

## The Chinese Community of Surabaya, from its Origins to the 1930s Crisis

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**Abstract:** This article traces the history of the Chinese community in Surabaya, a major port-city on the East Coast of Java, over several centuries. It uses evidence gathered from numerous sources, including Chinese epigraphy and genealogical records collected locally by the author, early European travel accounts, Dutch colonial records and memoirs, and Chinese and Malay language newspapers. The essay unravels, for the first time, the history of a handful of influential entrepreneurial families who pioneered local cash-crop production, the sugar industry especially, during the Dutch colonial era. It concludes by tracing the waves of resinicisation that swept the community in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the new associations that arose as a result and the gradually fracturing of communal life that followed.

### Introduction

Anyone who has studied the history of the Chinese community in Jakarta is aware that this city has a remarkable number of ancient temples. Five date back to the seventeenth century and seven to the second half of the eighteenth, including two ancestral and two guild temples.<sup>2</sup> What is most striking in regard to the Chinese community of Surabaya is how rare these temples are and, moreover, how generally unimportant they are in community life there. According to oral tradition the oldest one (situated in Jl. Coklat) is the Hok An Kiong 福安宫, or "Temple of Happiness and Peace". It is dedicated to Tianhou 天后, the protective goddess of sailors and travelling merchants, and dates from the second half of the eighteenth century. In fact the oldest inscription only dates from 1832.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, European sources which are so rich for the Chinese of Batavia are extremely poor for Surabaya. The travellers who visited this city hardly seem to have been interested in exploring the Chinese quarter or observing the religious festivities and spectacles, judging from the meagre descriptions they have left.

Clearly, it is not easy to establish any historical continuity for this Chinese community.<sup>4</sup> No doubt this partly relates to the history of the city, which suffered several downturns,<sup>5</sup> but partly also to the fact that up to the mid-nineteenth century there was a strong tendency

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<sup>2</sup> C. Salmon and D. Lombard, *Les Chinois de Jakarta. Temples et vie collective* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1980).

<sup>3</sup> It is a tablet honouring the goddess, donated by Zheng Shaoyang 郑绍安, alias Zheng Yuanzhen 郑元贞 (The Goan Tjing), 1795-1851), captain of the Chinese of Surabaya from 1825.

<sup>4</sup> The author was unaware of any other study of this community when this article was first published.

<sup>5</sup> For the history of the city, see J. Hageman, "Bijdragen tot de Kennis van de Residentie Soerabaya", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, XX (2), 1858: 85-104; XXI (1), 1859: 17-34, 105-128; (2) 1859: 129-164; XXII (1), 1860: 267-277 [henceforth *TNI*]; G. H. Von Faber, *Oud Soerabaia, Uitgegeven door de Gemeente Soerabaia ter gelegenheid van haar zilveren jubileum op 1 april 1931* (Soerabaia: Kolff, 1931); idem, *Nieuw Soerabaia. De geschiedenis van Indië's vornaamste koopstad in der eerste kwarteeuw sedert hare instelling 1906-1931*, (Soerabaia: Bussum, 1936); H. J. de Graaf, "Soerabaia in de XVII eeuw, van Koninkrijk tot Regentschap", *Djawa*, XXI, 3, 1941: 199-225; William H. Frederick, *Visions and Head: The Making of the Indonesian Revolution* (Athens Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1989); Ôki Akira, "The Transformation of the Southeast Asian City: The Evolution of Surabaya as a Colonial City", *East Asian Cultural Studies*, 27, 1-4, March 1988: 13-47; D. Lombard, Recherches d'histoire urbaine: le cas de Surabaya", in *Papers from the III European Colloquium on Malay and Indonesian Studies* (Naples, June, 1981), ed. Luigi Santa Maria, Faizah Soenoto Rivai and Antonio Sorrentino (Naples: Instituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatica, Series Minor XXX, 1988), pp. 171-180; A.C. Broeshar, J. R. van Diessen, R. G. Gill and J. P. Zeydner, *Soerabaia. Beeld van een stad* (Purmerend: Asia Minor, 1995).

towards assimilation in the local community. Further, the Dutch became involved very late in the political and economic life of East Java, and were unable to control relationships between Javanese, Madurese and Chinese as they did in Batavia.

After briefly considering the early communities (fifteenth to eighteenth centuries) we will trace the development of a new community in the eighteenth century, in particular the rise of several great families who were to dominate the political scene up to the 1920s through a process of “Peranakanisation”. We will then more briefly consider three phases of resinicisation that were related to various waves of emigration: after 1850, following the Tai Ping 太平 Rebellion in China (1850-1866), which broadly corresponds with the beginning of the economic expansion of Surabaya in the late nineteenth century; the rise of a new merchant class; and, from the 1920s, the appearance of newcomers who organised themselves on the margins of the old Peranakan society.<sup>6</sup>

### The Origins of the Chinese Community in Surabaya

Chinese communities existed in Surabaya from the beginning of the fifteenth century, as well as in Tuban and Gresik. They came originally from Guangdong and Fujian, more specifically from Zhangzhou 漳州 and Quanzhou 泉州 prefectures. The officials who accompanied the eunuch Zheng He 郑和 (1371-1433) in his maritime expeditions to the South Seas reported that Gresik, also called in Chinese Xincun 新村, the “New Village”, was under the control of a Cantonese leader; that a good number of its Chinese emigrants followed the precepts of the Muslim religion; and that more than half of the population of Surabaya, which amounted then to some thousand families, consisted of Chinese.<sup>7</sup> One of them stated that the latter “were all Muslims”.<sup>8</sup> This assertion is supported by Yan Congjian 严从简, a sixteenth century author who wrote: “The Chinese who live in Surabaya practise Islam, observe the fast and respect the laws of that religion.”<sup>9</sup>

However, it is true that there are not many traces of the close economic and political relationship between these Javanese ports and the Ming court<sup>10</sup> in the local collective memory. Some exceptions are a temple dedicated to Zheng He, where there is still a large piece of wood several meters long which is supposed to have belonged to the eunuch’s ship, and also several *kramat* (sacred tombs) in the Muslim style.<sup>11</sup> There is no way of dating this religious complex, which was originally closer to the sea in a place called Moro Krembangan.<sup>12</sup> It was moved south in the 1930s, near the Muslim cemetery, when the

<sup>6</sup> My thanks to Ms Myra Sidharta of Jakarta, Mr Go Gien Tjwan of Amstelveen, and Mr Han Sam Kay of Malang; Ms Silas, Mr Steve Tjahjanta, Mr Tan Siok Gwan, and all the others in Surabaya and its vicinity who kindly took time to answer our questions. Without their aid this research could not have been completed. Finally, thanks to Mary Somers Heidhues for her comments.

<sup>7</sup> Ma Huan, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan, The Overall Survey of the Ocean’s Shores* (1433), translated and edited by J. V. G. Mills (Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1970), pp. 89-90.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Gong Zhen 鞏珍, *Xiyang fanguo zhi* 西洋番国志, annotated edition by Xiang Da 向达 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1954), p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Yan Congjian, *Shuyu zhoubi lu* 殊域周咨录 [Notes from research on foreign countries] (preface dated 1574, 1<sup>st</sup> edition 1591), punctuated edition by Yu Sili 余思黎 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), p. 295.

<sup>10</sup> Chiu Ling Leong, “Sino-Javanese Relations in the Early Ming Period”, in *Symposium on Historical, Archeological and Linguistic Studies on Southern China, South-east Asia and the Hong Kong Region*, Papers presented as part of the Golden Jubilee Congress of the University of Hong Kong, ed. F. S. Drake (Hong Kong University Press, 1967), p. 221. He counted at least 70 missions between 1368 and 1526 with almost one per year during the Yongle era (1403-1424).

<sup>11</sup> F. J. Rothenbuhler, “Rapport van de staat en gelegenheid van het Landschap Sourabaia”, *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* 41, 3<sup>rd</sup> section (1881): 2 reported Chinese junks were often found in excavations in the hinterland. The 1990s name of the temple was Tempat Ibadat Sam Po Tai Djien Mbah Ratu. Its earliest documented object is an incense-burner from 1937. Apart from Zheng He, two pre-Islamic heroes are celebrated, Raden Panji and Raden Ayu Pandan Sari, as well as Mbah Sayid Sekh Maulana.

<sup>12</sup> Moro, in Malay *muara*, means estuary.

airfield was being upgraded. This holy place has some features in common with others dedicated to Zheng He and one of his followers that can still be seen at Ancol (near Jakarta) and at Gedung Batu (near Semarang). These have been traced respectively to the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries.<sup>13</sup>

A woman named Nyai Pinatih, a convert to Islam, is also commemorated in Gresik. Her tomb has become a kind of kramat where the faithful regularly meditate. She is famous in local history for having adopted Raken Paku, the first lord of Giri, and for having functioned for some time at Gresik as *syahbandar* or “master of the port”. According to the chronicles of the little state of Ryûkyû, it seems that Nyai Pinatih was the eldest daughter of Shi Jinqing 施进卿, a Chinese originally from Guangdong who was in charge of the port of Palembang from 1405 to 1421. It is also known that the *sunan* of Giri employed Chinese as well. One of them, Endraséna, is commemorated in the *babad*.<sup>14</sup>

After this there is no more information about the descendants of these first Chinese communities. Undoubtedly, having become Muslim in part, they would have wanted to participate in the local administration and have a definitive place in their adopted country. After taking indigenous titles and marrying women from the region they would gradually have been integrated into local society.<sup>15</sup>

Remarkably enough, as far as we can see today, the history of the great Peranakan families of Surabaya does not go back beyond the end of the seventeenth century, or rather the beginning of the eighteenth. The cemeteries which would have provided precise details on long-established families such as the Tan 陈, Liem 林, Kwee 郭, Ong 王, Oei 黄, Han 韩, The 郑, Tjoa 蔡, Tjioe 周, Teng 唐, Oen 温 and the Tjia 谢 have gradually disappeared. We no longer know the site of the first cemetery, dating from the mid-eighteenth century, which became overcrowded enough for another to be created. The latter, known as Sentiong or Xinzhong 新冢 [New Cemetery], is first mentioned on the funerary tablet of a certain Chen (Tan) Heguan 陈和官, who was born in 1672 and died in 1744.<sup>16</sup> Although there was no indication of the site of this “New Cemetery”, evidence suggests it was behind the then Chinese quarter, in the area now known as Pasar Bong, literally the “Market of the Chinese Tombs”.

This cemetery features clearly on an 1821 manuscript map of Surabaya drawn up by A. V. Moesbuge and D. V. Hoeve (recopied in 1825 by N. H. Bornhoff), and called *Chineesche kerkhof*. The Chinese quarter lay on its western and southern borders; to the north were the housing blocks opening onto Jl. Kembang, and on the east lay Jl. Slompretan. At the time a market called Pasar Bong already existed just opposite, on land situated to the east of Jl. Sompretan. The same cemetery appears again on a map printed in 1905, but smaller, with constructions encroaching on its boundaries.<sup>17</sup> It continued, and

<sup>13</sup> Salmon and Lombard, *Les Chinois de Jakarta*, pp. 86-97; C. Salmon, “Cults Peculiar to the Chinese of Java”, *Asian Culture*, June 1991: 9-12, and W. Franke, C. Salmon and A. Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Indonesia* (Singapore & Paris: South Seas Society, Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient, and Association Archipel, 1997), vol. II, pp. 311, K.1.1.

<sup>14</sup> On Nyai Pinatih, see Tan Yeok Seong, “Chinese Elements in the Islamisation of South East Asia. A Study of the Strange Story of Njai Gede Pinatih, the Grand Lady of Gresik” in *Proceedings of the Second Biennial Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia*, Oct. 6-9, 1962, Taiwan Provincial Museum, Taipei, pp. 399-408; on Endraséna see H. J. de Graaf, “Soerabaia in de XVII eeuw, van Koninkrijk tot Regenschap”, pp. 203-04.

<sup>15</sup> On this Islamisation process see, D. Lombard & C. Salmon, “Islam et sinité”, *Archipel*, 30, 1985: 73-94; or a slightly different version in *Indonesia*, 57, 1994: 115-31.

<sup>16</sup> Upon a parent’s death Chinese customarily had a wooden tablet made that was inscribed with the person’s name, the dates of birth and death, and sometimes burial place. It was set up on the domestic ancestral altar or, for the wealthiest families, in their ancestral temple, and certain rites performed before it by the descendants. The tablet mentioned here is preserved in the Han ancestral temple.

<sup>17</sup> From a note in the *Bintang Soerabaia* of 8 August 1890, it seems that the neglected tombs of former captains without descendants were moved to Kupang (in the south of the city) during that year.

currently it seems that only one tomb remains, that of Han Bwee Kong 韓尾公 (1727-1778), who was the first of the Han to hold an official function, that of Chinese captain (see below). Nowadays the tomb is almost lost in the labyrinth of alleys in the cloth market.

The only other known archaeological vestige, which we located in 1981, is another tomb a meter deep in the rear courtyard of the Han ancestral temple in Jl. Karet. It belongs to a certain Ke Anzhang 柯安彰, originally from Jinjiang 晉江 in Quanzhou prefecture, Fujian. Unfortunately the only dating indicators are two cyclical characters, referring either to 1636 or, more probably, to 1696. Sixty years later, in 1756, the Han family had already owned the land for several years (see below).

Dutch sources for the 1680s reveal that in certain places Javanese princes still monopolised tax farming and that the syahbandar in the ports of East Java, who were mostly converted Chinese Peranakan with *priyayi* (or administrative elite) status and who eventually obtained Javanese titles, were buying these revenue farms. Examples are Tan Jep-ko, alias Ronggo Wirasadana, syahbandar of Gresik, who directly paid the *susuhunan* (king) a fee of 400 rials a year; and Souw Hie-ko, syahbandar of Surabaya, who paid 200 rials to the regent, Yangrana. The Tan family seems to have been powerful in East Java during the last twenty years of the seventeenth century and the first thirty years of the eighteenth. The syahbandar and captains of Gresik, Sumenep and Surabaya came from that family.<sup>18</sup>

The number of Chinese (with their families) established in the ports of Central and East Java was still relatively small at the end of the eighteenth century. For 1691, Nagtegaal lists the most important communities: 247 in Jepara, 154 in Semarang,<sup>19</sup> 122 in Rembang, and only seventy-six in Surabaya (compared with ten or twelve in 1683).<sup>19</sup>

Around 1707, when F. Valentijn visited Surabaya, he had the opportunity to meet the leader of the Chinese community, a certain Tam (Tan?) Keko, who was commonly called Kenio. He put a house at the disposition of the pastor so that he could officiate at divine service. Valentijn made a few brief comments<sup>20</sup> on the housing in the Chinese quarter (to the east of Kali Mas) which, for the most part, consisted of fine brick buildings like that of the Chinese captain.<sup>21</sup> After criminals attempted to burn it down in 1727, the Chinese decided to build a brick wall to protect their kampong.<sup>22</sup> Although less rich than his comments on the Chinese communities of Batavia and Ambon, Valentijn nevertheless points out the importance of the Chinese economic role in East Java:

The commerce in rice which they are involved in is very active here. Just as in Pasuruan, in peace time the city can produce 2,000 *kojans* and is currently producing well over 1,000; the *kojan* is the *last* of Java, equalling 5,000 pounds, while the Chinese *last* equals 3,750 pounds, and ours only 3,000.

This means that Chinese merchants who normally handled 5000 tons of rice had around 2500 tons in wartime. It seems that these merchants almost had a monopoly in this business. This impression is corroborated by information relating to the end of the eighteenth century. The administrator of the Oosthoek, or "Eastern Salient", found that remuneration had become fairly scanty, especially under the government of Van der Para

<sup>18</sup> Luc Nagtegaal, *Rijden op een hollandse tijger. De noordkust van java en de V.O.C. 1680-1743*, proefschrift, Utrecht University (1988), pp. 114, 84.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111. The author does not explain how he obtained these figures.

<sup>20</sup> F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw oost-Indien* ('s-Gravenhage, 1858), vol. III, pp. 299-301.

<sup>21</sup> Rothenbuhler reported that, at the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the town contained 749 solid houses that were owned by Dutch and Chinese, as well as by the regents and their families. All other houses were bamboo. "Rapport van de staat en ... Sourabaia": 68.

<sup>22</sup> Nagtegaal, *Rijden op een hollandse tijger*, p. 209, quoting a letter from Resident Santijn of Surabaya to the chief merchant Ter Smitten in Semarang, dated 26 Aug 1727.

(1761-1775). Therefore it was customary, we are told, that he supplement this income by personal enterprise and by commissions received from local merchants. Thus every year the captain of the Surabayan Chinese would give him 25,000 rixdollars in return for the effective monopoly of the region's rice commerce, and consequentially control over the prices in the market, since he had also built a warehouse where he stocked up on it.

