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**'The Eurasian Question' : the colonial position and postcolonial options of colonial mixed ancestry groups from British India, Dutch East Indies and French Indochina compared**

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1 Cited articles from newspaper and periodicals

In Dutch: *Java-bode*, *De Locomotief*, *De Nieuwsgier*, *Onze Stem*, *Tong Tong*, *NIBEG-orgaan*.

In French: *La Dépêche Coloniale*, *Revue du Pacifique*, *Revue Indochinois*, *L'Oeuvre Hebdomadaire d'Indochine*, *L'Écho Annamite: Organe de défense des Intérêts Franco-Annamites*, *L'Eurafricain*, *L'information d'Indochine économique et financière*, *Grain de Riz*, *France-Asie*, *La Nouvelle Revue Indochinoise*, *Le Courrier saïgonnais*.

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### Chapter 3 Legal position

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#### Chapter 4 Socio-economic position of Eurasians until 1900

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#### Chapter 5 Changes in the discourse on Eurasians around 1900

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- 50 Kennedy, *The magic mountains*, 138, 141.
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- 53 P. Pattynama, 'The Indisch family: Daily life in early 20th century Batavia', in: J. Coté and L. Westerbeeck (eds.), *Recalling the Indies. Colonial culture and postcolonial identities* (Amsterdam 2005) 47-66, 58-59.
- 54 Baay, *De njai*, 55-56.
- 55 W.F. Wertheim, 'Koloniaal racisme in Indonesië. Ons onverwerkt verleden?', *De Gids* 154 (1991) 367-385, 367. *De bescheiden man, die zich te Genua heeft ingescheept, is vele graden belangrijker geworden wanneer hij te Priok aan wal stapt... Op het moment dat hij Europa verliet is hij Europeaan geworden.*
- 56 H. Baudet and I.J. Brugmans, *Balans van beleid. Terugblik op de laatste halve eeuw van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Assen 1961) 87.
- 57 L. Scholte, *Verzamelde romans en verhalen met een biografische inleiding door Vilan van der Loo* (The Hague 2007) 34.
- 58 Wertheim, 'Koloniaal racisme in Indonesië', 369. 'Hoe meer pigment, hoe minder payment'.
- 59 Alatas, *The myth of the lazy native*, 70-71.
- 60 B. Scova Righini, 'Bep Vuyk. Twee vaderlanden en twee werelden', *Indische Letteren* 20:1 (2005) 70-80, 72, 77.
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- 62 *Nu vaar ik een jaar als kapitein en ze willen me weg hebben. Ze zeggen dat ik niet deug voor de nieuwe verhoudingen, dat ik me niet kan aanpassen. Ik wens me niet aan te passen, ik wil geen aap-wat-heb-je-mooie-jongen spelen tegenover die zwarte kerels, die slome indolente Aziaten met hun stomme zwarte smoelen*, from: B. Vuyk, *Gerucht en geweld* (Amsterdam 1959) 57.
- 63 *Wat hebt u tegen die zwarten, kapitein, u bent toch zelf ook zwart?* from: Vuyk, *Gerucht*, 58
- 64 *Hij vatte het vel van zijn onderarm tussen duim en wijsvinger en schreeuwde, maar niet naar mij, met het hoofd ver naar achter geworpen het heelal toekrijgend: 'Dit zwarte vel, mijn eigen vel dat ik zou willen afscheuren. Het is de Aziaat in mijzelf die ik haat'*. from: Vuyk, *Gerucht*, 58.
- 65 R. Nieuwenhuys, 'De Indische wereld van Couperus', *Hollands maandblad* 5:192-193 (1963-1964) 18-21.
- 66 Coté, 'Romancing the Indies', 138. See also: P. Pattynama, 'Secrets and danger: interracial sexuality in Louis Couperus's *The hidden force* and Dutch colonial culture around 1900', in: J. Clancy-Smith and F. Gouda (eds.), *Domesticating the empire: race, gender, and family life in French and Dutch colonialism* (Charlottesville 1998) 84-107.
- 67 *Ida van Helden was een typetje van blanke nonna. Zij probeerde altijd heel Europeesch te doen, netjes Hollandsch te spreken; zelfs gaf zij voor, dat zij slecht Maleisch sprak, en dat zij noch van rijsttafel, noch van roedjak hield. [...] Haar man, de controleur, was nooit in Holland geweest. [...] En het was zeer vreemd te zien, deze kreool, schijnbaar geheel Europeaan, sprak zijn Hollandsch zoo correct, dat het bijna stijf zou geweest zijn tusschen het slordige 'slang' van het moederland*, from: L. Couperus, *De stille kracht* (Amsterdam 1900) 54-55.
- 68 *Besef een klein moment, nu, wat een Indo-Europeaan is: een telg van een koloniaal voorgelacht [...] Wij werden telgen die een leven leidden, even halfslachtig als onze huidskleur... Bij God, wij apen de Europeanen na, want zij zijn het beschaafde ras en een inlander is maar een inlander, zo was het toch altijd. Wij apen de Europeanen na, hoewel we ze even grondig wantrouwen als zij ons! [...] Toch deden wij als Europeanen: wij dronken splitjes en wonden in stenen huizen en noemden ons intellectueel en wij meden de kampongs als de pest*, from: G.J. Vermeulen, *Dagboek van een halve mens* (Leiden 1951) 62-63.
- 69 NL-HaNA\_2.24.01.05\_0\_926-1363, <http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/afbeeldingen/fotocollectie/zoeken/weergave/detail/q/id/ac218180-dob4-102d-bcf8-003048976d84> (29-11-2017)



