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APPENDECIES

- **Person Deixis**

Division	Kind of Expression	Deictic Expression	Utterance	Number of Data
First Person	Singular	I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If only I could make myself small enough to be able to crawl inside an envelope then I would come to you • I write nonsense • I have heard 'Ginonjing' • yet I cannot reproduce a single note • I can no longer remember a single sound • I cannot hear 'Ginonjing' without being deeply moved • I only need to hear the first notes of the beautiful introduction and I am under its spell • I do not want to hear that heartbreaking song and yet I have to, I must, I must listen to the murmuring voices which tell 	110

			<p>me of the past</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • when I see somber • I do not want to look but my eyes remain wide open and at my feet yawns an abyss of dizzying depth; but, if I glance upwards... • There, are you convinced now what a foolish, nonsensical creature I am? • What a lot of nonsense I have heaped together once again, eh? • But now, enough, I shall try to speak sensibly, as a normal person • I will ask Pa to go there <p>...</p>	
		My	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Until my dying breath that will remain my ideal • to my dear brother • It is not my fault, Stella, if from time to time I write nonsense • And my soul is swept upwards. • And my soul 	51

			<p>trembles and contracts with fear and pain and grief!</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • everything has been swept from my memory images of the future pass before my mind's eye • A shiver passes through my being when I see somber • I do not want to look but my eyes remain wide open and at my feet yawns an abyss of dizzying depth • my heart is light once more! • My sunny land • that is actually the reason for my writing this time • Do you know what my motto is? • Then there is the case of Demak, the district for which my uncle <p>...</p>	
		Me	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • and those sounds carry me along through dark valleys 	43

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • those sorrowful sounds which make me so utterly happy • I must listen to the murmuring voices which tell me of the past • a clear blue sky arches above me • Some time ago you asked me about the conditions of the 'little people' these days • And these two little words have already so often carried me over a mountain of difficulties • Make me warm, let me glow, Stella, I beg you, do not let me go. • it has been given to me and it would be stupid of me to refuse it if I can make good use of it • My brothers told me that at the HBS they experienced a lot of opposition • I am sure that they agreed with me in their hearts 	
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			...	
		Mine	but a mine director on the island of Banka	1
	Plural	We	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • over-sensitive individuals we will ban from our company, won't we, Stella? • All day and night we heard the sea roar and rage • We were so entranced by the awesome spectacle that we did not even notice that those mighty incoming waves were coming • did we realize that we had become completely encircled by the foaming water • We returned to the children on the shore wet up to our knees. • we want to be the equals of Europeans • The right, which we demand for ourselves, we should also accord to others 	25
		Us	... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the three of us were standing 	12

			<p>on a large rock looking at the furious play of the waves</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was only when the little ones on the beach anxiously called to us to come back • Two laws: one for us and one for them – no! God save us from this! • ridicule us for our ignorance • Many knew us and were as fond of us as any other child <p>...</p>	
		Ourself	-	-
		Our	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are playing our favourite song. • over-sensitive individuals we will ban from our company • In our yard, several trees were completely blown bare • we did not even notice that those mighty incoming waves were coming ever closer to our rock • We returned to the children on the shore wet 	13

			<p>up to our knees.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ridicule us for our ignorance • makes himself look ridiculous in our eyes 	
		Ours	<p>... friends of ours and several of them have asked my brothers to use the Dutch</p>	1
Second Person		You	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The glass gamelan in the pendopo could tell you more about it than I. • There, are you convinced now what a foolish • My sunny land, which you long for so much • Some time ago you asked me about the conditions of the 'little people' • I hope that what you affirm will be realized • Do you know what my motto is? • whatever you might do • And you can appreciate that he cannot just present his guests with things that are available locally 	45

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And the people keep coming with offerings and you can see your wife • You should know that a large section of the aristocracy has supported what the Government has done. 	
		<p>...</p> <p>Your</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I would like to respond to the rest of your last letter. • Thank you, Stella, for your encouragement. • I thank God that I can answer 'No!' to your question • you can see your wife and children with torn clothing • You ask me, 'Has your father much power?' • Read it, Stella, read his address, if not for your own interest, then for my sake • but would you kindly speak to me in your own language. • And in the same 	8

			way that your women and girls are being opposed...	
Third Person		He	<p>...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • he had incorrectly arranged the water drainage system • with which he must support himself • some such by some villager he will refuse it • he will continue to refuse it • He tells himself • Should he be nabbed by the wedono for some small transgression then he can count on his friend • he has to pay a scribe • with the best that he has • he must often dig deep <p>...</p>	70

		She	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She opposed his plans and threatened him with suicide and such things • Raden Ayu was also spoken to in this way by a gentleman and very confidently she replied 	2
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		They	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are playing our favourite song • No, no they are not the sounds of glass • they are the voices of human souls speaking to us • as if they were match sticks • They surely cannot be held responsible • Or could they ward off the over-abundant water • yet they remain of little use • a wonder how they can make ends meet with their meagre salaries • even though they are no less overwhelmed by paperwork • But surely the money they spent in carrying out Government ... 	39
		Her	But his mother feared that her son would become totally Europeanized	1
	Total			445

- Place Deixis

Division	Deictic Expressions	Utterance	Number of Data
Proximal Place	Here	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • he had already become engaged here to a European girl • Many Europeans here are greatly concerned that the Javanese – their inferiors – are gradually educating themselves • European civil service here and he will also find much opposition. • here the Javanese are being hindered in their development by their superiors • I have allowed myself to get too carried away by my emotions and here and there have written something that pains you! 	5
	Come	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I would come to you, Stella, with this letter • It was only when the little ones on the beach anxiously called to us to come back • to come back to it 	6

		<p>on another occasion and that is actually the reason for my writing this time</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • regent and sometimes the assistant resident who might come to his sub-district to undertake some project • When this conversation with the resident had come to an end • We have come together in such mutual understanding. 	
	This	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If you are interested in this subject • he coolly uttered this word • But let me continue a little further with this subject. • then I would come to you, Stella, with this letter 	4
	These	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • it is as if the breath of these trembling silver notes blows away the veil which conceals the mysterious future • Some time ago you asked me about the conditions of the 'little people' these days but, as I had already written so much at the time • And these two little 	17

		<p>words have already so often carried me over a mountain of difficulties</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rather have pity on these big children • And if the assistant wedono lives very far from the city then these gentlemen will stay • the assistant my wedono will have the honour of being allowed to prepare the meal for these important guests • No, all these treats must be obtained from the city • And the odd cup of tea that these gentlemen have with those officials will not ruin them • In comparison with others, these civil servants are really miserably paid <p>...</p>	
Distal Place	There	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the storm raged there terribly • I will ask Pa to go there • Poor 'Klein Scheveningen', the storm raged there terribly • because there also I have blood relations • There you will find the address given by my brother at the 	35

		<p>Congress</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professor Kern brought him there and asked him to speak • He was there for several years and a new controleur • The result of the audience was that he was sent to the Preanger with a commission to make a study of rice cultivation there • and for everyone else there split this latter educational institution into two classes • No Malay may be taught there <p>...</p>	
	Go	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To go to Europe! • Do not let it go out. • At first his plan was to go to Europe to continue his studies • he saw that his father was not alone he wanted to go away again 	4
	Those	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And my soul is swept upwards, along with those murmuring, pure silver tones • those sounds carry me along through dark valleys • those sorrowful sounds which make me so utterly happy • we did not even 	10

