

## *De Groot*

[260] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren W 113, Nationaal Archief, The Hague. M.W. de Visser: "Levensbericht van J.J.M. de Groot," (1922). R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, *The Beaten Track of Science: The Life and Work of J.J.M. de Groot* (2002). *Notizen über mein Leben* (manuscript diary extracts in Dutch; one copy is in Archiefkast, East Asian Library, Leiden; De Groot Archief, Leiden). *See also* D.E. Mungello, *Western Queers in China* (2012), 75-80.
[261] In his manuscript *Tuibeitu chen* 推背圖讖, Schlegel 137b, now SINOL. VGK 1741.17.
[262] Gemeentearchief Schiedam.
[263] The Indies Institute was a private (municipal) school to prepare students for the higher officials examination for civil service (*grootambtenaarsexamen*) in the Netherlands Indies. Students were taught the languages (Malay, Javanese etc.), ethnology, geography, public insitutions, history, law and religious laws of the East Indies Archipelago. *See* Fasseur, *De indologen*, and Leur and Ammerlaan, *De Indische Instelling in Delft* (1989).
[264] *Album Studiosorum 1885–1925* no. 1433. On the reason, *see* De Groot, *Notizen über mein Leben*, 4, entry for 1873. "In September Prof. De Vries registered me as student of law in the *Album*, because without that registration one cannot become a member of the Student Corps." (In September schrijft Prof. De Vries mij als jurist op het Akademisch Album in. Zonder die inschrijving kan men namelijk geen lid van het Studentencorps worden.)
[265] IB 7/1/1880 no. 22 inv. 7741.
[266] Request dated Batavia 2 March 1883. IB 7/3/1883 no. 16 inv. 7817.
[267] Published as "Buddhist Masses for the Dead at Amoy," *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leide* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1885), Vol. 4, 1-120.
[268] V 29/12/1884 no. 18/2753 inv. 3819.
[269] V 8/5/1885 no. 10 inv. 3854.
[270] De Groot, *Notizen*, 19.
[271] IB 14/3/1886 no. 21 inv. 7889.
[272] IB 30/1/1888 no. 7 inv. 7934. A copy of De Groot's request (Amoy, 6 January 1888) is in Mailrapport 1888 no. 91.
[273] After his request dated Amoy, 5 April 1888, Governor-General O. van Rees had no objections and fully supported De Groot's request; the Minister of Justice also had no objections (V 16/1/1889 no. 55 inv. 4227). He was given permission to accept this decoration by Royal Decree of 2 Febuary 1889 no. 18, in V 8/2/1889 no. 32/269 inv. 4234.
[274] Serrurier's accusation in V 16/7/1888 no. 19/1178 inv. 4172. De Groot's answer (Amoy 16 September 1888) and the Minister's conclusion in V 11/1/1889 no. 10/47 inv. 4226. This was not the end of De Groot's conflicts with Serrurier, which dragged on for many years.
[275] Request dated Amoy 4 January 1890. IB 28/1/1890 no. 21 inv. 7982. Half of his salary in Amsterdam was paid by the Deli-Maatschappij.

[276] His assignment was: "History, literature, antiquities, institutions, customs and traditions of the peoples of the Indies Archipelago; the physical geography of the Indies Archipelago" (De geschiedenis, letterkunde, oudheden, instellingen, zeden en gewoonten der volken van den Indischen Archipel; de natuurkundige aardrijkskunde van den Indischen Archipel) (*Jaarboek der Rijks Universiteit Leiden* (1891–92), 4).

[277] The words of thanks were added at the explicit request of De Groot (V 6/2/1892 no. 51 inv. 4543). Royal Decree of 11 February 1892 no. 18, in V 19/2/1892 no. 16/369 inv. 4547.

[278] De Groot, *Notizen über mein Leben* (diary extracts), 63.

[279] His assignment was first the same as Schlegel's, "The Chinese language." However, Nieuwenhuis agreed to let him continue teaching a course about the Chinese in the Indies and the peoples of East Asia (A.W. Nieuwenhuis, *De levensvoorwaarden onder volken op hoogen en lagen trap van beschaving*, Inaugural Address 4 May 1904, p. 40). Therefore his assignment was later announced in the University yearbook as: "Chinese language and literature. The customs, traditions and history of the Chinese in our Colonies and of the peoples in East Asia (De Chineesche taal en letterkunde. De zeden, gewoonten en geschiedenis der Chineezen in onze Koloniën en van de volken van Oost-Azië) (*Jaarboek der Rijks Universiteit Leiden* (1903–04), 6, 38).

[280] Riem, whom De Groot considered by far the best student of this group, went to study Mandarin in Peking. Two years later, he did not proceed to the Indies to become Official for Chinese Affairs, but remained in Peking where he was appointed as student-interpreter at the Dutch Legation.

[281] Lewis Hodous (1872–1949) worked in Fuzhou in 1901–17 and later became professor of Chinese culture at Hartford Seminary (1917–45). AC3 1563, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.

[282] This was his student De Visser's (a classicist) only complaint about De Groot. De Visser, "Levensbericht J.J.M. de Groot," 12 (offprint).

[283] Forke, "De Groots Lebenswerk," 275.

[284] Bevolkingsregister 1890–1923, folio 9569, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken. In 1927, the number was changed to Zoeterwoudse Singel 57. The house was auctioned in 1938 (*Leidsch Dagblad*, 17 and 24 September, 1 October 1938); subsequently it was demolished and in 1939 ten new houses and appartments were built in its place.

[285] The last incident happened after his decision to leave. Described by Otterspeer, *De opvoedende kracht van den groentijd*.

[286] Hatto Kuhn, *Dr. Franz Kuhn, Lebensbeschreibung* (English version), 12-13.

[287] Werblowsky, *Beaten Track*, 31.

[288] Franke, "Gedächtnisrede," CXVII, CXXV; Bidder, "Erinnerungen," 280-1.

[289] Walravens, *Von Zach, Gesammelte Rezensionen, Geschichte*, 37.

[290] Franke, "Gedächtnisrede" (1923), CXVII. *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 11 October 1921.

[291] Personal communication, Hartmut Walravens, email 15 August 2012.

## *Hoetink*

[292] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren W 112 kat. 3, W 528, Nationaal Archief, The Hague; Gemeentearchief Deventer; Gemeentearchief The Hague; *Regeeringsalmanak voor NI*.

[293] Used on his Chinese lantern in Tsiangtsiu (*see* Van der Spek, *Diary*, 1 April 1879) and on an embossed stamp in his copy of *Huaren Meisegan tiaoli* 華人美色甘條例.

[294] Used on his manuscript *Helan Yandi Huamin shangfa* 荷蘭煙地華民商法 in 1900.

[295] Used in *Rili Mianlan Tongshanju daishou Zhonghua xinju zhangcheng* 日里棉蘭同善局代收中華信局章程, Medan 1905.

[296] In J. Hoffmann and H. Schultes, *Inlandsche namen eener reeks van Japansche en Chinesche planten*, KITLV Collection.

[297] J.E. van Kamp: *Dien Hoetink. 'Bij benadering' Biografie van een landbouw-jurist in crisis- en oorlogstijd* (Thesis Wageningen University 2005), 21-2, 24, 29-32, 339-40.

[298] IB 13/4/1878 no. 7 inv. 7699.

[299] Van der Spek, *Diary*, 16 May 1880.

[300] IB 28/11/1879 no. 19 inv. 7738.
[301] IB 5/9/1883 no. 14 inv. 7829.
[302] IB 4/10/1883 no. 57 inv. 7831.
[303] J.J.M. De Groot, *Nota* for the Minister of Colonies accompanying a letter dated Leiden, 2 March 1911, p. 3, inv. 886, toegang 2.10.36.04.
[304] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1886–1889.
[305] Mailrapporten 1889 nos. 95 and 249.
[306] IB 23/5/1889 no. 1 inv. 7966. Also in Mailrapporten 1889 no. 249.
[307] H.J. Bool: *De Chineesche immigratie naar Deli* [Medan 1905], 21-4. Copies of Hoetink's Chinese correspondence with the Daotai of Hainan in April-May 1890 are kept in Ms Hoetink H 421b, KITLV Collection, pp. 95-104, and *see also* pp. 87-94.
[308] IB 30/9/1889 no. 5 inv. 7974.
[309] Request dated Swatow, May 1890. IB 7/6/1890 no. 9 inv. 7991.
[310] IB 21/7/1892 no. 28 (3) inv. 8042.
[311] V 24/8/1892 no. 18 inv. 4608. The Indies government agreed, according to Deen in the *Java-bode*, 19 August 1892.
[312] He obtained 34 points (on a scale of 26 to 45 points). *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* and *Java-bode*, 29 May 1893.
[313] Stamboeken W 528 mentions V 10/2/1894 no. 21, but this file was destroyed. *Java-bode*, 1 and 28 December 1893, 2 March 1894. In Parliament it had been suggested in 1893 that the position in Jeddah was to be filled by an Indies official to keep tabs on the numerous Dutch subjects from the Indies going to Mekka. A retired officer of the Indies army, F.J. Haver Droeze, was appointed there in March 1894.
[314] Request dated Weltevreden, 21 July 1895. IB 27/7/1895 no. 17 inv. 8114. The reason is unknown.
[315] He was mentioned as possible candidate for director of the N.I. Levensverzekering- en Lijfrente-Maatschappij, succeeding Ypes who had suddenly died (*Java-bode*, 22 July 1895), but he was not appointed (*De Locomotief*, 23 July 1895).
[316] IB 29/9/1895 no. 2 inv. 8118.
[317] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.
[318] V 15/10/1896 no. 14 inv. 5093.
[319] The consular positions in Peking and Hong Kong were occupied, and for Singapore a professional Consul was preferred. V 4/11/1896 no. 32/2895 inv. 5099.
[320] "Als tolk te Medan en later hier, heeft hij voortdurend relaties met China aangehouden en zich steeds op de hoogte gehouden van al wat voor Nederland en Nederlandsch-Indië in verband tot dat rijk van aanbelang is." Letter from Director of Justice J.C. Mulock Brouwer to Governor-General dated Batavia, 24 May 1897, in V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176.
[321] Appointed by Royal Decree of 16 June 1897. Letter from Minister of Colonies Bergsma to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176. Reply from the latter to Bergsma, dated 5 July 1897, in V 12/7/1897 no. 4 inv. 5180.
[322] Mailrapport no. 206, 1898.
[323] IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.
[324] IB 8/5/1898 no. 2 inv. 8181. Mailrapport no. 253, 16 May 1898.
[325] These were never published. He proposed to translate the draft *Civil Code* for the Chinese by H. Fromberg (1896), but Governor-General Van der Wijck decided that he should translate the laws that were actually in force.
[326] IB 6/6/1900 no. 18 inv. 8231. Breman, *Koelies, planters en koloniale politiek*, 244-6.
[327] Request dated Weltevreden, 22 January 1903. IB 11/3/1903 no. 27 inv. 8297.
[328] IB 30/4/1904 no. 1 inv. 8324.
[329] IB 24/7/1904 no. 3 inv. 8330.
[330] *Rili Mianlan Tongshanju daishou Zhonghua xinju zhangcheng* 日里棉蘭同善局代收中華信局章程, Medan, 1905.
[331] Request dated Medan, 7 May 1906 (IB 23/6/1906 no. 52 inv. 8376). Pension *f* 3,655 (IB 30/7/1906 no. 17 inv. 8378).
[332] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*.
[333] Gemeentearchief, The Hague.
[334] A catalogue was published by C.J. van Slee, *Catalogus van de Chinees–Indische boe-*

*kenverzameling (der Athenaeum bibliotheek te Deventer) geschenk van B. Hoetink*, Deventer 1925 (SINOL. 40 E 16).

## *Hoffmann*

[335] The following is mostly based upon two obituaries. "Johannes Josephus Hoffmann." Obituary in Dutch by L. Serrurier dated Leiden, 29 January 1878. *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (16 Feb. 1878), 50-2 (*also* in BPL 2186 K:20). H. Kern, "Levensbericht van J.J. Hoffmann." *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 1878. *See also:* W.J. Boot, "J.J. Hoffmann – The First Japanologist, speech at the Hoffmann commemoration on 21 March 2005, Leiden" (unpublished manuscript) and its expanded version "J.J. Hoffmann, the Founder of Japanology," in *Ontmoetingen*, Leiden 2008, pp. 33-42. In the Bevolkingsregister 1854–61 (wijk 8, fol. 102), Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, his name is Johan Josephus Philippus Hoffmann. His Christian names were Johann Joseph (Babinger).

[336] Franz Babinger, "Johann Joseph Hoffmann (1805–1878) Ein Würzburger Orientalist," *Archiv des historischen Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg* 1912.9, p. 220. Babinger's biography is almost entirely based on Kern's obituary.

[337] Lehner, 191, note 5, quoting Van Siebold, *Isagoge* (1841), 4. The original text is: Ko Tsching Dschang anno millesimo octingentesimo secundo in provincia Fokien, in regione urbis Kanton finitima in lucem editus est (Ko Tsching Dschang was born in Fujian province, which is near to the city of Canton, in the year 1802). According to other sources, he was born in Dama Xiang 大麻鄉, Dabu Xian 大埔縣, a Hakka county in Eastern Guangdong bordering Fujian (*Shiiborutu "Nippon" kaisetsu*, T 54, 55; email from Zhao Jianmin 趙建民, 15 July 2015). From Hoffmann's notes in his Chinese dictionary on Ko's pronunciation, it is clear he was a Hakka speaker.

[338] Von Siebold, *Isagoge* (1841), 3-4. According to Serrurier (1878, p. 2), after his return to the Indies, Ko started a business, in the end lost all his money, and died in misery. This may have happened later, after Medhurst left Batavia and went to Shanghai in 1843.

[339] *See* Chapter Two.

[340] Hoffmann, *Meededeling*, 1860; Hoffmann, *Catalogue of Chinese Types and Matrixes*, 1876, introduction; Lehner, *Der Druck chinesischer Zeichen in Europa*, 206. These type were also used by E.J. Brill for publishing Schlegel's dictionary.

[341] "hoogleeraar belast met de opleiding van tolken voor de Chinesche en Japansche talen."

[342] Royal Decree (*Koninklijk Besluit*) of 30 September 1862 no. 84, V 15/10/1862 no. 6/1295 inv. 1250. *See* Chapter Two.

[343] *Catalogue* 2005, 170 (BPL 2186 K 16).

[344] Willem Vissering (1851–1931) was enrolled at Leiden University as a student of law on 25 September 1869, 18 years old. He also studied Chinese and Japanese, and wrote a thesis with a translation and study of Ma Duanlin's "Qianbi kao" 錢幣考 (part 8 and 9 of *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, 1321) entitled *On Chinese Currency: Coins and Paper Money,* Leiden: 1877 (promotion 26/6/1877). He was a son of Prof. Simon Vissering (1818–88), who had taught law to Nishi and Tsuda in Leiden. Many years later, his brother Gerard (1865–1937), a banker, and in 1912–31 president of the Netherlands Central Bank, wrote a book with almost the same title: *On Chinese Currency:* I. *Preliminary Remarks on the Monetary Reform of China;* II. *The Banking Problem*, published in 1912–4.

[345] Pieter Maclaine Pont (1850–1926), a student of law, studied Chinese together with W. Vissering for one year. *Nederland's Patriciaat* 75 (1991), 267. Schlegel's and Hoffmann's reports (May 1873) in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[346] Lindor Serrurier (1846–1901) first studied Japanese and Chinese and later law. He studied Japanese from the 1860s, and was enrolled as a student of law at Leiden University on 23 September 1874 (no. 1436). He obtained a Ph.D. in law on 5 October 1877. In 1877 he became curator and in 1881 director of the Ethnographic Museum in Leiden. As from 1887 he was also lecturer in Ethnology and Japanese at Leiden Uni-

versity (*Jaarboek Rijks-Universiteit Leiden*, 1888–1896). In 1896 he resigned from both functions and went to the East Indies, where he became a teacher of the geography and ethnology of the East Indies at the Willem III Gymnasium in Batavia. He published a catalogue of Japanese books in Leiden in 1896 (*Bibliothèque Japonaise: Catalogue raisonné* etc.). Critical obituary by Schlegel in *T'oung Pao* 2 (1901), 279-82.

[347] Bevolkingsregister, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken. *The Honorable Visitor: Wandelgids: Japan in Leiden* (Leiden: Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal 2000), 67.

[348] Royal Decree of 30 January 1875 no. 22 in V 5/2/1875 no. 24 inv. 2757. Short letter of thanks from Hoffmann in V 23/2/1875 no. 24 (Exh.) inv. 2762.

## *De Jongh*

[349] This name is written on some of his Chinese books donated to the Sinological Institute in Leiden. It is also mentioned in Van der Spek's *Diary* (entry before 28 February 1879).

[350] *Staatsalmanak* 1860 to 1897.

[351] www.genlias.nl Dates of death are dates of registration.

[352] Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren, IJ 51 and IJ 593.

[353] Van der Spek, *Diary*.

