

## Outpost Aesthetics: The Literary Culture of British-Occupied Java, 1811-1816

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The 1816 meeting in Grasmere, England, described at length in *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821), between Thomas de Quincey and a man he calls a “Malay,” has become such a familiar scene for postcolonial literary critics because it demonstrates succinctly the global thinking constituted by linguistic and cultural translation between Asia and Europe.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, since the late eighteenth century, the Malay archipelago had proved a distant fascination for English authors such as de Quincey and Adam Smith before him, whose *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) made the area central to an emergent “global commodity regime” (Krishnan 76). The Malay Archipelago may have proved essential for British fantasies, but what of those white European-descended authors and artists, most of them forgotten now, who actually lived in the territories about which Smith theorized and de Quincey dreamed? Literary scholars have done little to place these figures within the scope of “English literature”: they either exist uneasily within the broad category of colonial discourse or remain submerged within the “imperial archive.”

In this essay, I return to these authors to describe the local and regional orientations of an Indian Ocean world. To describe an anglophone Indian Ocean world extends recent thinking about the Indian Ocean and Asia as a “method” of economic and cultural analysis. Hester Blum has emphasized the need to match culture with the materiality of the sea, while other scholars have developed the idea of Indian Ocean as a method that operates through comparison but undoes the centrality of the “West” and pushes anglophone literature away from its emphasis on the northern hemisphere (Blum; Chen; Burton *et al.*; Hofmeyr, “Complicating”; Bystrom and Hofmeyr 1). Imagining the Indian Ocean as a method consciously draws from Kuan-Hsing Chen, who has defined Asia as an “imaginary anchoring point” from which Asian societies might define “alternative horizons and perspectives” that push postcolonial studies beyond what he calls its “obsessive critique of the West” (212, 1).<sup>2</sup> These geographic orientations have necessitated that scholars rethink the impositional models that followed in the decades after Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, the discursive models of Homi Bhabha’s mimicry, and Sara Suleri’s “rhetoric of English India.” The focus on oceanic and littoral geographies has attempted to add sophistication and specificity to these

late-twentieth-century theoretical insights about empire as a literary and cultural, not just political and economic, endeavor.

One way to expand upon these new horizons and material anchoring points is to focus on the cultural and literary archives of those European and Anglo-Indian authors who existed on the Asian margins of Britain's India-centered eighteenth century. This essay seeks to increase the archive of an early anglophone Indian Ocean world by examining literary publics that existed before the late nineteenth-century indigenous public spheres described by Isabel Hofmeyr and Mark Ravinder Frost (Hofmeyr *Gandhi's*; Frost). I turn to the island of Java, which the British occupied between 1811 and 1816. During the occupation, they established a newspaper, the *Java Government Gazette*, which became the locus of a short-lived, mixed language literary culture. While de Quincey was quoting the *Iliad* in Greek to his opium-consuming Malay guest in Grasmere, British colonial functionaries and soldiers were establishing cultural institutions in Batavia and throughout the Malay Archipelago (Rangarajan 1). These institutions involved multilingual literary publics that attune us to the local and regional networks of the Indian Ocean world that existed alongside those oceanic frameworks that typically organize our analysis of imperial literary culture. The emphasis on reciprocal and fluid relationships between cores and peripheries, metropolises and colonies, has usefully altered our sense that empire was imposed from afar and has dispatched with the idea that knowledge emerged from "centers of calculation" (Latour 215). But it has also numbed us to the significance of these literary publics that were often organized in reference to themselves and to more geographically proximate communities. Those cultural institutions—like the *Java Government Gazette*—that emerged from factories and outposts that ringed the eastern part of the Bay of Bengal and down into the Straits of Melaka at Penang, Fort Marlborough in Sumatra, and Java, force scholars to rethink that relationship between anglophone literature in Asia and the larger categories of the Indian Ocean world, English literature, and the British Empire that typically organize our analysis. They show that while authors and institutions in anglophone Asia were still drawn toward London, they also celebrated local literary geographies and aesthetics against a putatively universal imperial taste.

### Multilingualism in the *Java Government Gazette* (1812-1816)

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal played a crucial role for Europe's colonizing nation-states. The Indian Ocean was already an interconnected inter-imperial world with long-lasting commercial networks that facilitated a vast regional trade.<sup>3</sup> The Bay of Bengal, in particular, was "a region at the

heart of global history,” Sunil Amrith writes, and functioned in the early nineteenth century through the ongoing process of ecological specialization (that drove the spice trade), human migration (that propelled cultural exchange), and imperial integration by the British, who eventually governed its possessions as a “patchwork of separate territories” (1, 3). The anglophone Indian Ocean world was a “cultural milieu” as much as a “trading zone,” and my essay seeks to address Sugata Bose’s worry that the emphasis on trade in empire has obscured equally meaningful flows of culture and ideas (11). Michael Pearson has succinctly described the Indian Ocean world as a “transmitter” of culture (10); but if the Indian Ocean was a transmitter of culture, what acted as its antennae?

Such a question becomes pointed with the mixed colonial occupations and contests that occurred throughout the Indian Ocean. The Dutch had established a stronghold in the Malay Archipelago that centered on the island of Java and its central colonial city of Batavia as early as the seventeenth century, but beginning in the late eighteenth century the region became a proxy for the European imperial violence that resulted from the French Revolution. The Netherlands was “neither truly sovereign nor yet completely subordinate” during this period, instead subject to the transformations that also drove Napoleonic France, only ending due to a national revolt against France in 1813 (Schama 2, 640-1). Contests with the French impelled the British to occupy Dutch colonial possessions in southeast Asia, which culminated with the invasion and occupation of Java between 1811 and 1816 (Gelman Taylor *Indonesia*, 219). Although they sought a strategic advantage over Napoleon, the five-year British rule in Java was precarious. It was a crown colony but supported by British East India Company forces. An 1815 conspiracy among Bengal sepoy infantry garrisoned in the central Java city of Yogyakarta planned to annihilate the island’s Europeans and share sovereignty with its indigenous princes—it was discovered and violently suppressed. That same year the massive volcano Tambora erupted, which brought the northern hemisphere a year without a summer in 1816.<sup>4</sup>

But the largest impediment to the British occupiers of Java was the established Dutch Indies (*Indische*) culture that had been cultivated for centuries. Java was the primary location of the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or VOC). Before the VOC was dissolved in 1800 and its possessions integrated into the nation-state, the European-descended and mixed-race inhabitants of Dutch Java lived in conditions that, from Jean Gelman Taylor’s perspective, made it difficult to “remain European”; she argues that they instead adopted a distinct “Indies society” that showed that Batavia was “clearly not Dutch any longer” but rather an amalgamation of cultures “exceedingly polyglot in composition” (*Social World* 78).<sup>5</sup> As with British India, the Dutch established institutions that studied those cultural amalgams, including the

nearly two hundred member Batavian Academy of Arts and Sciences (*Social World* 86). What had been the colonial society of the VOC that Gelman Taylor describes as “merely perched on the edge of Java and ‘outward-looking’” toward Europe had “turned to look inward” toward indigenous cultures (*Social World* 53).