		<p>notice that those mighty incoming waves were coming ever closer to our rock</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the Government excuses the people experiencing those calamities from paying taxes provide those important gentlemen with the best that he has those officials will not ruin them those that do the former are friends of ours It is so amusing how those great men attempt to instill respect in us girls are being opposed by those who have been their masters for centuries 	
	That	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Now, of that 85 guilders, he has to pay a scribe Before you are the thoughts of someone who belongs to that despised brown race 	2
Total			80

• Time Deixis

Division	Deictic Expressions	Utterances	Number of Data
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Proximal Time	This	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And this morning it really stormed • This afternoon, if it does not rain too heavily • that is actually the reason for my writing this time 	3
	Now	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Now that the gamelan is silent • There, are you convinced now what a foolish, nonsensical creature I am? • And now – about the people, or the population of Java as a whole • but in the second the children now only learn Javanese • Only the Regents now ask permission from the GG for their children to be admitted to European schools • had now to crawl across the floor before his former dim-witted schoolmate, speak to him in high Javanese • Other people had now taken over the reins and when a position as translator of the Javanese language became 	18

		<p>available</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Now he was no longer in anybody's way! • I thought only the ignorant Javanese loved such foppery, but now I see that the civilized • and that every now and then a brown person appears who demonstrates that he has just as good a set of brains... • Oh, now I know, Dutch is too beautiful to be uttered by a brown mouth. • How wretched that there were now Europeans serving under him, a Native! • How wretched that there were now Europeans serving under him, a Native! • He is now no longer a controleur, but a mine director on the island of Banka. • Oh! Now I understand why there is opposition to the education of the Javanese 	
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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Remember, everything which is now old was once new <i>Barthold Meryan</i> has been promised to me but till now I have not yet seen it But, in my opinion <i>H v S</i> remains the Ratu (Queen) of anything written till now about women's emancipation. 	
	At the same time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> but at the same time how arresting, how moving and beautiful it is! those sorrowful sounds which make me so utterly happy yet at the same time so melancholy 	2
	After	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Of the 100,000 fish in the ponds, only fifteen remained after the floods Some time after the floods I have committed, after all, I did not ask for it he wanted to enter a new world that, after all, had been made available to him by command of the King 	4
	When	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A shiver passes through my being 	16

		<p>when I see somber</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was only when the little ones on the beach anxiously called to us to come back • When Pa goes on a tour of inspection • When my brother was unable to make ends meet on his salary • I think the Government believes that when the people learn, they will no longer want to work on the land • I did when I had just started • but when we try to educate ourselves, then they adopt a defiant attitude towards us • Can you imagine the suffering of this proud and haughty heart when he had been so humiliated? <p>...</p>	
	One day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One day he returned home to his parents directly from such an environment and his first thought was that he should report to the local authorities 	2

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> perhaps one day I can send you the entire memorandum, 	
	Next morning	The next morning his notice of appointment was sent to him at home	1
Distal Time	Before	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> as clear as the day, images of the future pass before my mind's eye I see sombre, dark figures arise before me But before I touch on this subject the same curriculum is taught as before the separation Before you are the thoughts of someone who belongs to that despised brown race had now to crawl across the floor before his former dim-witted schoolmate amongst other things that there was no better way of serving Europeans than by crawling before them in the dust It pains me deeply to see people, older than myself, crawling in the dust before me. 	9

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It is wonderful that before long a cheap edition of his works will appear 	
	Last year	Last year a fish farming village lay underwater for a week	1
	Last few days	My sunny land, which you long for so much, has been anything but sunny during the last few days	1
	Last Sunday	and last Sunday the Jepara River overflowed its banks	1
	All day and all night	All day and night we heard the sea roar and rage	1
	The other day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The other day we were visiting some Totokkers The other day I read <i>Minnebrieven</i> by Multatuli for the second time 	2
	The evening	It was in the evening – the Regent of X had visitors in his kabupaten	1
	A week ago	We were at Klein Scheveningen a week ago	1
	For days and nights	and for days and nights Pa stayed at the scene of the disaster	1
Total			61

• Social Deixis

Division	Deictic Expression	Utterances	Number of
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			Data
Relational	Father	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Has your father much power?' What exactly is power? • he saw that his father was not alone he wanted to go away again but the resident had seen him and called to him • The father of our assistant resident was a good friend of Multatuli 	3
	Brother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to my dear brother • When my brother was unable to make ends meet on his salary, Papa sprang to his aid • my brother says and I agree with him • There you will find the address given by my brother at the Congress of the Nederlandsch Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde at Gent. • My brother argued for making Dutch compulsory as the language of government business • My brothers told me that at the HBS they experienced a lot of opposition. • What value did my brothers gain from what they learnt at the HBS? • My brothers speak in high Javanese to their superiors and they in turn speak either in Dutch or in Malay to them • several of them have 	14

		<p>asked my brothers to use the Dutch language with them</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When my brother went to Holland he also left many enemies behind • Much attention was paid to my brother's address • And, oh joy, all the Indies' papers are on the side of my brother • Oh, I know that when my brother returns he can count on the hatred of the entire world of the European civil service here and he will also find much opposition from the private citizenry • Wonderful! So my brother therefore is not standing alone 	
	Pa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pa is on a tour of inspection today • Lately Pa has been very busy • Lately Pa has been very busy • for days and nights Pa stayed at the scene of the disaster. • one of the engineers of the waterworks visited Pa to tell him it was his fault that the village had been flooded • When Pa goes on a tour of inspection, Pa always brings his own food with him • Pa sprang to his aid • Papa has submitted a memorandum on education to the 	16

		<p>Government</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is it pretentious of Papa to have brought to the Government's attention the fact that African and Ambonese children do have the right to direct entry to European schools without being able to understand a word of Dutch? • Pa says in his Memorandum: the Government cannot possibly prepare the rice for the table of every Javanese • Pa will do what he can to improve the position of the people, and I place myself at his side • Papa is also very attached to his family heritage which is the oldest in the whole of Java. • Papa does have a great deal of influence but power is only possessed by the colonizers • Pa also would not allow it • The boys and Pa know only too well what they need to hold to in this regard 	
	My friend	and here my friend made a mistake	1
	My fellow	many of my fellow pupils were so hostile towards us	1
	My uncle	Then there is the case of Demak, the district for which my uncle is responsible	1
Absolute	The Brown Brother	Why do you not stretch out	1

		a hand to raise the brown brother ?	
	Clerk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A district clerk, for instance, who sits bent over his writing table day in, day out, earns the unbelievably large sum of 25 guilders per month • The first time such a district clerk is offered a bunch of bananas • then he can count on his friend the district clerk to speak on his behalf • assistant wedonos do not get a government-paid clerk even though they are no less overwhelmed by paperwork • assistant wedonos will get Government-paid clerks • it was as clerk to a controleur in the mountains 	6
	A teacher	A teacher of Javanese was repatriating	1
	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the Government excuses the people experiencing those calamities from paying taxes • the Government offers a reward for the destruction of that pest • The Government has already spent tons of money to ensure the area has water in the dry season... • the Government provides effectively for the welfare of the people 	21