[354] IB 26/4/1880 no. 24 inv. 7748.

[355] IB 28/7/1910, no. 9, inv. 8474. CBG, The Hague. www.genlias.nl

[356] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*. *Javasche Courant* 1885 no. 24.

[357] De Jongh's request dated Padang 26 May 1885. IB 20/6/1885 no. 2 inv. 7872.

[358] IB 14/5/1887 no. 20 inv. 7917.

[359] Kuiper, "Du nouveau sur la mystérieuse mission."

[360] IB 26/9/1890 no. 9 inv. 7998.

[361] IB 28/7/1890 no. 27 inv. 7994.

[362] *Java-bode*, 30 May 1892. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1893.

[363] IB 21/7/1892 no. 28 inv. 8042.

[364] IB 11/8/1893 no. 11, inv. 8067.

[365] IB 8/8/1895 no. 28 inv. 8115.

[366] IB 24/9/1895 no. 32 inv. 8118.

[367] IB 19/9/1895 no. 35 inv. 8118.

[368] IB 29/9/1895 no. 2 inv. 8118.

[369] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.

[370] IB 18/2/1898 no. 24 inv. 8176.

[371] IB 8/4/1898 no. 14 inv. 8179. Hooghwinkel's leave in IB 17/3/1898 no. 19 inv. 8178.

[372] IB 30/12/1898 no. 3 inv. 8196.

[373] IB 19/2/1899 no. 9 inv. 8200.

[374] IB 17/3/1900 no. 21 inv. 8226.

[375] IB 28/8/1901 no. 31 inv. 8260, IB 25/9/1902 no. 27 inv. 8262.

[376] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1904.

[377] IB 30/6/1904 no. 9 inv. 8329.

[378] IB 17/10/1905 no. 16 inv. 8360.

[379] IB 20/1/1906 no. 18 inv. 8366.

[380] IB 28/6/1906 no. 11, quoted in full in De Jongh's report.

[381] IB 3/7/1906 no. 20 inv. 8377.

[382] IB 10/11/1908 no. 22 inv. 8433.

[383] *Javasche Courant* 1908, no. 99.

[384] They were to leave on 4 August on the steamer *Tamboer*. IB 28/7/1910 no. 9 inv. 8474.

[385] Request dated Batavia 8 June 1911. IB 6/7/1911 no. 21 inv. 8497.

[386] *Winkler Prins Encyclopedie*, 1952, vol. 14, p. 837. This Convention and later Conventions of the League of Nations would lead to national drugs legislation, such as the Dutch *Opium Law* of 1928.

[387] *Staatsalmanak* 1914 to 1922.

## *Meeter*

[388] Dossier Meeter, CBG, The Hague. Information about his life and family background can be found in K. Meeter, *Meeterverhalen*.
[389] V 13/6/1862 no. 29 inv. 1205. He was also called Pieter Andrieszoon Meeter (*Meeterverhalen*, 154).
[390] There is a seal with this name on *Si da qi shu diyi zhong (Sanguo zhi)* 四大奇書第一種（三國志）文英堂（源盛）(SINOL. VGK 5754.7).
[391] Andries Pietersz. Meeter, in: F. Jos. van den Branden, J.G. Frederiks, *Biografisch woordenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde* (1888–91) (www.dbnl.org).
[392] K. Meeter, *Meeterverhalen*, 154.
[393] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren, I (rom) 620 (2.10.36.22 inv. 947). Dossier Meeter, CBG, The Hague.
[394] Letter from J.J. de Gelder to Hoffmann, 12 August 1862, in Or. 26.971, East Asian Library.
[395] V 15/3/1865 no. 7 inv. 1583. Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren Q 426, NA, The Hague.
[396] IB 28/6/1867 no. 17 inv. 7442, art. 2.
[397] IB 28/6/1867 no. 17, in V 15/8/1867 no. 30 inv. 1955.
[398] IB 6/7/1868 no. 6 inv. 7467.
[399] V 8/4/1870 no. 20/411 inv. 2309.
[400] IB 14/9/1870 no. 27 inv. 7515.
[401] IB 4/7/1871 no. 30 inv. 7534.
[402] IB 23/10/1874 no. 14 inv. 7613.
[403] *Java-bode*, 28 December 1874, 11 January 1875.
[404] *Javasche Courant* 1876 no. 27, 30/3/1876.
[405] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië*.
[406] IB 31/3/1888 no. 2/c inv. 7938.
[407] "Aangekomen," *Java-bode*, 5 April 1890.
[408] IB 17/4/1890 no. 21 inv. 7988.
[409] IB 13/9/1890 no. 4 inv. 7997. Request dated Semarang, 28 Augustus 1890.
[410] Termorshuizen, *Journalisten en heethoofden*, 144, 256-7, 498.
[411] For instance he wrote a conference report together with Schlegel in *T'oung Pao* A 2 (1891), 420.
[412] According to a family tradition. *Meeterverhalen*, 54.
[413] The author uses Meeter's style and choice of words, and discloses that "P.M." are P. Meeter's initials. But it remains puzzling how Meeter could react so quickly to an article in an Indies newspaper while he was living in Leiden. Perhaps he was at the time again in the Indies, where he had invested with his brother in a plantation.

## *Moll*

[414] Van der Spek, *Diary*, entry before 28 February 1879.
[415] He became administrator in a bakery cooperative in The Hague and worked until 1927. Familiedrukwerk *Geslacht Moll* (stam Achterhoek) (1622–1942), CBG, The Hague.
[416] Royal permission dated 10 December 1878 no. 14, in V 18/12/1878 no. 17/2796 inv. 3159. Mentioned in Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren, IJ 50, NA, The Hague.
[417] Van der Spek, *Diary*.
[418] IB 26/4/1880 no. 24 inv. 7748.
[419] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1883.
[420] *Geslacht Moll*, 28.
[421] "Aan den tijdelijken tolk voor de Chinesche taal te Cheribon A.E. Moll het ernstig ongenoegen der Regering te betuigen over de hoogst ongepaste handeling, waaraan hij zich schuldig heeft gemaakt door als ambtenaar tegen het gewestelijk bestuur in Cheribon gerigte artikelen in dagbladen te schrijven." IB 1 Nov. 1882 no. 18 inv. 7809. Only one such article could be found. *See* Chapter Thirteen, The Interpreters' Advisory Functions, section "The Weak Position of the Interpreters as Advisors."

[422] IB 24/5/1883 no. 8 inv. 7822.
[423] IB 3/3/1887 no. 7/c inv. 7913. Secret correspondence from the Resident of Western Borneo and others in Mailrapport 1887 no. 117a.
[424] IB 5/3/1889 no. 20 inv. 7961.
[425] They had been first diagnosed as having cholera and received the wrong treatment. Then it was discovered that they had been poisoned. Since Mrs. Moll had just sharply reprimanded the female cook, the latter and others were arrested as suspects, but they were acquitted when no proof was found. The other deaths were their sister-in-law (the wife of H.C. Moll, A.E. Moll's brother), the merchant James Greig, and the 5-year old Emma van Delden, daughter of the Assistant Resident of Grissee (*Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 27 June 1889; *Java-bode*, 17, 22 June 1889, *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 27 June 1889, and many other newspapers).
[426] On his leave *see Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 24 July 1889. Request dated Sukabumi, 18 August 1889. IB 29/8/1889 no. 41 inv. 7972.
[427] Request dated Bogor (Buitenzorg), 6 October 1889. IB 9/10/1889 no. 25 inv. 7975.
[428] IB 29/10/1892 no. 8 inv. 8048.
[429] Ezerman was appointed on Banka on that date. IB 24/10/1894 no. 4 inv. 8096.
[430] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.
[431] *Geslacht Moll*, 28, CBG, The Hague.
[432] IB 17/10/1898 no. 4 inv. 8192.
[433] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 1888 (7 February 1888), 34.

## *Roelofs*

[434] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren V122, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.
[435] *Java-bode*, 9 June 1879 etc.
[436] The arrival of H. Roelofs, his wife and four children was published in the *Java-bode*, 2 July 1862.
[437] Many advertisements appeared in the *Java-bode* in 1862-1863. *Regeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1868), 495.
[438] Gemeentearchief Doetinchem; Gemeentearchief The Hague.
[439] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren Z 75, NA, The Hague. He was a surveyor (*landmeter*) with the Land Registry (*Kadaster*) (*Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 22 April 1892).
[440] *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 28 October 1890.
[441] *Regeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1875), 107.
[442] Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 14.
[443] IB 22/9/1872 no. 6 inv. 7563.
[444] IB 17/6/1875 nos. 12 and 14 inv. 7630. Details about this matter are in inv. 2, toegang 2.05.93.
[445] *Regeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1877) 116, 128.
[446] "Kollegie van Boedelmeesteren der Chinesche en andere onchristen sterfboedels." IB 3/10/1879 no. 19 inv. 7735. At the same time Young was transferred from Pontianak to Padang.
[447] IB 11/9/1883, no. 14, inv. 7829. *Also: Kong tong Minutes* (*Gongtang anbu* 公堂案簿), inv. 21021 (19/1/1881 – 19/9/1884), 11 August 1884 (p. 247) and 15 October 1883 (p. 269), Kong Koan Archive, East Asian Library, Leiden.
[448] Kuiper, "Du nouveau sur la mystérieuse mission de Batavia à Saïgon en 1890," *Archipel* (2009).
[449] Request with medical certificate 27 June 1883, IB 29/6/1883 no. 13 inv. 7824.
[450] She was not a resident of the Indies. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1880-1884).
[451] In July 1885 his widow left for Greece. Gemeentearchief Doetinchem.

## *Schaalje*

[452] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren M108, Nationaal Archief, The Hague; Gemeentearchief Haarlem; Familieadvertenties Schaalje, Centraal Bureau voor de Genealogie, The Hague.

[453] Used in Chinese letters to him, BPL 2106 II 1, 13 A; *Catalogue* 2005, 132, 140.
[454] www.genlias.nl.
[455] Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken.
[456] V 22/1/1856 no. 6 inv. 484, toegang 2.10.02, NA. Letter from Hoffmann to the Minister of Colonies dated 15 December 1855. A list of 13 basic character strokes by him dated 3 July 1855 is in BPL 2106 II 1 A, *Catalogue* 2005, 136.
[457] V 12/2/1856 no. 16, inv. 490.
[458] Letter from Hoffmann, dated 30 January 1857, V 16/6/1857 no. 1/662 inv. 613.
[459] Or. 26.273, no. 89, *Catalogue* 2005, 41.
[460] Letter from J.A. Buddingh to Herman Schlegel dated 13 May, Museum Naturalis, Leiden.
[461] IB 9/11/1862 no. 6 inv. 7337.
[462] Letter from C.F.M. de Grijs, BPL 1782:23, p. 2 (26 January 1863), 25 (23 June 1863).
[463] V 28/10/1864 no. 10 inv. 1534.
[464] IB 16/8/1864 no. 2 inv. 7374.
[465] About the Van Angelbeek family, *see De Indische Navorscher*, vol. 8 (1995) no. 1.
[466] http://blog.seniorennet.be/renepersijn2006/archief.php?ID=30662
[467] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië*.
[468] http://www.onzeplek.nl/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=708
[469] IB 16/10/1872 no. 16 inv. 7515.
[470] *De Locomotief*, 12 August 1874 and 12 April 1875.
[471] At his request dated Riouw, 15 October 1875, with medical certificate. IB 10/11/1875 no. 9 inv. 7639.
[472] G. Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 21.
[473] Request dated 9 April 1888. IB 27/4/1888 no. 24 inv. 7940.
[474] IB 30/5/1890 no. 26 inv. 7990.
[475] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 27 July 1893; *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 10 October 1893.
[476] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140. He was allotted a pension in IB 19/10/1896 no. 11 inv. 8144.

## *Schaank*

[477] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren A'16, A' 628. R.H. van Gulik, "Nécrologie Simon Hartwich Schaank," *T'oung Pao* 33 (1937), 298-300.
[478] Dossier Schaank, CBG, The Hague.
[479] Inv. 125, B26, 1880-81, no. 57 and 1881-82 no. 59, Archief Indische Instelling, Gemeentearchief Delft.
[480] A *controleur* was an official of low rank in the Interior Administration (*Binnenlandsch Bestuur*); on Java and Madura he would monitor the local native government, having close contact with the local population; elsewhere he would also often lead a division (*afdeeling*).
[481] *Album Studiosorum 1875-1925*, no. 1561.
[482] Gemeentearchief, Groningen.
[483] V 7/1/1897 no. 22/42 inv. 5119.
[484] *Javasche Courant* 92 (1897), 19 November 1897.
[485] For a modern reappraisal of Schaank's work on this subject, *see* David Prager Branner, "Simon Schaank and the Evolution of Western Beliefs about Traditional Chinese Phonology," David Prager Branner (ed.), *The Chinese Rime Tables: Linguistic Philosophy and Historical-comparative Phonology* (Amsterdam, 2006), 151-70. *See also* Sybesma, "A History of Chinese Linguistics in the Netherlands" (2014), 144-5.
[486] Gemeentearchief The Hague; Dossier Schaank, CBG, The Hague.
[487] De Bruin also assumed Schaank was the author (*De Chineezen ter Oostkust van Sumatra*, 41).

## *Schlegel*

[488] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren M 106, Nationaal Archief, The Hague.
[489] Letter from De Grijs to Francken, Amoy 7 May 1863, in BPL 1782:28, p. 13.

[490] Stamped or written on KNAG 20 and 21, East Asian Library, Leiden. Gustaaf (Gû tap 漁答) was one of the very few given names mentioned in the Supplement (*Aanhangsel*) to his dictionary (p. 8); Schlegel called it his style (*zi* 字).

[491] Date of death from Bob van Zijderveld, *Een Duitse familie*, 325. This book contains a lot of other personal information about Gustaaf Schlegel and his family, not mentioned in my thesis. This information is often based on recently discovered German letters by Hermann Schlegel to his second son Leander (now in BPL 3567).

[492] The last date is from the gravestone of Gustaaf, Leander and the latter's wife, Begraafplaats Groenesteeg, Leiden. *See* Bob van Zijderveld, *Een Duitse familie*, Part III, Leander Schlegel, 261-345.

[493] *Leids jaarboekje* 1982. Photocopy in: Miscellaneous letters of Herman Schlegel, archives of Museum Naturalis, Leiden.

[494] Henri Cordier, "Nécrologie," *T'oung Pao* 4 (1903), 407-15. Many of the following dates are from this source. G. Schlegel, *Over het belang der Chineesche taalstudie*, 12.

[495] Gram, "Een bezoek aan professor Schlegel," 82-83.

[496] V 11/1/1854 no. 7, inv. 309, NA. Letter from Hoffmann to A.L. Weddik, dated 9 January 1854.

[497] Schmeltz, "Prof. dr. G. Schlegel. †," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 October 1903. This *Admissie-examen* for Leiden University was held on 18 and 19 September 1857 at the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts (*Leydse Courant*, 24 August 1857). Those who did not have a *gymnasium* education, had to pass this examination in order to be admitted. In 1869, when Schlegel applied for a promotion at the University of Jena, he stated in his curriculum vitae that after passing an examination, he had on 19 September 1857 been accepted as a student in Leiden University (Van Zijderveld, *Een Duitse familie in Nederland*, 165-6). Cordier wrote in his "Nécrologie" (p. 408), that Schlegel was enrolled (*immatriculé*) in Leiden University on 19 September 1857. But Schlegel's name does not appear in the Leiden *Album Studiosorum*, nor in the manuscript version of it (Archieven van Senaat en Faculteiten, no. 18, University Library, Leiden).

[498] Gerlof F. Mees, "Historisches über *Anthus Gustavi* Swinhoe," *Mitteilungen aus dem Zoologischen Museum in Berlin*, *Annalen für Ornithologie* 14, Berlin 66 (1990), Supplementshaft, pp. 137-41. *See also* Barbara and Richard Mearns, *Biographies for Bird Watchers: The Lives of Those Commemorated in Western Palearctic Bird Names* (London etc.: Academic Press, 1988), 337-9. The *Anthus Gustavi* spends the summer in Siberia and the winter in Sulawesi; it migrates via Amoy. Some fishes etc. were also named after Gustaaf Schlegel (*see:* Dr. G. Schlegel, "Levensschets van Herman Schlegel," *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen 1884*. In off-print p. 63, note).

[499] Bagelen: IB 25/10/1864 no. 12 inv. 7378. Kedu: IB 3/11/1864 no. 15 inv. 7379.

[500] IB 19/1/1864 no. 1, inv. 7384.

[501] *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Vol. II, p. 477 (Mr Fokko Alting Mees, 1819–), 1st edition [1900]; "Ordonnantie van 2 November 1892," *Staatsblad* no. 238. Tjiook-Liem, *Rechtspositie*, 194-208.

[502] *Chinesische Braüche und Spiele in Europa*, 32 pp.

[503] Request with medical certificate, Batavia 3 June 1872. IB 8/6/1872 no. 12 inv. 7556.