The invasion of Java extended the influence of British India further into southeast Asia, anchoring anglophone artistic culture in a new colonial outpost. The colonial capital of Batavia was a crowded city built on “malarial swamps” by a racially diverse population of ethnically Chinese, Japanese, mestizo, Balinese, and Ambonese people upon which the Dutch had “superimposed” an “administrative grid” that the British took over with their own occupation (Blussé 5). According to the calculations of its lieutenant governor, Thomas Stamford Raffles, who would found Singapore in 1819 after Java was returned to the Dutch, there were just 2000 European or “European-descended” men and women in Batavia in 1811 mingled with approximately 45000 Asian residents. The arrival of the British brought 324 officers and more than 5100 soldiers, altering the demographics of Batavia, and Indonesia more generally (Gelman Taylor *Social World*, 97). Gelman Taylor argues that the British found the Dutch in Batavia to be “quaint, backward, even downright vulgar” and a target for the British “reforming zeal” (*Social World* 97). Some of this “reforming zeal” was directed toward the Dutch and mestizo populations, such as the creation of a Java Auxiliary Bible Society and the Java Benevolent Institution, the latter of which worked expressly to abolish slavery in Java (Gelman Taylor *Social World*, 101).

Despite British attempts to alter the Dutch-mestizo culture of the Indonesian archipelago, however, Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben believe there were few drastic departures from the Dutch-VOC past during the five years of British rule (91-4). They made Batavia into something akin to Madras or Calcutta, influenced by the continued development of earlier models in India and linked to them through shorter and more rapid lines of communication and cultural exchange. British occupiers transformed the eighteenth-century Academy of Batavia into the Batavia Literary Society (akin to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the literary societies of Madras and Bombay, themselves based on the Royal Society) and imported “English spellers,” “grammars,” primers, and copies of Aesop’s *Fables*, which seems to indicate the creation of language training infrastructure on the island.<sup>6</sup> They founded the “Military Bachelors’ Theater,” a bamboo playhouse erected in the Weltevreden neighborhood outside Batavia’s walls that, according to one resident, was “remarkable for its beauty and effect” because the “distant view of the mountains seen through the branches” did “considerable honor to the fancy of the artist.”<sup>7</sup> The plays were primarily in English, but Dutch summaries were often printed in

advance and theatrical stagings were paired with local performers (one named Piolle) who gave French “afterpieces.”<sup>8</sup>

Yet the most significant anchor of anglophone culture, and its contestation, was the *Java Government Gazette (JGG)*, a multilingual newspaper published weekly between 1812 and 1816. Its printer, Amos H. Hubbard, was an American who arrived in Java via Calcutta, where he was also involved in newspaper publication (Bastin 139 n. 198).<sup>9</sup> In addition to official proclamations, information about exchange rates, notification of lottery winners, and announcements of important social gatherings, Hubbard’s *JGG* also reprinted items from regional venues, particularly the many newspapers around the Bay of Bengal, such as the *Asiatic Mirror* in Calcutta, the *Madras Government Gazette*, the *Bombay Courier*, the *Ceylon Government Gazette*, and the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette* in Penang. The *JGG* borrowed from but also competed with other regional and European newspapers. There were separate sections for republications from Indian and European newspapers, though at times European news was found to be lacking, for example in the very first issue of the *JGG* from February 1812 when its editors note that the “European Extracts contained in these papers, exhibit nothing very interesting” (*JGG* no. 1 [Feb. 29, 1812]). The *JGG* also featured a recurring poetry column. Some of the issues reprinted poems from well-known authors like William Cowper, Walter Scott, Robert Southey, and especially Lord Byron. Others were less known, such as orientalist and linguist John Leyden, whose “Ode to an Indian Gold Coin” was written in India but published in the *JGG* in 1813, two years after he had perished during the invasion of Java.

More prevalent than republications were original contributions of regionally proximate writers. The poetry of Indian newspapers during this same period demonstrated a “satirical and local imaginary,” in the words of Daniel White, that contributed to a “local public sphere” (“Zig Zag” 154, 151). These local public spheres were not just engaged in reciprocal relationships to Britain that White has documented, but they were also interconnected in a regional network that extended through British Asia.<sup>10</sup> The differing identities and range of topics found in the poems of the *JGG* might offer clues as to the extent of these local publics. An anonymous Calcutta printer contributed an elegy for William Hunter, a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and a translator of the King James Bible into Hindi, which blamed his death on Java (*JGG* no. 74 [July 31, 1813]). A soldier of the 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment garrisoned in Batticaloa in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) celebrated the 1814 peace in Europe and defeat of Napoleon (*JGG* no. 153 [Jan. 29, 1815]). Other poems, many of which I discuss later, were datelined from “Samarang” (Semarang), then Java’s second most populous city located on the northern coast, Buitenzorg (Bogor, south of Batavia, and a site of VOC administrators), Solo (Surakarta) in central

Java, and Sourabay (Surabaya) on the eastern coast, demonstrating that the *JGG* reached far beyond Batavia, where it was printed.

These original contributions included all manner of topics, including relationships between the sexes, military matters, literary and theatrical culture, lotteries, and satires of local life. Soldiers' poems in the *JGG* ranged from stern to ambivalent to angry about warfare. The 1812 "Spartan Ode" datelined from Semarang describes its author as one of Britain's "Indian sons" fighting for "her cause" and meeting the "Frenchman's prowess in a foreign land," presumably referring to the invasion and occupation of Java ("Spartan Ode," *JGG*, no. 12 [May 16, 1812]). An 1813 elegy, however, commemorates two dead officers of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment, which was then stationed in eastern Java to suppress an indigenous rebellion. Written from the perspective of the soldiers, the poem acts as a "curse upon the tribe" of "insurgents" who killed the officers and grants "peace to the cell" of their graves in Probolinggo, an eastern Javanese port city surrounded by a mountainous interior depicted in Dutch-Javanese surveyor H. J. Wardenaar's watercolor (*JGG* no. 74 [July 13, 1813]) (see figure 1).