When Dirk van Hogendorp was sent to administer the "Eastern Salient" in 1794, he refused the captain's money because he wanted to retain control of the rice price and, especially, to force the captain (Han Chan Piet 韩天笔 [1759-1827]?) to lower it considerably. The plan, which went against a well-established economic system, failed. The captain complained, and finally in 1798 Hogendorp had to leave his post.<sup>23</sup> Although we lack full details of this affair, particularly concerning rivalry between Dutch officials, it is nevertheless interesting to note that some fifty years after the Company was established in Surabaya the Chinese still controlled the economy there. It is also noteworthy that F. J. Rothenbuhler, who replaced Hogendorp (1799-1809), adopted a very different attitude towards the Chinese, setting out to win them over. He even married a Chinese woman, Kwee Tjien Nio originally from Semarang. At the start of the nineteenth century her sister, Kwee Kiok Nio, married Tjoa Khik Yong (1791-1863), the son of a rich sugar manufacturer from Surabaya.<sup>24</sup>

The Chinese were associated with the management of certain monopolies, in particular the saltworks.<sup>25</sup> The port of Surabaya was controlled by a syahbandar, who held the rights over products in transit. In 1728 in his report the chief merchant Jan Santijn describes how the captain of the Chinese at the time, a certain Ong Swan-ko,<sup>26</sup> had come looking for him to ask him to present an appeal to the Company against Tan Pekong, the syahbandar of the place at that time. He was accused of having collected exorbitant taxes, and had then managed to leave for Batavia. Jan Santijn expressed his opinion that the syahbandar should be reminded of his obligations, but also recommended that no action be undertaken which would run counter to the contract between the Company and Mataram.<sup>27</sup>

### The Rise of New Entrepreneurs: Three Representative Families

One of the particular features of the Chinese community in Surabaya is that three great families can be studied there—the Han, the Tjoa and the The. They were more or less successful in retaining their position over more than three centuries, in spite of a series of economic upheavals, keeping their ancestral temples as their anchor. Their history is reflected in their own documents, as well as in Dutch sources. The former consist of a few tomb epitaphs, but especially genealogies<sup>28</sup> and funerary tablets<sup>29</sup> preserved in ancestral

<sup>23</sup> Von Faber, *Oud Soerabaia*, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> See an untitled, handwritten Dutch history of the Tjoa family, published by Tjoa Sie Wan in 1940, p. 13. The Kwee family was one of the oldest in Semarang, going back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. See Franke, Salmon and Siu, *Chinese Epigraphica Materials*, vol. II, K1.2.

<sup>25</sup> *Realia, register op de generale resolution van het Kasteel Batavia* ('s-Gravenhage, 1882-85), vol. II, p. 67.

<sup>26</sup> Nagtegaal, *Rijden op een hollandse tijger*, p. 208, alludes briefly to the contracts made between the Company and Ong Swan-ko.

<sup>27</sup> See "Copie: Memorie van overgave van het afgaande opperhoofd van Soerabaja, Jan Santijn aan zijn opvolger Rijklof Duyvensz (fragment), 1728", Dutch archives (ARA) Coll. Baud, no. 984.

<sup>28</sup> Until quite recently, Peranakan families preserved their genealogies carefully. That they now show them voluntarily no doubt proves they have lost a lot of importance within the family organisation and are now seen as outmoded. Taking Indonesian names has helped to transform mentalities. It is no longer possible to maintain genealogies according to Chinese traditions; further, families are progressively fragmented and the descendants of the same ancestor often no longer know of each other.

<sup>29</sup> Although these tablets have not been created for some years, those that remain are often regarded as religious objects and, in principle, cannot be opened.

temples that still exist to this day. All three of these temples are situated in Jl. Karet, which is the oldest street in the Chinese quarter. They were founded respectively in 1876 (for the temple of Han Sie Lok Hian Tjok Biauww 韩氏轱軒祖庙); 1883 (for that of Tjoa Tjhin Kong Soe 蔡亲戚公祠) and in 1884 (for that of The Sie Siauww Yang Tjo Biauww 郑氏绍阳祖庙).<sup>30</sup>

While the information on the ancestral tablets is reliable, the genealogies pose some problems. For the Han family, for example, we have successfully recovered five (two in Chinese and three in Malay<sup>31</sup>) but inconsistencies between them make interpretation difficult at times. For the Tjoa, apparently all that exists is a romanised chart adapted from the Chinese in the twentieth century.<sup>32</sup>

What is interesting, however, is that the Han and Tjoa families trace their ancestors back to China, while the two The genealogies do not even begin with the first immigrant to Java but only start with those born in Surabaya, without any indication of their generation.<sup>33</sup> The fact that the first Han and Tjoa emigrants brought their genealogies with them suggests they did not come from the humblest social levels. On the other hand, if the The genealogies are discreet about their family origins, they were no doubt unaware of any eminent ancestors in China.

#### **Peranakanisation and Javanisation: The Two Faces of the Han Family**

The history of the Han family as we see it is exceptional, in so far as it can be perceived over the *longue durée* and, as far as Java is concerned, in several places simultaneously. What is perhaps most striking is that the Han resolved their problems by successive migrations, first in China, and then in the Indonesian world, and did not hesitate to undergo the necessary acculturation to be accepted in the host country.<sup>34</sup>

#### *Highly Respectable Ancestors in China*

The Han said they came from the town of Tianbao 天宝, in the prefecture of Zhangzhou, in Fujian, where their ancestor Guanyou 观佑 settled under the Yuan 元 during the Taiding 泰

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<sup>30</sup> For the Tjoa and the families, there are also some modern studies. Apart from the text mentioned in fn. 24, we should also cite a small history written in Indonesian by The Boen Liang, "Riwajatnja Familie Tjoa di Soerabaja", *Mata-Hari* (extra-nummer), Semarang, 1 Aug 1934, 19 pp. As for the The, on the 50th anniversary of their ancestral temple they published a small commemorative volume in Indonesian called *Boekoe-Peringatan, The Sie Siauww Yang Tjohbiauww (Vereeniging The Goan Tjing), 1883-1939*. Also see Ong Hokkam, "The Peranakan Officers' Families in Nineteenth-Century Java", in *Papers of the Dutch-Indonesian Historical Conference held at Lage Vuursche, The Netherlands, 22-27 June 1980* (Jakarta: Leiden, 1982), pp. 278-91.

<sup>31</sup> With regard to the three genealogies in Malay, the first is written on a big sheet of paper that hung in the Han temple giving, in concentric circles, the names of the descendants of the younger son of Han Siong Kong 韩松公, Han Bwee Kong 韩尾公. The second (called below the Surabaya genealogy) is 136 large typed pages and was kept in 1981 in the home of the temple secretary, a grand-son of Han Tjoei Wan 韩萃焕 (1815-95, see below): in a non-systematic way, it also gives extra information about places of birth, residence and death of those listed, spouses' names and sometimes occupations. The third, kept by a Sidoarjo family, is in very poor condition. It only concerns the descendants of Han Tjien Kong 韩震公 (or Soero Pernollo), the son of Han Siong Kong who converted to Islam. Of the two genealogies in Chinese, the first comprises a 1926 preface and appendices about the tombs, ancestral tablets and a short list of Han family members who became officials. The second, kept in Holland, is very much shorter still and presents certain problems. It is composed in two parts: the first, with a short introductory text, giving a list of the ancestors in China and descendants in Indonesia of Han Siong Kong (the information about Chinese ancestors agrees with that in the Tianbao genealogy), while the second apparently concerns a cousin of Han Siong Kong called Boe Siong (Wuxiong 武松), who went to Sumenep, in Madura, at an unknown date, opened a shop and married the daughter of a local Chinese. The author has found some tombs from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century at Malang and Kalianget, in Madura, whose names correspond to those from this genealogy (see Franke, Salmon and Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials*, vol. II (2), L 11.2.2; L 11.2.5, and L 8.1.1).

<sup>32</sup> This fairly short genealogy was hung up in the Tjoa temple.

<sup>33</sup> One was reproduced in the The ancestral temple's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary volume, while the other is kept at Sidoarjo in the home of one of my informants.

<sup>34</sup> I have already presented the Han of East Java in *Archipel*, 41 (1991): 53-87, and will only repeat here what is necessary for a comparison with the Tjoa and The.

定 era (1324-27) and bought land. Guanyou is also known for having founded the *Baofu an* 保福庵, a small Buddhist sanctuary dedicated to Guanyin (for a photograph of the oldest effigy, dated 1325, see *Archipel* 41: 55). However their origins can be traced further back, to the Tang dynasty, when their *shizu* 始族 [first ancestor], General Han Zhaode 昭德 (personal name Qi), came from Henan 河南 province with the famous General Chen Yuanguang 陈元光 (died in 711) to open up the Zhangzhou region. He settled in Lianpu 莲浦 (today Yancuo 颜厝) in that prefecture. As their first ancestor (*xianzu* 先族) in Fujian, they honoured a certain Han Hong 韩铍 who passed sixth in the doctoral competition (*jinsshi* 进士) and served as secretary to the Minister of Finance before returning to the village of his birth, Lianpu.<sup>35</sup> Under the Ming, the Han scattered into various cities in the provinces of Fujian, Guangdong, Huguang 湖广 and Zhejiang 浙江 where they were employed in the civil service. During the Jiajing 嘉靖 era (1522-66), upon the initiative of a certain Han Shifeng 韩世凤 from Tianbao, a good number of their family members came together for the first time to find the tomb of Han Hong, to meditate there together and compile a genealogy that was revised in 1647 and later maintained in Indonesia.<sup>36</sup>

#### *The First Emigrant?*

Han Siong Kong (Han Songgong, posthumous name Chunde 纯德), who was born in Lubianshe 路边社, Tianbao in 1673, set out for the South Seas at some time around 1700. According to a short Chinese text introducing the ancestral tablets kept in the Surabaya temple, he settled in Lasem and died in 1743 at Rajegwesi (now Bojonegoro, a little town situated to the southeast of Lasem). He was buried at Binangun, near Lasem, where his tomb, which still exists there, was repaired in 1766. Tradition has it that heavy rain began to fall during his burial, and that after his children abandoned his coffin in the forest, he was buried by magic. They believed the dead man avenged this lack of filial piety by cursing all his descendants. Up to this day the Han family still do not dare to go through Lasem.<sup>37</sup> However Han Siong Kong's tablet is kept in the Han ancestral temple in Surabaya.

Han Siong Kong had five sons and either two or four daughters.<sup>38</sup> One son, Tjien Kong 震公 (or Soero Pernollo, 1720-1776), converted to Islam,<sup>39</sup> while the others, Tjoe Kong 梓公, Kien Kong 艮公, Hing Kong 亨公 and Bwee Kong 尾公, kept their traditional customs and beliefs. The brothers and their descendants kept in touch with each another nevertheless. Converts tended to marry Javanese, while the others took wives from among Chinese Peranakan. However a real distinction is apparent in their genealogies. The converts, rapidly finding a place amongst the local elite, constructed their genealogical tree in the *priyayi* manner, while those following Chinese customs continued to take Chinese names. The name of the mother of the five sons of Han Siong Kong who were born in

<sup>35</sup> The monograph about the prefecture of Zhangzhou (*Zhangzhou fuzhi* 漳州府志, 1777) mentions the name of Han Hong among the graduates of the capital examination in question (j. 16, p. 6b), although without stating his place of origin.

<sup>36</sup> See note 31.

<sup>37</sup> In Surabaya they say that Han descendants who converted to Islam maintain the tomb. There is a photograph of it in *Archipel*, 41, p. 67.

<sup>38</sup> There were four, according to Han Siong Kong's tablet in the Surabaya ancestral temple (Geniang 格娘, Wainiang 外娘 Renniang 任娘 and Tianniang 添娘) and two according to the Malay genealogies (Pien Nio and Poen Nio). Nothing is known about them.

<sup>39</sup> According to J. Hagerman, "De Adipati van Bezoeki op Java 1811-1818", in *T.N.I.*, 1865: 447, two sons of Han Siong Kong converted: King Sing (apparently Kien Kong) or Djajeng Tirtonoto and Hing Sing or Soero Pernolla. But Hagerman has confused the names, because the genealogies identify Tjien Kong with Soero Pernollo. Heather Sutherland, "Notes on Java's Regent Families", *Indonesia*, 16 (1973): 145, is based on Hagerman. Behind the Dutch "Soero Pernollo" is obviously the Javanese name of Suro Pranolo.

Lasem is not even known, since she does not have a funerary tablet. However there is a note in the Surabaya genealogy that her patronymic was Tan, with no more detail.<sup>40</sup>

*The Han and the Development of Oosthoek up to 1813*

The two eldest sons of Han Siong Kong, Tjoe Kong and Kien Kong, remained in Lasem while the other three settled in East Java. Han Bwee Kong or Han Bwee Ko 韩尾哥 (1727-1778) settled in Surabaya (in what was then the main street of the Chinese quarter, currently Jl. Karet, where the Han ancestral temple is located) where he became captain at an unknown date. Hing Kong and Tjien Kong, or Soero Pernollo, settled at Besuki.<sup>41</sup> According to Hagerman, Soero Pernollo entered the service of Hendrik Breton, who was successively resident of Rembang, *Opperhoofd* of the "Eastern Saliënt" in 1763 and *Raad van Indie* in 1768. Soero Pernollo became his right hand man as *gezaghebber* (lieutenant) of his three ships and later as collector of taxes and police chief in Panarukan, with the Javanese title of Ingebei Soero Pernollo (1768-76). He finally ended as his heir. Through the intermediary of Soero Pernollo, Han Bwee Kong obtained a contract from 1768 to lease the district of Besuki, in return for 1000 rixdollars and delivering 10 *koyan* of rice annually to the Company. In 1777, he also leased Panarukan district for 500 Spanish dollars per year.<sup>42</sup>

Han Bwee Kong was apparently the first member of the Han family to be appointed captain. It is not known exactly how he established himself at Surabaya. He might have been helped by his father-in-law, a certain Chen (Tan) Heguan (1672-1744), whose tablet is in the Han ancestral temple on a special little altar behind the principal altar where the tablets of the Han and their wives are kept.<sup>43</sup> As noted earlier, from the beginning of the eighteenth century several people with the family name of Tan occupied important positions in Surabaya. Han Bwee Kong married Chen Ciguan 陈慈官 (1730-1778) at the latest in 1748, as the eldest of their children, Kwee Bing 启明, was born in 1749.<sup>44</sup> According to the Surabaya genealogy, Han Bwee Kong had twelve sons (one of whom apparently died young) and two daughters (in fact, at least eleven). Of these, five sons became captains at Juana, Surabaya, Pasuruan, Probolinggo and Gresik respectively. The youngest, Swie Kong 瑞公, became a Muslim, married a Javanese and settled in Prajekan (see the Han family genealogy). The tomb of Han Bwee Kong and his wife is still in the old cemetery of Pasar Bong. It was erected by their ten sons (one of them having been adopted out) and eleven daughters as well as their grandchildren, one of whom was considered the principal heir (Guozhu 国柱, personal name Soe Sik 泗锡). On the inscription, the captain is identified under the name Zhensi 振泗, "He who shakes Surabaya".

After his death in 1778, Han Bwee Kong was succeeded by his third son, Han Chan Piet 韩天笔 (1759-1827), who inherited title deeds to lease the districts of Besuki and Panarukan. He was appointed lieutenant in Surabaya before being promoted to the office of captain, which he kept until 1810. In 1796, the Dutch even gave him an exclusive right

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<sup>40</sup> Concerning the origin of the Han family in Java, Hagerman ("De Adipati van Bezoeki", p. 447) says that in 1742, shortly after the Chinese massacre, a certain Han Hin Song (Han Siong Kong?) converted from fear and married his daughter to the regent of Rajegwesi.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> *Realia*, vol. II, p. 64.

<sup>43</sup> Although the custom of placing ancestral tablets of spouses in the temple of the husband's family was quite common in Surabaya, it would have been regarded as unseemly in China. His ancestral tablet is reproduced in Franke, Salmon and Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials*, vol. II (2), L 1.13.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, L 1.13.3-5.

for life over those two districts.<sup>45</sup> However, six years later a government decision of 3 July 1800 recommended that, after the captain's death, these two districts should be placed under the authority of two regents.<sup>46</sup> After Daendels became governor general of the Netherlands Indies, he had the idea of selling entire districts to individuals, to obtain the necessary funds for his government. Therefore in 1810 Han Chan Piet, who had just resigned as captain of Surabaya,<sup>47</sup> acquired the territories of Besuki and Panarukan. Encouraged by the success of these measures, Daendels decided that, as the revenues of Probolinggo were poor, he would sell it also, to Han Kik Ko 韩极歌 (1766-1813). The latter was one of the brothers of Han Chan Piet, who was then captain in Pasuruan and had also launched into sugar cane production.<sup>48</sup> He was installed in his new office with great pomp, permitted to carry arms, set himself up in the Regent's residence and took the title of *Baba Tumanggung*.<sup>49</sup>

European opinion was divided about this system of management, of setting up "States within the State". Some saw it as a way to develop backward regions, like the French officer Ch. F. Tombe,<sup>50</sup> and David Hopkins. In a letter to Raffles, the latter observed that under Han Kik Ko the area under rice had increased in Probolinggo district, while irrigation and transport had been considerably developed.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, others saw this autonomy as a source for the abuse of power, and no doubt also as a latent threat to colonial authority. During the Raffles period, the population of these particular domains was estimated at 80,000 inhabitants, half of whom were in Probolinggo. In 1813 the English Government, which wanted to buy back these territories, encountered favourable circumstances. The supporters of the former regent of Pasuruan, who had lost their revenue once Han Kik Ko was established, stirred up an uprising which ended with the death of Baba Tumanggung and the return of his family to Pasuruan.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, it seems the annual taxes the two owners had to pay the Government had been fairly heavy in relation to the actual revenue. Shortly after his brother's death, Han Chan Piet made an

<sup>45</sup> John Bastin, "The Chinese Estates of Java during the British Administration", in *Essays on Indonesian and Malaysian History* (Singapore: Donald Moore Books, 1961), p. 92.

<sup>46</sup> *Realia*, vol. III (1886), p. 220.