[504] Dossier Schlegel, CBG.

[505] From 2011 on no longer edited in Leiden but in the USA (and Paris).

[506] Cordier, "Nécrologie," 412.

[507] Johannes Dietrich Eduard Schmeltz (Hamburg, 17 May 1839 – Leiden, 26 May 1909), ethnographer and naturalist, was in 1863–82 *Kustos* of the Museum Godefroy in Hamburg, concerned with the natural history and ethnography of the South Seas, and he worked from 1882 on as curator in the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden. He was one of the founders of the journal *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* (1888–1968). As successor to Serrurier he was director of the Museum in Leiden from 1897 until 1909.

[508] "Schlegel had groote behoefte aan verkeer met menschen en nu hij niemand meer om zich had, werd hij bij den dag meer in zich zelf gekeerd. De oorzaak hiervan mag ten deele gezocht worden daarin, dat hij gedurende zijn verblijf in de Oost te veel had ingezogen van de zeden, gewoonten en beschouwingen van het Chineesche volk en hij zich derhalve met een groot deel van de gebruiken en begrippen van onze Europeesche samenleving niet

meer vereenigen kon. Daardoor gaf hij dikwijls aanleiding tot heftige discussies, wat door menigeen minder aangenaam ondervonden werd, die zich dan van hem terugtrok. Ook wij hebben die ondervinding met hem opgedaan, maar wij wisten dat onze vriend voor een ernstig woord toegankelijk was en ook de waarheid over zichzelven kon hooren. Wij hebben dan ook nooit geschroomd hem die als een vriend te zeggen en schrijven het daaraan toe, dat wij van onze eerste kennismaking af in 1889 tot op het laatste toe in vriendschappelijke aanraking met hem hebben mogen blijven." J.D.E. Schmeltz, "Prof. dr. G. Schlegel. †," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17 October 1903. A summary (with many mistakes) appeared in *De Indische Gids*, Vol. 2 (1903), 1862-3.

[509] *Leidsch dagblad*, 28 July 1884.

[510] This was because of his help as an interpreter etc. to a French Navy vessel stranded in Amoy in 1860. H. Cordier, "Nécrologie," p. 409.

[511] Royal Decree (KB) of 3 February 1896 no. 19.

[512] Appraisal by Burgersdijk en Niermans, 18 November 1903, no. 1729; letters from L. Schlegel, 21 November 1903 no. 1738, and 30 November 1903 no. 1801; letter from Prof. De Goeje with numbers of printed books bought for the library, 14 May 1904 no. 740. Bibliotheekarchief M 86, Leiden University Library.

## *Van der Spek*

[513] Gemeentearchief Delft; Van der Spek family archive; Schlegel's obituary in *T'oung Pao* 3 (1902), 355.

[514] The transcription Sih Peh is written on his wooden seal for printing calling cards that are kept together with his diary in the Leiden University Library. The name could also be transcribed Sih Pik.

[515] These names are mentioned in his diary and written or printed on his books. There is also a large wooden seal with the characters for Sih Peh, probably used to make red name cards in the Chinese manner. His style is based on a quotation from the *Book of Odes*: 詩經云伯兮絜兮邦之傑也 (*Book of Songs* says: "Hey, Péh is brave, greatest hero in the land!" Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs* (1996), 53. The *Book of Odes* says: "My noble husband is how martial like! / The hero of the country!" Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 4, p. 105).

[516] Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren, IJ 49, NA, The Hague.

[517] Van der Spek, *Diary*.

[518] IB 26/4/1880 no. 24 inv. 7748.

[519] IB 24/3/1882 no. 87, article C 3.

[520] He was succeeded by Stuart. IB 1/6/1883 no. 38.

[521] He changed places with Stuart, who came from Mentok. IB 3/3/1883 no. 1 inv. 7817. According to Meeter, this was a punishment for insubordination (Meeter, "Wees- en boedelkamerherinneringen IV," *Java-bode*, 19 March 1895).

[522] IB 4/10/1883 no. 57 inv. 7831. He succeeded Hoetink, who had been appointed for one month only, before he was reappointed in Medan.

[523] Two years later, in April 1885, Maijer was condemned to eight years imprisonment (*tuchthuis*). Staat A, with IB 22/7/1892 no. 7 inv. 8042. About W.F. Maijer, *see also* Stamboeken M 191.

[524] IB 21/12/1883 no. 19 inv. 7836. As from 21 December 1883 he was succeeded as temporary acting President by J.C. Tasch. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (1885), 128. Tasch had been a member of the Orphans Chamber in Batavia and he remained in function until 6 July 1885.

[525] *Sumatra-Courant*, 9, 11 and 13 December 1884. Justus, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 31 December 1884.

[526] Meeter, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 19 January 1885; Spaarpot, "Ingezonden stukken," *Bataviaasch Handelsblad*, 26 January 1885; *Sumatra-Courant*, 5 February 1885.

[527] *Sumatra-Courant*, 17 February 1885, fully quoted in *Java-bode*, 2 March 1885.

[528] J.J.M. De Groot, *Nota* for the Minister of Colonies accompanying a letter dated Leiden, 2 March 1911, p. 3, inv. 886, *toegang* 2.10.36.04.

[529] Request with medical certificate, dated Padang, 24 February 1885. IB 13/3/1885 no. 4/c inv. 7865. He was succeeded by De Jongh.
[530] He travelled on the *Prinses Marie*. *Het nieuws van den dag*, 11 April 1885. *Diary*, 7 April 1885.
[531] Request of 27 June 1887. Decided by Royal Decree of 23 July 1887 no. 17. In V 3/8/1887 no. 25/1275, inv. 4076, V 18/7/1887 no. 2 inv. 4070.
[532] *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, IV, 1918.

## *Van de Stadt*

[533] Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren G' 625, G' 786, NA, The Hague.
[534] Letter from all three students dated 16 July 1897, also used in several Chinese documents, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.02.
[535] *Engel van de Stadt, 1746–1819, zijn voor- en nageslacht*, 161, 164-5 (The Hague: A.A.M. Stols, 1951), CBG The Hague.
[536] *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 2793, 16 years old, in the Faculty of Arts. According to the data in the *Album Studiosorum*, he was the second sinologist who registered as a regular student in Leiden University (after De Groot, who enrolled as a student of law in 1873).
[537] V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.
[538] Letter from Knobel to the Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 18 January 1897, quoted in another letter dated 14 April 1897, inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.
[539] De Bruin was at the same time appointed in Mentok. IB 20/2/1898 no. 10 inv. 8176.
[540] IB 23/6/1899 no. 8 inv. 8208.
[541] Contrary to the decision published in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1896 no. 96, an Official for Chinese Affairs was again appointed in Mentok. IB 9/11/1902 no. 7 inv. 8289
[542] IB 30/6/1904 no. 9 inv. 8329.
[543] IB 7/4/1905 no. 2 inv. 8347. His later complaint about his daily allowance met with approval: *f* 10 per day was not enough, it should be *f* 15 (IB 28/2/1906 no. 33 inv. 8368, also in Mailrapport 1906 no. 331).
[544] P.J. Stigter was Second-Class Engineer. IB 16/8/1906 no. 1 inv. 8380.
[545] Request dated Mentok 6 April 1907. IB 27/4/1907 no. 18 inv. 8396.
[546] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 23 June 1916.
[547] When he resigned, Van de Stadt was planning to go to Japan for six months to continue his Japanese studies (*Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 16 May 1918).
[548] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1918 nos. 71 and 72, making known two Royal Decrees of 15 September 1917. Later a similar opportunity to study Japanese was created for infantry officers of the Netherlands Indies Army. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1918 nos. 117, 651, and 1919 no. 176.
[549] "Japansche Zaken," *De Sumatra Post*, 12 November 1918, taken from the *Java-bode*.
[550] Gemeentearchief, The Hague.
[551] IB 18/10/1921 no. 60 inv. 8744.
[552] IB 29/12/1921 no. 42.
[553] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1915–1917. There had also been several interpreters for Japanese.
[554] S. Cho (Tsang Tsui Chih) was responsible for translations and G.H. de Heer was European interpreter of Japanese; regulations in ten articles in IB 7/6/1922 no. 41 inv. 8759. *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1922 no. 404.
[555] *Javasche Courant* 1929 no. 69. Stamboeken G' 786.
[556] IB 12/7/1928 no. 29 inv. 8909.
[557] *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1932 no. 583. IB 7/12/1932 no. 12.
[558] IB 22/12/1932 no. 22, summarised in Stamboeken G' 786.

## *Stuart*

[559] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren W114 and 437, NA, The Hague.
[560] Familieadvertenties Stuart, CBG, The Hague.

[561] IB 13/4/1878 no. 7 inv. 7699.
[562] IB 3/3/1883 no. 1 inv. 7817.
[563] IB 1/6/1883 no. 38 inv. 7823.
[564] IB 28/7/1885 no. 3/c inv. 7874.
[565] Letter from Governor-General to Minister of Colonies dated 26 May 1895, in V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176.
[566] Gemeentearchief The Hague.
[567] Her title is mentioned in the death notice of H.N. Stuart in 1916, CBG. And in *Het Vaderland*, 6 September 1934. She devoted fifty years of her life to the Anti-Vivisection Stichting (Foundation against vivisection). *De Telegraaf*, 6 December 1957 and 4 February 1985.
[568] IB 26/3/1889 no. 34 inv. 7962.
[569] IB 19/5/1892 no. 14 inv. 8038.
[570] He was allowed to take part according to the rules from before Royal Decree of 20 July 1893, on the condition that he should take a preliminary examination, showing that he had studied East Indies subjects before that date; he passed on 20 September (V 5/9/1893 no. 36 inv. 4737; V 16/9/1893 no. 12 inv. 4740; V 23/9/1893 no. 42 inv. 4742).
[571] Inv. 125, B28, no. 111, Archief Indische Instelling, Gemeentarchief Delft.
[572] Stuart passed the examination of July 1894 as number 33 of 34 successful candidates, while 23 others failed. V 12/7/1894 no. 62 inv. 4837. *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*, 1895. *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 July 1894.
[573] IB 21/12/1894 no. 38 inv. 8100.
[574] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.
[575] V 15/10/1896 no. 14 inv. 5093.
[576] Letter from Director of Justice J.C. Mulock Brouwer to Governor-General (secret), dated Batavia 24 May 1897, in V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176.
[577] Telegram from Governor-General to Minister of Colonies dated 26 May 1897, in V 29/6/1897 no. 17 inv. 5176.
[578] IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.
[579] IB 27/4/1909 no. 19 inv. 8444.

## *Thijssen*

[580] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren G' 624, NA, The Hague. His birth date in the Gemeentearchief The Hague is 26 June 1873.
[581] Letter from all three students dated 16 July 1897, inv. 71, toegang 2.05.27.02.
[582] He passed away in the week of 10 to 17 February. *De Gooi- en Eemlander, nieuws en advertentieblad*, 18 February 1888.
[583] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië* (1850), 408. Her father Hendrik Marnstra worked as a Protestant minister in the Indies in 1844–64.
[584] *Album Studiosorum 1875–1925*, no. 3014, 20 years old.
[585] V 12/11/1895 no. 21/2629 inv. 4991.
[586] Letter from Knobel to the Minister of Foreign Affairs dated 18 January 1897, quoted in another letter dated 14 April 1897, inv. 1330, toegang 2.05.38.
[587] IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.
[588] From 31 May until 11 June 1902. He received *f* 72 as subsidy for extra expenses. IB 19/5/1903 no. 8 inv. 8203.
[589] IB 22/10/1904 no. 26 inv. 8336.
[590] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië*.
[591] IB 17/10/1905 no. 16 inv. 8360.
[592] IB 20/1/1906 no. 18 inv. 8366.
[593] *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 20 April 1906. Also in *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië* of the same date. IB 7/2/1906 no. 1. inv. 8367.
[594] IB 11/12/1907 no. 37 inv. 8411.
[595] IB 2/1/1908 no. 33 inv. 8413. Director H.J.E. Wenckebach was appointed on 30 April 1908.
[596] He was assigned together with the *Controleur* A.A. Burgdorffer, the medical doctor J.D.W. Rost van Tonningen and some native and Chinese personnel by IB 2/1/1909 no. 2 inv. 8437.

[597] Request Surabaya 18 May 1909. IB 28/6/1909 no. 23 inv. 8448.
[598] www.genlias.nl. Birthdate from Burgerlijke Stand, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken.
[599] IB 11/11/1910 no. 17 inv. 8481.
[600] IB 7/11/1911 no. 30 inv. 8505.
[601] Request with medical certificate, dated Semarang, 31 January 1914. The Governor-General approved the Resident's permission for immediate leave. IB 28/2/1914 no. 16 inv. 8560.

## *Van Wettum*

[602] Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren G' 624. *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 27 March 1914.
[603] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*.
[604] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren F' 5, F' 809, Nationaal Archief, The Hague; Gemeentearchief Leidschendam; Kramers family papers.
[605] Dagboeken Henri Borel, 14 July 1891 (p. 4), Cahier 1890–1891, B.745 H.3 Dagboek, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.
[606] Stamped on many of his Chinese books in the KNAG Collection, East Asian Library, Leiden.
[607] Wolfgang Franke, Claudine Salmon, Anthony Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia*, vol. III, p. 258.
[608] Bevolkingsregister 1880–1895, Gemeentearchief The Hague.
[609] Joosten, *Brieven van Thorn Prikker*, 12.
[610] Their complaints concerned: 1) the refund of travel costs from Hong Kong to Amoy; 2) remuneration of the salary of the Chinese teacher; 3) their stipend of 125 Spanish dollars being too low as a result of the devaluation of this dollar.
[611] IB 24/10/1894 no. 4 inv. 8096.
[612] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.
[613] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië* (1898), 100.
[614] Five Officials in a row were transferred when Hoetink left for China and Thijssen arrived in the Indies. IB 3/4/1898 no. 15 inv. 8179.
[615] IB 23/6/1899 nos. 7 (Borel) and 8 (Van Wettum, Van de Stadt) inv. 8208.
[616] Request dated Surabaya, 31 July 1904. IB 24/9/1904 no. 43 inv. 8334.
[617] *Het nieuws van den dag van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 27 October 1905. *Soerabaisasch Handelsblad*, 30 March 1906. This was just after the end of the Russo–Japanese war in which the Japanese achieved their world-shocking victory over the Russians. It marked a new stage in Japanese expansion in Asia.
[618] IB 20/11/1906 no. 17 inv. 8386.
[619] Mailrapport 1906 no. 1738 (salary in Japan) and no. 1941 (report of the Dutch Minister (*gezant*) in Tokyo), both missing in the archives of the Ministry of Colonies.
[620] The title of this booklet was *Inékomé Itchiran*, "Short explanation of rice culture and processing." The translation was published in *Van Oordt's Berichten* no. 12. H. van Oordt van Lauwenrent was Consul in Kobe. *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 2 March 1907 and 24 October 1907. The *nota* on Formosan sugar culture was mentioned in *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 17 October 1908.
[621] IB 30/11/1908 no. 3 inv. 8434.
[622] Request of 24 December 1908. The position of Advisor for Japanese Affairs was at the same time temporarily created. IB 26/1/1909 no. 8 inv. 8438.
[623] IB 30/4/1909 no. 7 inv. 8444.
[624] For his Japanese Advisorship retroactively from 26 January 1909. IB 17/8/1909 no. 10 inv. 8452.
[625] B 7/11/1911 no. 30 inv. 8505.
[626] IB 14/3/1913 no. 51 inv. 8537.
[627] W.J. Oudendijk, *Ways and By-ways in Diplomacy* (London: Peter Davies, 1939), 198,
[628] IB 16 May 1916, no. 16, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1916, no. 377.
[629] *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 9 August 1914. This article gives a short account of his funeral which was attended by many.
[630] Short obituary in a Dutch newspaper, 1914, kept in CBG, The Hague (Van Wet-

tum, Portretten). Obituary also in *Het nieuws van den dag van Ned.-Indië*, 8 August 1914.

[631] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*.

[632] Personal information from his granddaughter Anne Maria Laboyrie-van Wettum of Zeist (14 December 2007).

[633] Short biography in: *Mededelingen van de Anthroposofische Vereniging in Nederland* (November 1989), 339-43.

[634] *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 51 (1913), 97 (6 October 1913).

[635] Listed in Kuiper, *The KNAG Collection*.

## *Young*

[636] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren T 208, NA, The Hague. G. Schlegel: "Nécrologie. J.W. Young," *T'oung Pao* A 10 (1899) 223-5.

[637] Stamboeken Indische ambtenaren K 297, Z 292, NA, The Hague.

[638] "Genealogie Young," *De Indische Navorscher,* 18 (2005), 124-37, CBG, The Hague.

[639] Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries*, 66-8. Many sources on the Internet, search "William Young" and Batavia.

[640] *Regeeringsalmanak voor Ned.-Indië* (1875), 107.

[641] IB 2/1/1873 no. 3, in V 18/2/1873 no. 26 inv. 2563.