		<p>of Java</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offering gifts is not only a token of respect but also a safeguard against some misfortune coming from the Government which may one day befall the giver • But surely the money they spent in carrying out Government duties will be refunded them by the Government? • And what is the Government about to do? • But should the Government make good this fault by disadvantaging the corps of Native officials? • Everywhere people are grumbling about this government regulation. • I hope the Government will not pluck bitter fruit from this decision • What has the Government done for the education of the people? • What has the Government done for the education of the people? • the Government believes that when the people learn, they will no longer want to work on the land. • You should know that a large section of the aristocracy has supported what the 	
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		<p>Government has done</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the sons of the people are becoming educated and are being employed by the Government in large numbers And the Government aids and supports them the Government cannot possibly prepare the rice for the table of every Javanese The provision of good education for the people is the equivalent of the Government providing it My brother argued for making Dutch compulsory as the language of government business. The Government awarded him an honorarium of several hundred guilders How pleased the Indies government was when the position of Inspector of Native Education became available What the European officials think of it I do not know; I do know that a controleur has proposed a reorganization of the Binnen lands Bestuur which would cost the Government nothing 	
	Student/s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> That boy undertook the final exam and was the number one student of the three HBS schools in Java 	5

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> that genial gymnasium student with his cultured manners and great modesty His new chief, you see, was a former fellow student. that a native might teach European students and, what was more a student at the Gymnasium School 	
	<i>Wedono</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Should he be nabbed by the wedono for some small transgression then he can count on his friend the district clerk to speak on his behalf they are no less overwhelmed by paperwork than the wedonos, jaksas and others the assistant my wedono will have the honour of being allowed to prepare the meal for these important guests 	3
	<i>Assistant Wedono</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An assistant wedono, second class, earns 85 guilders. assistant wedonos do not get a government-paid clerk the assistant wedono lives very far from the city then these gentlemen will stay in the pasangrahan the assistant wedono must of course investigate the matter a few frugally paid positions will be 	6

		<p>financially improved and assistant wedonos will get Government-paid clerks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the talented son of the brown race was finally allowed to become an assistant wedono 	
	Regent/s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> regent and sometimes the assistant resident who might come to his sub-district to undertake some project Only the Regents now ask permission from the GG for their children to be admitted to European schools I know an assistant resident who speaks Malay to a regent even though he knows that the latter speaks good Dutch. It was in the evening – the Regent of X had visitors in his <i>kabupaten</i> Did he want to become a Regent? He had not studied to become a Regent. 	6
	Assistant Resident	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> sometimes the assistant resident who might come to his sub-district to undertake some project The controleur does this too and so does the assistant resident Stella, I know an assistant resident who speaks Malay to a regent Everyone in fact speaks Dutch to the native ruler 	7

		<p>except for the assistant resident</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • That residents and assistant residents have themselves addressed as 'Kanjeng' is as it should be • There are residents and assistant residents in comparison to whom Slijmering in <i>Max Havelaar</i> is an angel. • The father of our assistant resident was a good friend of Multatuli 	
	Resident/s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Almost all the Residents have protested against these proposals • He found himself in the presence of the Resident, who spoke to him • another Resident had arrived and the talented son of the brown race • That residents and assistant residents have themselves addressed as 'Kanjeng' • They were a civilian and the resident of the region • but the resident had seen him and called to him • When this conversation with the resident had come to an end • There are residents and assistant residents in comparison to whom Slijmering in <i>Max Havelaar</i> 	8
	Native Chiefs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It has often happened 	1

		that native chiefs have pawned their wife's and children's jewelry	
	Native Officials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • But the lesser native officials are so miserably paid • the lesser Native officials fear their requests will be refused and therefore do not do so • also the more junior ranks of native officials in the country are letting themselves be heard • the official language between European and native officials 	4
	Native Ruler/s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • know the problems of the native rulers • Everyone in fact speaks Dutch to the native ruler except for the assistant resident 	2
	Native personnel	The Native personnel will be significantly reduced for the benefit of ... European civil servants	1
	Native Child	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no Native child (of 6 to 7 years of age) would be admitted to a public elementary school for Europeans if it is not yet able to speak Dutch. • How is a Native child of six or seven able to learn Dutch unless it has a Dutch governess? 	2
	Native Civil Servant	the desirability of making Dutch compulsory as the language medium between European and Native civil servants.	1
	Kanjeng	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hat residents and 	2

		<p>assistant residents have themselves addressed as 'Kanjeng' is as it should be</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do these people know what 'Kanjeng' means? 	
	European	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Native personnel will be significantly reduced for the benefit of ... European civil servants this will be for the benefit of European civil servants employed by the Binnenlands Bestuur I know very well from my own school days that there were masses of European children The European deplors many character traits of the Javanese he had already become engaged here to a European girl that a native might teach European students No, the European only makes himself look ridiculous in our eyes when he demands of us marks of respect making Dutch compulsory as the language medium between European and Native civil servants he can count on the hatred of the entire world of the European civil service here But not every European in Java is a hater of Javanese people from his European 	16

		<p>colleagues as 'despicable'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the difficult intruder had been removed from the circle of European officials. about how an upright European had to stand aside for an unworthy native ruler What the European officials think of it I do not know Dutch as the official language between European and native officials Nevertheless, it is divine that European men of name and position are encouraging our cause. 	
	The King	he wanted to enter a new world that, after all, had been made available to him by command of the King	1
	The gentlemen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The gentlemen in Batavia did not know what to do; they asked the Javanese what he wanted. The gentlemen were obliged to give him such an appointment as he desired since it was the will of His Majesty. There was nothing else for it but that the gentlemen appoint him as a civil servant What a problem for the gentlemen of Batavia 	4
	Controleur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The controleur does this too and so does the 	6

		assistant resident <ul style="list-style-type: none"> it was as clerk to a controleur in the mountains actually an aspirant controleur came a little later an aspirant controleur came to enlarge the gathering That native controleur also had friends I do know that a controleur has proposed a reorganization of the Binnen lands Bestuur 	
	Raden Ayu	Recently a Raden Ayu was also spoken to in this way by a gentleman	1
	Raden Mas	a good friend of Javanese people described the treatment received by Raden Mas Ismangoen	1
Total			142

- Discourse Deixis**

Division	Deictic Expressions	Utterances	Number of Data
Proximal Demonstrative	This	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> but this is definitely not the fault of their leaders the guilty individual is either dismissed from office, or downgraded. But what does exist, or rather proliferate, is this evil 	35