- 70 Als hij met Hollandse vrienden omging, dan had hij het gevoel dat ik mijn gemoed, mijn denken, doen en laten hierbij aan moest passen. Mevrouw en mijnheer groeten en handjes geven, want anders werd je al bij voorbaat als kampongindo bestempeld. Niet zomaar naar binnen gaan als je niet naar binnen werd geroepen. Rustig blijven zitten binnenshuis en nergens aankomen, spelletjes doen als halma of mens-erger-je-niet. Zeer enthousiast doen en niet laten blijken, dat je je zat te vervelen. [...] Kortom alles op de Nederlandse toer [...] Er werd gelet op de taal die je sprak. [...] Kleurrijker en ongecompliceerder ging het daarentegen toe bij mijn Javaanse vrienden. From: Jalhay, *Tussen blank en bruin*, 53.
- 71 Meijer, In *Indië geworteld*, 104-105.
- 72 Ibidem, 74.
- 73 J.A.A. van Doorn, 'De Indo-Europeaan in het nieuwe Indonesië', *Het Gemeenebest* 9 (1949) 290-305, 295.
- 74 Verkuyl, *Het verbond verbroken*, 15; D.M.G. Koch, 'De Indo-Europeaan', *Vrije Katheder* 17 January 1947, 580.
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- 77 Bauduin, *Het Indische leven*, 18; Beets et al., *De demografische geschiedenis*, 25.
- 78 Jansen van Galen, *Afscheid van de koloniën*, 119.
- 79 Bosma, *Indiëgangsters*, 107, 109.
- 80 Ibidem, 194.
- 81 R. Kousbroek, 'Het dagelijks leven in Frans Indochina', *Indische Letteren* 17:1-2 (2002) 41-49.
- 82 Firpo, 'Lost boys', 211.
- 83 Baay, *De njai*, 82; Scholte, *Verzamelde romans*, 29.
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- 85 H.G. Surie, 'De gerepatrieerden', in: H. Verwey-Jonker (ed.), *Allochtonen in Nederland. Beschouwingen over de Gerepatrieerden, Molukkers, Surinamers, Antillianen, Buitenlandse werknemers, Chinezen, Vluchtelingen, Buitenlandse studenten in onze samenleving* (The Hague 1973) 47-110, 56.
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- 87 Coté, 'Romancing the Indies', 149; See also: Stoler, *Carnal knowledge*, 69-70.
- 88 Van der Kroef, 'The Eurasian minority', 486.
- 89 Bosma and Raben, *Being Dutch in the Indies*, 241.
- 90 Cited in: Coté, 'The sins of their fathers', 132.
- 91 Van der Meer, 'Dag Pa, Ik wil er in, bij Van der Steur', 9, 24.
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- 93 University Library Leiden, Special Collections (hereafter ULL), KITLV-inventory 343, DH 1912, folder 111, correspondence Stichting van der Steur, Letter of W.A. van der Steur to Ms. van Hoogstraten, 28-02-1953.
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- 96 Van de Loo, *Johannes 'Pa' van der Steur*, 62, 92, 108.
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- 101 A. Dirks, *For the youth: Juvenile delinquency, colonial civil society and the late colonial state in the Netherlands Indies, 1872-1942* (Leiden 2011) 80.
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- 103 P. Boudewijn, 'Halfslachtige en halfkrachtige zielen. Rasvermenging in de Indische romans van Couperus', *Spiegel der Letteren* 55:3 (2013) 279-300, 294-295.
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- 110 Laarman, *Oude onbekenden*, 61.
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- 113 Chailley-Bert, *Java et ses habitants*, vii, x. 'les nouveaux venus de la colonisation et c'est bien ce qu'est France [...] ont intérêt à se mettre à l'école de leurs devanciers: Anglais et Hollandais.'
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- 117 VNNAI, Fonds RST no. 71191-02, enquête sur le problème eurasiens au Tonkin (1938) Le probleme Eurasien au Tonkin, 23-24.