[642] Schlegel's report dated 9 April 1873, p. 17, in V 31/5/1873 no. 50 inv. 2589.

[643] According to his "Nécrologie," he learned Hakka. According to IB 3/6/1877 no. 25, inv. 7679, also IB 8/2/1877 no. 46 inv. 7671, he could choose to study Hakka (Kheh) or Hoklo (Chaochou/Teochiu).

[644] Roelofs was transferred from Padang to Batavia (succeeding Albrecht). IB 3/10/1879 no. 19 inv. 7735.

[645] IB 20/8/1883 no. 27 inv. 7828.

[646] Schlegel, "Nécrologie." Details in *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad*, 1 September 1885.

[647] Schlegel, "Nécrologie." Request mentioned in *De Locomotief*, 16 October 1885.

[648] *De Locomotief*, 31 December 1885.

[649] IB 3/3/1887 no. 7/c inv. 7913. Secret correspondence from the Resident of Western Borneo and others in Mailrapport 1887 no. 117a.

[650] Schlegel, "Nécrologie."

[651] Request dated Pontianak, 15 February 1889. IB 5/3/1889 no. 20 inv. 7961.

[652] IB 22/3/1891 no. 5 inv. 8010.

[653] IB 26/8/1896 no. 14 inv. 8140.

[654] "Een indrukwekkende Uitvaart" (An impressive funeral), *De Locomotief*, 9 September 1898. J. Stigter was a teacher of the Dutch language at the Semarang Teachers College (*Normaalschool*).

[655] Schlegel, "Nécrologie."

[656] "Een leesboek = een leerboek," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 25 June 1895. This was a review of *Uit de Indo–Chineesche samenleving*, signed "D." P.A. Daum, the main editor of this newspaper, was also a well-known novelist.

APPENDIX B

# DATES OF APPOINTMENT AND DISCHARGE OF EUROPEAN INTERPRETERS OF CHINESE IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

## *Introduction to the tables*

The dates of appointment and discharge on the tables are usually the dates of the decision of the Governor-General of the Netherlands Indies (IB), or the date of inception mentioned in the *Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren*.

Dates written before each name are the dates of appointment (or inception), and those written after the name (after a period of time) and followed by a semicolon (;) are the dates of discharge or a new appointment elsewhere; for instance, in the line for 1862: "20/8 Schlegel" means G. Schlegel was appointed on 20 August 1862; in the line for 1872: "8/6;" means he was discharged on 8 June 1872.

The actual dates of arrival and departure are known only in a very few cases, based on personal diaries. These actual dates do not differ much from the official ones. For example, J. van der Spek was appointed in Makassar on 26 April 1880, knew of his appointment from a newspaper on 27 April and received his appointment on 28 April. He arrived in Makassar on 18 May and was sworn in on 28 May.[1] H.J.F. Borel was appointed in Riau on 24 October and arrived on 26 October 1894; he was appointed in Makassar on 26 August as from 1 October, but arrived on 14 November 1896; he was appointed in Surabaya on 3 April but arrived on 21 April 1898.[2]

Although S.H. Schaank was neither an interpreter nor an Official for Chinese Affairs, he was an East Indies official who had studied Chinese. Therefore his name is indicated in the tables also. For the first year of appointment his name appears between brackets; his continued service in each place is indicated by an asterisk (*); in general, no precise dates of his appointment and discharge are given as they do not appear in the *Stamboeken Indische Ambtenaren*. The precise location of his appointments is likewise not mentioned in the tables.

When there was a surfeit of interpreters, some were appointed "temporarily" in newly created positions; this is indicated by "t" after their name.

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[1] J. van der Spek, *Diary*.
[2] Henri Borel, *Diary*, Letterkundig Museum, The Hague.

*Dates of Appointment and Discharge of European Interpreters of Chinese in the Netherlands Indies (1860–1896)*

| | JAVA | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Batavia | | Surabaya | Semarang | Cirebon | Rembang |
| year | | | | | | |
| 1860 | | | | | | |
| 1861 | | | | | | |
| 1862 | 20/8 Schlegel | 20/8 v Faber | 22/9 Francken | | | |
| 1863 | ” | ” | ” | | | |
| 1864 | ” | ” | † 6/2; 25/3 Albrecht | | | |
| 1865 | ” | ” | ” | 4/2 de Grijs | | |
| 1866 | ” | ” | ” | ” | 9/9 de Breuk | |
| 1867 | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” | |
| 1868 | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” | |
| 1869 | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” | |
| 1870 | ” | ” | ” | ” | † 10/11; | |
| 1871 | ” | ” | ” | ” | | |
| 1872 | 8/6; | ” | ” | ” | | |
| 1873 | | ” | ” | ” | | |
| 1874 | 25/12 Groeneveldt | ” | ” | ” | | |
| 1875 | ” | 8/10; | ” | ” | | |
| 1876 | ” | | 11/3; 30/3 Meeter | ” | | |
| 1877 | 7/8; 15/11 Albrecht | 26/9 v Faber | ” | ” | | |
| 1878 | ” | ” | ” | ” | 13/4 de Groot | |
| 1879 | 5/9; 3/10 Roelofs | ” | ” | ” | ” | |
| 1880 | ” | ” | ” | ” | 7/1; 26/4 Moll | 26/4 de Jongh t |
| 1881 | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” |
| 1882 | ” | ” | ” | ” | 1/11; | ” |
| 1883 | 29/6; 20/8 Young | ” | ” | ” | | ” |
| 1884 | ” | ” | ” | ” | | ” |
| 1885 | ” | ” | ” | 4/6; 28/7 Stuart | | 13/3; |
| 1886 | ” | ” | ” | ” | | |
| 1887 | 3/3; 3/3 Moll | ” | ” | ” | | |
| 1888 | 21/4; | ” | 31/3; 21/4 Moll | ” | | |
| 1889 | | ” | 29/8; | 26/3; | | |
| 1890 | 28/7 de Jongh | 11/6; | 19/11 v Faber | 17/4 Meeter 13/9 | | |
| 1891 | ” | | ” | 22/3 Young | | |
| 1892 | ” | 21/7 Hoetink | ” | ” | | |
| 1893 | (11/8 Opium) | ” | ” | ” | | |
| 1894 | ” | ” | ” | ” | | |
| 1895 | ” | 31/7; 29/9 Hoetink | ” | ” | | |

| | OUTER POSSESSIONS | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| year | Pontianak (West. Borneo) | Mentok (Bangka) | Tanjung Pinang, Riau | Padang (W. C. Sumatra) | Makassar | Medan (E.C. of Sumatra) |
| 1860 | 9/8 v Faber | 9/8 Albrecht | | | | |
| 1861 | ” | ” | | | | |
| 1862 | (11/3) 20/8; | ” | | | | |
| 1863 | | ” | | | | |
| 1864 | 20/8 Groeneveldt | 25/3; 16/8 Buddingh | 16/8 Schaalje | | | |
| 1865 | ” | ” | ” | | | |
| 1866 | ” | ” | ” | | | |
| 1867 | ” | ” | ” + 28/6 Meeter | | | |
| 1868 | ” | ” | ” + Meeter 6/7; | | | |
| 1869 | ” | 25/6; | ” | 25/6 Buddingh | | |
| 1870 | 14/9; 14/9 Meeter | | ” | (†16/8 Batavia); 14/9 Groeneveldt | | |
| 1871 | ” | | ” | ” | | |
| 1872 | ” | | 16/10; | 28/8; | | |
| 1873 | ” | | | | | |
| 1874 | 23/10; | | | 23/10 Meeter | | |
| 1875 | 17/6 Roelofs | | 10/11 Schaalje | ” | | |
| 1876 | 22/5; | | ” | 30/3; 22/5 Roelofs | | |
| 1877 | 16/3 Young | | ” | ” | | |
| 1878 | ” | 13/4 Stuart | ” | ” | 13/4 Hoetink t | |
| 1879 | 3/10; | ” | ” | 3/10; 3/10 Young | 28/11; | 28/11 Hoetink |
| 1880 | 7/1 de Groot | ” | ” | ” | 26/4 vdSpek t | ” |
| 1881 | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” |
| 1882 | ” +1/11 Moll (Singkawang) | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” (1/11 Schaank) |
| 1883 | dG 7/3; 24/5 Moll (Pontianak ) (7*4/9;) | 3/3; 3/3 vdSpek 4/10 | ” | 20/8; (5/9 Hoetink 4/10;) 4/10 vdSpek | 3/3; 3/3 Stuart | ” (*9/7;) (5/9-4/10 Padang) |
| 1884 | ” | | ” | ” | ” | ” |
| 1885 | ” | | ” | 13/3; 13/3 de Jongh 20/6 | 28/7; | ” |
| 1886 | ” (Schaank) | | ” | | | ” |
| 1887 | 3/3; Young * | 14/5 de Jongh | ” | | | ” |
| 1888 | ” * | ” | 27/4; | | | ” |
| 1889 | 5/3; 26/3 Stuart * | ” | | | | 23/5; (29/8 Moll 9/10;) |
| 1890 | ” * | 28/7; | | | | 30/5 Schaalje |
| 1891 | ” * | | | | | ” |
| 1892 | 8/6; * | 29/10 Moll | | | | ” |
| 1893 | * | ” | | | | ” |
| 1894 | 24/10 v Wettum * | 24/10; 24/10 Ezerman | 24/10 Borel | 24/10 Moll | 21/12 Stuart | ” |
| 1895 | ” * | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” |

*Dates of Appointment and Discharge of Officials for Chinese Affairs in the Netherlands Indies (1 October 1896–1917)*

| year | JAVA | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Batavia | | Surabaya | Semarang | Rembang |
| 1896 | de Jongh (Opium) 1/10; 1/10 de Jongh (Opium) | Hoetink 1/10; 1/10 Hoetink | v Faber 6/9; 1/10 Stuart | Young 1/10; 1/10 Young | |
| 1897 | ” | ” | ” | ” | |
| 1898 | 18/2; 3/4 Stuart | ” (3/4 China) | 3/4; 3/4 Borel | † 7/9; 17/10 Moll | 20/2 vdStadt |
| 1899 | ” | ” (China) | 23/6; 23/6 v Wettum | ” | 23/6; |
| 1900 | ” | ” (6/6 Justice) | ” | ” | |
| 1901 | ” | ” (Justice) | ” | ” | |
| 1902 | ” | ” (Justice) | ” | ” | |
| 1903 | ” | ” (Justice) 7/4; | ” | ” | |
| 1904 | ” | 21/2 Ezerman (id.) 10/11; | 4/10; 22/10 Thijssen t | ” | |
| 1905 | ” | | ” (27/10 Opium) | † 21/3; 23/9 Borel | |
| 1906 | ” | | ” (Opium 20/1;) | ” | |
| 1907 | ” | | ” (11/12 OEN) | ” | |
| 1908 | ” | 30/11 v Wettum (Justice) | ” (2/1 Banka) | 16/4; 22/10 Ezerman | |
| 1909 | ” 2/6; | 30/4 v Wettum (Jap. & Chinese)[2] | 2/8; 2/8 Borel | ” | |
| 1910 | | ” | ” | ” | |
| 1911 | | ” | ” | 7/11; 7/11 Thijssen | |
| 1912 | 29/3 Mouw 1/6; 5/4 SnellvVol 1/6 | ” | 1/6; + 29/3 Bruineman 1/6; 1/6 Ezerman | ” | |
| 1913 | | ” (14/3 BB) | ” | ” | |
| 1914 | 18/8 Bruineman 1/10; 1/10 Ezerman | † 10/8; | 1/10; 1/10 Bruineman | 2/2; († 24/3) | |
| 1915 | ” + 8/6 Mouw ? | 8/2 Josselin (BB) | ” | | |
| 1916 | ” 2/7; 24/6 Mouw; Bruineman, Snellen v Vollenhoven | ” 12/2; | ” 24/6; | | |
| 1917 | Batavia: Mouw, Bruineman, Snellen van Vollenhoven, 17/2 J.Th. Moll, 29/3 Ezerman,13/9 de Kat Angelino | | | | |

1 Although Borel was appointed in Mentok, he probably never went there. On 16 November 1908 he was appointed in Pontianak.

2 On 30 April 1909 Van Wettum was retroactively appointed Official for Chinese Affairs as from 30 November 1908.

| year | OUTER POSSESSIONS | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pontianak (West. Borneo) | Mentok (Bangka) | Tanjung Pinang, Riau | Padang (W.C. Sumatra) | Makassar | Medan (E.C. Sumatra) |
| 1896 | v Wettum 1/10; 1/10 v Wettum (* 1/4;) | Ezerman 1/10; | Borel 1/10; 1/10 Ezerman | Moll 1/10; | Stuart 1/10; 1/10 Borel | Schaalje 2/9; 1/10 Moll |
| 1897 | ” | | ” | | ” | ” (Schaank) |
| 1898 | 30/4; 3/4 Thijssen | 20/2 de Bruin 21/11; | ” | | 3/4; 30/4 v Wettum | 17/10; 21/11 de Bruin * |
| 1899 | ” | | ” | | 23/6; 23/6 vdStadt | ” * |
| 1900 | ” | | ” | | ” | ” * |
| 1901 | ” | | ” | | ” | ” * |
| 1902 | ” (Schaank) | | ” | | ” | ” *; |
| 1903 | ” * | 9/11 vdStadt t | 25/11; 25/11 Borel | | 9/11; 25/11 Ezerman | ” |
| 1904 | 22/10; 16/11 de Bruin *; | ” | 2/8; | | 21/2; | 16/11; (Schaank) |
| 1905 | 10/11; | ” | | | | * |
| 1906 | | ” | | | | * |
| 1907 | | 5/5; 22/11 de Bruin | | | | * |
| 1908 | 21/8 Borel | 2/2; 16/4 Borel 21/8[1] | | | | (*15/5;) |
| 1909 | 2/8; (4/9 Schaank) | | | | | |
| 1910 | 11/11 Thijssen * | | | | | |
| 1911 | 7/11; * | | | 7/11 Ezerman | | |
| 1912 | 1/6 Mouw * | | 1/6 Bruineman | 1/6; 1/6 SnellvVol | 1/6 Borel | |
| 1913 | ” * | | ” | ” | 3/1; | |
| 1914 | 21/1; (24/2 SnellvVol) (*2/5;) 10/6 SnellvVol | | 24/2 (18/8); | 24/2; | | |
| 1915 | ” | | | | | |
| 1916 | ” 24/6; | | | | | |

APPENDIX C

# CHINESE NAMES OF DUTCH SINOLOGISTS (1860–1917)

| Mandarin | Hokkien | in characters | Dutch name |
|---|---|---|---|
| An Gelin | | 安格林 | A.D.A. de Kat Angelino |
| Bali | Pa-lát | 吧力 | J.E. Albrecht |
| Bangjie | (Pang Kiét) | 邦傑 | J. van der Spek, style 字 |
| Daixien Yiming | Tài-sien I-bîng | 戴先意明 | Emile F. Thijssen |
| Fen Fa | Hun Hoat | 紛發 | M. von Faber |
| Futing | Hu-ting | 富亭, 富庭 | B. Hoetink (ca. 1878, 1905) |
| Futing Miedayushi hang yi | Hu-ting Bih-tát-dzū-sū hâng it | 富亭篾達裕士行一 | Bernardus Hoetink, eldest son |
| Gao Yan | Ko Iên | 高延 | Jan J.M. de Groot |
| Gao Yan Yaguo hang er | Ko Iên Iâ-kok hâng dzī | 高延琊崞行二 | Jan Jacob de Groot, second son |
| Hu Ding | | 胡定 | B. Hoetink (ca. 1900) |
| Hua Lan Jun | Hoa-lân-kun | 花瀾君 | J.J.C. Francken |
| Kai Shi | K'ái Sū | 凱士 | C.F.M. de Grijs |
| Mao Lu | Mô Lo̍ | 毛露 | J.Th. Moll |
| Meide | (Bi-tek) | 美德 | P. Meeter (?) |
| Meilun Andun | Bî-lûn An-tun | 眉綸安敦 | Anton G. de Bruin |
| Mo Zhan | Bík-tam | 墨湛 | B.A.J. van Wettum |
| Mouli | Bo̍-lé | 謀禮 | H.J.F. Borel |
| Pan Mozhan | P'oan / P'oa˘ Bík-tam | 潘墨湛 | B.A.J. van Wettum |
| Qu Molin | K'u Bík-lîm | 瞿墨林 | Willem P. Groeneveldt |
| Shalie | (Sa Liét) | 沙列 | M. Schaalje |
| Shi Dapi | Si-tát Pit | 施達闢 | Peter A. van de Stadt |
| Shi Li | Si-lí | 施理 | G. Schlegel |
| Shi Lijia | Si-lī-ka | 施利加 | G. Schlegel |
| Shili Yuda | Si-lí Gû-tap | 施理漁答 | Gustaaf Schlegel |
| Wang Yiren | Ang-gī-lîn | 汪義仁 | A.D.A. de Kat Angelino |
| Wang Yiren | Ang-ik-lîn | 汪逸人 | A.D.A. de Kat Angelino |
| Wuli | Bú-lé | 武禮 | H.J.F. Borel |
| Wulie | Bú-liét | 武烈 | H.J.F. Borel |
| Wu Po | Bú P'ik | 武珀 | A.E. Moll |
| Xue Bo | Sih-peh | 薛伯 | J. van der Spek |
| Yanglan | Gióng Lân | 仰蘭 | B. Hoetink (?), style 字 |
| Yang Yali | Yông Ā-lí | 楊亞理 | Arie A. de Jongh |
| Yuda | Gû-tap | 漁答 | Gustaaf (Schlegel), style 字 |