Figure 1. H. J. Wardenaar, *Het Regentsschap Probolinggo met desselvs Gebertge aan het strand te zien* (The Probolinggo District with Mountains as seen from the shore), circa 1800. Wardenaar (1785-1864) was a Java-born surveyor, here in a hat completing a survey near Probolinggo, where two officers of the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment were killed by "insurgents" during the British occupation of Java.<sup>11</sup> Courtesy of National Archives of the Netherlands [4.MIKO.G1.20].

Poems about marriage, women, and courtship were prevalent, as they were in anglophone India and Britain, and they could become quite coercive, such as one that complains about the “prudery” of women as nothing more than a “suspicious” affectation by an author who signs his poem “TOUCH ’EM” and boasts at the end that “there is nothing like a prude” (*JGG* no. 34 [Oct. 17, 1812]). As in the case of Anglo-India’s newspapers, such poems produced vigorous responses, one of which accused “TOUCH ’EM” of plagiarism and assured him that “When Poets are guilty of Plagiarism, / You cannot do better than Quiz ’Em” (*JGG* no. 38 [Nov. 14 1812]).

Others addressed issues of intercultural inspiration. The most frequent, and frequently cited, contributor to the *JGG* was the pseudonymous “Philo-villunda,” whose ode on Semarang satirizes it as a “sweet” city “more lov’d than all the rest” because it is where the “lov’d Toast, the fav’rite girl went round” to “each compeer” who was “inspir’d by Bacchus.” According to the poem, these women were “Damsels in Cabanas white” (*kebaya*, a type of Indonesian blouse) roaming through its “gay streets” where “hospitality has fix’d her reign” (*JGG* no. 17 [June 20, 1812]). Semarang is celebrated as a site of dissipated men and sexually available women.

A contributor to the *JGG* named “Erasmus” extends the satire by claiming he received so many requests to explain Philo-villunda’s poem to “the Ladies of this place [Semarang]” that he rewrites it in Dutch so it could be more widely understood among readers. It begins “Vaarwel, vaarwel,—O [gy] geliefde vesten—” more literally meaning something like “Farewell, farewell, O city of my heart”; it ends with a promise that “Myn hart zal altijd dankbaar voor U slaan!” [or “My heart will always beat for you in gratitude”] (*JGG* no. 41 [Dec. 5, 1812]). Adopting the name of the famous sixteenth-century Dutch humanist Erasmus to describe a parting scene between a Dutch-speaking woman and her English-speaking lover demonstrates how much the intermixture of colonizing cultures was a political and sexual topic of the *JGG*. Of course, the notion that Philo-villunda’s account of drunken, promiscuous women trawling Semarang’s streets should be read by those same women suggests at once the kind of sexual control that Ann Laura Stoler, Antoinette Burton, and Tony Ballantyne have noted were essential techniques of colonialism, but also a sense of real excitement about the libertinism of this Dutch colony.

Whatever motivated Philo-villunda’s satirical celebration of Semarang’s women, that it was reworked into Dutch signals the degree that the *JGG* represented conflicting elements of Java’s Anglo-Dutch-Malay literary publics. The newspaper was replete with poems, advertisements, and proclamations in Dutch directed towards the island’s Dutch and “mestizo” population. European and oceanic issues of warfare,

rebellion, and slavery reappeared with regional consequences in documents that evaluated how it would affect such politically composite constituencies. One Dutch-language poem, for example, celebrated the new colony's Lieutenant Governor, Raffles, by recounting a "National Feast" held in Batavia to honor the defeat and exile of Napoleon to Elba ("Uitgespreken by het Vieren van het National Feast te Batavia ... 1814"). Another poem, a Dutch acrostic ("naam-dicht") from 1814, commemorates that defeat by spelling out "Oranje Boven"—literally "Orange on Top" (*JGG* no. 119 [June 4, 1814]) (see figure 2). The acrostic shouts that "oppressed compatriots"—perhaps native Hollanders or their occupied colonials overseas—might see "Netherlands Lions" finally free and their "courage crowned" by the return of the House of Orange. The poem's use of "Oranje" carries with it the multiple connotations of a royalist descent but also of nationalist folk culture, such as the songs that sprang up during the seventeenth-century resistance to the Spanish occupation of the Low Countries during the Eighty Years War (itself begun decades earlier by William I). These songs were repurposed in "Oranje Boven" to proclaim that "old times have come again." At a celebration of Dutch independence, Raffles was even reported to have offered a toast of "Oranje Boven" (and, after a round of applause, another to the "Ladies of Java") (*JGG* no. 131 [Aug. 27, 1814]).<sup>12</sup> Yet the poem also seeks to demonstrate unity among the antagonistic patriots and royalists who had dominated Dutch politics in the years before Napoleon's takeover by delivering a motto of harmony in its final sentiment of "one head, one heart."

Poems like "Oranje Boven" show how the *JGG* became an organ for the expression of Dutch nationalism renewed from afar, approving British-occupied Java for the discussion of the future of the Netherlands through an anglophone organ. News about the Dutch had been followed avidly by English readers since at least the sixteenth century, as Hugh Dunthorne has shown, but this instance indicates how English-language vehicles advanced Dutch royalist aims (and British post-Napoleonic aspirations) by publishing topics of European import to its regional audience (xiii-xvi, 1-29). It makes sense to see this poem as an instance of shared alliances in Europe being expressed through colonial locales, but it is also important to recognize how those shared alliances were imported into the *JGG* to create a sympathetic non-English audience for its regional verse-making.



NAAM-DICHT.

**O**nderdrukte Landgenoten,  
**R**edding Vryheid zyn naby,  
**A**arzeld niet,,—frisch toegeschoten,  
**N**eerlands Leeuw is weder vry !!  
**J**uicht, gy eedele Vryheids zonen,  
**E**erlang ziet ge uw moed bekroond,  
**B**atoos kroost zal Gallien tonen,  
**O**f men ongestraft hun hoont !!  
**V**liedt, twist en nyd, van onze zyde,  
**E**en hoofd, een hart" zy onze keus,  
**N**assau voert ons koen ten stryde,  
" ORANJE BOVEN" zy de leus.!!!