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- 122 Ravoux, 'Aspects sociaux d'un groupe d'Eurasians', *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* IXe série, Tome 9 (1948) 180-190, 186.
- 123 Saada, 'Paternité et citoyenneté en situation coloniale', 108.
- 124 C. Paris, *De la condition juridique des Métis dans les colonies et possessions françaises: des Métis franco-annamites de l'Indo-Chine* (Paris 1904) 2.
- 125 C. Gravelle, 'Enquête sur la Question des Métis', *Revue Indochinoise* (January 1913) 32.
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- 127 Firpo, 'The durability of empire', 101-102; O. Faron, 'The age of war orphans: construction and realities of a group of state wards between education and assistance (1917-1935)', *The History of the Family* 4:1 (1999) 17-29, 21.
- 128 Firpo, 'The durability of empire', 103.
- 129 Ravi, 'Métis, métisse and métissage: Representations and self-representations', 310.
- 130 K. Lefèvre, *Métisse blanche* (Paris 1989) 48, 'Le papier attestait que mon père était bien français, qu'il avait été forcé de suivre son régiment en laissant ma mère avec un enfant qu'elle était incapable d'élever convenablement: que la pauvre femme désirait faire don de sa fille à l'État français qui, mieux qu'elle, saurait lui préparer un avenir. (...) à renoncer à tous ses droits maternels.'
- 131 Interview with Kim Lefèvre in *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context* 5 (2001) [http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue5/nguyen\\_interview.html](http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue5/nguyen_interview.html) (26-05-2015).
- 132 Lefèvre, *Métisse blanche*, 345, 'Je n'avais cessé, depuis mon enfance, d'essuyer du mépris, des rejets, de la haine parfois, de la part d'un peuple que je considérais comme mien. C'est que je rappelais, à mon corps défendant, l'humiliante colonisation et l'arrogance du Blanc. J'étais le fruit impur de la trahison de ma mère, une Vietnamiennne.'
- 133 I. Thuy Pelaud, 'Metisse Blanche' Kim Lefèvre and Transnational Space', in: J. Brennan, *Mixed race literature* (Stanford 2002) 122-136, 123.
- 134 VNNA 4, Tauziac to the president of the *Société d'Assistance aux enfants abandonnés franco-indochinois*, March 1929, RSA, 4835 Dossier relatif aux status de la société de protection des enfants Métis de l'Annam années 1900-1918. 'je n'appartiens à aucune classe de la société indochinoise, personne ne veut me reconnaître comme son semblable, sans parents, sans amis, je mène une vie faite de déboires de toutes sortes.'
- 135 M.W. Bazé, 'Protection des enfants Métis', *Grain de Riz* 47 (2013) 4.
- 136 VNNAI, Fonds Gouverneur Général d'Indochine (hereafter Fonds GGI) no.78, questions soumises à l'Assemblée générale par la Société de protection des Métis d'Annam, 1939, 1.
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- 138 VNNAI, Fonds GGI no. 89, letter of lieutenant-colonel Belloc to the inspector of labour and social care of Tonkin in Hanoi, 12 November 1942.
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- 141 Firpo, 'Crises of whiteness', 598; VNNAI, Fonds RST no. 79769 Fonctionnement de l'association 'Fondation Jules Brévié', Lettre, le 20 mars 1939, le GGI à messieurs les chefs d'administration locale, objet: fédération des œuvres en consacrant, à l'éducation et au placement des enfants franco-indochinois.