APPENDIX D

# STUDENTS OF HOFFMANN, SCHLEGEL, AND DE GROOT

*Hoffmann's students (1849–1877)*

| | name | years of life | years of study | note |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | G. Schlegel | 1840–1903 | 1849–1857 | Chinese interpreter, professor |
| 2 | Z.H. Kloekers | 1828–1894 | 1851–1852 | missionary |
| 3 | C.F.M. de Grijs | 1832–1902 | 1854–1855 | Chinese interpreter, acting Vice-Consul in Amoy |
| 4 | J.J.C. Francken | 1838–1864 | 1855–1857 | Chinese interpreter |
| 5 | M. Schaalje | 1840–1899 | 1855–1859 | Chinese interpreter |
| 6 | W.P. Groeneveldt | 1841–1915 | 1858–1861 | Chinese interpreter, Vice-President Council of the Indies |
| 7 | J.A. Buddingh | 1840–1870 | 1858–1861 | Chinese interpreter |
| 8 | J. de Breuk | 1844–1870 | 1858–1864 | Chinese interpreter |
| 9 | R.J. de St. Aulaire | 1827–1864 | 1859–1861 | Japanese interpreter |
| 10 | P. Meeter | 1844–1901 | 1862–1865 | Chinese interpreter |
| 11 | L. Serrurier | 1846–1901 | 1870s | Chinese and Japanese, law |
| 12 | W. Vissering | 1851–1931 | 1872–1877 | law, Chinese |
| 13 | P. Maclaine Pont | 1850–1926 | 1872–1873 | law, Chinese |

*Schlegel's students (1871–1902)*

| | name | years of life | years of study | note |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | J.J. Roelofs | 1851–1885 | 1871–72 | studied in Batavia, interpreter |
| 2 | B. Hoetink | 1854–1926 | 1873–76 | interpreter, Labour Inspector |
| 3 | J.J.M. de Groot | 1854–1921 | 1873–76 | interpreter, professor |
| 4 | H.N. Stuart | 1855–1916 | 1873–76 | interpreter, Off. Chin. Aff. |
| 5 | J. van der Spek | 1857–1902 | 1875–78 | interpreter, dermatologist |
| 6 | A.E. Moll | 1857–1905 | 1875–78 | interpreter, Off. Chin. Aff. |
| 7 | A.A. de Jongh | 1856–1941 | 1875–78 | interpreter, Chief Opium Monopoly |
| 8 | A. Lind | 1858–1931 | 1876–87 | Chinese and law, lawyer |
| 9 | S.H. Schaank | 1861–1935 | 1884–85 | East Indies official (BB) |
| 10 | J.L.J.F. Ezerman | 1869–1949 | 1888–92 | interpreter, Off. Chin. Aff. |
| 11 | H.J.F. Borel | 1869–1933 | 1888–92 | interpreter, Off. Chin. Aff. |
| 12 | E.R. Goteling Vinnis | 1868–1894 | 1888–90 | stopped after 1.5 years |
| 13 | B.A.J. van Wettum | 1870–1914 | 1888–92 | interpreter, Off. Chin. Aff., Japanese |
| 14 | P.A. van de Stadt | 1876–1941 | 1892–95 | Off. Chin. Aff., Billiton Mij., Japanese |
| 15 | A.G. de Bruin | 1874–1947 | 1892–95 | Off. Chin. Aff., Deli-Mij., N.I. Tax Office |
| 16 | E.F. Thijssen | 1873–1814 | 1892–95 | Off. Chin. Aff. |
| 17 | J.H. Kann | 1872–1944 | 1895–96 | banker |
| 18 | E. *Ritter* von Zach | 1872–1942 | 1896–97 | Austrian Consulate, N.I. Tax Office |
| 19 | M.W. de Visser | 1875–1930 | 1901–02 | japanologist, professor |

*De Groot's students in Leiden (and Dutch students in Berlin) (1892–1914)*

| | name | years of life | years of study | Note |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | W.J. Oudendijk | 1874–1953 | 1893–94 | interpreter at Legation, diplomat |
| 2 | W.J. van Duysberg | 1876–1960 | 1894 | interpreter at Legation |
| 3 | G.S.D. Hamel | 1877–±1954 | 1897–99 | consul |
| 4 | M.W. de Visser | 1875–1930 | 1902–04 | japanologist, professor |
| 5 | C.G. Riem | 1889–±1968 | 1907–10 | interpreter at Legation, banker |
| 6 | J. Snellen van Vollenhoven | 1885–1975 | 1907–10 | Off. Chin. Aff. |
| 7 | J.A.M. Bruineman | 1885–1945 | 1907–10 | Off. Chin. Aff., mayor |
| 8 | H. Mouw | 1886–1970 | 1907–10 | Off. Chin. Aff., diplomat |
| 9 | Lewis Hodous | 1872–1949 | 1909–10 | American missionary and sinologist |
| 10 | Th.H.J. de Josselin de Jong | 1887–1965 | 1910–12 | Off. Chin. Aff., interpreter at Legation |
| 11 | J.J.L. Duyvendak | 1889–1954 | 1910–12 | interpreter at Legation, professor |
| 12 | A.D.A. de Kat Angelino | 1891–1969 | 1911–14 | Off. Chin. Aff., diplomat |
| 13 | J.Th. Moll | 1891–1985 | 1911–14 | Off. Chin. Aff., banker |

APPENDIX E

# NAMES OF SOME TEACHERS/CLERKS IN THE INDIES

| sinologist | teacher | Chinese | date | period | place of origin or notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Albrecht | Tan Kioe Djin | 陳求仁 | from 15/5/1860 to 21/11/1860 | 3-5 yrs | Amoy |
| | Oei Tsoe Khing | 黃[資慶] | from 3/1864 on [?] | | Chong Cheuy [Tsiangtsiu] |
| Von Faber | Han Bong Kie | 韓蒙杞 | from 15/5/1860 to 24/9/1864 | 3-5 yrs | Canton |
| | Lo Ling Kaai | [羅寧佳] | from 24/9/1864 | 3-5 yrs | [Amoy] from Batavia |
| Schlegel | Ti Tik Khing | [池德慶] | from 4/1862 to 31/12/1864 | 3 yrs | Tsjang-tsjaaúw [Tsiangtsiu] |
| | Poei Boen Phiauw | [方文颺] | from 1/1/1865 on | 3 yrs | former schoolmaster, Free school Batavia |
| Francken | Oei Tsoe Khing | 黃[資慶] | from 4/1862 to 2/1864 | 3 yrs | Chong Cheuy [Tsiangtsiu] |
| Schaalje | Tsioe Tot Koan (Tsiu) | [周德官] | 15/6/1864 contract | 3 yrs | from Amoy |
| Buddingh | Tsen Kin Sioe (Tsîn, Tsen Kin Siu) | [陳敬壽, 曾] | 15/6/1864 | 4 yrs | Hakka, from Hong Kong |
| Groeneveldt | Tsjoe Tsjoek Kong | [周竹剛] | 28/7/1864 contract | 5 yrs | Hakka |
| | Tan Siu Eng (1833–1906) | 陳琇榮 | 1874–1890s? | | Amoy |
| De Grijs | K'eng | [康] | 26/8/1864 contract | 3 yrs | [Amoy] |
| De Breuk | Li Phoe Nien | [李浮蓮] | from 7/1866 on | 3 yrs | [Amoy] |
| Meeter | Tsjhin Koei Liem | [陳貴林] | from 13/2/1867 on | 3 yrs | [Hakka] |
| Roelofs | Tan Kaij Thee (1862–1885) | 陳開堤 | ca. 1880–1883 | | Amoy |
| Hoetink | Jo Hoae Giok (?–1899) | 楊懷玉 | 1878–1879 | | Amoy |
| | Tan Siu Eng (1833–1906) | 陳琇榮 | 1890s | | Amoy |
| De Jongh | Tan Siu Eng (1833–1906) | 陳琇榮 | 1890s | | Amoy |
| Stuart | Tan Siu Eng (1833–1906) | 陳琇榮 | ca. 1898-1906 | | Amoy |
| Borel | Wang Fung Ting | 王鳳亭 | 1909–1912 | | Peking, teacher of Mandarin |
| De Josselin de Jong | Yung Siuk Kiun | 熊淑君 | 1915–1916 | | Hakka |

APPENDIX F.

# TABLE OF STUDENTS IN CHINA 1856–1867
## (with appointments in the Indies)

| year* | Albrecht | Von Faber | De Grijs | Francken | Schlegel | Schaalje | Buddingh | Groeneveldt | De Breuk | Meeter |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1856 | Canton | Canton | | | | | | | | |
| | Macao | Macao | Macao | | | | | | | |
| 1857 | ” | ” | ” | | | | | | | |
| | ” | ” | Amoy | | | | | | | |
| 1858 | ” | ” | ” | Macao | Macao | | | | | |
| | ” | ” | ” | Amoy | Amoy | | | | | |
| 1859 | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” | | | | | |
| | Amoy | Amoy | ” | ” | ” | Amoy | | | | |
| 1860 | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” | ” | | | | |
| | *Mentok* | *Montrado* | ” | ” | ” | ” | | | | |
| 1861 | | | ” | ” | ” | ” | | | | |
| | | | ” | Canton | Canton | ” | | | | |
| 1862 | | | ” | ” | ” | ” | | | | |
| | | *Batavia* | ” | *Surabaya* | *Batavia* | Canton | Amoy | Amoy | | |
| 1863 | | | ” | | | Amoy | ” | ” | | |
| | | | Tientsin | | | ” | ” | ” | | |
| 1864 | *Surabaya* | | | † | | ” | ” | ” & Lilong | | |
| | | | Macao | | | *Riau* | *Mentok* | *Pontianak* | Macao | |
| 1865 | | | *Semarang* | | | | | | ” | |
| | | | | | | | | | ” | Macao |
| 1866 | | | | | | | | | ” & Inland | ” |
| | | | | | | | | | *Cirebon* | ” |
| 1867 | | | | | | | | | | ” & Inland |
| | | | | | | | | | | *Riau* |

* Each year occupies two rows, representing the first and second half of the year respectively.

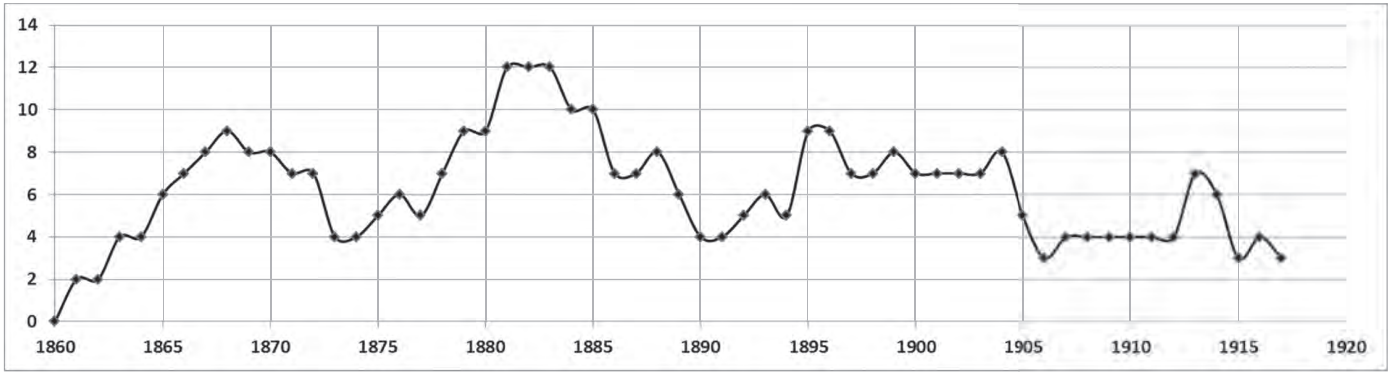
APPENDIX G.

# SINOLOGISTS IN THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE BATAVIAN SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

| Name | from | to | Special function | from | to |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| G. Schlegel | 14–6–1870 | 5–6–1872 | | | |
| W.P. Groeneveldt | 9–3–1875 | 5–7–1895 | museum | 6–4–1875 | 10–4–1877 |
| | | | editor | 4–5–1875 | 6–5–1878 |
| | | | curator | 10–4–1877 | 5–7–1895 |
| | | | librarian | 7–8–1877 | 16–10–1877 |
| | | | secretary | 16–10–1877 | 2–3–1880 |
| | | | president | 6–8–1889 | 5–7–1895 |
| J.E. Albrecht | 16–7–1878 | 9–6–1885 | editor | 17–9–1878 | 14–6–1884 |
| | | | librarian | 17–9–1878 | 9–6–1885 |
| B. Hoetink | 3–7–1894 | 5–4–1898 | secretary | 5–3–1895 | 5–4–1898 |
| | | | curator | 4–6–1895 | 5–4–1898 |
| A.A. de Jongh | 28–7–1898 | 13–2–1899 | | | |
| (L. Serrurier | 6–7–1897 | 10–6–1901 | secretary | 5–4–1898 | 10–6–1901) |
| H.N. Stuart | 28–6–1900 | 29–3–1909 | secretary | 1–7–1901 | 29–3–1909 |
| | | | treasurer | 1–1–1902 | 29–3–1909 |
| B.A.J. van Wettum | 22–2–1909 | 7–8–1914† | secretary | 29–3–1909 | 7–8–1914† |
| | | | treasurer | 29–3–1909 | 7–8–1914† |

APPENDIX H.

# GRAPH OF THE NUMBER OF SINOLOGISTS IN ACTIVE SERVICE, 1860–1917




The graph shows the number of European interpreters of Chinese in active service in the Netherlands Indies on 1 January of each year, excluding those on leave; from 1897 on they are called Officials for Chinese Affairs. The numerical increases run parallel to the training programmes of the three professors in Leiden. Hoffmann trained eight students in 1854–65, Schlegel trained six students in 1873–8 and another six in 1888–95, and De Groot trained three students for the Indies in 1907–10. These caused the peaks of 9 in 1868, 12 in 1881–3, again 9 in 1895–6, and 7 in 1913. The stable number of Officials for Chinese Affairs in active service after the reorganisation of 1896, from 1897 until 1904, is remarkable.

APPENDIX I.

# SCHLEGEL'S TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM OF TSIANGTSIU AND AMOY DIALECTS COMPARED WITH OTHER SYSTEMS

## *Initials*

| Medhurst 1832 | Doty 1853 | Douglas 1873 (ca.1860) | Schlegel 1882 (ca.1860) | International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) | Neth. Indies (Dutch) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| p'h | p‘ | ph | p‘ | p‘ | ph |
| t'h | t‘ | th | t‘ | t‘ | th |
| k'h | k‘ | kh | k‘ | k‘ | kh |
| ch | ch | ch (i,e)<br>ts (a,o,u) | ts | ts | tj |
| ch'h | ch‘ | chh | ts‘ | ts‘ | tjh |
| j | j* | j | dz | dz | dj |

## *Finals (simple vowels)*

| Medhurst 1832 | Doty 1853 | Douglas 1873 (ca.1860) | Schlegel 1882 (ca.1860) | International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) | Neth. Indies (Dutch) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| oe | o· | ɵ· | o̲ | ɔ | ô, ouw |
| o | o | o | o | o | o, oo |
| ay | * | ɛ | e̲ | ɛ | è |
| ey | e | e | e | e | é?, e, ee |
| e | i | i | i | i | ie |
| oo | u | u | u | u | oe |

## *Finals (diphthongs)*

| Medhurst 1832 | Doty 1853 | Douglas 1873 (ca.1860) | Schlegel 1882 (ca.1860) | International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) | Neth. Indies (Dutch) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| aou | au | au | ao | au | auw, ao |
| ew | iu | iu | iu | iu | ioe |
| wa | oa | oa | oa | ua | oa, wa |
| ëau | iau | iau | iao | iau | iauw |
| öey | oe | oe | oe | ue | oë, oé |
| wuy | ui | ui | ui | ui | oei |

*Finals (nasals,* rusheng*)*

| Medhurst 1832 | Doty 1853 | Douglas 1873 (ca.1860) | Schlegel 1882 (ca.1860) | International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) | Neth. Indies (Dutch) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ëem | iam | iam | iem | iam | iam |
| eng | ieng | eng | ing | iŋ [ng] | ing |
| $^{n}$a | a$^{n}$ | a$^{n}$ | a˜ ** | ã | a |
| ng | ng | ng | ɛng, ENG | əŋ [ng] | ung, ng |
| ek | iek | ek | ik | ik | ik, ek |
| ëep | iap | iap | iep | iap | iap |
| ëet | iat | iet | iet | iat | iat |

* These sounds do not exist in modern Amoy pronunciation; in the nineteenth century j/dz was also used in Amoy pronunciation, but this sound has now evolved into l (L).

