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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-organ*.

In French: *La Dépêche Coloniale*, *Revue du Pacifique*, *Revue Indochinoise*, *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 saonnais*.

In English: *The (Manchester) Guardian*, *The Anglo-Indian*, *The (Anglo-Indian) Review*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Singapore Free Press*, *The Straits Times*, *Hindustan Times (overseas edition)*, *The New York Times*, *The Irish Times*.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

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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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Chapter 6 Socio-economic position of Eurasians from 1900 onwards

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- 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 Aziat 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.
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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.
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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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- 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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- 107 Wertheim, *Het sociologische karakter*, 8.
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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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- 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.
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- 126 VNNA I, Fonds of the resident superior of Tonkin (Hereafter RST) 5489, Letter, the administrator at Nhà Nam to République Française at Bắc Giang, 8 september 1911.
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- 128 Firpo, 'The durability of empire', 103.
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- 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 (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.'
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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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Chapter 9 Formal political decolonisation and the 'pull' of the mother country

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Chapter 12 Special policies for Eurasians and the Eurasian reactions

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 - 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.
 - 26 Rijkschroeff and Kwa, *Spijtoptanten en achterblijvers*, 92-93, 96.
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 - 37 Gunn, *Rice wars in colonial Vietnam*, 1, 2, 262.
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Chapter 13 Those who stayed (after 1960)

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