<sup>47</sup> "Memorial of J. A. van Middelkoop Late Landrost of the Eastern Part of Java to his Successor Mr. P. A. Goldbach, 24 novembre 1810", in Mackenzie Collection (Private 6, p. 210), India Office Library. Also see *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek*, ed. J. A. van der Chijs (Batavia, 1897) vol. 16, 5 Hooimaand 1810, pp. 254-55.

<sup>48</sup> H. J. Domis, *De Residentie Passoeroeang op het eiland Java* ('s-Gravenhage: H. S. J. de Groot, 1836), pp. 18-19 notes that, when travelling between Bangil and Bandongan, he saw the sugar mill of the late Han Ti Ko (alias Han Kik Ko), opposite his former home.

<sup>49</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek*, vol. 16 (1811), pp. 620-21. See the plate in *Archipel* 53 for an illustration of his tomb inscription, which has since disappeared. *Baba* was a honorific appellation, while *tumanggung* or *temenggong* was the title given to an official of very high rank in a Malayo-Javanese state.

<sup>50</sup> Ch. F. Tombe, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales pendant les années 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, et 1806* (Paris: Arthur Bertrand, 1811), t. II, p. 25 recounts how, after a long journey through forests and across a plain dotted with rice fields, they finally arrived at Panaroukan, "seat of an ancient kingdom of the same name, where a rich Chinese is the chief". Excellent beds were made ready for them at his home, which was "a really huge house, built of wooden planks, whose façade resembles that of a theatre. Then he had tea and candied fruits brought to us."

<sup>51</sup> Cited in Bastin, "Chinese Estates of Java", p. 96. He also mentioned new fruit crops being planted for the market by Chinese, including watermelons worth 4000 Spanish dollars. He added: "The increase in cultivation had been effected by advancing money and tools to the people, who had been attracted to the Chinese estates from the Oosthoek districts by means of free distributions of rice during periods of famine, and from Madura whence many had fled to escape military service." (p. 95).

<sup>52</sup> Shortly before the revolt broke out, the Surabaya resident Goldbach had written to warn Raffles that Probolinggo was an area likely to rebel because of the number of relatives of the former regent who, by his removal, had been deprived of the best lands "and whose discontentment with the Chinaman-landholder has been very evident". Cited in R. Dubois St Marc, "Probolingo under British Occupation", *China Journal of Sciences and Arts*, 24 (1936): 143. For other causes of the uprising, see Bastin, "Chinese Estates of Java".

official declaration which certainly raises questions: announcing that he could not pay his dues, he requested permission to cede the domain.<sup>53</sup>

#### *The Sugar Industry and Control of the Community*

This sudden change in the politics of developing the “Eastern Salient” would not, for all that, mean the end of Han enterprise in the region. We shall see that they had a certain number of private properties which they farmed (rice, sugar cane, indigo, maize, coconut...) and that they also had recourse to government land leases designed to stimulate sugar production and, to a lesser degree, coffee and indigo.

No one knows when the Han began to buy estates around Surabaya and a little further south, in the region of Sidoarjo and Pasuruan, but Han Kik Ko owned land on the outskirts of Surabaya<sup>54</sup> and also in Pasuruan. One of Pasuruan's first sugar mills was established around 1799, in a locality called Kraton. In 1808, this business, working in an area leased from the government, included twelve villages and 2538 people. After the retrocession of Probolinggo, three sons of Han Kik Ko were granted lifelong usufruct of the mill and 182 hectares of rice fields situated nearby.<sup>55</sup>

Similarly, Han Chan Piet, already a landowner in the Surabaya region,<sup>56</sup> was offered various pieces of land after giving up his two districts. One of these, called Manukan (west of Surabaya), produced rice. It was left to his son, Han Kok Tie 韩国治 (1805-1844), who was for a time lieutenant in Surabaya, and then passed to the latter's son, Han Liong Kong 韩隆光 (1840-1908), who also took on the office of lieutenant.<sup>57</sup> It is also known that in 1815 Han Chan Piet put in a bid for another estate at Petunjungan which after his death passed successively to his son, Han Kok Ping 韩国平 (?-1897), who was for a time lieutenant in Surabaya, and then to his grandson, Han Siok Hian 韩续贤 (1838-1911).<sup>58</sup>

Han Soe Siek 韩泗锡 (1767-1827), lieutenant in Surabaya, also had land in the neighbourhood of the city and perhaps also in the region of Sidoarjo.<sup>59</sup> In 1835 his eldest son, Han Tiauw Kie 韩肇基 (1790-1871), who after his father's death had “inherited” his office as lieutenant, established one of the first great sugar mills in Ketapang (a region in Tanggung Angin).<sup>60</sup> The latter's son and his grandson, Han Tjoei Wan 韩萃焕 (1815-95), who was lieutenant in Surabaya for a time, and Han Khong Gie 韩康媪 (1851-1932), were considered among the great sugar manufacturers. They increased their productive capacity thanks to contracts to lease estates. Three of the sons of Han Khong Gie—Ing Hwie 永辉 (d. 1909), Sing Hwie 成穗 and Toan Hwie 传辉 (1884-1933)—worked with him, helping him develop the business in other directions. For example, they managed the state pawnshops and invested in property. Ing Hwie and Toan Hwie each created building company (*bouw maatschappij*) with a view to buying plots of land and building houses, in Surabaya as well as Lawang and Singasari.<sup>61</sup> To keep part of this capital joint, in 1901 Han Khong Gie created the Vereeniging Lam Yang Tjoe Soe 南洋祖祠, or “Association of the

<sup>53</sup> Bastin, “Chinese Estates of Java”, p. 99.

<sup>54</sup> On the 1821 map of Surabaya, Han Kik Ko's name appears as owner of some land to the east of the Chinese quarter, along the Pako River.

<sup>55</sup> Robert Elson, *Javanese Peasants and the Colonial Sugar Industry, Impact and Change in an East Java Residency, 1830-1940* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 20-21.

<sup>56</sup> The name of Han.Chan Piet was also on the 1821 map.

<sup>57</sup> See, *De Locomotiev*, 4 Aug 1904.

<sup>58</sup> See *Notulen van de Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 1905, Bijlage X.

<sup>59</sup> His name also appears on the 1821 map.

<sup>60</sup> See von Faber, *Oud Soerabaia*, p. 179.

<sup>61</sup> Oral information collected in Surabaya in 1983.

ancestral temple of the South Seas”, to which he is said to have bequeathed some six hundred houses, with only their revenue to be shared among the heirs.<sup>62</sup>

The second son of Han Soe Siek, Han Tiau Hien 韩肇贤 (1790-1884), who was for a time lieutenant in Surabaya, had also inherited land in the region of Ketapang where he produced rice and sugar cane. The latter business was developed by his three sons, Ting Tjiang 廷璋, Ting Tjoen 廷俊 and Ting Hway 廷槐, who by 1870 at the latest had signed contracts with the sugar factory of Tanggul Angin (to the south of Sidoarjo) and had similarly invested their profits in property. A son of Han Ting Hway 韩廷槐, Han Tjiong Khing 韩宗庆, became one of the biggest land owners in Surabaya.<sup>63</sup> At the same time, he occupied administrative positions for more than thirty years (1889-1924), successively holding office as lieutenant, captain and major. With his mandate the system of indirect administration of the Chinese community came to a close in Surabaya.

It is not easy to follow the descendants of Han Bwee Kong in their various enterprises. For example, the grandchildren of Han Kik Ko in Pasuruan cannot be traced. We do not know how they passed on the inheritance mentioned above. Certainly Han Ing Liong 韩永隆 (1786-1847), the son of a brother of Han Kik Ko, was captain of Pasuruan (c. 1828-1847), which suggests that he had connections in that region. In fact he adopted one of the grandsons of Tik Ko, Siok Kie, who later became captain in Pasuruan (1862-1869) while managing various businesses, including sugar mills in Sukorejo (a district in Pasuruan) and a business hiring out post-horse vehicles for the Surabaya–Pasuruan route, which he ran with two relatives who were based in Sidoarjo and Surabaya respectively.<sup>64</sup> Some of the grandsons of Kik Ko settled elsewhere (notably at Probolinggo, Surabaya and Madura), while others founded a line at Pasuruan, but the Surabaya genealogy does not mention them.

However, to judge from the personal names that help to distinguish the generations, it seems that the three sugar magnates of Pasuruan, Han Hoo Lam 韩浩澜 (d. 1893), Han Hoo Tjoan 韩浩泉 (captain from 1881 to 1886) and Han Hoo Tong 韩浩冻, the offspring of two brothers or two cousins, Han Swie Lian and Han Swie Hien, are descendants of Han Kik Ko. Indeed, the Surabaya genealogy mentions a great-great grandson of Han Kik Ko, Han Swie Tan, who settled in Plered near Pasuruan, precisely where the three magnates had a sugar cane contract.<sup>65</sup> (They had others in Sarirejo, Ngempit, Pengkol and Klurahan.<sup>66</sup>) Like their Surabaya relatives, they reinvested in property. For this purpose Han Hoo Tong had created a business called Bouw Maatschappij Han Hoo Tong which was taken over after his death by his widow, Ong Ik Nio, and one of his sons, Han Tiau Tjhiang.<sup>67</sup> The latter was also famous for his investment in horses, which raced in Singapore and the Malay Peninsula (Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur and Pinang).<sup>68</sup> The three magnates were almost inseparable in business. They also created and endowed funerary associations. The first of these, called Han Soen Wan Kong Soe 韩顺远公祠, or the “Ancestral Temple of the Prosperity of the Han Family”, was set up in 1906. It was

<sup>62</sup> The statutes of the Vereeniging Lam Yang Tjoe Soe were published in the *Javasche Courant* on 1 Feb 1901. The company still existed in 1990, and was located in Jl. Ketapang. A photo of its façade appeared in *Archipel*, 41, p. 73.

<sup>63</sup> The owners can be traced in the columns of the annual *Regerings Almanak* that concern private property ownership in Surabaya. In a less systematic way, the same publication mentions rental contracts of government land for sugar cane production.

<sup>64</sup> *Bintang Timoer*, 1 March 1865.

<sup>65</sup> *Handboek voor Cultuur-en Handelsondernemingen in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Amsterdam, 1888), p. 241.

<sup>66</sup> These three contracts are mentioned in the *Regerings Almanak* for the years 1870-80.

<sup>67</sup> See *Javasche Courant*, 17 Aug 1917.

<sup>68</sup> See Tan Hong Boen, *Orang-orang Tionghoa jang terkemoeka di Java* (Solo: The Biographical Publishing centre, 1935), p. 35.

dedicated to the late Han Hoo Lam and his descendants as well as to his brothers.<sup>69</sup> But four years later, Han Hoo Tong established another, named Han Tat Wan Kong Soe 韩达远公祠, or the “Temple of the Han Family Success”, to perform the rites for Han Swie Hien and Han Swie Lien, and their descendants.<sup>70</sup> At the end of the 1920s, when the effects of the great crisis were being felt in Java, two grandsons of the three magnates, Han Kian Kie and Han Kian Hien, made an about turn, the former investing in Pasuruan in a business with various purposes, the second investing in Wonorejo developing agriculture and commercialising rice.<sup>71</sup>

No doubt a certain number of enterprises of shorter duration should be added to this list. In addition, as we will see below, outside the family at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there were a few major businesses handling a considerable amount of Han capital, such as the anonymous Candi company founded in 1911 with the The and Tjoa families. No doubt, studies should similarly be done of very early enterprises in other districts, like Probolinggo, Besuki, Jombang, Mokokerto, Blitar, Yogya, and Semarang, and outside of Java in Madura (Sumenep, Sampang) and Banda Aceh, where members of the Han family emigrated between the twenty-second and twenty-fifth generations.<sup>72</sup> However, we will limit ourselves here to this first view of the entrepreneurs' world in order to move onto the other face of the Han family, the converts.

#### *Islamization and Administrative Power*

It is difficult to obtain a complete picture of the process of Islamization in the Han family. It seems that after the conversion of one of Han Siong's sons, Han Tjien Kong, later generations followed suit. A son of Han Bwee Kong, the Surabayan captain, called Swie Kong 韩瑞公 converted, married a Javanese and settled in Prajekan. In addition two of the four sons of Han Soe Siek, Tik Tjong and Poen Tjhee, converted. In the twenty-sixth generation Han Piet Nio, a grand-daughter of Lieutenant Han Tiauw Kie, did likewise. But information is scarce about their descendants.

It is relatively easy to trace the history of the children and grandchildren of Han Tjien Kong, alias Soero Pernollo, because they played an important role in the history of East Java as civil servants. On this account they had the right to several entries in the Surabaya genealogies. Moreover they composed their own, and various commentaries about them have appeared in western sources.

The eldest son of Soero Pernollo, Baba Sam, alias Han Sam Kong, was firstly ronggo of Besuki under the name of Soemodiwirjo (1772-76), then tumanggung of Bangil, successively known as Ngabehi Soemodiwirjo (1776-88), and Tumanggung Soemodiwirjo (1788-1808). Afterwards he became Adipati Soemodiwirjo (1808), and then regent in Malang, Sidaya and finally Tuban (1809-1818).<sup>73</sup> During his time in Bangil, this official made a strong impression on the French travellers who passed through his district. In 1794 Labillardière observed in his regard: “This Tomogon was a very intelligent man, who spoke Dutch well, and was quite up to date with the news from Europe. A Chinese, he was

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<sup>69</sup> See *Javasche Courant*, 23 Jan 1906, for the statutes.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, 12 July 1910

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, 13 Dec 1929 and 12 Nov 1935.

<sup>72</sup> After Indonesian independence, a new wave of migration occurred to Europe, essentially to Holland, but also to America and Australia.

<sup>73</sup> See Mackenzie Collection, Private bag 82 (no. 26, p. 268 ff), “Of the Present State & Management of the district of Bangel = Bangil, with an account of the origin & history of the celebrated Kiai Dipatty Sooro-Adi-Nogoro = Kyai Dipati Sura Adinegara, Knight of the Order of Holland at present Tumanggung = Tumengung of Tuban = Toeban” (India Office Library, London). *Ronggo* or *rangga* was the title given in Java to a subordinate official, while Adipati was properly a regent or a viceroy.

obliged to become a Muslim in order to earn the title of Tomogon.”<sup>74</sup> At the beginning of 1805 the French officer Ch. F. Tombe, who also visited Bangil, has left us an even more captivating portrait of the tumanggung:<sup>75</sup>

He told me himself that he spoke all the oriental languages, in particular those of Madura and China. The latter is the language of his ancestors. But what struck me the most was that he had some knowledge of the geography of Europe. He spoke to me about Europe like a man who has travelled, mainly in Italy, and spoke to me about the principal sites there. Noticing my surprise, he told me that as he could translate some Dutch, a resident had lent him various works that had been translated from French. From these he had gained some elementary knowledge of Europe. He had gathered a very high opinion of France from the war with Italy, which he had read all about.... He spoke enthusiastically at length about his Majesty Emperor Napoleon. He had followed the course of his glorious campaigns and rightly considered him a supernatural genius... Paris seemed to him a super-extraordinary city because of its grandeur, the height of its buildings, its population, and its police.

As an official, the tumanggung was clearly interested in the way Europe was administered, and in fact he was highly regarded for his skill in running his district. In a report written in 1809, Rothenbuhler observed: “The district of Bangil is the most prosperous and the best cultivated of all the districts I have seen on the island of Java”, and he praised the small city in these terms: “I was surprised to see such a beautiful, big city in such a small district”.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps it is less surprising if we know that the tumanggung, and one of his sons, were passionate about architecture, as Tombe tells us:<sup>77</sup> “

He informed me that his eldest son, a handsome man who was almost white, spoke Dutch perfectly and was familiar with civil architecture. He had had his son educated in Surabaya by a Dutchman, a former employee of the Company. He wanted to prove his son’s talent to me by showing me the plan for the large building he was having constructed opposite his palace and next door to the warehouse where we were. He was supervising and directing the work as well. The plan was well conceived and drawn up and the dimensions were written in Dutch.

Another interesting fact is that while the tumanggung admired Napoleonic administration and its policing in Paris, for his part Tombe was amazed at the law and order in Bangil: “I commented to this prince on the fact that not he, his people, or any of the Malays who come to visit him, are armed with a dagger. This astonished me, as throughout the Sunda archipelago and the China Seas every native without exception has either a dagger or a *kleban*.”<sup>78</sup> This admiration for the tumanggung’s administrative skills carried over to the highest levels of the colonial government. In 1808 Daendels came in person to visit his district and examine his books. Seeing his excellent results and pleasant personality, he invited him to Semarang where he was given a decoration. The following year, when he returned to Surabaya, he conferred on him the title “Adipati Soeroadinegoro”.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> J. J. de Labillardière, *Relation du voyage à la recherche de la Pérouse* (Paris, 7<sup>th</sup> Year of the Republic), vol. II, p. 313.

<sup>75</sup> See Tombe, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, vol. II, pp. 44-45. Tombe added that, wanting to know the extent of the tumanggung’s geographical knowledge, he had taken a map of Europe and of France from his trunk and the tumanggung pointed out all the towns that he had mentioned.

<sup>76</sup> Mackenzie Collection, Private bag 82 (no 26, p. 267): “Geographical and Statistical Description of Bangil Part of the District of Passarouang”.

<sup>77</sup> Tombe, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, vol. II, p. 45.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>79</sup> See note 73 above; and also Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek*, vol. 14 (1808), p. 775.