** Nasalisation is in Schlegel's transcription indicated by the *tilde* ˜ under the vowel, but for technical reasons this is printed here after the vowel.

APPENDIX J.

# SOME PHONETIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AMOY AND TSIANGTSIU DIALECTS

| Amoy | Tsiangtsiu | conditions | example | loanword or name |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| e | oe | | 粿 *ké/koé* | kweekwee |
| oe | e | | 鮭 *koê/kê* | ketjap, ketchup |
| *ɛng* | *uiˇ* | lit. –n | 門 *mɛ^ng/muîˇ*, lit. bûn | Amoy |
| *ɛng* | *uiˇ* | lit. ong, Mand. –uang | 黃 *ɛ^ng/uîˇ*, lit. hông | Oei |
| iong | iang | coll. *iuˇ* | 鄉 hiong/hiang | |
| iong | iong | coll. *ɛng*, Mand. –ang | (長 *tɛ^ng*, tiông/tiâng) | |
| iok | iak | often | 弱 dziók/dziák | |
| u | i | | 余 û/î | Oe |
| un | in | | 銀 gûn/gîn | |
| in | un | sometimes | | |
| *iˇ* | *e̲ˇ* | lit. ing | 更 *kiˇ/ke̲ˇ*, lit. king | |
| *iˇ* | *iˇ* | lit. ien, iem | 年 *nîˇ*, lit. liên | bami |
| *a* | *e̲* | coll. also *e* | 下 *hā/he̲*, also *hē/he̲* | |
| *e* | *e̲* | lit. a | 家 *kē/ke̲*, lit. kā/ke̲ | tauge |
| *eh* | *e̲h* | lit. ik | 白 *péh/pe̲h*, lit. pík | |
| *ing* | *an* | lit. ien; often | 繭 *íng/kán*, lit. kién/kán | |
| *iuˇ* | *io̲ˇ* | mostly | 張 *Tiuˇ/Tio̲ˇ* | Thio, Tio, Teo |
| *oe* | *oa* | lit. oa | 花 *hoe/hoa*, lit. hoa | |
| iet | oat | often | | |
| ik | it | sometimes | | |
| muiˇ | boe̲ˇ | sometimes | 梅 muîˇ/boê̲ˇ, coll. *ɛ^m* | |

This table is based on Appendix III in Douglas' Amoy–English Dictionary, p. 609, but Schlegel's transcription system is used.

Nasalisation is in Schlegel's transcription indicated by the *tilde* ˇ under the vowel, but for technical reasons this is printed here after the vowel. For the same reason the tone on *ɛ* is printed after the vowel (*ɛ^*).

Colloquial pronunciations are in italics. Unless specified, the other finals can be both literary and colloquial. The literary pronunciations of Amoy and Tsiangtsiu dialects are often the same.

Examples are from Francken and De Grijs' dictionary. For some differences no examples could be found.

APPENDIX K.

# CHINESE TRANSLATIONS OF SOME DUTCH ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGAL TERMS

Malay translations are mostly from Klinkert, *Nieuw Nederlandsch–Maleisch woordenboek*. The Malay transcriptions are according to modern spelling. The translations by Chinese are mostly taken from the lists of words used in the Chinese Council in Blussé et al., *Bacheng Huaren gongguan (Baguo gongtang) dang'an congshu*, 吧城華人公館（吧國公堂）檔案叢書, but only one manner of transliteration is given here. The Chinese (Hokkien) transcriptions only serve to explain the choice of characters and have no scholarly value; for characters having more than one pronunciation, which is often the case, the one most resembling Malay or Dutch pronunciation is chosen. Probably these characters only served to give readers a hint at the pronunciation, which was enough for identification. In Hokkien *l-* is often pronounced similarly to *d-* and is therefore here spelled *d-*; and *b-* sounds like *mb-*. The translations by Europeans are from Schaalje's list (*) and Schlegel's *Dictionary* (1); after the semicolon some translations by other Europeans are added. Some translations are (also) mentioned in Pernitzsch and Tittel's handbook (2).

| Dutch | Malay |
|---|---|
| CIVIL AUTHORITIES | |
| assistent-resident | asistén-residén |
| assistent-resident voor de politie | |
| commissie | komisi |
| controleur | petor (feitor) |
| directeur (finantiën) | direktur |
| directeur (Javasche Bank) | direktur |
| directeur (middelen en domeinen) | direktur |
| gouvernement | gubernemén |
| gouverneur | gubernur |
| gouverneur-generaal | gubernur-jenderal |
| hoofdschout | (tuan) sekaut |
| notaris | notaris |
| oppasser | opas |
| politie | polisi |
| raad van Indië | rad pan India |
| regeering | kompeni |
| rekenkamer | |
| resident | (tuan) residén |
| residentie | (ke)residénan |
| schout | (tuan) sekaut, sekot |
| secretaris | sekertaris |
| *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* | *Statsblad* |
| JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES | |
| advocaat (procureur) | pokerol |
| boedelkamer / boedelmeesteren | |
| hoog geregtshof | (mahkama tinggi) |
| landraad | landrad |
| officier van justitie (until 1848: fiscaal) | piskal |
| president (hoog geregtshof) | presidén |
| president (raad van justitie) | presidén |
| president (weeskamer) | presidén |
| procureur-generaal | prokurur-jenderal |
| raad van justitie | (majelis justisi) |
| tolk voor de Chineesche taal | (juru bahasa Cina) |
| weeskamer | |
| CHINESE ADMINISTRATION | |
| kapitein | kapitan |
| luitenant | litenan |
| majoor | mayor |
| wijkmeester | bék |

| translations by Chinese | pronunciation | translation by Europeans |
|---|---|---|
| 亞寔顛挨寔嗹, 副挨寔嗹, 副淡[2] | *a-sít-tien oe-sít-diên* | 知州正堂*[1] |
| | | 分府*[1],捕盜通判[1] |
| 君眉司 | *kun-bî-si* | 會[1];軍黎絲 |
| 杯突，田杯[2] | *poe-tut, tiân-poe* | 知縣[1] |
| 厘力突 | *dî-lát-tút* | 布政司*[1] |
| 厘力突 | *dî-lát-tút* | 大當總管*[1] |
| 厘力突 | *dî-lát-tút* | 督糧道*[1] |
| 敖文明 | *gō-bûn-bîng* | 政(府) [1], 國家[1] |
| 敖文律 | *gō-bûn-lút* | 道臺*[1] |
| 敖文律仁得嘮，<br>王，王上，大王 | *gō-bûn-lút dzîn-tik-lā* | 總督*[1], 總督部堂[1] |
| 大狗[1] | *toā kaó* | 大差頭[1] |
| 梁礁 | *niû˘-ta* | 梁礁[1] |
| 烏拔（氏） | *o-poáh(-sī)* | 差役*[1] |
| 褒黎司 | *pó-lê-si* | 胥吏[1], 員差[1]; 玻黎絲 |
| 力扳厘里 | *lát p'an lî-dí* | 參議司*[1] |
| 公班衙 | *kong-pan-gê* | 公班衙[1] |
| 黎均甘抹 | *lê-kun-kam-boah* | 比部*[1] |
| 挨寔嗹，大澹，大淡[2] | *oe-sít-diên, toā tām, toā tâm* | 知府正堂*[1], 府尹[1]; 府尊 |
| 州[2] | | 府[1] |
| 大狗，大狡，大九[2] | *toā kaó* | 差頭*[1] |
| 朱葛礁 | *tsu-koah-ta* | 書辦*[1], 經歷[1] |
| 國例 | | (燕地)國例[1]; 國律, 國報 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 帽老 | *bō-ló* | 狀師[1] |
| 武直迷 | *bú-tít-bé* | 管家業衙*[1] |
| | | 大理寺*[1] |
| 蘭得力 | *lân-tik-lát* | 同審官*[1]; 同審堂 |
| 美色葛 | *bí-sík-koah* | 明刑師爺*[1] |
| 勃寔嗹 | *pút-sít-diên* | 大理寺正卿*[1] |
| 勃寔嗹 | *pút-sít-diên* | 按察使*, 按察司[1] |
| 勃寔嗹 | *pút-sít-diên* | 總管*[1] |
| 勃老骨律仁得嘮 | *pút-ló-kut-lút dzîn-tik-lā* | 明刑師爺*[1] |
| (力)柔寔低司 | *(lát) dziû-sít-te-si* | 酌刑司*[1]; 大叻 *toā lát*, 大審案堂 |
| 和蘭翻譯官 | | 翻繹漢字官*, 傳唐話譯官[1]; 翻譯官 |
| 美色甘 | *bí-sík-kam* | 管孤子業衙*[1] |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 甲必丹 | *kap-pit-tan* | 鄉正*[1], 甲必丹[1] |
| 雷珍蘭 | *luî-tin-lân* | 里正*[1], 雷珍蘭[1] |
| 馬腰 | *má-io* | 巡檢*[1], 馬腰[1] |
| 默氏，地頭主 | *bék-sī* | 地保*[1], 保正[1] |

APPENDIX L.

# SOME LEGAL TRANSLATIONS INTO CHINESE BY DUTCH INTERPRETERS (1860–1900)

Presumptive titles are here provided for most Chinese translations.

## *Printed translations*

1871 Von Faber (Prison regulations)
調理獄犯有法及調停獄犯之工例. Translation by Von Faber. "Chinesche vertaling van staatsblad 1871 no. 78" [Batavia: Landsdrukkerij], [1871], 14 p., 34 cm. Translation of "Reglement van orde en tucht onder de gevangenen in Nederlandsch Indië en tot voorloopige regeling van hunnen arbeid." (Regulation of order and discipline among prisoners in the Netherlands Indies and temporary labour rules). Bound in hard cover, KITLV Collection (only digital copy accessible).

1875 Groeneveldt (Building ordinance)
廖府起屋拆屋條例. "Verordening op het Bouwen & Slopen in de Residentie Riouw, 31 Maart 1875" (Ordinance on Building and Demolition in Riau Residency) (7 ff.; 34.5 × 21.8 cm). Printed Chinese translation by W.P. Groeneveldt, printed and bound in Chinese fashion (BPL 2106 I:8).

1875 De Grijs (Tax-farming conditions of opium, etc.)
双門答納東方公班衙新設各件僞仔 (presumptive title). "Chinesche vertaling van Staatsblad 1875, No. 236, Bijlagen litt. A, B, C" (Chinese translation of *Staatsblad* 1875, No. 236 and Appendices litt. A, B, C.). Printed translation (7 ff.; 34.5 × 42 cm) by C.F.M. de Grijs; printed Chinese translations of an ordinance of the Netherlands East Indies Government on the tax-farming of opium, alcoholic beverages, gambling etc., with appendices, by C.F.M. de Grijs (BPL 2106 I: 9; another copy without Appendix C is in BPL 1782:18) (another manuscript translation of Appendix A by Hoetink [1880], pp. 27-33).

1878 (Travel costs of witnesses)
補貼土著及等項證人程途等費 (presumptive title). Translator unknown. One page of a translation, printed in *Letterproef Landsdrukkerij 1878*. Rules for the remuneration of travel costs for witnesses appearing in criminal cases (natives and persons of the same status) (KITLV Collection).

1878 Albrecht (Business tax)
唐人與亞凹人等人爲工商者納餉 (presumptive title). "Chineesche vertaling van Staatsblad 1878, No. 86, handelende omtrent de heffing der belasting op het bedrijf van vreemde Oosterlingen op Sumatra's Westkust, in Benkoelen, de Lampongs, Palembang, Groot Atjeh, de Zuider- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo, Celebes en onderhoorigheden en Amboina" (Chinese translation of *Staatsblad* 1878, no. 86, concerning taxation on business of Foreign Orientals [translated as: "Chinese, Arabs etc."] on Sumatra's West Coast etc.) (1 f., 34 × 59 cm). Printed translation by J.E. Albrecht. (BPL 2106 I:10)

1882 Schaalje (Judicial system)
廖府內案件之例. Translation by Schaalje. "Chineesche vertaling van het eerste hoofdstuk en van de twee eerste titels van het derde hoofdstuk van het reglement op het rechtswezen

in de Residentie Riouw (*Staatsblad* 1882, No. 84), vertaald door M. Schaalje, tolk voor de Chineesche taal te Riouw. Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, 1884" (The first chapter and the first two sections of the third chapter of the Regulations on the legal system in Riau Residence) (21.5 × 13 cm).
An original front cover of the printed Chinese translation with a photocopy of the Chinese text is kept in BPL 2106 II: 12D. An original Chinese text without the cover is kept in the NEHA archives in the IISG in Amsterdam (M. Schaalje special collection, no. 2).

1885 Young (Tax-farming regulations)
和一千八百八十五年爪哇末流嘮雜項傌仔章程 (presumptive title). Translation by J.W. Young. "Vertaling der Concept ordonnantie: Verpachtigen. Voorwaarden en bepalingen voor de verpachting voor 1885 van verschillende landsmiddelen (zoo-genaamde kleine of gewone middelen) op Java en Madoera." (Translation of draft decree: Conditions and regulations for tax-farming for 1885 regarding several forms of state resources (so-called small or usual resources) on Java and Madura). Translation of *Staatsblad* 1885, no. 163. (34.5 × 42 cm). Chinese text in BPL 1782:4G4.

1885 Von Faber (Stamp ordinance)
課印之例 (presumptive title). "Chineesche Vertaling van de Zegel Ordonnancie, Stbl 1885 No. 131, en Lijst van Vrijstellingen" (Chinese translation of the Ordinance on Stamps, *Staatsblad* 1885, no. 131, and List of Exemptions) (12 ff.; 34 × 20,7 cm). Printed translation by M. von Faber, and bound in Chinese style. Chinese text in BPL 2106 I:11.

1891 De Jongh (Fire brigade in Batavia)
防救火患事之條規. *Chineesche vertaling van het reglement op de brandweer in de afdeeling stad en voorsteden van Batavia*, vastgesteld door den resident van Batavia den 30 Januari 1891. Translation by A.A. de Jongh. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1891, [26 p.], 13 double p., printed and bound in Chinese style. Chinese text in Leiden University Library (paper copy) and KITLV Collection (digital copy accessible only).

1882–1890 Schlegel (dating from the 1860s)
Short translations in Schlegel's dictionary, probably by himself (including advertisements)
Doorplate of a sollicitor: *advocaat* (sollicitor), Vol. I, pp. 129-130; 狀師
Taxes on horses and carriages: *belasting* (taxation), Vol. I, p. 374; 馬稅車稅
Advertisement for imported mineral water: *bronwater*, Vol. I, pp. 707-8); 約翰醴泉水
Announcement of the Batavia Gas Company: *gas*, Vol. I, p. 1226; 煉火烟公司
Public sale of household furniture: *gegadigde* (bidder), 1866, Vol. I, pp. 1262-3); 家私出賣
Appointment of a Chinese officer: *patent* (appointment), Vol. III, pp. 406-7; 執照
Notice of someone joining a company in Batavia: *toetreden* (to join), dated 1866, Vol. IV, p. 138; 入股
Taxation on land owned by civilians: *verponding* (land tax), dated 1863, Vol. IV, p. 655; 地稅
Law against counterfeiting: *vervalschen* (to counterfeit), Vol. IV, p. 714. 私造僞造

## *Manuscript translations*

[probably early nineteenth century] (Estate Chamber)
華人美色甘條例. Translation of "Reglement voor het Collegie van Boedelmeesteren te Batavia." (Regulations of the Estate Chamber in Batavia). With the interpreter Hoetink's embossed seal; translated by ethnic Chinese. Dutch text in *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1828, no. 46. Chinese text in SINOL. VGK 4891.9.52.1.

1878–1892 Hoetink
Collection of 66 manuscript translations of local government ordinances, decrees and other documents from Makassar and Medan, and some original Chinese texts, copied for Hoe-

tink. Some texts of which the Dutch original could be found are mentioned below. Chinese texts in H 421B, KITLV Collection, 93 p.

1879 De Grijs (The Chinese oath)
盟誓新法 (presumptive title). "Over den eed" (On the oath). Neatly written Chinese translation of a notice by the Resident of Semarang asking the Chinese to comment on new methods of swearing the oath suggested by M. von Faber and J.E. Albrecht, replacing the so-called chicken oath (34.7 × 42.7 cm). Dated September 1879. Translation by C.F.M. de Grijs. Chinese text in BPL 1782: 5A.

[1880] Hoetink (Tax-farming conditions of opium)
賭鴉片之僞仔 (presumptive title). Translation by Hoetink. Chinese translation of *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1875, no. 236 Appendix A, about the rules of opium tax-farming for the East Coast of Sumatra. Revision of De Grijs' translation of 1875 (Appendix A). Chinese text in H 421 B, pp. 27-29, KITLV Collection.