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I should take account of the circumstances in which the perpetration of this evil takes place • Do not judge this last matter too harshly • The controleur does this too and so does the assistant resident • , I mean Native official, has been reduced in this way to a state of destitution. • By this reduction f164,800 will be saved annually and this will be for the benefit of European civil servants employed by the Binnenlands Bestuur • but how can this compare with the numerous higher posts (that have certainly not been shown to be superfluous) • Everywhere people are grumbling about this government regulation • The proposals for this reorganization have been approved by both chambers of parliament • I hope the Government will not pluck bitter fruit from this decision • for everyone else there split this latter educational institution into two classes • If you are interested in this subject, then try to get the October edition of <i>Neerlandia</i>. 	
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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you imagine the suffering of this proud and haughty heart when he had been so humiliated? • he was temporarily entrusted with this position. • The boys and Pa know only too well what they need to hold to in this regard • I have spoken about this with several civil servants I am friendly with • This also is for the sake of prestige. • but they would not forgive this Javanese • They make this clear to us in very painful way • I told the people this and what was the response from my host? • When this conversation with the resident had come to an end • he coolly uttered this word: 'Tabee' • ut let me continue a little further with this subject. • Had he agreed to this he would have had a brilliant career. • But this Native, raised in the land of freedom of thought and speech • This man died many years ago • Native Education became available and they were able to offer 	
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		<p>this to Ismangoen.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The daily papers are calling this a pleasing sign of the times and are applauding it. • This is a proposal that has also been put forward to both Chambers of the States General. This also demands the compulsory use of Dutch as the official language between European and native officials. • In this period of transition from the old to the new. Recently I read: 'Do not reject, ye elders, everything that is new.' • This novel of the times was supposed to be in all respects superior to <i>Hilda van Suylenburg</i>. 	
	But	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is not a song, not a melody really,... drifting purposelessly, entangled together in the air; but at the same time how arresting and beautiful it is! • I do not want to look but my eyes remain wide open • What a lot of nonsense I have heaped together once again, eh? But now, enough, I shall try to speak sensibly, as a normal person • My sunny land, which 	54

		<p>you long for so much, has been anything but sunny during the last few days</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to come back to it on another occasion and that is actually the reason for my writing this time. But before I touch on this subject, I would like to respond to the rest of your last letter. • It is true that the people sometimes suffer hunger, but this is definitely not the fault of their leaders • The repair of several kilometres of dike was paid for out of private funds that were later repaid by the Government. But who would give back what the waters had robbed from the people? • No, Stella, the Government provides effectively for the welfare of the people of Java, but unfortunately it leaves them burdened by heavy taxes. • the guilty individual is either dismissed from office, or downgraded. But what does exist, or rather proliferate, is this evil • But I should not judge this simply on the basis of the bare facts • Acceptance of such 	
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		<p>presents is forbidden by the Government. But the lesser native officials are so miserably paid</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • he will continue to refuse it the second time but the third time his refusal becomes more hesitant • Offering gifts is not only a token of respect but also a safeguard against some misfortune coming from the Government which may one day befall the giver • It may not be compulsory but the host regards it as his duty to provide those important gentlemen with the best that he has – or does not have. • native chiefs have pawned their wife's and children's jewelry to raise the money needed to investigate some sinister affair or other. But surely the money they spent in carrying out Government duties will be refunded them by the Government? • In comparison with others, these civil servants are really miserably paid. But should the Government make good this fault by disadvantaging the corps of Native 	
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		<p>officials?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assistant wedonos will get Government-paid clerks, but how can this compare with the numerous higher posts • Almost all the Residents have protested against these proposals but His Exc. the Governor General demands it so. • the same curriculum is taught as before the separation, but in the second the children now only learn Javanese. • Pa says in his Memorandum: the Government cannot possibly prepare the rice for the table of every Javanese, but what it can do is to provide him with the means to reach the place where the food. • Papa is also very attached to his family heritage which is the oldest in the whole of Java. But what is right is right and what is fair is fair. • Papa does have a great deal of influence but power is only possessed by the colonizers. • The Dutch laugh and ridicule us for our ignorance, but when we try to educate ourselves, then they 	
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		<p>adopt a defiant attitude towards us.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> many of my fellow pupils were so hostile towards us. But not all teachers and pupils hated us. <p>...</p>	
	However	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I had promised you, however, to come back to it on another occasion and that is actually the reason for my writing this time. I had promised you, however, to come back to it on another occasion and that is actually the reason for my writing this time. That little gentleman, however, did not think it necessary to return the polite greeting with anything more than a barely noticeable nod of the head 	3
	Therefore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Native officials fear their requests will be refused and therefore do not do so. He loved his mother very much, and therefore stayed. Can you therefore understand that I cannot suppress a smile at such a situation? Wonderful! So my brother therefore is not standing alone. 	4
Distal Demonstrative	That	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I do not want to hear that heartbreaking song 	19

		<p>and yet I have to, I must, I must listen to the murmuring voices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stella, keep that fire well stoked! • the Government offers a reward for the destruction of that pest. • ...it would be impossible to bring that region to a condition of prosperity • all that evil can be wiped out • you will see that in him there is something other than a desire to do bad things • Before you are the thoughts of someone who belongs to that despised brown race • That boy undertook the final exam • he had dared to reply to that great man in his own language? • And his friends did everything possible to get that position for him • Not that he ever had anything to do with the people. • That little gentleman, however, did not think it necessary to return the polite greeting • Yes, that man went even further: he became Christian in order to be able to marry the daughter of a Dutch parson • That native controleur 	
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		also had friends <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How cruelly they treated that great thinker, that genius, that human being in the noblest sense of that word • This is a proposal that has also been put forward to both Chambers of the States General. • Oh! How wonderful that we happen to be living in these times! • himwe have heard some anecdotes from the life of that genius 	
Adverbial Space	Here	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • since he had already become engaged here to a European girl • and here my friend made a mistake 	2
Total			117

• **Kartini's Letter to Stella Zeehandelaar in January 1900**

*To Stella Zeehandelaar
13 January 1900*

To go to Europe! (distal) Until my dying breath that will remain my ideal. If only I could make myself small enough to be able to crawl inside an envelope then I would come to you, Stella, with this letter, to my dear brother and to ...

Hush! Not another word!

It is not my fault, Stella, if from time to time I write nonsense. The glass gamelan in the pendopo (distal) could tell you more about it than I. They are playing our favourite song. It is not a song, not a melody really, simply sounds and tones, so tender, so soft – fluttering whimsically, drifting purposelessly, entangled together in the air; but at the same time how arresting, how moving and beautiful it is! No, no they are not the sounds of glass, of brass, of wood that emanate from it: they are the voices of human souls speaking to us; sometimes complaining, sometimes weeping and – very occasionally – happily laughing.

And my soul is swept upwards, along with those murmuring, pure silver tones, in that rarefied blue sky towards the fluffy clouds, towards the glittering stars – deep bass sounds rise up, and those sounds carry me along through dark valleys, deep ravines, through sombre forests, impenetrable wildernesses! And my soul trembles and contracts with fear and pain and grief!

I have heard ‘Ginonjing’⁴ a thousand times yet I cannot reproduce a single note. Now that the gamelan is silent, I can no longer remember a single sound, everything has been swept from my memory; those sorrowful sounds which make me so utterly happy yet at the same time so melancholy. I cannot hear ‘Ginonjing’ without being deeply moved. I only need to hear the first notes of the beautiful introduction and I am under its spell. I do not want to hear that heartbreaking song and yet I have to, I must, I must listen to the murmuring voices which tell me of the past, of the future, and it is as if the breath of these trembling silver notes blows away the veil which conceals the mysterious future. And, as clear as the day, images of the future pass before my mind’s

eye. A shiver passes through my being when I see sombre, dark figures arise before me. I do not want to look but my eyes remain wide open and at my feet yawns an abyss of dizzying depth; but, if I glance upwards, a clear blue sky arches above me and golden rays of sunshine frolic with the little fluffy clouds and my heart is light once more!