BATAVIA,  
den 1ste Juni, 1814. }

Figure 2. A Dutch acrostic (*naam-dicht*), "Oranje Boven," from an 1814 issue of the *Java Government Gazette*.<sup>13</sup>

Despite these approving celebrations, low-level conflict between Anglos and the *Indische* in Java was not suppressed by their shared hostility toward France and Napoleon. Pressing issues, like slavery, which had been essential to the labor situation of the VOC, only intensified after the British captured the Dutch colony. Kerry Ward notes how forced migration, especially between southern Africa and Batavia, created an “imperial network” that contributed to the VOC’s “modular” and interconnected sovereignty within the Indonesian archipelago, piecing together different indigenous and Dutch interest groups in ways reminiscent of the Netherlands (with its competing patrimonial groups and bureaucratic apparatuses) (Ward 6-7, 12, 14-15). The slave trade was not a major revenue source for the VOC, but the company engaged in “debt-bondage” and possessed its own slaves, who made up a significant part of Batavia’s population (Reid 8-12; Ward 21-2). Gelman Taylor estimates that there were 1500 slaves there by 1757 and claims their lives were “closely intertwined” with those of their owners (*Social World* 70-1). Susan Abeyasekere thinks that, by 1816, the number of slaves grew to at least 13,000; the importation of slaves did not cease until 1818 and slavery was not abolished until 1860, nearly contemporaneous with the United States (288). Slaves worked in every conceivable occupation (Reid 22-3).

For abolitionist-inclined administrators like Raffles, attitudes toward the slave trade were an important differentiator of the British and the Dutch. He blamed the widespread existence of informal obligations, like debt-bondage, on the region’s tropical climate, but thought chattel slavery resulted directly from greedy Chinese traders and the duplicitous Dutch colonial economy.<sup>14</sup> Enlightened British policies, he thought, would alleviate these forces, and he took material steps, such as shuttering Batavia’s slave market (in 1813), forbidding EIC employees from owning slaves, and establishing a Benevolent Society for abolitionist charity (Wood “Volcano,” 46). During the same period, the formerly Dutch Cape Colony shifted from receiving slaves from across the Indian Ocean world to acting as the central hub of British naval interdictions against that trade (Ward 304).

Nonetheless, practicality made the cessation of slavery in Java slow and uncertain. A proclamation certified by Raffles and published in 1812, for example, announces that enslaved children, who had been seized from their owners and made instead into indentured servants, acted “contrary to the spirit and intention of the British legislature, and without the sanction of superior authorities,” suggesting that regulation of the slave trade in newly captured British territories was unclear, particularly due to the widespread Javanese practice of selling oneself into bondage to escape hunger and poverty.<sup>15</sup> Poems in the *JGG* like the “The Horrors of Slavery” asked readers to “crush the cruel traffic while you can,” yet at the same time the paper’s numerous Dutch advertisements publicized its

continuation, such as the (perhaps facetious) 1813 announcement from “Orang Lama” of a Batavian “Directory” that delineated where “the prettiest slave girls are for sale.”<sup>16</sup> An 1814 item announced “good slaves” for purchase [“Uit de hand te koop de volgender goede Slaven”], including domestics Primo and Onverwagt, who were a carriage driver and a tailor (“koetzier [koetsier] and kledermaker”), and Nortjaya, who was a “cook and housemaid” (“kokin [kokkin] en huismeid”) and who was accompanied by her daughter, Beitja (see figure 3).<sup>17</sup> Though it does not possess the metalinguistic features of many eighteenth-century slave advertisements that described body type, speech, or skills, as was common in American advertisements, these announcements reveal an anglophone world adjacent to and impressed by other cultures and languages on which they were dependent. That dependence, revealed throughout the *JGG*, is nowhere more evident than in the printed description of slaves who function in multilingual settings.<sup>18</sup>

More uncommon than Dutch language items but nonetheless extremely notable were those poems printed in Malay, such as an untitled 1813 contribution from Salatiga, a city in central Java, whose author, “Sirrah” (sort of like “Sir”), refers to “Nonya Tuah,” a common appellation that indicates a distinguished woman.<sup>19</sup> The poem praises her qualities and entreats her to remember her male admirer. The orthography of these poems is irregular and does not conform to modern Malay’s Romanized spelling, but more often poems mix Malay with other languages, such as one datelined from Semarang that interrupts its Malay to report in English “*Port, Madeira, Brandy, Beer, / Tra-rau makeo Beef en Curry, / Makeo bussok, English Heer,*” as if a checklist of quintessential Anglo-Asian importations to Java (*JGG*, no. 45 [Jan. 2, 1813]) (see figure 4).

As Mikihiro Moriyama points out, the language mixture of Java at the turn of the nineteenth century was confusing, with Malay acting as a *lingua franca* among Dutch officials and Sundanese aristocrats in colonial administrative or daily conversational exchanges, but with Javanese and Sundanese used in different areas of the island (12). In this sense, the evident visual multilingualism of the *JGG* necessitates that scholars dispense with the idea that languages might easily “demarcate colonizer from colonized, civilized from primitive, core from periphery” in the words of Frederick Cooper (4). And Joseph Errington has described how the indigenous actors turned the Europeans’ “custodial relationship” toward their languages into a type of “protonational, anti-imperial identities” producing a “proliferation of varieties of Malay” that motivated Dutch attempts to regularize the language as an instrument of imperial authority (125, 138). All of this evidence suggests that *JGG* had an audience made up of multilingual individuals, not just English-speakers, and that it catered to readers of overlapping monolingualisms, as was the

case in late-eighteenth-century India, even though scholars have yet to assess fully the consequences of literary and cultural production and distribution of these languages in Anglo-Indian inspired newspapers like the *JGG*.

**WANTED,**

**C**OLONIAL Paper Currency to the amount of 18,000 SPANISH DOLLARS, for Bills of Exchange on London. Apply to Messrs. *Timmerman Thyssen and Westermann.*

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**LOST**

**V**OLUMES 29 and 66, of the Duodecimo Edition of 1790, of English Poets.—Any Gentlemen who may be in possession of either Volume, will oblige the owner of the set by sending it to the Gazette Office.  
*Welleerden, 14th Dec. 1814.*

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**UIT DE HAND TE KOOP,**  
*de volgende goede Slaven,*

ALS

**P**PRIMO, Koetzier en Kledermaker,  
ONVERWAGT, dito.  
NORTJAYA, Kokin en Huismeid, met }  
haar Dogtertje }  
BIETJA, Lyfmeisje. }  
BATATIA, } **SLUYTER.**  
den 16 Dec. 1814. }

Figure 3. A Dutch advertisement for slaves ["Uit de hand te koop de volgende goede Slaven"] in the *Java Government Gazette* at the same time as it published poetry abhorring the slave trade.<sup>20</sup>