1883 Hoetink (Traffic rules)
日裡馬車牛車行止禁約條例 (presumptive title). Translation by Hoetink, "Verordening op het gebruik van paarden, rij- en voertuigen in de afdeeling Deli, met uitzondering van de onderafdeeling Tamiang." (Ordinance concerning the use of horses, coaches and waggons in Deli Division except the Subdivision Tamiang). Ordinance by the Resident of the East Coast of Sumatra, 2 February 1883. Dutch text in Albrecht, *Verzameling van verordeningen 1888*, 295-99. Chinese text in H 421B, pp. 67-9, KITLV Collection.

1883 Hoetink (Hygiene)
日裡沙灣勝武漢地方應宜整頓規條 (presumptive title). Translation by Hoetink, "Verordening in het belang der gezondheid en tot bevordering van netheid, reinheid, veiligheid en orde ter hoofdplaatsen Medan en Laboean-Deli." (Ordinance for the sake of health and for the promotion of neatness, cleanliness, safety and order in the main towns of Medan and Labuan-Deli). Ordinance by the Resident of the East Coast of Sumatra, 3 March 1883. Dutch text in Albrecht, *Verzameling van verordeningen 1888*, 292-5. Chinese text in H 421B, pp. 70-2, KITLV Collection.

1884 Hoetink (Secret societies)
日裡華人插會公司彈壓律條 (presumptive title). Translation by Hoetink, "Bepalingen tot wering van geheime genootschappen onder de Chineezen in de afdeeling Deli." (Rules for banning secret societies among the Chinese in the Division of Deli). Ordinance by the Resident of the East Coast of Sumatra, 31 October 1884. Dutch text in Albrecht, *Verzameling van verordeningen 1888*, 299-300. Chinese text in H 421B, p. 80, KITLV Collection.

1884 De Grijs (Tax-farming of gambling)
賭博條規 (presumptive title). "Verpachtingen. Chineesche dobbelspeelen Batavia. Semarang. Soerabaja. Wijzigingen van de voorwaarden van de pacht der Chineesche dobbelspelen. Uitgegeven den drie en twintigsten October 1884." (Tax-farming. Chinese gambling. Batavia etc. Changes in the conditions of tax-farming of Chinese gambling. Issued 23 October 1884). Printed text from *Staatsblad van Ned.-Indië* 1884, no. 182, containing articles 4 and 5. A neatly written Chinese translation by C.F.M. de Grijs is pasted onto this text. Chinese text in BPL 1782: 4G3.

[1900] Hoetink (Commercial law)
荷蘭煙地華民商法, 荷蘭華務司胡定譯. "Translated by the Dutch Official for Chinese Affairs, Hoetink," [1900], 7 vols. bound in 3 vols., translation of *Wetboek van koophandel voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Commercial Law for the Netherlands Indies), as far as applicable to the Chinese. Dutch text in Engelbrecht, *Nederlandsch-Indische Wetboeken*. Chinese text in SINOL. VGK 4893.52.1.

[1900] Hoetink (Civil law)
民律. Translated by Hoetink, 11 vols. bound in 6 vols., translation of *Burgerlijk Wetboek voor Nederlandsch Indië* (Civil Code for the Netherlands Indies) book 1 and 3, as far as applicable to the Chinese. Dutch text in Engelbrecht, *Nederlandsch-Indische Wetboeken*. Chinese text in SINOL. VGK 4891.9.52.2.

APPENDIX M.

# LIST OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN VARIOUS SPELLINGS

For Chinese geographical names often the contemporary spelling is used, but for most places in the Netherlands Indies the modern Indonesian spelling is used.

*China*

| Old names | Pinyin spelling | Chinese characters |
|---|---|---|
| Amoy | Xiamen | 廈門 |
| Canton | Guangzhou city | 廣州 |
| Canton | Guangdong province | 廣東 |
| Changchow | Zhangzhou | 漳州 |
| Chaochow | Chaozhou | 潮州 |
| Emoi | Xiamen | 廈門 |
| Emoui | Xiamen | 廈門 |
| Fokien | Fujian province | 福建 |
| Formosa | Taiwan | 臺灣 |
| Fukien | Fujian province | 福建 |
| Hoihong | Haifeng | 海豐 |
| Hailam | Hainan | 海南 |
| Hokkian | Fujian province | 福建 |
| Hoihow | Haikou | 海口 |
| Hokkien | Fujian province | 福建 |
| Ka Yin Tsoe | Jiayingzhou (Meixian) | 嘉應州（梅縣） |
| Ka Yin Tsiu | Jiayingzhou (Meixian) | 嘉應州（梅縣） |
| Kia Ying Chow | Jiayingzhou (Meixian) | 嘉應州（梅縣） |
| Kolongsoe | Gulangyu | 鼓浪嶼 |
| Koolangsu | Gulangyu | 鼓浪嶼 |
| Kwangtung | Guangdong province | 廣東 |
| Lilong | Lilang | 李朗、李浪 |
| Lokhong | Lufeng | 陸豐 |
| Pakhoi | Beihai | 北海 |
| Peking | Beijing | 北京 |
| Swatow | Shantou | 汕頭 |
| Teochiu | Chaozhou | 潮州 |
| Tientsin | Tianjin | 天津 |
| Tsiangtsiu | Zhangzhou | 漳州 |
| Tsoantsiu | Quanzhou | 泉州 |
| Tsong Lok | Changle (Wuhua) | 長樂（五華） |

## *Netherlands Indies*

Here only a few Chinese names are given that appear in the text.

| Old Dutch name | Modern name | Chinese characters |
|---|---|---|
| Atjeh | Aceh | |
| Ban(g)ka | Bangka | |
| Batavia | Jakarta | 吧城，咬留吧，噶喇吧 |
| Billiton | Belitung | |
| Borneo | Kalimantan | 木梁 |
| Buitenzorg | Bogor | |
| Celebes | Sulawesi | |
| Cheribon | Cirebon | |
| Deli | Deli | 日裡，日里 |
| Makassar | Ujung Pandang (1971-99) | |
| Medan | Medan | 棉蘭 |
| Muntok | Mentok | |
| Padang | Padang | 巴東 |
| Riouw | Riau | 廖府 |
| Samarang | Semarang | 三寶壟 |
| Soerabaja | Surabaya | 泗水 |

APPENDIX N.

# EXPLANATION OF SOME NETHERLANDS INDIES ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGAL TERMS

| Dutch | English | Explanation |
|---|---|---|
| *Afdeeling* | Division | Administrative entity under a region (*gewest, Residentie*) |
| *Ambtenaar voor Chineesche Zaken* | Official for Chinese Affairs | Title of the sinologists from 1896 on; effectively abolished in 1942 |
| *Assistent Resident* | Assistant-Resident | Administrative official, sometimes in charge of a division (*afdeeling*) or a special task (police); number in 1870: 64, in 1890: 74 |
| *Binnenlandsch Bestuur (BB)* | Interior Administration | Regional and local government, number of officials in 1870: 250 |
| *Boedelkamer* | Estate Chamber | Institution for managing estates of native and Chinese minors and bankrupts, established in 1640 in Batavia; *see* Orphans Chamber (*Weeskamer*) |
| *Buitenbezittingen* | Outer Possessions | Regions outside of Java and Madura, with special regulations, fewer colonial officials and less government interference, such as Borneo, Banka, Sumatra, Riau, Sulawesi, etc. |
| *Chineesche officieren* | Chinese Officers | Unsalaried Chinese headmen appointed by the Dutch to perform administrative and judicial functions among the Chinese: *kapitein* (1619), *luitenant* (1633) and *majoor* (1837) |
| *Chineesche Raad* | Chinese Council | Kong Koan, council of Chinese Officers in large towns such as Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya; responsible for adjudication of simple civil and criminal cases among the Chinese, marriage registration, etc. |
| *commies* | clerk | Administrative official of low rank |
| *Controleur* | Controller | Grass-roots colonial official; at first supervising the native authorities, later actually ruling; number of *controleurs* in 1870: 111, in 1890: 116 |
| *Departement van Binnenlandsch Bestuur (BB)* | Department of Interior Administration | Established in 1866; concerns regional and local government, but not the central government in Batavia; in 1870 comprising 250 regional and local officials; from 1912 on the Officials for Chinese Affairs were under this Department |
| *Departement van Justitie* | Department of Justice | Established in 1869; the Director of the Department of Justice was the direct chief of the interpreters (Officials for Chinese Affairs) from 1870 to 1912 |
| *Europeesche tolk voor de Chineesche taal* | European interpreter of Chinese | The first European interpreters were appointed in 1860; in 1896 their title was changed to Official for Chinese Affairs |
| *gewest* | region | Region ruled by a Resident or Governor |

| Dutch | English | Explanation |
|---|---|---|
| *Gouverneur-Generaal* | Governor-General | Highest administrative official in the Neth. Indies government, appointed by Royal Decree, directly answering to the Minister of Colonies; often switching places with the latter |
| *grootambtenaars-examen* | Higher Officials Examination | Passing this examination was a requirement for all higher Indies administrative and judicial officials from 1864 until 1910 |
| *gymnasium* | grammar school | Six-year secondary school teaching classical languages etc., preparatory to university; name existing from the 1830s, formally established in 1877; in the Indies only existent in 1860–1867 in King William III Gymnasium (later a HBS) |
| *HBS (Hoogere Burger School)* | Civil High School | Five-year (or three-year) secondary school, established in 1864; gradually abolished from 1968 on |
| *Hooggerechtshof* | High Court | There were a civil and a military High Court of the Neth.-Indies in Batavia; the highest courts of appeal and cassation |
| *Kantoor voor Chineesche Zaken* | Bureau for Chinese Affairs | Office of the Agency for Chinese Affairs (*Dienst der Chineesche Zaken*); situated in Batavia; established in 1916; name changed in 1933 and 1935; effectively abolished in 1942 |
| *Landraad* | Court for Natives | Court of first instance for natives and Chinese, as far as native law was applicable to them; in 1883 totalling about 100 on Java and Madura; proceedings in Malay |
| *Onderafdeeling* | Subdivision | Administrative entity under a Division (*afdeeling*) |
| *Opiumregie* | Opium Monopoly | Government monopoly for the production and sale of opium, established on Java in 1894-1904, later also in the Outer Possessions, replacing the system of opium tax-farming |
| *pacht* | tax-farming | System of indirect taxation common in the Netherlands until the eighteenth century; in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century it was still used in the Indies; there was tax-farming for opium, alcoholic beverages, gambling, pawnshops, slaugther, birds' nests, tolls etc.; the privileges of taxation were auctioned and usually acquired by wealthy Chinese; the system was gradually abolished |
| *politierol* | Police-roll | Single-judge court for minor offences by natives and Chinese, presided over by the regional administrative official (Resident or Assistent-Resident); no possibility of appeal; abolished in the 1910s |
| *Raad van Indië* | Council of the Indies | Five-member advisory body for the Governor-General, who was in many cases obliged to ask the Council for advice, but took decisions himself |
| *Raad van Justitie* | Council of Justice | Court of first instance for Europeans, from 1855 on including the Chinese as far as European law was applicable to them; there were usually five such courts, situated in Batavia, Semarang, Surabaya, Padang and Makassar; proceedings in Dutch |
| *referendaris* | Referendary | Administrative official of middle rank in the central government |

| Dutch | English | Explanation |
|---|---|---|
| *Resident* | Resident | Originally the name of a diplomatic representative, later the name of a head of regional government; number of Residents in 1870: 21, in 1890: 20 |
| *Residentie* | Residency | Region ruled by a Resident |
| *schout* | police-chief | Police officer under Assistant-Resident of Police; gradually abolished in the 1900s |
| *Weeskamer* | Orphans Chamber | Institution for managing estates of European minors and bankrupts, first established in Batavia in 1625; in 1808 (in Batavia 1885) combined with the Estate Chamber (*Boedelkamer*); all towns with a *Raad van Justitie* also had an Orphans Chamber |

Numbers of officials are based on Van den Doel, *De stille macht* (*Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië*).

APPENDIX O.

# MINISTERS OF COLONIES AND GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

## *Ministers of Colonies 1842–1918*

| Name | First day in office |
|---|---|
| J.Th. Baud | 1 January 1842 |
| J.C. Rijk, *ad interim* (hereinafter a.i.) | 25 March 1848 |
| J.Th. Baud | 21 November 1848 |
| E.B. van den Bosch | 18 June 1849 |
| Ch. F. Pahud | 1 November 1849 |
| P. Mijer | 1 January 1856 |
| J.J. Rochussen | 18 March 1858 |
| J.S. Lotsy, a.i. | 1 January 1861 |
| J.P. Cornets de Groot van Kraaijenburg | 9 January 1861 |
| J. Loudon | 14 March 1861 |
| G.H. Uhlenbeck | 1 February 1862 |
| G.H. Betz, a.i. | 3 January 1863 |
| I.D. Fransen van de Putte | 2 February 1863 |
| P. Mijer | 30 May 1866 |
| N. Trakranen | 17 September 1866 |
| J.J. Hasselman | 20 July 1867 |
| E. de Waal | 4 June 1868 |
| L.G. Brocx, a.i. | 16 November 1870 |
| P.P. van Bosse | 4 January 1871 |
| I.D. Fransen van de Putte | 6 July 1872 |
| W. *baron* van Goltstein | 27 Augustus 1874 |
| F. Alting Mees | 11 September 1876 |
| P.P. van Bosse | 3 November 1877 |
| H.O. Wichers, a.i. | 26 February 1879 |
| O. van Rees | 12 March 1879 |
| W. *baron* van Goltstein | 20 Augustus 1879 |
| W.M. de Brauw | 1 September 1882 |
| W.F. van Erp Taalman Kip, a.i. | 23 February 1883 |
| F.G. van Bloemen Waanders | 23 April 1883 |
| A.W.P. Weitzel, a.i. | 25 November 1883 |
| J.P. Sprenger van Eyk | 27 February 1884 |
| L.W.C. Keuchenius | 21 April 1888 |

| Name | First day in office |
|---|---|
| A.E. *baron* Mackay | 24 February 1890 |
| W.K. *baron* van Dedem | 21 Augustus 1891 |
| J.H. Bergsma | 9 May 1894 |
| J.T. Cremer | 26 July 1897 |
| T.A.J. van Asch van Wijck | 1 August 1901 |
| J.W. Bergansius, a.i. | 10 September 1902 |
| A.W.F. Idenburg | 25 September 1902 |
| D. Fock | 17 August 1905 |
| Th. Heemskerk, a.i. | 12 February 1908 |
| A.W.F. Idenburg | 20 May 1908 |
| J.H. de Waal Malefijt | 16 August 1909 |
| Th.B. Pleyte | 29 August 1913 |
| A.W.F. Idenburg | 10 September 1918 |

Dates from *Regeeringsalmanak* 1938, *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië*, [1900] and 1917.

## *Governors-General of the Netherlands Indies, 1845–1921*

| Name | First day in office |
|---|---|
| J.J. Rochussen | 30 September 1845 |
| A.J. Duymaer van Twist | 12 May 1851 |
| Ch. F. Pahud | 22 May 1856 |
| A. Prins, acting | 2 September 1861 |
| L.A.J.W. *baron* Sloet van de Beele | 19 October 1861 |
| A. Prins, acting | 25 October 1866 |
| P. Mijer | 28 December 1866 |
| J. Loudon | 1 January 1872 |
| J.W. van Lansberge | 26 March 1875 |
| F. s'Jacob | 12 April 1881 |
| O. van Rees | 11 April 1884 |
| C. Pijnacker Hordijk | 29 September 1888 |
| C.H.A. van der Wijck | 17 October 1893 |
| W. Rooseboom | 3 October 1899 |
| J.B. van Heutsz | 1 October 1904 |
| A.W.F. Idenburg | 18 December 1909 |
| J.P. *graaf* van Limburg Stirum | 21 March 1916 |
| D. Fock | 24 March 1921 |

Dates from *Regeeringsalmanak* 1938, *Encyclopaedie van Ned.-Indië* [1896–1905], 1917, and *Winkler Prins Encyclopedie* (1952).

APPENDIX P.