There, are you convinced now what a foolish, nonsensical creature I am? What a lot of nonsense I have heaped together once again, eh? But now, enough, I shall try to speak sensibly, as a normal person: foolish, over-sensitive individuals we will ban from our company, won’t we, Stella?

My sunny land, which you long for so much, has been anything but sunny during the last few days. There have been terrible rainstorms every day, and last Sunday the Jepara River overflowed its banks, flooding many villages and the town itself with its red-brown waters.

And this morning it really stormed, it was terrible how the wind took charge here. In our yard, several trees were completely blown bare, thick branches broke off as if they were matchsticks and there are only a few bare grey trunks left of the beautiful koolblanda tree. How terribly the kampongs must have suffered. Whole roofs were blown off houses. Pa is on a tour of inspection today; once again several houses in an isolated district of Pa’s region are underwater. Lately Pa has been very busy; one day it is because of a *banjir*, then an earthquake, then once again a storm. A colossal randu tree fell over recently on a public road and two passers-by were dragged out from under it, totally crushed. All day and night we heard the sea roar and rage. Poor ‘Klein Scheveningen’,⁵ the storm raged there terribly. The roadway to the bathhouse has been totally destroyed by the waves and the beach in front of it has disappeared. The ravenous sea has swallowed it up. This afternoon, if it does not rain too heavily, I will ask Pa to go there.

We were at Klein Scheveningen a week ago: the three of us were standing on a large rock looking at the furious play of the waves. We were so entranced by the awesome spectacle that we did not even notice that those mighty incoming waves were coming ever closer to our rock. It was only when the little ones on the beach anxiously called to us to come back did we realize that we had become completely encircled by the foaming water. We returned to the children on the shore wet up to our knees.

Some time ago you asked me about the conditions of the 'little people' these days but, as I had already written so much at the time, I ignored the question since it cannot be answered in a few words. I had promised you, however, to come back to it on another occasion and that is actually the reason for my writing this time. But before I touch on this subject, (the letter that is being written by Kartini) I would like to respond to the rest of your last letter.

Thank you, Stella, for your encouragement. I hope that what you affirm will be realized. Do you know what my motto is? It is: 'I will!' And these two little words have already so often carried me over a mountain of difficulties. 'I cannot!' gives up. 'I will!' ascends the mountains. I am full of hope, full of enthusiasm. Stella, keep that fire well stoked! Do not let it go out. Make me warm, let me glow, Stella, I beg you, do not let me go.

I thank God that I can answer 'No!' to your question as to whether the condition of the people is still as wretched as Multatuli had described it. No, as far as I know the story of Saijah and Adinda belongs to the past.⁶ It is true that the people sometimes suffer hunger, but this is definitely not the fault of their leaders. They surely cannot be held responsible for the delay in the coming of the rains which the ordinary man so desperately needs for his fields. Or could they ward off the over-abundant water which the heavens empty out over the sawahs? And, if the padi harvest fails due to an insect plague, or drought, or because of an over-long East monsoon, the Government excuses the people experiencing those calamities from paying taxes, while in times of famine the administration distributes food and money to the needy. If the fields are destroyed by a mice plague, the Government offers a reward for the destruction of that pest. Should a dike burst during the wet monsoon, as at the moment because of the high water level in the rivers, the rulers do everything possible to rectify the damage.

Last year a fish farming village lay underwater for a week; and for days and nights Pa stayed at the scene of the disaster. The repair of several kilometres of dike was paid for out of private funds that were later repaid by the Government. But who would give back what the waters had robbed from the people? Of the 100,000 fish in the ponds, only fifteen remained after the floods. Some time after the floods, one of the engineers of the waterworks visited Papa to tell him it was his fault that the village had been flooded: he had incorrectly arranged the water drainage system.

Then there is the case of Demak, the district for which my uncle⁷ is responsible; it would be impossible to bring region to a condition of prosperity, whatever you might do. It fluctuates from one extreme to another. During the East monsoon the rivers dry up and in the West monsoon the area is flooded. The **Government** has already spent tons of money to ensure the area has water in the dry season and to contain the serious banjirs during the wet season, yet without effect. Magnificent canals have been dug which provided thousands with work, yet they remain of little use. During the East monsoon, the region continues to thirst and during the West monsoon everything floats on the water. No, Stella, the Government provides effectively for the welfare of the people of Java, but unfortunately it leaves them burdened by heavy taxes.

No, Stella, the people are no longer willfully plundered by their leaders and, should this occasionally still happen, the guilty individual is either dismissed from office, or downgraded. But what does exist, or rather proliferate, is this evil: the acceptance of bribes which I think is equally as shameful as the appropriation of the belongings of peasants, as in *Max Havelaar*.

But I should not judge this simply on the basis of the bare facts; I should take account of the circumstances in which the perpetration of this evil takes place. In the first place, Natives regard the offering of presents to their superiors as a token of respect and homage. Acceptance of such presents is forbidden by the Government. But the lesser native officials are so miserably paid that it is almost a wonder how they can make ends meet with their meagre salaries.

A district clerk, for instance, who sits bent over his writing table day in, day out, earns the unbelievably large sum of 25 guilders per month, with which he must support himself and his family; pay rent, dress respectably and provide for the external appearances that maintain their prestige in the eyes of their inferiors. (Do not judge this last matter too harshly, rather have pity on these big children because, by and large, that is what my compatriots are.) The first time such a district clerk is offered a bunch of bananas or some such by some villager he will refuse it; he will continue to refuse it the second time but the third time his refusal becomes more hesitant and on the fourth occasion the offer is accepted without hesitation. He tells himself: this is no crime that I have committed, after all, I did not ask for it, it has been given to me and it would be stupid of me to refuse it if I can make good use of it. Offering gifts is not only a token of respect but also a safeguard against some misfortune coming from the Government which may one day befall the giver. Should he be nabbed by the wedono for some small transgression then he can count on his friend the district clerk to speak on his behalf.

The officials are badly paid.⁸ An assistant wedono, second class, earns 85 guilders. Now, of that 85 guilders, he has to pay a scribe (assistant wedonos do not get a government-paid clerk even though they are no less overwhelmed by paperwork than the wedonos, jaksas and others), a bendy or dos-à-dos and horse, as well as a riding

horse to undertake tours of inspection in the forests, purchase a house, pay for general living expenses as well as to entertain the controleur, regent and sometimes the assistant resident who might come to his sub-district to undertake some project. And if the assistant wedono lives very far from the city then these gentlemen will stay in the pasangrahan and the assistant my wedono will have the honour of being allowed to prepare the meal for these important guests. Cigars, air belanda, strong drinks and accompaniments cost a great deal, I can assure you, and are quite an expense for a sub-district chief. And you can appreciate that he cannot just present his guests with things that are available locally. No, all these treats must be obtained from the city. It may not be compulsory but the host regards it as his duty to provide those important gentlemen with the best that he has – or does not have.