The tumanggung had several wives and a number of children. The Sidoarjo genealogy listed twenty-seven. When Tombe asked him about this, the prince replied "that one of his lawful wives was pregnant with the sixty-first, twenty-nine had died and there were thirty-one left. Twelve lived with his brother, the Tomogon of Besouki, who was responsible for their education."<sup>80</sup> In an 1809 report on the regents of the Eastern Saliënt", Rothenbuhler listed his children as follows:<sup>81</sup> with his first wife he had three sons and two daughters, and with his other wives he had eleven sons and ten daughters, altogether twenty-six children. His eldest son, Soero Adiwidjojo (born 1787), whose architectural ability Tombe had praised, married the daughter of the ronggo of Malang and became tumanggung of Bangil after his father's transfer. The second son, Wirow Adinegoro (born 1789) was "Adipati of Bangil" and married the daughter of a Peranakan from Surabaya. The third son, Raden Soero Diwiro (born 1791), married the daughter of Raden Soero of Pasuruan. As for the sons of his other wives, only two had already become officials. These were the tumanggung Soerio Adiningrat (born 1787), who was then regent of Puger (a region in Jember) and was married to the daughter of the ronggo of Besuki, Baba Pandang; and Soerio Dimidjojo (born 1788), who was then "*Binnen Bupati*" and engaged to the daughter of a Surabayan Peranakan. The others were still too young to have office, being aged nineteen months and two years old. As for his daughters, only three were married. The eldest, Lapmah (born 1784), was married to a Surabayan Peranakan; the second, Roekminah (born 1788), was married to the son of the regent of Pasuruan, Pandji Brotto Koesoemo; and the third, Katarnah (born 1790), was married to the son of the regent of Sidayu, Sosro Diningrat. Four of the sons of Soesro Adinegoro, after having been successively "regents and sub-regents", seem to have run into problems in 1822<sup>82</sup> and moved to Surabaya, where the government was still paying them a pension in 1859.

We now return to Soeroadinegoro's younger brother, Soero Adiwikromo, alias Han Mi Djoen or Baba Midoen (also known as Kiai Madiroen in the Sidoarjo genealogy). He was successively ronggo of Besuki (1776), tumanggung of Puger and Bondowoso (1796) and, according to the Surabayan genealogy, regent of Tegal under the name of Raden Soeroadikromo. He married the sister of Sultan Pakunataningrat of Sumenep (1812-54) and also had family connections with Walter Markus Stuart, the Resident of the latter city.<sup>83</sup> Tombe also visited him when he was in Besuki:<sup>84</sup>

We were taken to the Tomogon's palace but he was not there.... He had gone to visit the Prince of Sumenep, his father-in-law.... [When] we were informed that the Prince had returned... [they met him] in a warehouse opposite his palace.... This prince is of Chinese origin, aged forty to forty-five. He has only had one legitimate wife, and is still living with her, although polygamy is customary among the Muslims. He has no children. The Dutch in Java consider him to be an educated man with some knowledge of physics and mathematics. His grandfather, the Chinese chief, had put him at the head of a party of his countrymen and natives, in a war undertaken in support of a Mataram emperor against several neighbouring kings; and having been very successful, as a reward this emperor promoted him to the rank of Tomogon, provided he renounced his religion, which he agreed to do. His children followed him in the same way.

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<sup>80</sup> Tombe, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, vol. II, p. 45.

<sup>81</sup> Mackenzie Collection, Private bag 82 (p. 269 ff): "List of the Regents belonging to & under the East Point and their children", translated from Dutch in 1812.

<sup>82</sup> Hageman, "Bijdragen tot de Kennis van de residentie Soerabaia", *TNI*, I (1859): 118.

<sup>83</sup> Sutherland, "Java's Regent Families": 145.

<sup>84</sup> Tombe, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, vol. II, pp. 29-31.

Tombe was struck by the tumanggung's dress, which he described in this way: "This prince was dressed in yellow nankeen trousers, down to his feet, in the French style, and wearing shoes. This outfit made a striking contrast with his moustache, turban and sleeved Malay vest."

Before leaving Besuki, which he described as "quite a considerable village built over several branches of the same river, with abundant rice growing in the neighbourhood", Tombe visited the tumanggung's palace, "built of white stone, in European style", with a large courtyard at the front, enclosed by wooden railings", and also the mosque and the tumanggung's ancestral tombs.<sup>85</sup>

As Tombe noted, it is true that Raden Soero Adiwikromo had no children, but he adopted at least two. The first of these, Raden Panderman, was one of his brother's sons. He succeeded his uncle in his office in Besuki and then became tumanggung of Puger and Besuki (1804-13) and adipati of Puger (1813-18). The second, Raden Soetik, was the son of the Sultan of Sumenep. He became regent of Probolinggo (1816) with the title of *pangeran* and adipati of Besuki (1818-43). According to the Sidoarjo genealogy, the descendants of these two children also had brilliant careers in administration, particularly in the "Eastern Salient" and especially at Besuki, which seems to have remained a kind of stronghold of the Muslim family. Madurese influence in the Besuki region was still very strong when R. M. A. Purwa came through, in 1860-70. He complained that he had difficulty communicating with the people from that place.<sup>86</sup>

The Han Muslims also left their mark in the region of Prajekan (near Besuki), where a grandson of Han Bwee Kong, Kiai Mas Asemgiri, alias Kiai Kiem Mas, (1834-97), resided after becoming the disciple of various great teachers of Java. He composed two poems in Malay, meditation tracts of a sort, and his tomb became a holy place where thousands of devotees, both Peranakan and Javanese, still come to meditate every year.<sup>87</sup>

The double process outlined here by which the Han family became integrated into society is certainly not unique in the history of Java. However, it is not easy to observe other cases as closely. We will see in regard to the Tjoa family that history can only reveal their Peranakan face.

### Commerce, Farms and Sugar Industry: The Case of the Tjoa Family

With the Tjoa 蔡, we are looking at the rapid emergence of a great family whose economic power was apparently first acquired through marriage into priyayi circles. However, our sources are such that we only see in the early period the eldest branch of each generation of the family, which was favoured by the inheritance system, so that it is difficult to get an overview of the evolution of the whole family.

#### *Wealthy Ancestors in China*

The Tjoa (Cai), like the Han, originally came from Zhangzhou prefecture in Fujian. Although the genealogy kept in China had been partly destroyed during the Taiping Rebellion (1850-60), the family did succeed in reconstructing the story from the time of those who settled in a little village called Tjoa Poa (Caifan 蔡坂), "Slope of the Mountain of the Tjoa",<sup>88</sup> most likely in the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>89</sup> There they pursued

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, p. 31.

<sup>86</sup> Marcel Bonneff, *Pérégrinations javanaises. Les voyages de R. M. A Purwa Lelana au XIX<sup>e</sup> s. (1860-1875)* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Etudes insulindiennes/*Archipel* 7, 1986), pp. 167-68.

<sup>87</sup> P. K. A., "Keramat Tjekong Mas di Pradjekan", *Liberty*, Surabaya, 3 July 1965, pp. 16-17; Liek S., "Makam K. Mas Prajekan dapat kunjungan ramai", *Jawa Pos*, Surabaya, 22 Nov 1979.

<sup>88</sup> It is difficult to be sure of the locality since there are several villages in Zhangzhou prefecture with this name.

<sup>89</sup> An estimate based on the number of generations, such as is given in Tjoa Sie Wan's manuscript (see fn. 24 above).

agriculture, and must have been reasonably well off, since the family had an ancestral temple, and Tjoa Tjhong (1702-41), the father of the first known immigrant to Java, had left a will.

*The Extraordinary Destiny of Tjoa Kwie Soe (1739-1793)*

Perhaps the early history of Tjoa Kwie Soe has been embellished over time; it should be noted that we had no access to any written sources earlier than the twentieth century. When his junk reached the Sidayu region around 1753, he came across a small boat whose occupants asked him to let them come aboard and hide. The Dutch had seized power in Surabaya in 1743, and had kept the system of double regency set up by Mataram in order to better control the region. When the first regent (from the older branch, *Kesepuhan*) died in the early 1750s, the second regent (from the younger branch, *Kanoman*) thought that he was going to take power over the whole regency. But the Company did not agree, and named a replacement, Setionegoro, a man from Ambarawa. The regent of the younger branch was furious at this decision, and rebelled. It was during these troubled times that Tjoa Kwie Soe's junk arrived, and saved the fugitives, one of whom was Nyai Roro Kiendjeng, a daughter of the former regent of Pasuruan, Kiai Toemanggoeng Angga Djaja.

After the Dutch regained control in 1758, they nominated two regents once again, Raden Adipati Tjondro Negoro and Toemanggoeng Djojodirono, who happened to be the brothers of Nyai Roro Kiendjeng.<sup>90</sup> As a reward for his help, Tjoa Kwie Soe was then allowed to marry Nyai Roro Kiendjeng, on condition that she was buried among her own people after her death. In fact her tomb can still be found in the Muslim cemetery of Ampel. It was extensively restored in the 1930s by the Tjoa family.

We next meet Tjoa Kwie Soe established in the main street of the Chinese quarter of the time, where he owned a house and ran a wholesale rice business. Thanks to his good relations with the regent's family, he obtained a certain number of contracts, including tax farms. Towards the end of his life, like Han Kik Ko in Kraton, he set up a sugar cane business in the district of Sidoarjo, and built a mill powered by animals.<sup>91</sup>

According to a brief genealogy in the Tjoa ancestral temple in Surabaya, Kwie Soe had at least two sons, Phik Kong (1768-1837) and Kie Sing. But history only knows the elder son. Kwie Soe gave him a Chinese education and made him honour the funerary tablet of his own father, of which he had a duplicate made (with the original remaining in the temple of Tjoa Poa). When Tjoa Kwie Soe died in 1793, he left his elder son a comfortable inheritance which would allow him to develop his business, notably to build a house in the Chinese quarter and establish himself at the head of two shops.<sup>92</sup>

*From Land Acquisition to the Sugar Industry*

Phik Kong had two wives. With the first, Lie Oen Kiong, he had a son and a daughter; with the second, a "Javanese", a son and four daughters. He compensated the younger son by giving him a sum of money and in his will bequeathed all his goods to his elder son, Khik Yong (1791-1863). The latter went on to develop the family's landed properties. He bought up to fifteen houses and at the same time acquired land for agricultural development. In 1848 he became the owner of the estate of Keputran Kidul. Four years later, in 1852, by paying 300,000 florins to the Liem brothers, Ping Wan and Ping Lie, he obtained the

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<sup>90</sup> The anecdote is reported in The Boen Liang, "Riwajat Familie Tjoa", n. p. For the nomination of the two brothers see Sutherland, "Java's Regent Families": 143.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> The Boen Liang, "Riwajatna Familie Tjoa", reproduced the title deed of the oldest Tjoa house (at present the ancestral temple), dated 4 Nov 1793; Tjoa Sie Wan speaks of two houses.

Darmo estate, with its sugar factory and arak distillery.<sup>93</sup> To be quite certain that his property would not be split up, in 1852 his will bequeathed it to his two sons by his first wife, Djien Hoo 蔡仁和 (1814-90) and Djien Sing 蔡仁盛 (1824-1909), the third son, Djien Houw, having died in 1848.

From that time on, the two sons managed their businesses with the help of relatives or less fortunate members of the families to which they were allied by marriage. Tjoa Djien Hoo remained in Surabaya where he led a life far from the temptations of power, spending a lot of time, it is said, on reading in Chinese and Javanese. His younger brother on the other hand was made captain in 1874, and remained in that position until 1889. Their children also retained their principal interest in the sugar business. However, they did not all succeed equally.

Djien Hoo's eldest son, Sien Hie 承禧 (1836-1904), has remained especially famous for having considerably extended his operations. In 1874 he owned the biggest private sugar factory in East Java, at Tamangsari, in the Sidoarjo region.<sup>94</sup> A little later, he established another factory near Pojejer, in the Mojokerto region, and also cultivated rice fields and sugar cane at Karah. Among his many children (thirteen sons and eleven daughters), five are particularly well known. The eldest, Tjwan Khing (1857-1932), first turned to revenue farms, especially the Surabaya opium farm. It allowed him to accumulate capital quickly which he then invested in land. In 1889 he bought Ngagel, the former property of Rothenbuhler (currently in the southern part of Surabaya town). In 1917 he sold it again, when the government proposed building the first industrial complex in that area. In the same way Tjwan Lok 全乐 (1860-1926) got control of the opium revenue farm at Gresik, where his uncle, Sien Tik 承德 (1850-1928) was lieutenant from 1888 to 1909 and then honorary captain. He obtained concessions to exploit certain forests, and also supplied provisions to public institutions.<sup>95</sup> He too invested in land. In 1886, when Gimberg was having financial difficulties, he bought his printery, and in 1887 he brought out the Chinese community's first newspaper in Malay, the *Bintang Soerabaia*.<sup>96</sup> The other three sons, Tjwan Bie, Tjwan Djie (1883-1934) and Tjwan Bo (1888-1942), also lived on the revenue from their property. The first farmed sugar cane and rice fields at Jagi (in the south of Surabaya); the second had sugar factories at Candi and Porong, in the Sidoarjo region, and an estate at Patemon; the third owned the Simo estate to the south of Surabaya.<sup>97</sup>

The final attempt to expand in the sugar industry seems to have happened 1911, when Tjwan Djie's son, Sie Lian (died in the early 1970s), founded the *N. V. Suikerfabriek Tjandi*, in association with Han Ing Ling, Han Sing Kien and The Bo Tjwan.<sup>98</sup> In 1922, the company suffered from the effects of the post-war depression and asked the Association for the The Ancestral Temple, which had granted them a loan in 1917, to reduce the interest rate from 9 to 7 per cent.<sup>99</sup>

Like the Han and the The, the Tjoa wanted to have an ancestral temple.<sup>100</sup> The initiative came from Tjoa Sien Hie, a business man but cultured like his father. He had received a Chinese education under a private tutor, and took pleasure in reviving certain customs. However the temple was also an association with the power to manage collective

<sup>93</sup> Tjoa Sie Wan's manuscript (see fn. 24).

<sup>94</sup> *Coloniaal Verslag*, 1875, Bijlage RR, 1-2.

<sup>95</sup> The Boen Liang, "Riwajatna Familie Tjoa".

<sup>96</sup> The printery was sold by auction and along with it Tjoa Tjwan Lok received the right to continue publishing the *Bintang Timoer* (a Malay language newspaper founded in 1861). See *Bintang Timoer*, 20 Dec 1886. In the following year the paper's name was changed to *Bintang Soerabaia*. It lasted until the mid-1920s.

<sup>97</sup> The Boen Liang, "Riwajatna Familie Tjoa".

<sup>98</sup> See *Handboek voor Cultuur – en handelsovernemingen in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1939.

<sup>99</sup> *The Sie Siau Yang Tjohbiauw* [郑氏绍阳祖祠] (*Vereeniging The Goan Tjing*) 1883-1939, *Boekoe-Peringetan* (Soerabaia, 1939), p. 37.

<sup>100</sup> The statutes were published in the *Javasche Courant*, 12 Jan 1883.

goods, and in fact several family members bequeathed considerable amounts of property to this institution.<sup>101</sup>

### **A Century as Leading Members of the Community: The Case of the The Family**

The The (Zheng 郑) family contrasts with the Han and the Tjoa families in that their origins are obscure. There was no desire among the descendants of the first immigrants to maintain the continuity of their family's history, but only the will, in the mid-nineteenth century, to bring back together the descendants of the first captain, and in this way to honour those who had succeeded in making a comfortable place for themselves in the sugar industry, while vying with the Han family to keep control of the community.

#### *Wanting to Forget the Family Past?*

Since we were not allowed to open the funerary tablets kept in the ancestral temple in Jl. Karet, our only information comes from a work commemorating this temple, as well as two genealogies. One is kept in Surabaya and was reproduced in the *Stamboom dari familie The Sing Koo* or "A family tree of The Sing Koo", in the *Boekoe-Peringetan* mentioned above. The other, in manuscript form, has no title. It belongs to different branch of the The family and is owned by a person from Sidoarjo.

A comparison of the two genealogies shows that the earliest ancestors they could remember were The Sing Koo (alias Lam Sin 兰胜), the first The to have held an official position in Surabaya, and The Lam Khee. As they share a character in their personal names, they were of the same generation. They could have been cousins, the sons of two brothers, or the sons of the same person, in which case Lam Sin would have been older. Given that Lam Khee was born in Surabaya in 1754, according to the information in the Sidoarjo genealogy, we could deduce that the The were already settled in that city at least by the beginning of the eighteenth century. As for Lam Sin, alias Sing Koo, his date of birth is unknown but we know that he married Liem Gie Nio 林义娘 in Surabaya. Her family was well established in that city. Her father, Liem Ing 林英 (d. 1790), who may have been a captain,<sup>102</sup> had married Han Tjwan Nio 韩铨娘, a daughter of Han Bwee Kong (1727-1778).

All of this clearly indicates that, at the time when we have information about the The, they were already part of the community elite. However we know nothing about their business life until the next generation, when at least one branch of the family became famous, as The Goan Tjing 郑元贞 made a spectacular entry into the sugar industry. This leads us to deduce that the first The captain would also have invested in this sector, and bequeathed his business to his two sons, Goan Tjing and Goan Siang 元祥.

#### *Control over the Community and Power in the Sugar Industry*

In 1837 The Goan Tjing (1795-1851) was co-owner of the Candi sugar factory (in the Sidoarjo district), with a certain J. E. Banck who also owned the Buduran factory.<sup>103</sup> Aquasie Boachi tells us that, before he died, The Goan Tjing was extremely wealthy

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<sup>101</sup> The *Javasche Courant* of 16 April 1915 published the new statutes of the association, which included a list of properties acquired over the years, about 16 in all. Some were parcels of land in town while others were located in the surrounding area.