TUAN,  
 Nonya Nonya de Samarang sooda dappat  
 leat summa etoo Pantoen yang Philo-Villanda  
 sooda heekin—etoo Pantoen punya bebun-  
 nee sapara buttoof, sapara sala; sakara.  
 Saya adda branie kassee adjar balee baier sum-  
 ma etoo Tuan English en Tuan Hollanda  
 yang sooda tulees boggitoo rupa derree  
 Nonya Nonya de seenee. Kalo Tuan suka,  
 Kitta minta beas Tuan taroe euee Pantoen  
 de Cartas, etoo Tuan Tuan simmony  
 bollee tau kiah derree kitta orang punya sala  
 tra-bollee jadee, kiah kitta orang adda  
 anak de seenee, *manar* derree Tuan Allah pun-  
 ya suka adja, luggee derree orang orang  
 English adjoek adjoek summa kitta orang  
 puaea addat, etoo addat trada mantee jaddoe  
 libbee manees, en libbee balee.

SAMARANG } Salamut,  
 Dec. 1812. } Nonya Tuah.

Appa nonya nonya seenee,  
 Tuan geela, soeda sala,  
 Missee eingat barang euee,  
 Trada patoet de kapala.  
 Bollee leat kerja teda,  
 Tulees geela, chama chama,  
 Arjee jalar, tapan teda,  
 Biea doedeok dalam tuma.  
 Missee nonya makan seenee,  
 En tambaoo missee soda,  
 Missee jalan kanan, karee,  
 Nonya teda meehoom *Hookah*.  
 Etoo *hookah* busook banyak,  
 Tahan, seappa orang bollee,  
 De euee negree puggee tanjak,  
 Seappa sika, *Fas*, *Tavee* olee.  
 Missee nonya jalan malou,  
 Summa anak, eumma lakkee,  
 Nonya punya artee dalam,  
 Teda eingat *spot* en missee.  
 En tabaya patee panjang,  
 Nonya, *Fuz*, pakee sokallee,  
*Maw* summa kakee telunjang,  
 Seappa jalan putar hulle.  
 Luggee kaloo nonya nonya,  
 Makan nassee dangan tungao,  
 Brisit nassee dea punya,  
 Derree mija lakas bagoon.

Tra-tau meehoom *sagre haree*,  
*Port*, *Madeira*, *Brandu*, *Beer*,  
 Tra-tau makan *Beef*, en *Curry*,  
 Makanan busook, *English Heer*.  
 Nonya buttool artee luggee,  
 Kerja libbee banyak adda,  
 Trada eingat geela puggee,  
 Malum tulees *justa trada*.  
 Nassee banyak de euee dunea,  
 Negree banyak guloeng tsaa,  
 Orang addat dea punya,  
 Patee turoot mana mana.  
 Nonya punya addat seenee,  
 Kalo kera bagoon teda,  
 Jangan tulees *spot* baggenee,  
 Dangan munee *Goyang teda*.

Figure 4. An 1813 poem in Malay in the *Java Government Gazette* that interlaces its Malay with interruptions of English.

## The “Samarang Hurly-Burly”

The inclusion of these Dutch and Malay poems challenges Gelman Taylor’s suggestion that the *JGG* was intended for what she calls an “Indo-British” audience (*Social World* 98). In fact, debates about the proper audience targeted by the newspaper were pronounced throughout its existence. One correspondent from 1813 complained about the stereotypical “Java Poetiser” who, in his description, has abandoned common sense yet believes himself to possess a talent that “soars above the counting desks of the *Pay-Office* or the *Lottery-bank*” (*JGG* no. 58 [April 3, 1813]). This same correspondent worries that the *JGG* editorial board “indulgently cherishes the *lispig bard* and adds fuel to the vanity” of these poets. He grumbles that the *JGG*’s “Poet’s Corner” is “stuffed” with epigrams that lack “sense,” odes “destitute of harmony,” “impromptus” prepared at “half hour’s notice” that result merely in “Jests, Puns, and Repartees” (*JGG* no. 58 [April 3, 1813]). References to jests and puns, and to the pay-office and the lottery-bank—lotteries were quite popular in Java as well as Anglo-India—direct an explicit critique at those writers who sought to merge English attitudes with Asian locales, characterizing them as lowly clerks and merchants.

Perhaps the most striking example of this debate about mixing European arts with Asia is a poem published in 1813 titled “The Triumph of Lopes, the Brown Poet, or the Samarang Hurly-Burly” (*JGG* no. 58 [April 3, 1813]). The poem’s author is named “Dick” from “Scandal-Hall” and he describes his antagonist Lopes as a “Brown son of Apollo” whose Dutch poetry is a “Samarang hurly-burly.” The references to “Samarang hurly-burly” compare its connotation of lowly loud commotion with the dizzying cultural and linguistic mixing that includes race (“the Brown Poet”), pseudonymity, language (Dutch versus English), and authorial competition, all of which I elaborate upon later in this section. Scandal-Hall Dick claims Lopes’ poetry is said to be worthy only of a “Billingsgate Beauty,” meaning those poor female London fish sellers whose cries were used as a metaphor for rudeness and who are evoked in the idea of a “hurly-burly” (McDowell 193). Ironically, and perhaps unintentionally so, Lopes is chastised by Scandal-Hall Dick for writing about white English women “as if you had actually been born there” and the poem is sprinkled throughout with examples of the “hurly-burly” that the title mentions, including Dutch phrases and moments that ventriloquize Brown Lopes supporters yelling “baick, baick, baick”—Malay for “good, good, good”—to the sky while “mewling children shrilly cry.”<sup>21</sup>

The reference to “hurly-burly” encapsulates the racialized language and aesthetic politics of the multilingual literary public produced not just by the British invasion but also by the ensuing instruments of cultural



governance like the *JGG*. The “Samarang Hurly-Burly” jokes about the “Vrouws” (Dutch for women) who glide in “gilded coaches” awaiting the “Courant’s raillery” and cheering when the “Post is on its way!” and when the “*Courant* comes.”<sup>22</sup> These references to the Post and the *Courant* refer to the *Bataviasche Koloniale Courant*, a Dutch newspaper inaugurated in 1809 and the immediate predecessor of the *JGG*.<sup>23</sup> Batavia was a “clearinghouse” of regional news for Dutch southeast Asia by the early seventeenth century, and printing in Java dated from that same era, including both private and VOC-supported printing: a Company sponsored press was established in 1718, decades before one was available to Anglo-India.<sup>24</sup> However, Dutch- and Malay-language newspapers did not proliferate in Java as they did in anglophone Asia’s domains. The *Bataviase Nouvelles*, which lasted only one year between 1774-45, and the *Vendu-Nieuws* (“Auction News”), begun in 1776, were the only examples before the *Courant* was founded in 1809 (though *Vendu-Nieuws* was successful enough that the Malayan words for newspaper remained *surat lelang* [“auction news”] into the nineteenth century) (von Faber 20).