In Pa's district, this, thank God, does not happen. When Pa goes on a tour of inspection, Pa always brings his own food with him. The controleur does this too and so does the assistant resident. And the odd cup of tea that these gentlemen have with those officials will not ruin them. If there is a murder or a robbery in the desa, the assistant wedono must of course investigate the matter; that is his duty. And in order to locate the perpetrators, he must often dig deep, very deeply, into his purse. It has often happened that native chiefs have pawned their wife's and children's jewelry to raise the money needed to investigate some sinister affair or other. But surely the money they spent in carrying out Government duties will be refunded them by the Government? I wish it were true. Many an official, I mean Native official, has been reduced in this way to a state of destitution. When my brother was unable to make ends meet on his salary, Papa sprang to his aid. What, in heaven's name, can officials do who cannot make do on their salary and who have no money, parents or family who can financially support them? And the people keep coming with offerings and you can see your wife and children with torn clothing ... Do not judge too harshly, Stella.

I know the problems of the native rulers; and I have relatives in all the branches of the civil service, I know the weal and woe of the people, because there also I have blood relations.⁹ And what is the Government about to do? It will reorganize the civil service. The Native personnel will be significantly reduced for the benefit of ... European civil servants. By this reduction f164,800 will be saved annually and this will be for the benefit of European civil servants employed by the Binnenlands Bestuur. In comparison with others, these civil servants are really miserably paid. But should the Government make good this fault by disadvantaging the corps of Native officials? It is true that, in exchange, a few frugally paid positions will be financially improved and assistant wedonos will get Government-paid clerks, but how can this compare with the numerous higher posts (that have certainly not been shown to be superfluous) that are being abolished. Everywhere people are grumbling about this government regulation. The proposals for this reorganization have been approved by both chambers of parliament [in the Netherlands] and the reorganization of the colonial Administration will be implemented in July.¹⁰ Almost all the Residents have protested against these proposals but His Exc. the Governor General demands it so;

despite all the protests the reorganization will proceed. I hope the **Government** will not pluck bitter fruit from this decision.

And now – about the people, or the population of Java as a whole. The Javanese are just big children my brother says and I agree with him. What has the Government done for the education of the people? For the sons of the aristocracy of the country there are the so-called chiefs' schools,¹¹ teacher training schools¹² and the Doktor-Jawa school,¹³ and for everyone else there split this latter educational institution into two classes.¹⁴ In the first, which are only located in the regional capitals, the same curriculum is taught as before the separation, but in the second the children now only learn Javanese (reading and writing) and a little arithmetic. No Malay may be taught there, as was the case before; why that is, is not really clear to me. mythink the Government believes that when the people learn, they will no longer want to work on the land.

Papa has submitted a memorandum on education to the Government. Oh, Stella, I wish that you could read it.¹⁵ You should know that a large section of the aristocracy has supported what the Government has done. The Javanese aristocracy is crumbling and the Government, including that in the Netherlands, as well as the individuals themselves, want to raise them up again and assist them to prosper. The aristocracy sees with envious eyes how the sons of the people are becoming educated and are being employed by the Government in large numbers because of their knowledge, capability and diligence.¹⁶ Sons of the common people are attending European schools and show that in all respects they can compete with the sons of the aristocracy. The aristocracy wants to retain power for itself; it alone wishes to retain control of the highest authority in the country, appropriate for itself Western civilization and development.

And the Government aids and supports them, because it benefits from this. In 1895 it decreed: no Native child (of 6 to 7 years of age) would be admitted to a public elementary school for Europeans if it is not yet able to speak Dutch, unless it has the express permission of the Governor General ...

How is a Native child of six or seven able to learn Dutch unless it has a Dutch governess? And then, even if there is the opportunity to learn the Dutch language, a child must first learn its own language, thus learn to read and write in Javanese. Only the Regents now ask permission from the GG for their children to be admitted to European schools; the lesser Native officials fear their requests will be refused and therefore do not do so. Is it pretentious of Papa to have brought to the Government's attention the fact that African and Ambonese children do have the right to direct entry to European schools without being able to understand a word of Dutch? Stella, I know very well from my own school days that there were masses of European children going to school who knew just as much Dutch as I did when I had just started.

Pa says in his Memorandum: the Government cannot possibly prepare the rice for the table of every Javanese,¹⁸ but what it can do is to provide him with the means to reach the place where the food, and that is Education, can be found. The provision of good education for the people is the equivalent of the Government providing it with torches so that it may find the right path for itself, which will lead to the place where the rice may be obtained.

No, Stella, I will not quote any further; perhaps one day I can send you the entire memorandum, then you can see from that what the condition of the people is at the moment. Pa will do what he can to improve the position of the people, and I place myself at his side. Papa is also very attached to his family heritage which is the oldest in the whole of Java. But what is right is right and what is fair is fair. You see, in terms of education and culture we want to be the equals of Europeans. The right, which we demand for ourselves, we should also accord to others. To prevent the education of the people would be equivalent to the action of the Czar who preached peace to the world while he trod on the rights and privileges of his own subjects. Two laws: one for us and one for them – no! God save us from this. The European deplores many character traits of the Javanese, for instance their indifference, acquiescence etc. Well then, Dutchmen, if you deplore these defects so much, why do you do nothing to remove these vices? Why do you not stretch out a hand to raise the brown brother? Believe me, all that evil can be wiped out. Remove the cloth bound tightly around his brain, open his eyes, and you will see that in him there is something other than a desire to do bad things, which, in the main, derives from stupidity and ignorance. There are examples aplenty, I do not need to look very far, nor do you, Stella. Before you are the thoughts of someone who belongs to that despised brown race. How can they judge us, what we do and do not do? Do they know us? No, no more than we know them!

If you are interested in this subject, then try to get the October edition of *Neerlandia*. There you will find the address given by my brother at the Congress of the Nederlandsch Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde at Gent. Professor Kern brought him there and asked him to speak. The feelings he expressed there are also mine, ours.

You ask me, 'Has your father much power?' What exactly is power? Papa does have a great deal of influence but power is only possessed by the colonizers. My brother argued for making Dutch compulsory as the language of government business. Read it, Stella, read his address, if not for your own interest, then for my sake. The Dutch laugh and ridicule us for our ignorance, but when we try to educate ourselves, then they adopt a defiant attitude towards us. Oh! What a lot of sorrow I experienced at school, where the teachers and many of my fellow pupils were so hostile towards us. But not all teachers and pupils hated us. Many knew us and were as fond of us as any other child. Many teachers found it difficult to award the highest mark to a Javanese, even though it was deserved. My brothers told me that at the HBS they experienced a

lot of opposition. But, thank God, the elementary school staff contained no narrow minded individuals.

What value did my brothers gain from what they learnt at the HBS? I will tell you the story of a cultured and educated Native. That boy undertook the final exam and was the number one student of the three HBS schools in Java. At first his plan was to go to Europe to continue his studies. But his mother feared that her son would become totally Europeanized since he had already become engaged here to a European girl. She opposed his plans and threatened him with suicide and such things. He loved his mother very much, and therefore stayed. He then had no other choice but to enter the Native civil service. He had a very powerful protector in Batavia but even the Vice-President of the Council of the Indies could not save him from the narrow-mindedness of his Dutch superiors. That young person was accustomed to feel welcomed; both in Semarang, where he went to school, and in Batavia, where he sat the exam, in even the most respectable homes – that genial gymnasium student with his cultured manners and great modesty. Everyone spoke with him in Dutch, the language in which he expressed himself so well. One day he returned home to his parents directly from such an environment and his first thought was that he should report to the local authorities. He found himself in the presence of the Resident, who spoke to him, and here my friend made a mistake. How was it that he had dared to reply to that great man in his own language? The next morning his notice of appointment was sent to him at home: it was as clerk to a controleur in the mountains. And here the young man had to stay to think over his 'crime', in order to forget everything that he had accumulated for himself in school.