<sup>102</sup> His title of captain does not appear in a transcript of the text of the funerary stele of Liem Ing alias Liem Tjhan Sam 林燦三, (previously located in the new cemetery just alongside that of the captain, Han Bwee Kong), formerly preserved by the deceased secretary of the Han ancestral temple. However, as his tomb was as big as that of Captain Han Bwee Kong, we might assume he enjoyed a certain social status. According to tablets kept in the The temple, it seems that a relative of Liem Ing, Liem Tianglo 林长老 (or Lin Huaijing 林怀静) had also married a Han wife called Han Sik Nio 韩瑟娘 (posthumous name Djioe Soen 柔顺), but her name does not appear in the Surabaya genealogy.

<sup>103</sup> Von Faber, *Oud Soerabaia*, p. 179

owning factories, land and cash, and his fortune was estimated at five million florins.<sup>104</sup> In 1826, he had succeeded his father as captain of the community and, in the year when he established the Candi sugar factory, he was promoted to major, a position he retained until his death. His younger brother assisted him successively as lieutenant with Han Tiauw Kie, who was himself a big sugar manufacturer, and then as captain. Like his father, The Goan Tjing had married into the Liem family. He had at least eight sons and four daughters. Only the oldest four sons, Boen Hie 文禧 (1816-89), Boen Ke 文嘉 (1820-99), Boen King 文经 (1826-95) and Boen Tiong 文忠 (1829-90) were closely associated with his business before in their turn signing development contracts with the government. They generally signed these together, particularly in the regions of Porong, Candi and Ketanen (in the Mojokerto district). Before their father died, Boen Hie and Boen Ke were appointed lieutenants, and shortly after Goan Siang retired Boen Hie was appointed honorary captain and then captain.

Henceforth administrative power remained in the hands of the two eldest sons, succeeded by their sons and then their grandsons. We have very little information about the children of Goan Siang. However it is possible that a certain The Sien, who was a lieutenant from 1839 to 1845, was one of his sons. But after him all traces of this branch of the family are lost for good, as they are omitted from the genealogy and from the ancestral temple which the four eldest sons of Goan Tjing officially established in 1883. In fact the latter was already paying his respects to his parents' tablets and kept all the necessary objects for the religious ceremonies (musical instruments, silverware) in his house. In 1850 in his will The Goan Tjing asked his children to maintain this place to honour the ancestors. When the association was founded for the maintenance of the ancestral temple, the four eldest sons made an endowment to it. They had a block of apartments built on the site of a stable in Jl. Kembang Jepun, and in 1884 donated it to the association.<sup>105</sup>

In the following generation the business and administrative activities of the family were controlled by the eldest sons of Boen Hie (Toan Tjiak 传爵) and Boen Ke (Toan Lok 传录 and Toan Ing 传英). As well as his government contracts Toan Tjiak owned certain estates on which he cultivated sugar cane and rice, particularly at Patemon. His sons diversified their business, both moving into forestry development. For example Ing Soen signed contracts to cut timber in the Jombang region.<sup>106</sup> Of the two eldest sons of Boen Ke, Toan Ing was better known by the Europeans. J. van Maurik, who visited him at the end of the nineteenth century, commented on his predilection for antiquities, and compared his house to a "little museum".<sup>107</sup>

Arnold Wright devoted a biographical notice to him in which he briefly sketched the history of the Candi sugar factory, and noted that at the time he visited (around 1908) "it was surrounded by a plantation of about 1,000 acres of splendid land producing up to 180 piculs of sugar to the acre, whereas the average Javan yield per acre was from 90 to 120

<sup>104</sup> Aquasie Boachi, "Mededeelingen over de Chinezen op het eiland Java", *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie*, 4, 4 (1856): 291. The author of this interesting article was an Ashanti prince who came to Java as an engineer, published various scientific articles and died in Buitenzorg in 1904.

<sup>105</sup> The statutes were published in the *Javasche Courant* of 15 July 1884 and a Malay version was reproduced in *Boekoe-Peringetan*, pp. 29-33 (for the gift of the house in Jl Kembang Jepun, see p. 34). In 1915, the association bought the house of the deceased captain Liem Ing, in Jl Karet just opposite the The temple (p. 37) and transferred the tablet of the late captain as well as those of the other Liem family members into the The ancestral temple where they still exist. Like the associations of the Han and the Tjoa, this association had a fairly important financial role. We have already seen that, in 1917, it loaned 10,000 florins to the Candi Company and in the 1930s it invested its liquidity in the banks. Indeed, many The family members were working in banks and, early in the 1930s, certain leaders of the association were involved in cases of embezzlement. See *Boekoe-Peringetan*, p. 44 ff.

<sup>106</sup> See *Regeerings Almanak* for the years 1884 and following.

<sup>107</sup> Justus van Maurik, *Indrukken van en Totok, indischen typen en schetsen* (Amsterdam: Holkema & Warendorf, 1897), pp. 344-47.

piculs". He added that the factory was entirely administered by Europeans and produced 100,000 piculs a year. He also tells us that Toan Ing was a freemason and a commissioner of the Surabaya municipality, in addition to his numerous functions within the Chinese community, for example as president of the committee for the Temple of Confucius and of the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan 中华会馆.<sup>108</sup> He had married the daughter of the captain of Sidoarjo, which was advantageous in expanding his sugar factory since it was situated precisely in that area. His son, Ing Bian, (died about 1929) inherited his business, while Toan Lok's son, Ing Bie 英美 (d. 1938) was the last to fill the office of captain before this system of indirect administration finally disappeared.

As if in the shadows of this powerful branch of the The family, the branch descended from Lam Khee (born 1754) developed less in the public eye. We are told that his son, Ing Liem (born 1785), married the daughter of Kwee Koe Tjong, captain of the Chinese in Surabaya.<sup>109</sup> His children, and especially his grandchildren, also worked in the sugar industry. Some owned particular estates, for example the sons and grandsons of Boen Pin, who owned property around Surabaya, particularly in Bubutan, Bagong Dukuh, Karah, Wonokirti Bong, and Gudo.<sup>110</sup> Others ran plantations, such as Boen Hoo's eldest son, Yan Hie (1857-1922), who spent a large part of his life at Sidoarjo, where he supervised the sugar factories in Tanggul Angin and Ketintang, then owned by the lieutenant Han Tiauw Hien (1790-1884). It is still possible to see the house he built in 1896 at the side of the main road (at the town entry as you approach from Surabaya), in which the portraits of the owner and the manager are kept.

For a more complete picture, ideally one would need to trace all the members of the The family who settled in other Javanese cities, like Sidoarjo, Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Mojokerto, Blitar, Malang, Bondowoso, Babat, Semarang, etc, while still keeping in contact with their Surabaya relatives.<sup>111</sup> Here we will only mention, as an example, the case of The Tik Goan, apparently a great-grandson of The Goan Tjing, who had inherited sugar factories from his father Siok Lian in the Surabaya region. After marrying a daughter of Oei Tjie Sien (1835-1900), another sugar manufacturer from Semarang, he settled in that town, where he was appointed lieutenant (1901-1904).<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Arnold Wright wrote of him as follows: "Major The Toan Ing, the head of the Chinese community in Sourabaya, is the representative of a family which has held high official position for the past hundred years (...) It was the present Major's grandfather who may be said to have laid the foundation of the family's material prosperity, for it was he who, some eighty years ago, built the first sugar factory which has since proved a continual source of wealth. The factory is "Tjandi" [in Sidoarjo...]. In the early days the power was supplied in a very primitive fashion through the agency of bullocks; later a water-wheel did the work, while now the building is equipped with the best modern machinery.... Major The Ing Toan [sic = Toan Ing] is a Mandarin of the Empire of China, this title having been conferred upon him by the Emperor. He is a director of the Hokkien Kong [Tik] Soe [福建功德祠], a society whose object is to regulate Chinese observances and to see that no Chinaman, however poor, is buried without a proper tribute of respect. The society has done a great deal towards bringing the dress of Chinese ladies more in accord with modern ideas. The Major is a Commissioner of the Sourabaya Municipality, a member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and a freemason (...), and generally may be said to take the greatest interest in all matters affecting the welfare of the Chinese community which he worthily represents. The Major (...) has one son – The Ing Bian – who is being educated in both English and Dutch languages." *Twentieth Century Impressions of Netherlands India*, ed. Arnold Wright (London, 1909), p. 545.

<sup>109</sup> The Kwee 郭 of Surabaya come from the great Kwee family of Semarang (see note 24 above). We have found no mention of this captain. But for the 19<sup>th</sup> century we found at least three members of the Kwee family among the community leaders: Kwee Le Bing who was lieutenant from 1827 to 1846: Kwee Kang Boen who was first lieutenant (1856-1873) and then honorary captain (1874-1876); and Kwee Tjan Hoe who was lieutenant (1896-1911). For the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kwee Liang Thaij held the office of captain (1913-1926). See *Regerings Almanack*.

<sup>110</sup> Their names appear in the *Regerings Almanak* for the 1880s.

<sup>111</sup> They are mentioned several times in the *Boekoe-Peringetan*.

<sup>112</sup> Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, p. 546. In 1910, The Siok Lian and his son founded an independent ancestral temple. See *Javasche Courant*, 3 June 1910.

### The Place of These Three Families in Local Life

In concluding this study of the three families of entrepreneurs, we would like to comment on their role in the local business community, their social structure, culture and power in the community.

#### *Economic Power*

These three families gradually gained their role in the local economy by continual adaptation. They moved from large-scale rice trading, through revenue farms to the acquisition of land, the better to launch into commercial agriculture: sugar cane, fruit trees in the “Eastern Salient”, rice, indigo, coconut trees around Surabaya, then coffee in the cooler regions of Malang. It goes without saying that these successive choices in the economic field were dictated by the policies of local and colonial rulers. However, one is struck by the similarity between the economic behaviour of these immigrants and that of the great merchants who remained in southern Fujian. In the same way the latter monopolised the rice trade along the whole coast of China and, including Taiwan in their network, moved into fruit growing in the Zhangzhou region, developed the sugar cane industry in Fujian as well as Taiwan, and finally gained control of the sugar trade.<sup>113</sup> Thus very similar models can be seen at the two most distant points of the “Chinese Mediterranean”. All evidence indicates that the first sugar mills in the Surabaya and Pasuruan areas were built by craftsmen from China. The *Plakaatboek* retains a record of the regulations made to encourage the immigration of Chinese able to operate the mills.<sup>114</sup> Later animal traction was replaced by hydraulic force, then in the 1860s by the steam engine and finally by electricity. With the introduction of western techniques for refining sugar, the Chinese owners were forced to use European experts. It was not until much later, at the beginning of the twentieth century, that the children of the great families went to Holland themselves to acquire the necessary knowledge.<sup>115</sup>

Curiously enough, this growth in capital among the Chinese community did not lead to the creation of local banks. It was only in 1906 that Oei Tiong Ham 黄忠涵 (1866-1924), the son of the Oei Tjie Sien 黄志信 mentioned above and also a sugar merchant, founded the *N. V. Bankvereeniging Oei Tiong Ham* in Semarang, and opened a branch in Surabaya.<sup>116</sup> On the other hand, the Surabaya entrepreneurs very quickly saw what they could gain from property businesses. They created a great number of them around 1910, no doubt related to the city's expansion. However the oldest which we can trace was founded in 1899 and, what is more, by a woman helped by her sons. This was the *N.V. Bouw Maatschappij Tan Tiam Nio*. Tan Tiam Nio was the third wife of Lieutenant Han Tjoei Wan (1815-1895), and the daughter of the captain of Gresik. Upon her husband's death the children of the two other wives continued the sugar business. Tan Tiam Nio invested her property and its capital in the above-mentioned society and so held ninety-eight of the

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<sup>113</sup> See Ng Chin-keong, *Trade and Society. The Amoy Network on the China Coast 1683-1735* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1983).

<sup>114</sup> Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek*, vol. 13, 27 July 1802, p. 482, which says they authorised the use of Chinese coolies in the sugar mills; large junks from Amoy, in Fujian, could bring 600 each, and small junks 400.

<sup>115</sup> For example, Han Tiauw Tjong 韩肇宗 (1894-1940), born at Probolinggo, who went to study in Holland and, in 1921, received his degree in Delft. His thesis on the industrialisation of China (*De industrialisatie van China*) was published in 1922 by Martinus Nijhoff, with a preface in French by the Chinese minister at The Hague, Wang Kuangky.

<sup>116</sup> The banks that were subsequently established were also founded by people from elsewhere, like the *Be Biauw Tjoan* [馬森泉] Bank which was first established in Semarang in 1916 and opened a branch in Surabaya. It encountered serious difficulties in the late 1920s and finally closed. It was managed at that time by Be Tjiet Tjong (born in 1889) who was, like Han Tiauw Tjong, a Delft graduate. For the end of this bank, see Kwee Yan Tjo, *De Javasche bank contras Bank Be Biauw Tjoan* (Semarang: Terminus, c. 1930).

hundred shares; with her two sons, Han Kwat Tjee and Han Kwat Tjay, only owning one share each, but they were the ones who managed the business.<sup>117</sup>

Each breakthrough into a new sector of the economy presupposed a good knowledge of the Dutch legal system. Although with a few rare exceptions the Chinese were not able to study law in Dutch schools until the beginning of the twentieth century, they took a very early interest in the law, and certain individuals became “legal advisers” of a sort, such as the entrepreneur Tjoa Tjwan Lok 蔡全乐 (1860-1926) who was reputedly untiring in helping his associates.

#### *Family Structure and Matrimonial Alliances*

As we have seen, the family remained the base on which economic enterprises were built until perhaps the beginning of the twentieth century. Generally it was the father and his children who worked together, but sometimes it would be brothers or even cousins. Openings to other families essentially occurred through marriages; they played a fundamental role in getting established in society, as was the case for Han Bwee Kong and The Sing Koo, but also in maintaining and amassing a fortune. It is significant that the Han, The and Tjoa families continually exchanged daughters, always taking care that the unions strengthened social cohesion and economic strength. Further, polygamy was an additional means of completing alliances; it equally allowed men to have one foot in Peranakan society and the other in the local community. Although it is impossible to obtain a perfect picture of these alliances, as the wives' backgrounds are not always known, it seems that throughout the nineteenth century and again at the beginning of the twentieth, the majority of the marriages of eldest sons took place within the three families. However there was also an opening towards the whole community through marriage with women belonging to other great families in Surabaya and Java (Sidoarjo, Gresik, Pasuruan, Kediri, Blora, Semarang, and Batavia) and Madura (Sumenep). As for the daughters of the three families, genealogies do not always allow us to trace them.

Another way of controlling the transmission of wealth is to favour the son or sons who seem the most capable through resorting to wills, as was already a practice in China. Nevertheless, in many cases families also followed the Chinese rules of inheritance, that is to say, the Qing code. Apparently several partial translations existed for those who had lost touch with the Chinese custom. However, Tjoa Sien Hie, who as we saw above had enjoyed a certain level of Chinese education, felt it necessary to create a new version of the chapters relating to questions of adoption and inheritance in order to clarify certain points, as he stated in his preface.<sup>118</sup>

Nothing was expressly stated with regard to heiresses. However, if we judge by what certain women possessed, particularly in property and land in the region of Surabaya—and which appear in Dutch registers under their personal names—we must conclude that some of them had considerable wealth. For example in 1865 Kwee Kan Nio owned the Negelom estate in the district of Jengolo; and in 1888 Tan Kwi Nio was cultivating cane sugar on her estate at Simo (to the west of Kupang) which was managed by Tjoa Sien Gwan.<sup>119</sup> A further example is Tan Swan Nio, who owned an estate in Dermo which she had managed by her relative (?) Tan Tong Liep 陈东立, a rich landowner and revenue farmer of the Pasar Bong pawnshop; another is Han Swie Nio (a great grandchild of Han Kik Long), who

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<sup>117</sup> The statutes of the society were published in the *Javasche Courant*, 1 Aug 1899. It still existed in 1983.

<sup>118</sup> Tjoa Sien Hie, lieutenant and fifth class mandarin, *Atoeran Hak Poesaka orang Tjina. Dan hal mengangkat anak, tersalin dari Kitab hoekoem Taij Tjhing Loet Lie* (Soerabaia: Gimberg, 1900). With the Malay text there was a Dutch translation. G. Schlegel, a well known Dutch Sinologist who was also for a time the colonial government's advisor for Chinese affairs, very favourably reviewed this double translation (*T'oung Pao*, Series II, vol. 1, 1900: 501-02).

<sup>119</sup> See *Handboek voor Cultuur*, 1888, p. 278.

in 1892 owned land in Ketintang managed by a certain Lim Twan Kioe. The women were shop owners as well. The earliest of the shops we know about were traditional pharmacies going back to the 1840s, such as that belonging to Njonja Hoo Ban In (1842), publicised in the *Bintang Soerabaia*. They also owned enterprises—in 1907, for example, Han Hing Nio manufactured sugar in the Malang region.