In Scandal-Hall Dick’s poem, Lopes’ insipid supporters still refer to the *JGG* as the “*Courant*,” as if unaware that any change had occurred. With small details like this, the “Samarang hurly-burly” puts the possibilities and problems of intermingled multilingual literary publics on display. The English-language author of the *JGG* chastises the Dutch-Malay Lopes by parodying his techniques. The overlapping linguistic and colonial publics appear in the poem with its lampooning of Brown Lopes’ Dutch-Malay audience of “merchants” who “scan” Lopes’ poem to declare it “flows fine” despite its shrill raillery. From this vantage, “The Triumphs of Lopes” is a political conflict between colonial publics played out as a debate about the aesthetics of multilingual poetry and readership. Bosma and Raben offer this poem as the earliest evidence of “colour awareness,” and of British dismissiveness of colonial Dutch culture, but I would suggest it is difficult to know where the reader’s allegiance is supposed to lie between Brown Lopes’ hurly-burly and an author identified as Scandal-Hall Dick (85-6).

“The Triumph of Lopes” was almost certainly provoked by an untitled poem in Dutch and English published one month earlier in the *JGG* by an author identified as “Michael Ferdinandus â Lopes.” Lopes’ untitled poem contains a headnote—printed in English—that asks the editors of the *JGG* to publish his poetic “answer” to the newspaper’s “frequent verses” ridiculing the “Ladies of Java,” likely referring to the criticism of Semarang women that I noted earlier (*JGG* no. 54 [March 6, 1813]). Little is known about “Ferdinandus â Lopes” and it is not clear if this name refers to an actual non-white (perhaps Dutch-Malay) author, or whether it was a fictitious projection of non-indigenous European. The fact that “Ferdinandus â Lopes” includes at its end the letters for “salopes,”

a French term often translated as “sluts,” would seem to ironize the poem’s assertions that Lopes is a defender of women.<sup>25</sup> Or perhaps it intensifies these assertions—to defend these women is to be “salopes” like they are; this could point to an ongoing poetic satire about the cultural and linguistic diversities that result from the British occupation of Dutch colonies in southeast Asia.

Lopes’ poem is itself a complex multilingual document. While it appears in Dutch, it is interspersed with English at its conclusion (and potentially with French obscenities buried in the author’s name). The logic of Lopes’ critique is wide-ranging. He insults his poetic competitors’ masculinity when he wonders whether their poems about Javanese women are the compositions of men or boys [“Is dat het werk een's mans of van een jongeling...?”; “Is that the work of a man, or of a boy?”]. He judges them not to understand women because they assume all women are identical [“Is spraak en vrouwe dragt in 't eene deel van London, / Als die terzelve tijd in't andere werd gevonden?”; “Is speech and women’s clothing in the one part of London, / As it is found at the same time in another?”]. He asserts their writing is not the style of true poets [“ware puik poeten [poëten]”] while positioning himself as the real ally of Parnassus who would not violate women [“Parnassus-vried [vriend] rand hier de vrouwen aan”; “What friend of Parnassus violates the women here”]. He claims to know these writers’ identities despite their use of pseudonyms [“Gij die uw naam verzwijgt, uw naam is ons bekend”; “You conceal your name, your name is known to us”]. The claim that their names were “known to us” suggests Lopes is part of a collective effort to resist Anglo-English characterizations of indigenous colonial culture. Ultimately, Lopes asks his antagonists to “please remember this short lesson from an Indian” [“Wilt van een Indiaan deez’ korte les onthouwen”] not to shame men or women without reason [“Schimp nimmer zonder rēen op mannen of op vrouwen”; “Do not shame men or women without reason”] but instead to stick with [“Houd U”] their real pleasure, which is “roast-beef, ... madeira, porter, beer,” these rendered as English words.

Language is an obvious demarcation between Lopes and his antagonists, particularly when his poem switches into English and when it describes prototypical English items like porter and roast beef, much like the Malay poem that I referred to earlier. The movement among languages demonstrates how indigenous linguistic traditions absorbed and responded to English-language literature in their own localities during the Romantic period, resisting its aesthetic impositions even as it was integrated into its printing infrastructure. Scholars might think of these instances as the seeds of those “autonomous indigenous remakings” of British literature that Nikki Hessell has shown supported later nineteenth-century printing environments across South Asia and Australasia (4).



Skin color and geography, however, accentuate the slippery language mixing of these poems. Lopes claims that though he is “brown” and an Indian, while his antagonists are from Europe, he is the only one who possesses respect for women [“Al ben ik bruin van vel, al zyt gy uit Euroop...”; “Although I am brown of skin and you are from Europe”]. Manu Samriti Chander deftly points to the way that color becomes a figure for the marginality of “brown Romantics” during this period: they are stigmatized and must defend their inclusion in ways that colonizers do not (3). Then, as now, color acts as a proxy for adjacent issues of political power, public visibility, and aesthetic competition.

The debate over who are men and who are boys, who defend women and who insult them, who writes true poetry and who writes doggerel, are not just proxies but direct action in relation to an older mixed colonial culture encountering a new regional and anglophone one. Language and color become distinguishing features of these two camps. But what makes this series of poems so consequential is not whether this unidentified Lopes was in fact the earliest instance of “colour awareness,” as Bosma and Raben claim. Rather, Lopes argues vigorously for the relevance of his brownness against that of English John Bull, forcing what Chander calls a “positional symmetry” between the two poetic contestants (4). Lopes appeals to English terms to offer a caricature of the Anglo-Indians as John Bull, in effect insulting them as non-natives. Scandal-Hall Dick, however, does the same, suggesting that Lopes too writes about subjects he does not understand. Their poetic competition involves cross-cutting claims to geographical inauthenticity merged with assertions about the effeminacy, ugliness, or unintelligibility of the other’s verse. When Lopes wants to insult Anglophones, he calls their style boyish and their tastes effeminate. When those correspondents reply, they dismiss his writing as “hurly-burly” but nonetheless rely on Dutch [“vrouwen”] and Malay [“baick”] vocabulary to characterize it. Racialization and nationality appear in the poem, but only as ribs for broader claims about the geographical misplacement of the British or the tumultuous culture of the indigenous Dutch “Indiaan.” Understanding the racial and cultural components of this type of multilingual publishing in anglophone institutions exceeds easy appeals to contact zones and the polyglot. Instead, the aesthetics of Asian anglophony depends on an ambivalence about foreign linguistic material as a constitutive feature of the writing, even when that multilingualism is dismissed.