He was there for several years and a new controleur, actually an aspirant controleur came, who made the cup of his suffering overflow. His new chief, you see, was a former fellow student, who was not noted for his mental abilities. The young man, who had once been number one in everything, had now to crawl across the floor before his former dim-witted schoolmate, speak to him in high Javanese while he was spoken to in broken Malay. Can you imagine the suffering of this proud and haughty heart when he had been so humiliated? How much inner strength he must have had to bear that teasing and provocation for so long. But in the end he could bear it no longer: he left for Batavia and requested an audience with the Governor General, which he was granted. The result of the audience was that he was sent to the Preanger with a commission to make a study of rice cultivation there. He made himself useful by translating a report about the cultivation of many types of crops from Dutch into Javanese and Sundanese. The Government awarded him an honorarium of several hundred guilders.

A vacancy became available on the staff at the school for controleurs in Batavia. A teacher of Javanese was repatriating. And his friends (the friends of the Javanese man) did everything possible to get that position for him, but without success. It was a stupid notion, that a native might teach European students and, what was more, Europeans who would become public servants. Forget such a crazy idea! I would ask

you, who better to teach Javanese language than someone who is a born Javanese! The young man returned to his hometown where, in the meantime, another Resident had arrived and the talented son of the brown race was finally allowed to become an assistant wedono. So it had not been for nothing that he had been exiled for several years in that isolated place – he had learnt about life, amongst other things that there was no better way of serving Europeans than by crawling before them in the dust and never speaking a word of Dutch in their vicinity. He could speak French to the pigs which destroyed the gardens of the villagers, have English conversations with the dogs who kept him awake at night and discussions in German with the oxen or the kucings. Other people had now taken over the reins and when a position as translator of the Javanese language became available, he was temporarily entrusted with this position. Now he was no longer in anybody's way!

Stella, I know an assistant resident who speaks Malay to a regent even though he knows that the latter speaks good Dutch. Everyone in fact speaks Dutch to the native ruler except for the assistant resident. My brothers speak in high Javanese to their superiors and they in turn speak either in Dutch or in Malay to them; those that do the former are friends of ours and several of them have asked my brothers to use the Dutch language with them but they chose not to and Pa also would not allow it. The boys and Pa know only too well what they need to hold to in this regard. There is too much attention to the idea of 'prestige' by civil servants who think themselves gods. I pay no attention to their pretensions: indeed, I get great pleasure from the way they defend that prestige in front of us Javanese. I have spoken about this with several civil servants I am friendly with. They did not disagree but neither did they affirm my assertions even though I am sure that they agreed with me in their hearts. This also is for the sake of prestige. Can you therefore understand that I cannot suppress a smile at such a situation? It is so amusing how those great men attempt to instill respect in us.

No, the European only makes himself look ridiculous in our eyes when he demands of us marks of respect which only our own leaders have a right to. That residents and assistant residents have themselves addressed as 'Kanjeng' is as it should be, but that even plantation supervisors, road supervisors and tomorrow perhaps even station masters have their servants refer to them with titles is just plain stupid. Do these people know what 'Kanjeng' means? They ask of their inferiors the same marks of respect which the people show to their leaders. Oh! oh! I thought only the ignorant Javanese loved such foppery, but now I see that the civilized, educated Westerner is also not averse to it – yes – is in fact passionately devoted to it.

I never allow women older than myself, although my inferior in social status, to show me the honour to which I am entitled. I know that they would like to: even though I am much younger than they, I am a descendant of the aristocracy whom they so much revere, for whom they would sacrifice life and property. It is really touching how these humble people are devoted to their superiors. It pains me deeply to see people, older than myself, crawling in the dust before me.

When my brother went to Holland he also left many enemies behind. Not that he ever had anything to do with the people, **but** they would not forgive this Javanese for having the initiative to reach out to gain skills and knowledge which were the possession of his overlord. Many Europeans here are greatly concerned that the Javanese – their inferiors – are gradually educating themselves, and that every now and then a brown person appears who demonstrates that he has just as good a set of brains in his head and heart in his body as the white person.

Much attention was paid to my brother's address: it was even referred to in the budget speeches for 1900. A commission will be sent out to undertake an investigation into the accuracy of his assertions regarding the desirability of making Dutch compulsory as the language medium between European and Native civil servants. And, oh joy, all the Indies' papers are on the side of my brother. In response to his address, a friend of the Javanese has written a number of editorials devoted to the interests of his protégés (the Javanese). Oh, I know that when my brother returns he can count on the hatred of the entire world of the European civil service here and he will also find much opposition from the private citizenry.²² But do what you like, you will never be able to hold back the tide of the times. I am very, very fond of the Dutch people, and I am grateful for much that we enjoy from them and because of them. Many, very many, of them we can call our best friends, but there are also very, very many who are hostile towards us for no other reason than that we dared to compete with them in terms of education and culture. They make this clear to us in very painful ways. 'I am European, you are Javanese' or, in other words, 'I am the conqueror, you are the conquered'. Not just once, but several times we have been spoken to in broken Malay even though the person knew very well that we could speak the Dutch language. It does not matter to me in which language we are spoken to as long as the tone which is used is genuine. Recently a Raden Ayu was also spoken to in this way by a gentleman and very confidently she replied: 'Sir, excuse me for asking, but would you kindly speak to me in your own language. I do speak and understand Malay, but unfortunately only high Malay, I do not know pasar Malay.' Was our gentleman's nose put out of joint! Very badly!

Why is it that so many Hollanders find it unpleasant to converse with us in their own language? Oh, now I know, Dutch is too beautiful to be uttered by a brown mouth. The other day we were visiting some Totokkers.²³ The people who were in service there were former sobats of ours; we knew they could understand and speak Dutch well. I told the people this and what was the response from my host? 'No, they may not speak Dutch.' 'They may not? Why?' I asked. 'Natives must not know Dutch.' Surprised, I stared at the speaker; I quickly recovered from my surprise and a mocking smile flickered at the corners of my mouth. The gentleman went a fiery red, mumbled something in his beard and discovered something extraordinary on his shoe, at least he gave it all his attention.

Now – a little anecdote that took place in the Preanger. It was in the evening – the Regent of X had visitors in his kabupaten. They were a civilian and the resident of the region; a little later an aspirant controleur came to enlarge the gathering. The son of the house, a student at the Gymnasium School, home on holidays, was walking towards the pendopo. When, however, he saw that his father was not alone he wanted to go away again but the resident had seen him and called to him. His Honour greeted the boy warmly and held a long and friendly conversation with him. When this conversation with the resident had come to an end, he approached the young official and bowed politely to him. That little gentleman, however, did not think it necessary to return the polite greeting with anything more than a barely noticeable nod of the head and, while his cold eyes regarded him disparagingly from top to toe, he coolly uttered this word: ‘Tabee’ (a greeting in Malay). The boy paled, his lips trembled, and his hands curled into a pair of fists.