Moreover, women were in a position to make gifts. This can be certified by donations they made to ancestral temples. The Giok Nio, the only child (?) of The Boen Tjong (1829-90), inherited her father's fortune. In her own name she owned land at Embong Malang and Patemon, managed by her cousin The Twan Tjiak, a grandchild of Major The Goan Tjing. Although married to Lieutenant Tan Thwan Hing, in 1911 she donated 2500 florins to the temple association, in exchange for which her son, Tan Siok Poo, became a member of the management committee. In the same year, Han Kang Nio, widow of Major The Boen Ke, gave the same association a sum of 1250 florins.<sup>120</sup> These donations sometimes gave them special powers in the management of the ancestral temples, which marks an innovation in Chinese tradition. Another example: among the founding members of the Tjoa temple, alongside a son and a grandson of Tjoa Khik Yong (Djen Sing and Sien Hie) are one of his daughters, Siet Nio (died 1900; the wife of a certain Tan King Po) and Yap Ping Tik (a relative by marriage). The ancestral temple statutes of 1883 present it as belonging to all four by right.<sup>121</sup>

In the Malang branch of the Han from the end of the nineteenth century daughters were re-introduced into the genealogy with their spouses and children. This, too, represents an innovation in comparison with habitual Chinese practice. Women were influential as well in having the tablets of their own ancestors introduced into the ancestral temples of their in-laws. Even more surprising is the fact that certain ancestral temples were built for women and their close relatives, such as the one constructed in honour of Te(e)ng Oei Nio, the wife of Teng Hin Kok (who was successively lieutenant (1874-1893) and honorary captain in Surabaya, 1893-1913).<sup>122</sup> The following year one of the captain's relatives (?), a certain Teng Eng Kiong 唐永恭, even undertook to establish an association in honour of his wife, who was still alive (Vereeniging Tan Han Nio). This was intended to function as an ancestral temple as well, and was approved by the Dutch authorities.<sup>123</sup>

Adoption was an established common practice in China that allowed childless people to have descendants. We are particularly well informed about the Han thanks to the Surabaya genealogy, which took note of each case. Generally, adopted children were chosen from within the family. It was almost obligatory for those who had a number of children to give some to any brothers who had none. However, children could also be selected from outside the family, and therefore lose their original patronymic by taking that of the adoptive parents.

### *Languages and Cultures*

It is difficult to imagine the complexity of the cultural world in which these families were moving. It seems that there were at least three facets: the Chinese, the local and the western, the importance of which varied according to circumstances and period. With regard to language, for example, spoken Chinese gradually disappeared after the third

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<sup>120</sup> See *Boekoe-Peringetan*, p. 36.

<sup>121</sup> Frequently in Surabaya one found persons with a different name in the ancestral temple of a certain family, not only at the operational level, as in this case, but also among those authorised to deposit their tablets after death. We have seen that Han Bwee Kong's descendants made a special place for the tablet of Chen Heguan; similarly, the The agreed to accept the tablets of the Liem (see *Boekoe-Peringetan*, p. 36), and the Tjoa those of the Tan, from a certain Tan Ing Liong on, and also those of the Yap 叶.

<sup>122</sup> See *Javasche Courant*, 29 April 1887, which gives the statutes in Dutch and *Bintang Timoer*, 9 May 1887, which published a Malay translation.

<sup>123</sup> See *Javasche Courant*, 10 Aug 1888, *Vereeniging Teeng Oei Nio*, *Bintang Soerabaia*, 16 Nov 1888.

generation, after which only written Chinese was used in official and religious life. There were secretaries and translators to communicate notices concerning the community as a whole, while specialists were in charge of writing the content of the funerary tablets in Chinese and doing the calligraphy for the tombstone inscriptions. In daily life the use of Malay apparently gained ground. Whereas at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, Han family members corresponded in Javanese,<sup>124</sup> and Tjoa Djien Hoo 蔡仁和 (1814-90) took pleasure in reading Chinese and Javanese texts, in 1850 The Goan Tjing wrote his will in Malay.<sup>125</sup> We know that writers from the Han family such as Kiai Mas in the second half of the nineteenth century and Han Bing Hwie towards 1920 composed their poetry in that language.<sup>126</sup> Finally, in 1887 Tjoa Tjwan Lok published the *Bintang Soerabaia*. Certainly some people still learnt Chinese, such as Tjoa Sien Hie, but there is no proof that they spoke the language. In 1887 when the latter received General Ong Ing Ho (Wang Ronghe 王榮和) in his home the general, who had come from China on a semi-official visit, was accompanied by his interpreter.<sup>127</sup>

At the time of the great collective feasts of the nineteenth century to mark the nominations of the community leaders, processions took place that were reminiscent of those organised in China for mandarins setting off for their new post. Moreover several leaders had honorific titles conferred on them by the Manchu government. For example The Goan Tjing had received a title from the Emperor Xianfeng 咸丰 (1851-61),<sup>128</sup> and Tjoa Sien Hie was appointed fifth class mandarin after Ong Ing Ho's visit. But the same Tjoa Sien Hie also maintained a privileged relationship with the local aristocracy, with whom his family always felt closely linked. He also received a superb *gamelan* from the regent of Bangil which was still the property of his descendants at the beginning of the 1980s.<sup>129</sup>

The leaders of the community built colonial style houses as was *de rigueur*, first in the city and later in the country. Even the ancestral temples were built in a variety of styles, except for the Tjoa temple which was set up in the original family home. In the interior of the Han temple, for example, the columns were not made of the traditional wood but of cast iron, and came from Glasgow. The ancestral portraits of the Han family also reveal an evolution in dress, moving from the mandarin costumes of Han Bwee Kong, Han Soe Siek and Han Tjoei Wan to the western dress of Han Kwat Tjhee, the director of the *N.V. Maatschappij Tan Tiam Nio* (d. 1901).

#### *Power within the Community*

If we now turn to the distribution of power among the great families, we notice that in the eighteenth century, of which we have only fragmentary knowledge, the Han held the office of captain for a good part of the second half of the century. A few other great families also emerged, but not for long enough for their history to have been preserved to our time. Examples are the Tan, Liem and Kwee. From 1825, however, we can follow in detail the

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<sup>124</sup> In particular a letter of Han To Ko (probably Han Tok Sing 韩斗星, 1773-1839, a son of Han Bwee Kong) has been preserved. See Th. G. Pigeaud, "Javanese and Balinese Manuscripts etc. Descriptive Catalogue", in *Verzeichnis des Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Bd. XXXI (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 206.

<sup>125</sup> See the reproduction of the last page of his will in *Boekoe-Peringetan*, p. 6.

<sup>126</sup> Kiai Kiem Mas, *Sjair ilmoe sedjati dan sjair nasehat* (Kediri: Tan Khoen Swie, 1921, 2d ed.). Han Bing Hwie wrote a poem on the arrival of Han Siong Kong in Java, "Sair Penghidoepan Han Song Kong atawa Tiongkok-Java", in *Tjerita Baroe*, series 13, 5 June 1924. Unfortunately, the chronology is anachronistic; the author has the hero arrive at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>127</sup> For Ong Ing Ho's visit to Surabaya, see *Bintang Timoer* (9, 10, 12, 14, and 22 Feb and 8 March 1877) as well as *Bintang Soerabaia*, 19 August 1887.

<sup>128</sup> See *Boekoe-Peringetan*, p. 3.

<sup>129</sup> There is a photograph of it in The Boen Liang, "Riwayat Familie Tjoa". The great Peranakan families no longer scorned western music. M. T. H. Perelaer, *Het Kamerlid van Berkenstein in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leiden, 1883), pp. 157-65, describes a dance evening at the home of Major The Boen Ke that was also attended by the Frenchman Montauban who, in regard to the major's sisters, wrote: "They are Parisian women in Asia".

various appointments of community leaders which are mentioned in the *Regerings Almanak*. The title of major seems to have been especially honorific, and was apparently only conferred regularly from 1874.

It appears quite clear that the The, who gained the ascendancy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, maintained control of the community practically without interruption until about 1920. They continually provided captains and lieutenants. They also produced the largest number of majors, the first being appointed in 1837, the second in 1874, the third in 1888, and the last in 1907.

The Han come second in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Certainly this family produced a good number of lieutenants and captains, very often in honorary positions; so that they were practically always sharing power with the The. However, the title of major was only conferred on them once, in 1914.

The Kwee produced four lieutenants (appointed respectively in 1827, 1856, 1898 and 1913) but it is impossible to know what relationship they had to one another, or even whether they were descendants of Captain Kwee Koe Tjong, whose name is evidenced for the eighteenth century. The other families only appear in the second half of the nineteenth century, and then in a sporadic fashion (the Liem in 1860, the Tjoa in 1869, the Tan in 1874, the Teng 唐 in 1889 and the Tjan 曾 in 1894), or even at the beginning of the twentieth century (the Tjia 谢 in 1906 and the Oei in 1913). As far as we know, the latter families also belonged to the Peranakan community and were involved in the development of agricultural enterprises and farms. For example in 1889 the Teng held a monopoly of salt transport between Madura and Surabaya,<sup>130</sup> while Tan Hie Sioe 陈禧寿 (born c. 1874 and appointed lieutenant in 1906), who belonged to a family that had been in Java for four generations, managed pawnshops, owned large tobacco plantations and also obtained concessions from the government for timber exploitation.<sup>131</sup>

It is therefore apparent that the sharing of power was doubly structured. It reflected both the economic alliances within the community and a political strategy of maintaining equilibrium pursued by the colonial government, who selected its "officials" according to the contribution they were making to economic development as they saw it.

## Waves of Resinisation

Side by side with these powerful Peranakan families in Surabaya there lived a whole Chinese community whose history is much more shadowy. Nevertheless J. Hageman has given us a picture of that society in the middle of the nineteenth century which provides some idea of its size, and professional and cultural structure.

According to Hageman's figures, in 1850 this population amounted to 3158 people; by 1856 it had increased to 3885. Now precisely at that time at the beginning of the 1850s, which is the period of the Taiping Rebellion in China, there was recorded arrival of several hundred newcomers (104 in 1850, 244 in 1852, 104 in 1853, 42 in 1854, 23 in 1855 and 11 in 1856—there are no figures for 1851) who, there can be no doubt, must have influenced the life of the community. Moreover Hageman observes that, towards 1857, more than half of the males were born in China which, as we will see below, goes to explain why there was a first attempt to resinicise the community at that time. However before we see how

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<sup>130</sup> See *De Indische Tolk van het Nieuws van de Dag*, 15 Oct 1889.

<sup>131</sup> Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, p. 546, adds "Mr Tan Hie Sioe, Lieutenant of Chinese in Sourabaya, is a man of some thirty-five years of age who has travelled extensively.... His commercial interests are varied [including ...] large tobacco plantations, from where considerable quantities of leaf, bearing the trademark "Soedinegoror" find their way annually to European markets."

that restructure took place, we will return briefly to what Hageman tells us about the economic and cultural profile of that community.<sup>132</sup>

At its height, he claims there were some sixteen officials, all from Peranakan families; seven major landowners; four important sugar manufacturers; and about eighty people involved in the exploitation of revenue farms. As for the other professions, the breakdown is as follows: thirty-eight big traders and seagoing merchants; 403 small traders and shopkeepers; four bakers; ten teachers; a single monk for the whole district; thirteen blacksmiths, vehicle manufacturers and dyers; 266 coolies and labourers; three restaurant owners and soup sellers; and eighty old men or men of no fixed profession.<sup>133</sup>

Peddlers or *klontong* should be added to this list. They were generally newcomers who, before setting up on their own account, would first work with shopkeepers who would advance them merchandise on credit.<sup>134</sup>

As for their social and cultural life, Hageman observes that usually the Chinese married either Chinese women born in that area or Javanese women and that very few remained single. As for their religion, he states: "Some Chinese have become Muslim and live like the Javanese, while others have been baptised and wear European-style clothing. The respective number of each group is no higher than a thirtieth of the whole population. The most commonly practised religion of those born in China is Tay Pak Kong (Toapekong 大伯公), while those born in Java follow Chinese traditional beliefs while at the same time embracing Islam."<sup>135</sup>

#### A Movement to Revive Ancestral Customs and Education

The association called Hokkien Kong Tik Soe 福建功德祠 or "Fujian Temple of Merits" was clearly set up in 1864 as a reaction against these latter religious practices. Its aims were to revive Chinese funerary and marriage customs, and to help poorer Chinese to perform the required religious ceremonies.

More than two hundred people responded to the appeal for subscriptions launched under the patronage of the community leaders. The statutes of the association, and their later amendments, were lodged with a notary and internal rules composed in Chinese for members' use. The *Hokkien Kong Tik Soe* was set up initially in the Hok An Kiong Temple, or the "Temple of Happiness and Peace", in advance of its own building in Jl. Bibis, where a collective ancestral temple was established for the personal use of contributors. Two additional Chinese texts were placed in the temple, warning Peranakan against the practice of honouring sacred tombs or *kramat*, as well as against *selametan* or Javanese communal meals. The first sought to draw attention to the abuses committed by guardians of these tombs who often extorted considerable sums of money from distraught devotees. The second struggled against *selametan* and the practice of having Muslim religious leaders come into families to read the prayers. In its concern to encourage respect for Chinese customs, the association bought land and had a cemetery established there so that poor families no longer needed to bury their dead along with Muslims. In addition, all the necessary objects required for funeral ceremonies (musical instruments, catafalques, coffins, ancestral tablets, etc) were made available to the public at prices that depended on their means.<sup>136</sup> In the same way, wedding ceremonies were regulated and Peranakan women encouraged resume Chinese traditions, at least in matters of dress.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Hageman, "Bijdragen tot de kennis", *TNI*, 1859, 1: 18.

<sup>133</sup> There is a more detailed list of artisanal occupations in Von Faber, *Oud Soerabaia*, p. 184.

<sup>134</sup> See Claudine Salmon, "Commerces ambulants et insertion sociale à Surabaya vers la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Archipel* 37, 1989: 297-326.

<sup>135</sup> Hageman, "Bijdragen tot de kennis": 19.

<sup>136</sup> The cemetery was situated at Kupang, south of town. The association was successful and regarded as the richest one in Surabaya. Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, p. 517, noted: "The committee of the society brought such a well developed commercial instinct into the management of their affairs that, by selling burial sites

The exclusivity practised by the association's founders was not only obvious in regard to Javanised Peranakan, but also when encountering all non-Hokkien. For example, immigrants from Guangdong (Hakka, Cantonese and Teochiu), who were second in status in the community, were de facto kept at a distance. It seems that, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, these people organised themselves to honour their dead and manage their own cemetery. It is hard to say the exact date when they also created a collective ancestral temple, the Guangdong gongci 广东公祠, situated opposite the Hok An Kiong where it still exists today. The oldest panel preserved there is dated 1856, but the association was only officially registered in 1893.<sup>138</sup>

Other social groups, which are less easily identified, would also organise themselves outside the Hokkien Kong Tik Soe. In 1877, the *Gie Khie* 义气, or "Spirit of Equity", society was founded. From its name it could well have also been a secret society under cover of a funerary association. Its rules stipulated that the committee would decide the total number of members, who were divided into three groups according to the obligations they needed to fulfil. Moreover, it clearly stated that Chinese who converted to Islam could not join.<sup>139</sup>

Other similarly named associations (like *Po Gie* 报义, "Reward for Equity", *Gie Hoo* 义和, "Equity and Harmony", *Tik Gie* 德义, "Virtue and Equity", *Hoo Hap* 和合, "Harmonious Union", etc) that were created in following years are also known to us as funerary societies. The statutes from one of them, the Tik Gee, which was officially founded in 1893, are very interesting in that they codify the ceremonies in minute detail.<sup>140</sup> Following the example of the Han, Tjoa and The, the well-off Peranakan families constructed their own ancestral temples, but few seem to have survived.

This revival of rites for the dead was accompanied by a renewed interest in Chinese culture. In a short study of primary education for Chinese in Java, the printer J. Albrecht observed that most of the teachers were born in China, but added:<sup>141</sup>

Some of those born in Java have spent some time in the mother country. In Surabaya I knew one who was born in Java but who took part in literary examinations in China and passed with distinction. The title of *siou tsai* 秀才 was conferred on him. Although this was the lowest of the literary grades it was nevertheless a high distinction because of the great difficulties involved in reaching that level in the examinations."

This teacher, whose name Albrecht did not give, seems to have been Tjioe Ping Wie (died around 1894)<sup>142</sup> who, according to Kwee Tek Hoay 郭德怀, was a native of Surabaya and

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and in other ways, the society's original capital was doubled. Forty years after its establishment, the society was in so flourishing a condition that it was arranged to return the first subscriptions to the donors or their descendants, and after considerable difficulty this was done. The funerals (...) are of three classes: poor Chinese are buried and mourning for the family supplied, free of cost." Around 1908, its president was Captain The Toan Ing.

<sup>137</sup> For more details on these movements, see Claudine Salmon, "Ancestral Halls, Funeral Associations, and Attempts at Resinicisation in Nineteenth-Century Netherlands India", in *Sojourners and Settlers, Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, ed. Anthony Reid and Kristine Alilunas Rodgers (Sydney: Asian Studies Association of Australia and Allen and Unwin, 1996), pp. 183-214.

<sup>138</sup> The statutes were published in the *Javasche Courant*, 21 March 1893, under the name of "Vereeniging Kwie Tang, Tjing Bing en Tjong Hie Tjong te Soerabaja", or Guangdong Association of Surabaya, for funerals.

<sup>139</sup> *Javasche Courant*, 27 March 1877, "Reglement for de Gie Khie te Soerabaja", article 8. It still exists under the name of Garuda.

<sup>140</sup> The statutes of the Po Gie were published in the *Javasche Courant*, 24 Aug 1884 and those of the Tik Gie in the same paper on 21 Nov 1893.