### Imitation in Early Nineteenth-Century British Java

Historically scholars have seen English-language writing in Asia as the sign of an uninspired literary community slavishly nostalgic for the

fashions of their real European “home.” As with their predecessors in late-eighteenth-century Anglo-Indian newspapers, the correspondents to the *JGG* were often humorously self-aware about this attitude, puncturing it with the way they imitated other authors. Imitation is not necessarily a sign of devotion to outdated literary aesthetics or artistic fashions, and for these authors in eighteenth-century southeast Asia, it was an opportunity to contemplate their relationship to an English canon: a way of defusing the “rich and intimidating” literary past and a form of self-reflexivity about “inter-art discourse.”<sup>26</sup>

One poetic contributor to the *JGG* identified only as “A. C.” captured this dynamic when he reflected on the pleasures of rewriting Thomas Gray’s “Elegy Written in a Country Church-yard” in Java. Gray’s poetry was often cited by Asia’s anglophone authors, and this poem, titled “Meditations at Weltevreden,” refers to a Dutch residential neighborhood outside of Batavia that after the dissolution of the VOC became an important center for colonial administration and artistic production (including the British “Military Bachelors’ Theater” I referred to earlier) (Zandvliet 32). The “Meditations” maintains Gray’s rolling quatrains but stresses the more subdued social and political queries of the “Elegy.” It replaces England’s pastoral landscape with descriptions of Java’s colonial state. The “curfew” that “tolls the knell of parting day” while the “plowman homeward plods his weary way” in Gray’s poem becomes the “evening gun” that in Java “proclaims the close of day” with “nightly picquets [pickets]” that “sternly challenge all who pass their way.” The “solemn stillness” and the “drowsy tinklings” that in Gray’s poem “leave the world to darkness and to me” reappear in the “Meditations” as a scene of colonial indulgence, when “the gay song” and the noise of “lively glee” reveal those who meet together “Upon the fatness of the land to dine, / A jovial band their thirsty whistles wet, / And drown each care in bowls of rosy wine” (*JGG* no. 46 [Jan. 16, 1813]). The contemplative speaker of Gray’s poem meets the boisterous drunks of the colonial outpost.

But it is the poem’s explicit climatological comparisons that really offer insights into behind-ness and imitation of outpost aesthetics. After lamenting the loss of English winters, with their “cold reviving air of dawn” and the “rages loud” of a “pelting storm,” A. C. concedes that “e’en in Java we possess some joys,” most especially devotion “to the sex and to the bowl,” of being “placed above want,” and retaining the “listless idle hour for rhimes” (*JGG* no. 46 [Jan. 16, 1813]). The poem admits Britain’s difficulties might produce “contention and debate,” but in Java, they “spurn the anxious care / that checks the generous feelings of the soul” (*JGG* no. 46 [Jan. 16, 1813]). Rewriting Gray’s “Elegy” in Java seems at first like an exercise on the impossibility of imitating Gray’s poetics in Java; without a solemn speaker, grave mood, and wintry clime, there is apparently nothing to be philosophical or poetic about. Yet it is

hard to see these conclusions as sincere. In the place of plowman and lowing herds, “Sentries walk” with “mosquitoes buzzing,” but colonial poets also drink, rhyme, and court women for sex. Like the “Samarang Hurly-Burly,” what seems to be skepticism about the arts of remote regional Java becomes an exposition, in fact, of its *improved* possibilities for art. The inarticulacy, inauthenticity, or “behind-ness” of the artistic performances become transmuted into an expression of the fitness of the local climate as the subject of art. Scholars have tended to focus on these sentiments as exilic nostalgia and cultural debilitation without also seeing the (often sardonic) enthusiasm for imitation.

Imitation is one of the central characteristics of an outpost aesthetics, which satirize the distance between Europe and Asia that is perceived to have encumbered anglophone artistic production but, upon closer examination, instead accelerates a distinct Asian anglophony. There needs to be a new literary history that can acknowledge this cultural hurly-burly and combine it with the increasing recognition that empire was a local and regional system, not just an oceanic and global one. The anthropologist Engseng Ho has called for scholars to engage in the “disaggregation” of empire in favor of what he calls “thick transregionalism,” which perceives cultural connections that were “intermediate in scale” (885, 887, 888). Kuan-Hsing Chen, as I noted earlier, argues for Asia as an “imaginary anchoring point” for its own system of artistic and cultural reference that is not routed through European ideas (212). Scholars must develop forms of literary analysis akin to Ho’s thick transregionalism of intermediate scales and to Chen’s Asian method to capture the regional variants of even white European colonial authors. As they do, they must consider what it means to include English-language writing in local and regional identities and literatures of Asia, not just its international or cosmopolitan ones.

One answer arises from complicating the idea of the Indian Ocean world as method by noting how anglophone authors steered their writing according to the dictates of an English culture but in concert with the uniqueness of their non-European locales. The successive occupations of Java by rival European powers exemplify the promise of these new methods. Understanding the reprinting of regional Indian newspapers in Java, or the mixing of Dutch, English, and Malay in an ostensibly anglophone newspaper’s poems, or the debate between Brown Lopes and Scandal-Hall Dick about *Indische* women, or the ironic imitation of literary predecessors like Thomas Gray by Java-based authors, requires a framework that perceives this writing not as poor approximations of earlier innovations from Europe, but rather as cultural products that arose from the politics and history of the Indonesian archipelago and the Indian Ocean world. As I have shown, the Dutch-Malay allies of Lopes and the imitators of Thomas Gray indicate that there were many literary

productions of southeast Asia that grappled with how to characterize their component parts.