Much later he told the civilian who had witnessed the incident: ‘I am very, very fond of Hollanders, sir, and regard them as amongst my best friends, but I shall never be able to forget that ‘Tabee’ uttered by the aspirant, it cut me to the quick.’ Oh! Stella, I have had the opportunity to observe all kinds of situations in Indies’ society, and as a matter of course I have looked behind the conventions of the world of public officials. There are ravines there so deep, Stella, that the very sight of them would make you dizzy! Oh God! The world is so full of misdeeds, full of such horrible atrocities! There are residents and assistant residents in comparison to whom Slijmering in *Max Havelaar* is an angel.²⁴ No, I do not want to turn my letter into a chronicle of scandals.

But let me continue a little further with this subject. Perhaps you also know that many years ago a Javanese studied in Europe and took the examination for controleur. The late King William III declared that natives proving themselves to be suitable and having completed the required exams could be appointed to the civil service of the Binnenlands Bestuur (European).²⁵ The abovementioned Javanese passed the exams, requested and received official recognition as a European. Yes, that man went even further: he became Christian in order to be able to marry the daughter of a Dutch parson. He was sent out by His Exc. the Minister of Colonies and placed at the disposal of the Gov. Gen. The gentlemen in Batavia did not know what to do; they asked the Javanese what he wanted. Did he want to become a Regent? Had he agreed to this he would have had a brilliant career. He would have immediately obtained the highest appointment open to a native official. But this Native, raised in the land of freedom of thought and speech (2), full of illusions and golden dreams replied: ‘No!’ He had not studied to become a Regent. He had not spent his time in that far-off country to fall back into the old ways; he wanted to enter a new world that, after all, had been made available to him by command of the King. The gentlemen were obliged to give him such an appointment as he desired since it was the will of His Majesty. There was nothing else for it but that the gentlemen appoint him as a civil servant and later as an aspirant controleur. How surprisingly difficult it proved to be

for a Native to become an aspirant controleur! What a problem for the gentlemen of Batavia. How wretched that there were now Europeans serving under him, a Native!

This man died many years ago, his mouth is now sealed for eternity. But not every European in Java is a hater of Javanese people. That native controleur also had friends, although not many, and they were able to bear witness to how their compatriots had made life a misery for the Javanese wearer of the braided cap.

In a parliamentary debate in the First Chamber, a well-known man in the Netherlands and a good friend of Javanese people described the treatment received by Raden Mas Ismangoen²⁶ (the native controleur) from his European colleagues as 'despicable'.

How pleased the Indies government was when the position of Inspector of Native Education became available and they were able to offer this to Ismangoen. And he, exhausted by the impossible life he experienced as controleur, thankfully accepted the post. The whole of Java breathed a sigh of relief, the difficult intruder had been removed from the circle of European officials. Together with Ismangoen, there was also a Christian Ambonese who came out from the Netherlands as a controleur.²⁷ He experienced the same ill treatment from his white colleagues as his Javanese colleague. He is now no longer a controleur, but a mine director on the island of Banka. Oh! If only men like Multatuli would arise once more. How cruelly they treated that great thinker, that genius, that human being in the noblest sense of that word (4). Perhaps you will hear a story from the Far East one of these days, about how an upright European had to stand aside for an unworthy native ruler.

Oh! Now I understand why there is opposition to the education of the Javanese. When the Javanese is educated he will no longer say 'yes' and 'amen' to everything that his superior chooses to impose on him. You see, recently articles are being published in *De Locomotief* (the foremost daily paper in the Indies²⁸) written by Natives. In these articles they set out their opinions about much that in recent years has been secretly stirring the thoughts if not of all, then certainly of the majority of, Native officials. Not only the foremost but also the more junior ranks of native officials in the country are letting themselves be heard. The daily papers are calling this a pleasing sign of the times and are applauding it. What the European officials think of it I do not know; I do know that a controleur has proposed a reorganization of the Binnen lands Bestuur which would cost the Government nothing and which would be of benefit not only to the European, but also to the native officials. He advocated the value of an administration where the people are ruled by their own leaders. This is a proposal that has also been put forward to both Chambers of the States General.²⁹ This also demands the compulsory use of Dutch as the official language between European and native officials (2). Wonderful! So my brother therefore is not standing alone.

Here it is just as with the women's movement with you: the Javanese army anticipating themselves. And in the same way that your women and girls are being opposed by those who have been their masters for centuries, here the Javanese are being hindered in their development by their superiors.

Here it is only just beginning. Nevertheless, it is divine that European men of name and position are encouraging our cause. The battle will be fierce: the fighters will not only have to cope with their opponents but also the indifference of their own compatriots for whom they are taking up arms. And, when the battle for emancipation of our men is in full flight, then the women will rise up. Poor men, what a lot you will have to put up with.

Oh! How wonderful that we happen to be living in these times! In this period of transition from the old to the new. Recently I read: 'Do not reject, ye elders, everything that is new. Remember, everything which is now old was once new.' (I quote from memory). Oh, what a lot I have written: I hope that I have not made you too tired with all this. And, oh, forgive me if I have allowed myself to get too carried away by my emotions and here and there have written something that pains you! Stella! Forgive me that I completely forgot to whom I was speaking. We have come together in such mutual understanding. You told me that I am nothing less but a soul-mate to you. And that is how I have regarded you! I am not a Javanese, not a child of the despised brown race to you, and for me you are not someone who belongs to the white race which hates, despises and ridicules the Javanese. For me you are a white person in the true sense of the word, white in skin and soul, for whom I have high regard, whom I love with all my heart, as would many of my countrymen I have no doubt if they but knew you. Oh, if all Hollanders were like you and many of my Dutch friend whom I respect and love!

*Barthold Meryan*³⁰ has been promised to me but till now I have not yet seen it; probably the book dealer has had to send to the Netherlands for it ... but I have recently read *Moderne Vrouwen* by Jeanette van Riemsdijk,³¹ translated from the French. I put the book down in disappointment. I had read so many wonderful reviews about it. This novel of the times was supposed to be in all respects superior to *Hilda van Suylenburg*. It was supposed to be perfect, without a blemish. But, in my opinion *H v S* remains the Ratu (Queen) of anything written till now about women's emancipation. I would not presume to offer a critique on *Moderne Vrouwen* but in my opinion the book lacks the glow and inspiration of *H v S*.

Would you believe that I read *H v S* in one go? I locked myself in my room, forgot everything, I could not put the book down, it just carried me away! It is a pity that my notebook has gone astray: I wanted to ask you to read something that I read recently. It is a piece translated from the English and is called 'The purpose of the Women's Movement', but I can no longer remember if it was in *De Gids* or in the *Wetenschappelijke Bladen*.³² And then, what you should read if you do not know it already is 'De Wayang Orang' by Martine Tonnet³³ in the November edition of *De*

Gids. It is about the Javanese and their art and the court of Yogyakarta; very interesting. You will enjoy it, truly. The other day I read *Minnebrieven* by Multatuli for the second time. What a brilliant man he is. It is wonderful that before long a cheap edition of his works will appear.³⁴ I will look very sweetly at Papa. The father of our assistant resident was a good friend of Multatuli and from him we have heard some anecdotes from the life of that genius.³⁵ Couperus is still in the Indies; when he returns to the Fatherland I think a glorious book will appear about my country.³⁶ How wonderful and enchanting his language is!