<sup>141</sup> J. M. E. Albrecht, "L'Instruction primaire chez les Chinois de l'île de Java", translated from the Dutch and annotated by A. Marre, in *Annales de l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris (1881): 5.

<sup>142</sup> See the description left by a former pupil, translated into French in C. Salmon and D. Lombard, "Confucianisme et esprit de réforme dans les communautés chinoises d'Insulinde (fin XIX<sup>e</sup> s.– début XX<sup>e</sup> s.)", in

had indeed studied in China. He had opened a school in the Gang Khawal, which had a very modern curriculum, the *Lam Yang Hoen Boen Kwan* 南洋训蒙馆, or “School of the South Seas”, by the end of the 1870s at the latest.

This is the period when religious rites were celebrated for the god of literature, Wenchang 文昌, as well as for Confucius. Still according to Kwee Tek Hoay, in 1881 Tjioe Ping Wie had a short study in Chinese on Confucius published in Shanghai and then distributed among the Chinese community in Surabaya.<sup>143</sup> In 1887 the same person had a wall calendar in Chinese published by Gimberg for the use of traders, which gave national holidays as well as equivalences between the Dutch and Chinese calendars. The year was calculated according to the reign of the Guangzu 光绪 Emperor (1875-1908) and—an entirely new feature—in relation to the birth-date of Confucius.<sup>144</sup>

All the same, the first temple had been dedicated to a god of literature in 1884, Wenchang, hence the name *Boen Tjhiang Soe* (Wenchang ci 文昌祠). It was situated in Jl. Kapasan, on a site donated by Major The Boen Ke, and although not expressly stated, the building most certainly included a school. The commemorative steles of 1884 and 1887 do not include texts that could tell us about the origins of the building. There are only two lists of donors, with the amounts of their donations. The first has some 250 names and the second some 230, as well as those of the director Go Tek Lie 呉得利 and his deputy, Louw Toen Siong 卢敦松, about whom nothing is known. To judge by the size of their subscriptions, they must have been among the main merchants of the time. In both cases it is noteworthy that the date is calculated according to the reign of Guangxu and, something new, from the birth-date of Confucius.

### Restructuring the Community around Three Associations

In the last twenty or thirty years of the nineteenth century, important commercial enterprises were set up whose proprietors were for the most part newcomers or *Totok*. One such was Go Hoo Swie 呉河水, who came from Amoy to settle in Java about 1874 and in the 1880s opened an import-export firm in Surabaya known as *Yan Tjwan Eng*. His aim was to export coffee and sugar to China, the Straits Settlements and British India, and to import matches, rice and flour.

At the same time Go Hoo Swie also focused on trading in agricultural products from the interior of Java.<sup>145</sup> In addition, in 1889 Tjan Tiauw Tjwan 曾朝铨 set up a firm in Surabaya with the name *Ban Hong Hin* 万丰兴, which served as an intermediary in exchanges between China and the Dutch Indies. He worked with one partner based on the continent and another in Malang, focusing most particularly on the rice trade but also on tobacco, dried fish and Chinese products in general. At the beginning of the twentieth century he had opened branches in Amoy and Bagan Si Api-api (Sumatra, for dried fish).<sup>146</sup> He was successively vice-president and president of the Boen Bio 文庙 or “Temple of Literature” of that was officially opened in 1906. One could also mention Tan Tjoen

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*En suivant la voie royale. Mélanges en hommage à Léon Vandermeersch*, réunis par Jacques Gernet et Marc Kalinowski (Paris : Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Etudes thématiques 7, 1997), p. 387.

<sup>143</sup> Kwee Tek Hoay, “Merajaken kalahiran Nabi Khong Tjoe menoeroet itoengan Yang lek”, *Moestika Dharma*, Oct 1934, p. 1189.

<sup>144</sup> See an advertisement published in the *Bintang Soerabaia*, 9 Dec 1887.

<sup>145</sup> Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, p. 550 devoted a small notice to him: “As general exporters and importers, this firm was established in 1889 by Mr Go Hoo Swie, its present proprietor.” After describing its general business, Wright added that its trade mark, Yan Tjwan Eng, was “exceedingly well known”. He concluded that Mr Go was “a member of the advisory Board of the China Life Insurance Company in Shanghai. In Sourabaya he holds the office of President of the Confucian temple, and is a member of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce.”

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid*, p. 548.

Goan 陈春元 (uncle of Tan Ling Djie 陈磷如, a future member of the PKI politburo), who moved into the wholesale marketing of foodstuffs, alcohol and ceramics in 1873, sending them to the Moluccas and Kalimantan.<sup>147</sup> No less important were the firms established by Djie Hong Swie 俞鸿瑞 (originally from Fuqing 福清, in the north of Fujian) who settled in 1886; by Tjio Poo Liauw 蒋报料, who arrived from Quanzhou in 1889;<sup>148</sup> and by Ong Tjien Hong 王振煌, originally from Amoy, who set up the *Hoo Bee* 和美 firm. All of these men worked in the import-export business on a grand scale. In particular Ong Tjien Hong had a big business trading rice with Rangoon, Siam and Saigon. He also bought a sugar factory in Malang and owned rice husking factories around Surabaya.<sup>149</sup>

Such were the new entrepreneurs who gradually took over the real leadership of collective life, even if officially the community heads were still representatives of the great Peranakan families. They were personally responsible for establishing, in succession, a Chinese school worthy of the name, the *Hoo Tjiong Hak Tong* 和中学堂 or “School for the Harmony of the Masses”, founded in 1903; for transforming the Temple of the god of literature into the *Boen Bio* (Temple of Confucius) in 1899; and for creating the first Chinese Chamber of Commerce in the city, in 1906. They also twice (1902-1904 and 1908) led boycotts against the Dutch firm *Handelsvereniging Amsterdam*.<sup>150</sup>

#### *From the Hoo Tjiong Hak Tong to the Tiong Hoa Hak Tong*

In contrast with Batavia, where the history of the *Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan* 中华会馆 (THHK) or “Chinese Association” which created the first modern Chinese schools is well known, the first educational organisations in Surabaya remain fairly obscure.<sup>151</sup> It seems clear that the *Hoo Tjiong Hak Tong* 和中学堂 was created in 1903 independently of the THHK. This was an association founded in Batavia in 1900, on the initiative of a few rich, progressive traders, some of whom were apparently linked to the revolutionary party called *Zhonghe dang* 和中党, “Party for Equilibrium and Harmony”, founded in China by the Cantonese You

<sup>147</sup> Ibid, p. 549. In 1929 he bought the newspaper *Sin Jit Po* 新日报 and in November that year founded the *N. V. Handel Mij en Drukkerij Sin Tit Po*. From December, the daily paper was called *Sin Tit Po* 新直报. Tan Tjoen Goan recruited his nephew, Tan Ling Djie (1904-1970) to be its European correspondent.

<sup>148</sup> Djie Hong Swie arrived in Java in 1886, to take charge of two family-owned import-export businesses that dealt with China and agencies throughout East Java. He had six children who received a western education (Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, p. 550) The Tjio family was already numerous in Surabaya at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, if we go by the names of subscribers on the stelae in the Wenchang and Confucian temples. They set up about ten import-export firms whose names all began with the word *Hap* (Hap Lie 合利, Hap Tik 合德, Hap Eng 合永, etc) as well as a very large company, the *Djoe Tik* 裕德, founded in 1885. Around 1908, this Surabayan firm did business with Singapore, Hong Kong, Saigon, and Bangkok, and owned its own ships to transport rice and sugar. For more details of these big merchants, see Wright, pp. 548-50.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid, p. 548, and p. 547, for a picture of the façade and exterior of the shop. Also see *Present Day Impressions of the Far East and Progressive Chinese at Home and Abroad*, ed. W. Feldwick (London, 1917), p. 1167.

<sup>150</sup> The boycott arose because the large-scale import-export firm *Handelsvereniging Amsterdam* unjustifiably limited the length of time that credit was granted to Chinese wholesalers. The campaign began in 1902 and ran until 1904 under the direction of Tio Tjee An and Tio Siek Giok, who would later become committee members of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Tio Siek Giok specialised in the wholesale of foodstuffs and wines and also supplied the Javan railways and military canteens. He had an estate near Mojokerto where he grew kapok, coffee, pepper, rubber, etc (Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, pp. 548-49). The matter went to court and the Dutch firm had to pay an indemnity. For more details, see J. B. Houten, “De Chineezzen beweging te Soerabaia tegen de Handelsvereniging Amsterdam”, *Weekblad voor Indië*, 29 May 1904, pp. 4-7, and Lea Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism. The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 188-89.

<sup>151</sup> See Nio Joe Lan, *Riwayat 40 taon Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan Batavia, 1900-1939* (Batavia: 1940), Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism*, and the author's own article in *Archipel*, 2 (1971): 55-100. In regard to Surabaya, there exists a small text, published to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the THHK school, which contains a short history of the beginnings of modern education. See *Buku peringetan hari ulang tahun ke 50 (1903-1953) THHK Surabaya* (Surabaya: THHK, 1953), pp. 12-13. Judging by the sparsity of documents reproduced, it seems likely that the archives of the association no longer existed when the pamphlet was being assembled.

Lie 尤列. The particular aim of this party was to sow progressive ideas under the cover of reform movements.<sup>152</sup> In 1906 it was coupled with a *Zhonghe xuetang* 和中学堂, whose name even more obviously recalls that of the party. The school's statutes were registered in 1904.<sup>153</sup> The school president at that time was Lieutenant Liem Sioe Tien 林寿珍 (in this post from 1898 to 1904). It was located in Keputran. According to the *Buku peringetan*, among the other founding members were notably Tio Siek Giok 张石玉 and Tio Tjie An 张济安, who would later be members of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

Instruction was initially given in Hokkien, but this was gradually replaced by Mandarin. In 1905 Tan Hian Goan 陈显元 (originally from Gresik) became president, an office he held until 1918. He was one of the great entrepreneurs of the time, and was associated with the family of Captain Liem.<sup>154</sup> He was very enterprising both in economics and politics. In 1892 he had created the *N. V. Handel Mij San Liem Kong Sie* 山林公司, which was perhaps the largest timber exploitation firm in Java, and played an important role in the Chinese Chamber of Commerce.<sup>155</sup> He was also a revolutionary, as we will see below.

The school was well received. In 1908, it was officially merged with another, the *Ik Joe Hak Kwan* (*Yiyou xueguan* 益友学馆, "School for the Friends of Progress")<sup>156</sup> and took the name of *Tiong Hoa Hak Tong* 中华学堂, while new buildings were being constructed in the Chinese quarter, one in Jl. Bibis near the Hokkien Kong Tik Soe and another in Jl. Kapasan near Boen Bio.<sup>157</sup> In August 1908 a certain Tjeng Siauw Kok, no doubt a teacher, took the first twelve graduates to China to continue their studies in Nanking. That same year, the school's directors organised a fair to raise funds and the following year English classes began.<sup>158</sup> In 1916 Tan Hian Goan was appointed president of the *Hak Boe Tjong Hwee* 学务总会, an association created to coordinate Chinese education in THHK schools. These schools were a powerful means of resinising the community. In 1914 the Surabaya branch even opened an evening school, the *Chin Boen* 进文 School or "School to promote culture".<sup>159</sup> Other less open schools were also set up in following years.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>152</sup> For more on this party in Southeast Asia, see Salmon and Lombard, "Confucianisme et esprit de réformé".

<sup>153</sup> They were published in *Javasche Courant*, 20 May 1904

<sup>154</sup> Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, p. 546, reported that "For many years, the firm have held enormous forest concessions from the government in Semarang, Kediri, Rembang and Sourabaya districts, but it was not until five years ago [1904] that the partners increased the scope of their undertakings by erecting large saw-mills. Previously their activities had been confined to the purchase and export of timber. The saw-mills are well sited at Petjindelan, on the banks of a navigable river, providing easy communication with the harbour, and they are connected by several special lines with the State Railways in the forests. The machinery with which they are equipped is of modern English manufacture." Also see the amazing description of the business in the 1920s in Allister Macmillan, *Seaports of the Far East, Historical and Descriptive Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures and Resources*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: W. H. Collingridge, 1925), p. 372. In particular, he says that the establishment occupied a site of 20,000 square meters, employed 300 workers and used the most up-to-date machines under the direction of European technicians. The business still existed under this name in the 1980s, but was then located in Jl. Cepu.

<sup>155</sup> When Tan Hian Goan retired, he was decorated by the Chinese ministry of education. See *Buku peringetan hari ulang tahun ke 50* and *Weekblad voor Indië*, 1918-19, p. 445.

<sup>156</sup> See *Darmo Kondo*, Solo, 2 March 1905; *Javasche Courant*, 14 Feb 1908, no. 13. We do not know how this "School for the Friends of Progress" came into being, though perhaps it has some connection to the Confucian school dependant on the Wen miao opened, according to the Singapore press, on 10 March 1902. See Liang Yuansheng 梁元生, *Xuanni fuhai dao Nanzhou* 宣尼浮海到南洲 – *Rujia sixiang yu zaoqi Xinjiapo huaren shihuishiliao huibian* 儒家思想与早期新加坡华人社会史料汇编 [Confucius crosses the sea to the southern islands. Collected materials for a history of the Singapore Chinese and Confucian thought] (Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 140-41.

<sup>157</sup> See *Javasche Courant*, 14 February 1908.

<sup>158</sup> See *Buku Peringetan hari ulang tahun ke 50*.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid. It still existed at the end of the 1930s. See Liu Huanran 刘焕燃, *Heshu dongyindi gailan* 荷属东印度概览 (or *Sketch of the Netherlands East Indies*) (Singapore, 1939), p. 87.

<sup>160</sup> See the list in Ibid.

*The Boen Bio, a New Centre of Cultural and Political Life*

With the reformist movement from mainland China and the revival of Confucian thought, gradually a new interest in the sage developed throughout the diaspora in general and particularly in Java. However, Surabaya was the only Southeast Asian city where an actual temple of Confucius was created. It is difficult to establish the precise history of its establishment. It was in fact first set up in the Boen Tjhiang Soe 文昌祠, "Temple for Wenchang". It seems that gradually the god of literature had to give way to Confucius, and his statue was finally moved into another temple.<sup>161</sup> The process must have taken some time. What is certain is that from 1899 the name of the temple was changed to Boen Bio (Wen miao 文庙) or "Temple of Literature", as is attested by an extant wooden panel and a notice that appeared in the Singapore Chinese press.<sup>162</sup> Nevertheless, the cult of Confucius and his eighty disciples, all represented by tablets as in China, was only officially opened on 27 October 1906, after the buildings of the former Boen Tjhiang Soe had been enlarged and altars brought in for the tablets. Some have seen in this the influence of the visit to Java of the famous reformer Kang Youwei 康有为 (1858-1927),<sup>163</sup> but it is more likely, as we have shown elsewhere,<sup>164</sup> that this was the result of a more general movement which took hold in commercial circles in the city. The press reports that we have been able to consult only speak of local initiatives. What is quite extraordinary is that an enormous proportion of the population, including both Totok and Peranakan, contributed to the task.<sup>165</sup>

The Toan Ing, who was then captain, participated in the inauguration ceremony by arranging the tablets on the altars while Lin Kunlian 林昆连, the master of ceremonies, led a congregation of some 700 people in prostrations and singing.<sup>166</sup> Notable in the temple is a calligraphy panel brushed by the Guangxu Emperor which reads: *Shengjiao nan ji* 声教南暨, "The Teachings [of the Sage] open up the South".<sup>167</sup> This would have been given at the inauguration of the temple or of the school, which had occurred four years earlier. In 1909 when a request was made to formalise the existence of the temple, Lin had been replaced as president by Go Hoo Swie, the great merchant from Amoy mentioned above (who was formerly vice-president).<sup>168</sup> It is interesting that the management committee contained people like Tjio Poo Liauw, a member of the revolutionary secret society *Guangfu hui* 光复会 ("Society for the return of light", founded in 1904), and Tio Siek Giok, a future member of the *Tongmeng hui* 同盟会, both of whom would later be very active in the revolutionary movement and would play a role in the chamber of commerce. Among the many donors some were true reformers, but others became known later as supporters of the revolutionary movement of Sun Yat Sen 孙逸仙, including Tan Hian Goan, Lie Siong Hwie 李双辉 (who will be mentioned later) and Tan Ping An. Also among the founders of the

<sup>161</sup> It had been moved to a small temple in Kampung Dukuh, the *Hong Tik Hian* (*Fengde xuan* 风德轩), built in 1899 to honour a divinity of southern Fujian, Guo shengwang 郭圣王. Above the central altar is a horizontal board dated 1893, which suggest that a smaller temple had existed previously. Whatever the case, on the right hand altar, there is a small statue of Wenchang.

<sup>162</sup> This text is reproduced in Liang, *Xuanni fuhai dao Nanzhou*, pp. 137-38. A French translation appears in Salmon and Lombard, "Confucianisme et esprit de réforme".

<sup>163</sup> This idea spread especially in the 1930s. See "Karangan orang-orang Tionghoa di Soerabaja setengah abad jang laloe", *Sin Po* weekly, 28 Nov 1936.

<sup>164</sup> Salmon and Lombard, "Confucianisme et esprit de réforme".

<sup>165</sup> This is suggested by the impressive number of donors' names on the 1906 stelae. They are reproduced in Franke, Salmon and Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials*, vol. II (2), I 1.2.6 (1-2).

<sup>166</sup> See *Ik Po*, Solo, 30 Oct 1906.

<sup>167</sup> An identical panel was also given by the same emperor to the Chinese school in Penang in 1904. It is reproduced in Wolfgang Franke and Chen Tieh Fan, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1985), p. 923, H 1.62.