Such cultural productions obviated neither the continued importance of British literary norms nor the extensive cultural and economic connections between Anglo Asia and Europe. Multilingualism is the marker for the entanglements and interactions inevitably produced by the economic and political contests of colonialism. These links operated as a coexistent layer, like a second skin. This second skin has been left unexamined because scholars assumed that metropolitan life was the lost origin and grand attraction of anglophone Asia. An Asia-centered account of outpost literature would expand our sense of anglophony by adopting Asia as an “imaginary anchoring point” and the Bay of Bengal as an “archive of cultural resources” that forms its own references and “provide alternative horizons and perspectives.”<sup>27</sup> These outlooks from the verge of Asia extend the techniques of retroactive reading (Aravamudan) and “back projection” (Giles 34), which see cultural concepts not as ideological formations but as the condition for knowledge production. Rather than use these methods to understand how European and American literatures constituted themselves by appropriating and adopting non-European materials, scholars could shift these methods to the Indian Ocean world from which these cultural materials originated.

Our notion of “British literature” as a field depends on overemphasizing the simultaneity of cultural address and the uniformity of aesthetic taste to create the impression of universally recognizable ideas and mutually intelligible collectivities organized around European values such as politeness, civilization, and modernity. But regional links and exchanges throughout the Bay of Bengal among places like India, Sumatra, and Java were as significant during this period as those longer, global connections to Britain and Europe that have been the focus of scholars in the aftermath of *Orientalism* (1978). Inspired by Laura Doyle’s description of European writing between 1400 and 1800 as the “aspirant literatures” of small nation-states “economically peripheral” to the vast Ottoman, Safavid, Mughal, and Qing Empires, scholars might likewise see the translocal and multilingual anglophone literatures of the Indian Ocean world as rivals to Europe’s aspirant literatures emerging from the geographies of an Asian inter-imperial system (Doyle 343). From this vantage, English is not just a language of command that produces a circumscribed culture with its own sense of superiority (Cohn), but also a vernacular absorbed into Asia’s already multifarious cultural and linguistic exchanges. In this sense, the geographical re-orientations that have always been embedded within the methodologies of Indian Ocean world criticism should also cue scholars about old archives that need new interpretations to reveal the “outpost” and the “verge” as unique, self-confident literary domains in their own right.

Ultimately, to include Europe-born and -descended colonizers within these group of Asians who devised locally emplaced methods is not to depoliticize them as agents of colonialism, but to rethink the intersection of colonial ideologies and imaginative creation. The politics of studying these figures necessitates that scholars reassess how cultural products were put in the service of harming some groups for the benefit of others. Likewise, to comprehend “English” literature obliges that we see its local and regional instantiations, among them the anglophone writing of Asia. This is not the only way to understand these interconnections, of course, but it is another one, and for that reason, it forces us to consider why we have studied English-language literature as we did before and how we might do so in the future with a new set of desires, objectives, and attitudes in sight.<sup>28</sup>

## Notes

1. For more on that meeting between de Quincey and the Malay, see Lindop 217-8.
2. See Antoinette Burton, *et al.* and Chen 212.
3. For more on these connected histories and inter-imperial world, see Subrahmanyam; Doyle. For more on long-standing commercial networks, see Abu-Lughod; Chaudhuri.
4. For more on this revolutionary plot, see Carey, *Destiny*, 162-3. For these local effects see Carey, *Power of Prophecy*, 393-94. For their worldwide implications, see Wood 9-11.
5. For a political and commercial account of the decline of the VOC, see Nierstrasz, esp. 1-6; 209-17. For an overview of “Indies society” see Gaastra 21, 66-8.
6. Gelman Taylor, *Social World*, 102. Many of these books were advertised in the *JGG* and were sold from its printing office.
7. *JGG* no. 147 (Dec. 17, 1814). For more on the location of the theater, see *JGG* no. 214 (March 30, 1816).
8. “Dutch summaries”: see Bosma and Raben 92. Bosma and Raben also argue that the Military Bachelor’s Theater was intended for the “lower classes” (but not Muslims) because tickets could be purchased through barter (92). French “afterpieces”: Winet 113.

9. Hubbard later returned to Connecticut, where he and his family became papermaking industrialists and publishers of a Norwich, Connecticut newspaper; see David Paul Nord, *Faith in Reading*, 70. For more on the Hubbards in Connecticut, see Patricia Staley, *Norwich in the Gilded Age*.

10. For more on those reciprocal relationships, see Daniel E. White, *From Little London to Little Bengal*.

11. For more on Wardenaar and this image in particular, see Protschky 30-32.

12. “Old times” is part of a folksong quoted in Schama 641. For more on Dutch resistance to the Spanish see Darby; Tracy.

13. A literal translation of the Dutch version might read:

Oppressed compatriots  
Rescue (and) freedom are near  
Do not hesitate – freshly joined  
Dutch Lion is free again!!  
Rejoice, you noble sons of Freedom  
Before long you will see your courage crowned  
Batoos children shall show Gallien  
Whether they can be taunted unpunished!  
Flee, quarrel and anger, from our side  
“One head, one heart” is our choice  
Nassau bravely leads us to war

The reference to “Batoos” in all likelihood refers to the Bato, a Dutch ship that was destroyed at the Battle of Blaauwberg off the coast of South Africa in 1806 that marked the end of Dutch aspirations to African colonies. Special thanks to Annette Dowd for assistance with the Dutch translations.

14. See Wood, “Volcano Lover.”

15. *JGG*, no. 29; Sept. 19, 1812. For more on this practice of selling oneself into bondage, see Anthony Reid.

16. “Horrors of Slavery”: *JGG*, no. 218 (April 27, 1816). “Prettiest Slave Girls”: *JGG*, no. 147 (March 6, 1813).

17. *JGG* no. 147 (Dec. 17, 1814).

18. DeWispelare 4, 6, 28-9.

19. *JGG* no. 45 (Jan. 2, 1813). Kratz argues that “nyonya” was used to refer to married women of distinction and usually of “European extraction” (256).

20. *JGG*, no. 147 (Dec. 17, 1814).

21. For contemporary usages of “baick,” see Bowrey, s.v. “good”; “kind.”

22. “Vrouws” should probably be rendered “Vrouwen” in more proper Dutch.

23. There is uncertainty about whether the *Courant* was continued as the *Java Government Gazette* or a separate instrument discontinued when the British invaded; see Adam 4; Termorshuizen 112-13; Kahin 324.

24. Clearinghouse: von Faber 14. Private and Public Printing: De Graaf 19.

25. Thanks to Annette Dowd for noticing this buried word in the name.

26. “Rich and Intimidating”: Bate 4. Self-Reflexivity and “Inter-Art Discourse”: Hutcheon 2.

27. “Imaginary anchoring point”: Chen 212. “Archive” and “Alternative Horizons”: Amrith 5.

28. Thanks to the anonymous readers for *Postcolonial Text* for their insights about this essay. Thanks also to Anupama Mohan for her astute advice and editorial guidance.

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