# A CHRONOLOGY OF DUTCH SINOLOGY MAINLY WITH RESPECT TO THE INDIES (1830–1954)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1830 | Hoffmann meets Von Siebold and starts his Chinese (and Japanese) studies |
| 1846 | Hoffmann is appointed as translator of Japanese for the Netherlands Indies government |
| 1849 | Veth's plea for a professor of Chinese and Japanese in the Netherlands; Schlegel starts studying Chinese with Hoffmann |
| 1853 | Request for training Chinese interpreters from the Resident of Batavia; Master Plan for sinology by Hoffmann |
| 1854 | Hoffmann officially begins teaching Chinese to Schlegel and De Grijs |
| 1855 | Hoffmann becomes titular professor of Chinese and Japanese in Leiden |
| 1856 | Two students from Batavia (Albrecht, Von Faber) start studying Chinese (Cantonese) in Canton; two students assigned to Hoffmann |
| 1857 | First Dutch student (De Grijs) starts studying Hokkien in Amoy |
| 1858 | Schlegel and Francken arrive in Amoy; elimination of Mandarin studies in China |
| 1860 | First two interpreters (Albrecht, Von Faber) appointed in the Indies |
| 1862 | Hoffmann charged with compiling a Japanese–Dutch–English dictionary; Schlegel and Francken appointed as interpreters; shift from Cantonese to Hakka as dialect for the Outer Possessions; responsibility for relations with China and Japan shifts from Minister of Colonies to Foreign Affairs |
| 1863 | Directive for the interpreters proclaimed; Sino–Dutch Treaty of Friendship and Trade signed in Tientsin |
| 1864 | First interpreter dies (Francken); first student (De Breuk) studies Hakka in Macao (1864–6) |
| 1865 | Last of Hoffmann's eight students (Meeter) leaves Leiden for Macao |
| 1866 | Interpreters become extraordinary members of the Orphans Chamber |
| 1870 | Ordinance for training new interpreters in Batavia proclaimed |
| 1871 | Schlegel starts training first student (Roelofs) in Batavia |
| 1872 | Schlegel returns on sick leave to the Netherlands |
| 1873 | Ordinance for training in Leiden proclaimed; Schlegel starts teaching first group of three students (1873–6) |
| 1875 | Schlegel starts training second group (1875–8); he becomes titular professor of Chinese in Leiden |
| 1877 | Chair for Chinese created in Leiden; Schlegel becomes professor of Chinese; Groeneveldt leaves interpreter corps |
| 1878 | First moratorium on training in Leiden (1878–88) |
| 1881–83 | Largest number of active interpreters ever (12) |
| 1881 | First two instalments of Hoffmann's Japanese–Dutch and Japanese–English dictionary published |
| 1882 | Francken and De Grijs' Amoy–Dutch dictionary published in Batavia |
| 1882–91 | Schlegel's Dutch–Chinese dictionary published in Leiden |
| 1885 | J.Th. Cremer's plea in Parliament for training interpreters in Hakka |
| 1886–90 | De Groot on study mission in China, also promoting emigration of workers |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1888 | Schlegel starts training third group of interpreters (1888–92) |
| 1891 | De Groot becomes professor of ethnology in Leiden |
| 1892 | Schlegel starts training fourth group of interpreters (1892–5) |
| 1892–1910 | De Groot's *Religious System of China* published |
| 1895 | Second moratorium on training in Leiden (1895–1907) |
| 1896 | Reorganisation of the interpreter corps; new regulations; title changed to Official for Chinese Affairs (*ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken*) |
| 1904 | De Groot succeeds Schlegel as professor of Chinese in Leiden |
| 1907 | De Groot begins training first group of students (1907–10) |
| 1909 | Borel begins studying Mandarin in Pontianak and continues in Peking |
| 1910 | Regulation for training interpreters for Foreign Affairs; De Groot starts training Duyvendak |
| 1912 | De Groot leaves Leiden for Berlin; Van de Stadt's Hakka dictionary published in Batavia |
| 1916 | All Officials concentrated in Bureau for Chinese Affairs in Batavia (*Dienst der / Kantoor voor Chineesche zaken*); new regulations |
| 1917 | New curriculum for Leiden proclaimed; Mandarin becomes the main language |
| 1919 | Duyvendak becomes lecturer (*lector*) of Chinese in Leiden |
| 1930 | Duyvendak becomes professor of Chinese in Leiden; Sinological Institute (*Sinologisch Instituut*) is opened in Leiden |
| 1931 | Training of tax-sinologists in Leiden proclaimed |
| 1933 | Agency for Chinese Affairs and East Asian Matters in Batavia (*Dienst voor Chineesche zaken en Oost-Aziatische aangelegenheden*) |
| 1935 | Agency for East Asian Affairs in Batavia (*Dienst der Oost-Aziatische zaken*) |
| 1942 | Japanese invasion; effective abolition of the function of Official for Chinese Affairs |
| 1947 | Sinological Institute (*Sinologisch Instituut*) in Batavia is established |
| 1954 | Last Dutch sinologist (Meijer) leaves Jakarta |

APPENDIX Q.

# THE INTERPRETERS' DIRECTIVE AND STANDARD FEES OF 1863 (DUTCH)

*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1863, no. 39 (IB 15/4/1863 no. 12)

De instructie en het tarief voor de Europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië.

A. INSTRUCTIE voor de Europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië.

Art. 1. De beëdigde Europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal verleenen hunne dienst tot het doen van schriftelijke of mondelinge vertolkingen, uit de Nederlandsche in de Chinesche taal en omgekeerd, zoo dikwijls die door regterlijke of administratieve autoriteiten wordt gevorderd.

Zij hebben voor de van hen gevorderde dienst geen aanspraak op salaris, dan alleen in strafzaken, bijaldien een veroordeelend vonnis wordt uitgesproken, in welk geval het salaris op den veroordeelde kan worden verhaald volgens het hieronder bedoelde tarief.

Art. 2. Zij dienen het hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur van berigt, zo noodig, na een door hen, op daartoe van dezen bekomen last, vooraf ingesteld onderzoek en van consideratien en advies ten aanzien van aangelegenheden, de Chinezen betreffende.

Zij vergezellen het hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur op zijne inspectiereizen, zoo dikwijls deze dit noodig oordeelt.

Art. 3. Zij verleenen hunne dienst mede op verzoek en ten behoeve van particulieren, tegen berekening van salaris, overeenkomstig het hieronder bedoelde tarief.

Art. 4. De tolken voor de Chinesche taal leggen voor het aanvaarden hunner betrekking en, voor zoover zij reeds werkzaam zijn, zoodra deze instructie ter hunner kennisse zal gekomen zijn, in handen van het hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur den volgenden eed of belofte af:

"Ik zweer (beloof), dat ik houw en getrouw zal zijn aan den Koning en aan den Gouverneur-Generaal van *Nederlandsch-Indië*, als des Konings vertegenwoordiger; dat ik middellijk, noch onmiddellijk, onder welken naam of voorwendsel ook, tot het verkrijgen mijner aanstelling als tolk voor de Chinesche taal te … aan niemand, wie hij ook zij, iets heb gegeven of beloofd, noch geven of beloven zal;

dat ik alle mij opgedragen mondelinge of schriftelijke vertolkingen met de meeste getrouwheid en naauwgezetheid zal overbrengen;

dat ik geheim zal houden, hetgeen uit den aard der zaak geheim behoort te blijven of waarvan mij de geheimhouding krachtens mijn ambt is opgelegd;

en dat ik mij voorts met ijver en naauwgezetheid in de uitoefening mijner bediening zal gedragen, zoo als een braaf en eerlijk ambtenaar betaamt."

B. TARIEF voor de Europesche tolken voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië.

Voor schriftelijke vertaling:

| | |
|---|---|
| Uit het Chineesch in het Nederduitsch: | |
| eene bladzijde van 28 regels in de Nederduitsche vertaling | *f* 8 |
| voor elke volgende bladzijde | 4 |
| Uit het Nederduitsch in het Chineesch: | |
| voor het eerste honderdtal karakters | 10 |
| voor elk volgend honderdtal | 5 |

zijnde de zegelgelden niet onder het salaris begrepen.

Voor afschriften van vertalingen mag een vierde van het salaris in rekening worden gebragt.

Voor mondelinge vertolking op denzelfden dag:
voor vacatiën:
voor het eerste uur of minder ..... *f* 8
voor het tweede uur of minder ..... 4
voor ieder volgend uur of gedeelte daarvan ..... 2
Voor het nazien van boeken, memoriën en rekeningen, voor de wees- en boedelkamers:
Voor elk honderdtal karakters of minder een vacatie-loon van ..... *f* 5
Voor afschriften van of extracten uit boeken, memoriën of rekeningen:
voor elke honderdtal karakters of minder .....*f* 2.50

APPENDIX R.

# TRAINING REGULATIONS OF 1873 (DUTCH)

*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1873, no. 123 (IB 18/7/1873 no. 3)

Voorwaarden, *te verbinden aan de bijdragen van Staatswege voor de opleiding van tolken voor de Chinesche taal in Nederlandsch-Indië*.

Art. 1. Naarmate van de behoefte der dienst worden, in *Nederland* door den Minister van Koloniën, in *Nederlandsch-Indië* door den Gouverneur-Generaal, de personen aangewezen, die zullen worden opgeleid voor de betrekking van tolk voor de Chinesche taal in *Nederlandsch-Indië*.

Art. 2. Voor die aanwijzing komen alleen in aanmerking jongelieden, niet ouder dan twintig jaren, die in Nederland of in Nederlandsch-Indië voor eene kommissie, door den Minister van Koloniën of door den Gouverneur-Generaal benoemd, een vergelijkend examen hebben afgelegd in de volgende vakken:

1º. de Nederlandsche taal;
de Fransche taal;
de Engelsche taal;
de Hoogduitsche taal;
Van der twee eerstgenoemde talen wordt eene grondige kennis van de grammatica vereischt.
2º. de rekenkunde;
3º. de beginselen der delfstof-, aard-, planten- en dierkunde;
4º. de beginselen der natuurkunde en kosmografie;
5º. de aardrijkskunde;
6º. de geschiedenis;
7º. het Italiaansch boekhouden.

Art. 3. De élèves vangen hunne studiën aan in *Nederland* of in *Nederlandsch-Indië* en voltooijen die in *China*, volgens de aanwijzingen van den Minister van Koloniën of van den Gouverneur-Generaal.

Het maximum van hun studie-tijd bedraagt vijf jaren, waarvan in de regel één in *China* wordt doorgebragt.

Art. 4. Gedurende hun studie-tijd ontvangen de élèves eene maandelijksche toelage, ten bedrage van *f* 50.– wanneer zij in *Nederland*, *f* 150.– wanneer zij in *Nederlandsch-Indië*, 125 Spaansche matten wanneer zij in *China* worden opgeleid.

Zij genieten vrijen overtogt naar *Nederlandsch-Indië* en naar *China*, zoomede van *China* naar *Nederlandsch-Indië* terug. Gedurende de reis blijft de laatst ontvangen toelage doorloopen. Uit *Nederland* gezonden wordende, ontvangen zij eene gratifikatie voor uitrusting, ten bedrage van *f* 1000.–

Art. 5. Zij, die, volgens den uitslag van het vergelijkend examen, bij art. 2 bedoeld, worden aangewezen om tot de betrekking van tolk te worden opgeleid, moeten zich schriftelijk verbinden tot de onverwijlde teruggave aan 's lands kas van alle gelden, welke hun ten behoeve hunner opleiding, uitrusting of van hun overtogt zijn voldaan, bijaldien zij binnen den tijd van vijf jaren na de voltooiing hunner opleiding, anders dan ten gevolge van wel bewezen ziels- of ligchaamsgebreken, buiten eigen toedoen ontstaan, uit de Indische dienst worden ontslagen.

APPENDIX S.

# REGULATIONS FOR THE OFFICIALS FOR CHINESE AFFAIRS IN 1896 (DUTCH)

*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1896, no. 96 (IB 21/5/1896 no. 43)

Bepalingen tot aanwijzing der standplaatsen en regeling van den werkkring der ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken

I. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken, ressorteerende onder het departement van Justitie, zijn aan het hoofd van dit departement ondergeschikt.

II. De werkkring van ieder hunner strekt zich uit over een der volgende ressorten:

1e. de residentiën *Bantam, Batavia, Krawang, Preanger-Regentschappen, Cheribon, Tegal, Pekalongan* en *Banjoemas*; het gouvernement *Sumatra's Westkust*; de residentiën *Benkoelen, Lampongsche Districten* en *Westerafdeeling van Borneo* en de assistent-residentie *Billiton*;
met de standplaats *Batavia*;

2e. de overige sub 1 niet genoemde residentiën van Java: de residentiën *Madoera, Bali en Lombok* en *Zuider- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo*;
met de standplaats *Soerabaja*;

3e. de residentiën *Banka en Onderhoorigheden, Riouw en Onderhoorigheden* en *Palembang*;
met de standplaats *Tandjong Pinang*;

4e. de residentie *Oostkust van Sumatra* en het gouvernement *Atjeh en Onderhoorigheden*;
met de standplaats *Medan*;

5e. het gouvernment *Celebes en Onderhoorigheden* en de residentiën *Menado, Ternate en Onderhoorigheden, Amboina* en *Timor en Onderhoorigheden*;
met de standplaats *Makasser*.

Is het getal der actief dienende ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken tijdelijk grooter of kleiner dan vijf, dan wijzigt de Directeur van Justitie het getal en den omvang dezer ressorten, naar gelang van omstandigheden.

III. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken dienen de rechterlijke en administratieve autoriteiten en colleges in hun ressort rechtstreeks van advies in aangelegenheden Chineezen betreffende, zoo dikwijls dit van hen wordt verlangd.

Zij kunnen aan deze autoriteiten en colleges omtrent dergelijke aangelegenheden zelfstandig voorstellen en vertoogen indienen.

Zijn deze van algemeene strekking, dan geschiedt de indiening aan den Directeur van Justitie, hetzij rechtstreeks, hetzij door tusschenkomst van het Hoofd van het gewest, waarin hun standplaats gelegen is.

IV. Het Hoofd van het gewest, waarin de standplaats is gelegen van een ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken, raadpleegt dezen bij het nemen en het voorstellen van maatregelen en bij de behandeling van aangelegenheden, waarbij meer in het bijzonder Chineezen zijn betrokken of welke in het bijzonder voor de Chineesche bevolking in dat gewest van belang zijn.

De Hoofden der overige gewesten vragen de voorlichting van den in het betrekkelijke ressort bescheiden ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken, ten aanzien van Chineesche aangelegenheden van gewichtigen aard of van algemeene strekking, waarvan de beslissing het noodige uitstel lijden kan, onverminderd hunne bevoegdheid om het advies van dien ambtenaar in te winnen zoo dikwijls zij dit wenschelijk achten.

V. Waar daartoe gelegenheid bestaat, wordt door het Hoofd van gewestelijk bestuur van de diensten van den ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken gebruik gemaakt tot verzekering van de goede werking van regelingen en bepalingen betreffende Chineesche werklieden voor en van ondernemingen van land- of mijnbouw.

VI. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken verleenen hun dienst tot het doen van schriftelijke en mondelinge vertalingen uit het Nederlandsch in het Chineesch en omgekeerd indien daartoe, naar het oordeel van de autoriteit of het college dat hun eene vertaling opdraagt, gewichtige redenen bestaan.

VII. Dienstreizen binnen het gewest, waarin zijne standplaats is gelegen, worden door een ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken ondernomen op daartoe bekomen last van het Hoofd van dat gewest.

Voor dienstreizen buiten dat gewest wordt de voorafgaande machtiging van den Directeur van Justitie vereischt.

VIII. Op de standplaatsen van ambtenaren van Chineesche zaken, waar eene Weeskamer is gevestigd, zijn zij buitengewoon lid van dat College.

IX. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken kunnen hun dienst verleenen op verzoek van particulieren tegen berekening van salaris volgens een bij algemeene verordening vastgesteld tarief.

X. Aan ieder actief dienend ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken wordt een Chineesche schrijver toegevoegd, die onder zijne bevelen en naar zijne aanwijzing zal werkzaam zijn en door hem wordt aangesteld en ontslagen.

XI. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken leggen voor het aanvaarden hunner betrekking den volgenden eed of belofte af:

"Ik zweer (beloof), dat ik houw en getrouw zal zijn aan den Koning (de Koningin) en aan den Gouverneur-Generaal van *Nederlandsch-Indië*, als vertegenwoordiger van den Koning (de Koningin);

dat ik niemand, wie hij ook zij, middellijk, noch onmiddellijk, onder welken naam of voorwendsel ook, tot het verkrijgen mijner aanstelling als ambtenaar voor Chineesche zaken te … iets heb gegeven of beloofd, noch geven of beloven zal;

dat ik alle mij opgedragen werkzaamheden met de meeste getrouwheid en nauwgezetheid zal verrichten;

dat ik geheim zal houden, hetgeen uit den aard der zaak geheim behoort te blijven of waarvan mij de geheimhouding krachtens mijn ambt is opgelegd;

en dat ik mij voorts met ijver en nauwgezetheid in de uitoefening mijner bediening zal gedragen, zoo als een braaf en eerlijk ambtenaar betaamt."

De eed (belofte) wordt door de benoemden, die te *Batavia* aanwezig zijn, afgelegd in handen van den Directeur van Justitie en door hen, die zich elders bevinden in handen van het Hoofd van het gewest, waarin hunne standplaats is gelegen.

XII. De ambtenaren voor Chineesche zaken kunnen bij de uitoefening van hunnen dagelijkschen dienst of op dienstreizen de volgende distinctieven dragen:

a. een jas van donkerblauw laken met eene rij gouden knoopen met de gekroonde letter W;

b. een pet van dezelfde stof met goud galon ter breedte van 4 centimeter.

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