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- 145 Firpo, *The uprooted*, 79; Dirks, *For the youth*, 81-82. See also the contemporary article: H. Sambuc, 'Les Métis Franco-Annamites en Indochine', *La Revue du Pacifique* 10:4 (1931) 194-209, 200.
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- 151 'Discours de M. le Gouverneur Général Brévié au Conseil Supérieur de la Colonisation', *L'information d'Indochine économique et financière* 6:239 (Juillet 1938) 4.
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- 155 Firpo, 'Crises of whiteness', 598-600.
- 156 VNNA 4, Fonds RSA, s.72, no. 4835, dossier relatif aux statuts de la Société de Protection des enfants Métis de l'annam années 1900-1918; letter, l'administrateur délégué à monsieur le résident de France, 28 décembre 1917, 'dans un état déplorable de saleté.'
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- 161 J. J. Barieux, 'Mon enfance dans l'Indochine française', *Grain de Riz* 51 (2015) 6-7.
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  - 20 Rijkschroeff and Kwa, *Spijtoptanten en achterblijvers*, 85; De Hart, *Onwaarschijnlijke koppels*, 11.
  - 21 NL-HaNA, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Nederlands Commissariaat te Soerabaja (Indonesië), 1950-1957, entry no. 2.05.61.08, inv.no. 1766.
  - 22 Ringeling, *Beleidsvrijheid van ambtenaren*, 89-90. 10,956 heads of the household applied for admission to the Netherlands, so approximately 41,600 people were involved.
  - 23 J. Pekelder, "Moreel is het niet te verantwoorden enige Nederlander in de steek te laten." Regering en parlement over de komst van de Indische Nederlanders in de jaren vijftig', *Jaarboek Parlementaire Geschiedenis* 1 (1999) 88-103.
  - 24 NL-HaNA, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Nederlands Commissariaat te Soerabaja (Indonesië), 1950-1957, entry no. 2.05.61.08, inv.no. 1766. 'terwijl men ook bevreesd is, dat als eenmaal in één geval vergunning wordt verleend de stroom van analoge of ongeveer analoge gevallen niet meer te stuiten zou zijn.[...] concentreren op een betere omlijnning van de gevallen of categorieën van gevallen waarin het maken van een uitzondering gewenst moet worden geacht.'
  - 25 NL-HaNA, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Nederlands Commissariaat te Makassar (Indonesië), entry no. 2.05.61.04, inv.no. 84, Note of Minister Donker for the minister council, 16 January 1956.
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  - 29 NL-HaNA, Stichting Spijtoptanten Indonesië entry no. 2.20.27, inv.nos. 74, 80, 100.
  - 30 ULL, KITLV-inventory 343, DH 1912, folder 111, report Protestant orphanages (juli 1950).
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  - 32 NL-HaNA, Stichting Spijtoptanten Indonesië, entry no. 2.20.27, inv. no. 37, the letter of 03-03-1959 is signed by all members of the *Team*.
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  - 39 Archives diplomatiques, Consulat General Saigon, Série A, 590PO/A, article 206, Assistance aux Français, secours aux français, letter 9 januari 1970, consul general of France in Saigon to the minister of foreign affairs; and article 207, letter avril 1959, consul general of France to the minister of foreign affairs and letter, 12 November 1957, Ambassadeur of France to the minister of foreign affairs.
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### Chapter 13 Those who stayed (after 1960)

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