<sup>168</sup> The statutes of the Confucian temple were published in *Javasche Courant*, 21 Jan 1910.

school were the *Tjong Hoo Hak Tong* and a curious association for reform named *Soe Boen Hwee* (Siwen hui 斯文会, "Association of Confucianists"), apparently of Japanese origin,<sup>169</sup> which kept control of the temple's Confucian activities until 1917 when its name was changed to *Khong Kauw Hwee* (Kongjiao hui 孔教会, "Society of Confucian religion"). The temple is still decorated with panels offered by famous personalities from mainland China, including the former inspector of education in Jiangxi, Chen Baochen (Tan Po Tim 陈宝琛, 1848-1935, later director general of the Fujian Railways Company), who had come to sell shares in 1907.<sup>170</sup>

It seems that beneath this cult to Confucius the Boen Bio was a centre for intense political life. If the reformers and revolutionaries of various sympathies found it useful to work together here for a longer period than in the other maritime Southeast Asian cities (notably Singapore), this was no doubt because it was easier for them to escape the controls of the colonial authorities.

#### *The Siang Hwee and the Coordination of Chinese Commerce*

Also in 1906 five traders were involved in setting up the Chamber of Commerce, or Siang Hwee 商会. Among them were Ong Tjien Hong (whose name appears above), Tio Tjee An, who was on the Boen Bio committee, and Lie Siong Hwie (born in Haicheng 海澄, Fujian in 1859), who worked in Surabaya for the Kian Goan 建源 firm while running his own business<sup>171</sup> at the same time. The statutes were officially approved the following year. As in the other major cities of Southeast Asia, the mission of the Chamber of Commerce was to facilitate the work of men of commerce, coordinate their relations with China and exercise a certain type of political control in the community. The association was situated in Jl. Kembang Jepun (whose buildings were occupied in the 1980s by the KADIN, or *Kamar Dagang Indonesia*). It had some thousand members and a committee of about fifty people. In 1908-09 Lie Siong Hwie was president. He was also at the same time a supporter of the revolutionary movement of Sun Yat Sen, as were Ong Tjien Hong, Tio Siek Giok, Tjio Poo Liauw, and Tan Hian Goan, who were on the management committee as well.

There was some sort of coordination between the THHK, the Chamber of Commerce and the *Soe Po Sia* 书报社, "the Reading Club", founded in 1909, which was the headquarters of the anti-Manchu revolutionaries. It seems that, unlike in Singapore for example, there was not an open power struggle properly speaking between reformers and revolutionaries, but rather the former gradually merged with the latter. Tan Hian Goan, the president of the THHK, was one of the founders of the *Soe Po Sia*. In November 1909 he also collaborated with Ong Tjien Hong, Lie Siong Hwie, Tio Siek Giok, and Tjio Poo Liauw to establish a printery, and a bookshop for the use of Reading Club members (the *Drukkerij Kantor en Boekhandel Soe Swi Han Boen Sin Po* 泗水汉文新报,<sup>172</sup> with 100,000 fl. in

<sup>169</sup> It seems that a society of this name never existed in China. One was set up in Japan in 1880, under the presidency of a brother of the then emperor, to oppose both the democratic movement and the current of people influenced by European ideas. See Wang Jiahua 王家骅, *Rujia sixiang yu Riben wenhua* 儒家思想与日本文化 (Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1990), pp. 170-71. Thanks to Mme Duanmu Mei of the Beijing Academy of Social Science for this reference.

<sup>170</sup> All these inscriptions are reproduced in Franke, Salmon and Siu, *Chinese Epigraphic Materials*, vol. II (2), L 1.2.3; L 1.2.9; and L 1.2.10

<sup>171</sup> After his 1879 arrival in Java, Lie Siong Hwie worked for the Kien Goan Company in Semarang, founded by Oei Tiong Ham whose name appears above). Around 1906 he took over the Surabaya branch, but he only appeared among the small donors to the Temple of Confucius, giving a modest 20 florins. About two years later he was appointed president of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Surabaya. In 1918 he succeeded Tan Hian Goan as president of the THHK.

<sup>172</sup> The official announcement about the printery and bookshop appeared in the *Javasche Courant*, 30 Nov 1909, followed by the names of its administrators: the president was Tan Hian Goan, and committee members were Ong Tjien Hong, Lie Siong Swie, Tio Siek Giok, and Tjio Poo Liauw.

capital). It also published a new newspaper called the *Han Boen Sin Po* 汉文新报, “New Chinese Newspaper”, which included a Malay edition. The chief editor was a former teacher from the THHK whose views were fairly violent, so he was finally expelled by the colonial government.<sup>173</sup>

While the THHK and the Chamber of Commerce continued to include Peranakan and Totok, the “Reading Club” seems on the contrary to have been almost exclusively the domain of the latter. From 1910 on, the gap between the two communities widened, as we will see when we consider the creation of new associations.

### **The Gradual Rupture of the Community**

The Chinese population never stopped growing: estimated at a little more than 12,000 in 1900, by 1913 it counted 16,685, and by 1920, 22,118. After floods of immigrants swelled its numbers at the beginning of the 1920s, it reached a little over 35,000 in 1928. This demographic increase alone would have been enough to change social relationships within the community, given the growing disparity between the poor class and a wealthy group. To this we should also add the repercussions of political and economic changes, both in China and Indonesia.

The victory of the revolutionaries and the establishment of the Republic under Sun Yat Sen in 1912 strengthened the position of the progressive elements in the main cities of Java, in particular Batavia and Surabaya. At Chinese New Year, in February 1912, disturbances broke out in these two cities. In Batavia they were caused by authorities refusing to allow the display of the new five coloured Republican flag; in Surabaya by the ban on exploding firecrackers in the streets. It seems that, in the latter city, it was Cantonese, mainly cabinet-makers, who took control of operations after a meeting in the Soe Po Sia. They resisted the police in the street and ransacked the residence of Captain Han Tjong Khing, since they had got no help from the community leaders who refused to intervene on their behalf, before asking shop-owners to close as a sign of protest. Finally the police decided to arrest all woodworkers, that is, some 800 people, although they had not all been involved in the action.<sup>174</sup> It was the first time that Surabaya had experienced such violent antagonism between the Totok and the Peranakan leaders, but it was also the first essentially nationalist demonstration.

In the following years these activities continued within both the Totok and Peranakan communities. In 1914 the first Chinese consul, Tang Caizhi 唐才质, arrived.<sup>175</sup> He was an outstanding journalist and former reformer who had been won over to the ideas of Sun Yat Sen. His inaugural speech was printed in the 6 July edition of the Sino-Malay newspaper *Tjhoen-Tjhioe* 春秋, “Springs and Autumns”, which had just begun to appear in Surabaya. There he stated that his duties were to help his compatriots socially (in the area of education) and economically (in commerce, finance, maritime transport, and agriculture). At the same time as this revival of assistance from China, various types of associations were formed which all aimed to help Totok to integrate into their new society and to protect their interests as distinct from those of the Peranakan.

### **Development of Associations among the Totok**

Associations were formed, on the one hand, according to geographic and linguistic bases, often bringing together people who worked in the same economic sector; while, on the

<sup>173</sup> See Williams, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism*, p. 109.

<sup>174</sup> See “De Chineesche relletjes”, *Weekblad voor Indië*, jrg. VIII, 1912, pp. 1109-12 and 1131-34.

<sup>175</sup> Born in 1879 in Henan province, he had first studied in England before going to Japan for further study in 1891. In 1901 he went to Sydney to set up a Chinese newspaper. See *Tjhoen Tjhioe*, 8 July 1914.

other hand, mutual aid associations were set up on a variety of bases, to deal with the poverty that was taking hold at the beginning of the 1920s.

#### *Regional and Professional Associations*

Associations formed on a geographic and linguistic basis were set up from 1911 to the beginning of the 1930s. The Cantonese carpenters and cabinet makers mentioned above were among the first to organise. Their association, the Loe Pan Kong Ngay Koan 鲁班工艺馆, the “Association for the Craftsmen of Lu Ban” (Lu Ban was the patron of woodworkers), which was registered in 1913, was apparently created at the end of 1911.<sup>176</sup> It was based in Jl. Jagalan, where they lived, while their workplace was in the old Chinese quarter.

Also in 1913 the Hokchia (Chinese originally from Fuqing in the north of Fujian) founded an association called Giok Yong Kong Hwee 玉融公会 (Giok Yong or Yurong being the literary name for Fuqing 福清).<sup>177</sup> Essentially it brought together traders in cloth, hardware and silver. Some specialised in offering loans by the day in the markets where they serviced small traders and local hawkers who lacked any personal capital.<sup>178</sup> They were not very numerous: around 1930, the total number of members was scarcely more than 1000. They were known to integrate very quickly, preferring to marry Javanese women and occasionally converting to Islam as well.<sup>179</sup> They mainly arrived in Java, and particularly in Surabaya, during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. One example is the Djie family, who were well established by 1909. Djie Hong Swie, who had arrived in 1886, owned five shops and managed two others belonging to relatives. His hardware shop in Jl. Songoyudan was called Tjin Lien Hoo 振炼号, while his cloth shop in Pasar Bong was Tjin Tek Hoo 振德号.<sup>180</sup>

Apparently no new regional associations were formed during the 1914-1918 War, but only one curious organisation whose statutes were published in August 1914: the Tong A Kiauw Siang Hiap Hwee 同亚侨相协会 or “Association for Creating Understanding among Immigrants from the Far East”. In fact, it was an attempt to develop economic exchanges between Japanese and Chinese traders in Java (both firms and individuals) and to facilitate access to credit. Although this project was expected to last twenty-nine years, there were good reasons why it did not, given the rapid worsening of relations between China and Japan.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> See *Javasche Courant*, 17 June 1913. Cabinet making seems to have been well developed in Surabaya by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Van Maurik, *Indrukken van en Totok*, p. 346, reported that in the house of the lieutenant The Toan Ing there was very artistic sculpted furniture made by a certain Poei Tjing Tik (who later had the bad idea of making false bank notes). The association was still very active at the end of the 1920s; in 1927 in particular it opened a night school for its members and sought an increase in their wages.

<sup>177</sup> Its statutes were published in the *Javasche Courant*, 9 Feb 1915. Its president was then Oei Kang Goan, a founder of the Chamber of Commerce, who owned a construction business. In 1938, the association ran a primary school and published a daily newspaper called *Yurong ribao* 玉融日报, which became a monthly called *Yurong yuebao* 玉融月报. See *Xinjiapo Fuqing huigian qishi zhounian jiniankan* 新加坡福清会馆七十周年纪念刊, 1910-1980 (Singapore: 1980), pp. 130-31.

<sup>178</sup> This loan system had been strongly criticised, then banned by the authorities in the 1920s. The Hokchia had also gone hawking around the countryside, which gave them the chance to sell credit to the villagers. See esp. V. B. van Gutem, “Tjina Minding, Eenige aantekeningen over het Chineesche geldschieterswezen op Java”, *Koloniale Studiën*, 3 (1919): 106-50.

<sup>179</sup> See *Overzicht van de Maleisch-Chineesche en Chineesche Pers*, 1921, no 20, p. 23, citing *Sin Po*, 31 Oct 1921.

<sup>180</sup> See fn. 148 for more details.

<sup>181</sup> The statutes were published in *Javasche Courant*, 14 Aug 1914. The Japanese presence in Surabaya rapidly escalated: in 1925 they opened a school (*Sin Bin*, 26 Sept 1925), then spoke of setting up a large fishery (*Sin Bin*, 5 Nov 1925), and in 1926 anticipated the creation of a Japanese Chamber of Commerce (*Djawa Tengah*, 4 Oct 1926).

On the other hand, after the end of the war Chinese immigrants revived their associations. In 1919, immigrants from Zhangzhou who specialised in trading in agricultural products, re-established their association (Zhangzhou huiguan 漳州会馆, in Fujian),<sup>182</sup> followed shortly after by the Hakka, who formed the Hui Chao Jia Huiguan 惠潮嘉会馆 or “Association of People from Hui(zhou), Chao(zhou) and Jia(ying)” (about 1920); the Hainanese (about 1923), people from Anxi 安溪 (in Fujian, in 1925), the Cantonese, who around 1925 founded an association called Guang(zhou) Zhao(zhou) huiguan 广肇会馆, the people from Quanzhou 泉州 (in Fujian) and the Hakka from Dabu 大埔 (in Guangdong) who formed an association for the whole of East Java (Dabu tongxiang hui 大埔同乡会) with its seat in Surabaya. Perhaps the last to get organised were those from Fuzhou 福州 (the capital of Fujian), who inaugurated their association on 13 April 1930 under the auspices of the Chinese consul. The Hok Tjioe Tong Hiong Hwee 福州同乡会 included goldsmiths originally from Fuzhou who had settled in various parts of Indonesia and even Malaya.<sup>183</sup>

A spirit of regional particularism began to develop, as associations became able to create their own schools. The Hakka were the first, in 1921, followed by the Cantonese in 1926. Additional fragmentation came from the creation of “clan” organisations, which aimed to establish ancestral temples. One example was the Gucheng huiguan 古城会馆, “Association of the City of Gucheng”, founded in 1920, which traditionally included people with the family names of Liu 刘, Guan 关, Zhang 张 and Zhao 赵;<sup>184</sup> another was the Yougui tang 有笏堂 for the Tan, who founded their own school towards 1927. Leaving aside the THHK school mentioned above, which accepted all children, it was not until 1930 that a second school was created that aimed to offer education in Mandarin to community children without any sort of discrimination. This was the Hwa Kiauw School, the “School for Overseas Chinese”, which was fully controlled by the teachers who had set it up.<sup>185</sup>

#### *Mutual Aid Groups*

Associations also began multiplying in other areas, in the first place as the community became impoverished with the arrival of a growing number of destitute immigrants, but also as competition increased with extremely competitive Japanese businessmen.<sup>186</sup> Some managers organised according to their professions, such as Cantonese furniture manufacturers who founded the *Tong Seng Kong Hwee* 同生公会 to better defend their interests.<sup>187</sup>

Even more dramatic were the efforts made to help the unemployed. From 1921 a kind of union was created, called *Kang Tong* (Gong dang 工党) or “Workers’ Association”, to help workers in need. A notice appeared in the *Soe Pien Djiet Po* 泗滨日报 on 20 June 1923 announcing that, in order to conform to the principles of the Kuomintang 国民党, the association would call itself a “professional cooperative” in its statutes. Not very much is known about the organisers, but no doubt they were engaged in politics. They gave theatrical performances in order to obtain funds for their social work.

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<sup>182</sup> Their association was already approved in 1924. See *Thay Kong Siang Po* 大公商报, 22 Sept 1924.

<sup>183</sup> See *Soe Pin Sin Po* 泗滨新报, 14 April 1930. Members’ names, grouped geographically, are listed on a 1938 stele that was located in the back courtyard of the association and which still existed in the 1980s.

<sup>184</sup> Its statutes were published in the *Javasche Courant*, 13 April 1920. A stele inside the building, dated 1920, commemorated its foundation.

<sup>185</sup> Liu Huanran, *Heshu dongyindu gailan*, p. 97, gives a chronological list of schools set up in Surabaya.

<sup>186</sup> See fn. 181 above.

<sup>187</sup> The statutes were published in *Javasche Courant*, 18 Nov 1921.

According to the *Sin Po* 新报 (Chinese edition) of 16 August 1923, however, a rival organisation, the Tjit Giap Hoe Tjoe Sia 职业互助会, "Association for Professional Mutual Aid", that was created around the same time refused to collaborate at all with the Kuomintang and the Kang Tong. The Cantonese also wanted to keep apart, founding the Tiong Hoa Ping Bin Sip Gee Hwee 中华贫民协议会, "Society for the Mutual Aid of Poor Chinese". According to the *Soe Pien Djiet Po* of 20 January 1923, its objective was to help unskilled Cantonese learn a trade. It occupied the premises of the funerary society Gie Hoo Hwee Koan mentioned above. Also in 1923 another aid association, known only by its Indonesian name of *Vereeniging Kaum Miskin Tionghoa*, "Association for Poor Chinese", met in the headquarters of another aid association, the *Poo Lam Hwee* 保南会, "Association to Protect the South", intending to ask for help via official channels from the Chinese consul. Some months later, the *Vereeniging Kaum Miskin Tionghoa* considered merging with the Gie Hin, a funerary organisation situated in Kampung Dukuh. From its name, there is no doubt this latter organisation was also a secret society. We have very little information about its establishment but it already existed at the beginning of the century.<sup>188</sup>

Communist elements were involved in mutual aid associations, but they were fairly quickly hunted down by the police. For example, the *Soe Pin Sin Po* of 30 October 1923 reported that the "famous Bolshevik" Tio Tek Sioe had been dismissed as president of an association to aid the unemployed called Sit Giap Kiong Tsee Sia.

The year 1923 seems to have been particularly dramatic in China, so that in September alone the number of immigrants landing in Surabaya rose to more than 807 people, according to information from the immigration service. Secret societies played an increasingly important role in the growing poverty. In 1924 the Xiaodao hui 小刀会, "Society of the Small Knives", was formed. This was at the same time a society of thieves that included 150 men directed by two Totok and one Peranakan. They operated in the Chinese quarter, basically in Jl. Kapasan, the Kampung Dukuh quarter and Jl. Jagalan<sup>189</sup>. The *Sin Po* (Malay version of 9 September 1926) again reported the founding of a new association of Chinese workers (*Chineesche Arbeiders Vereeniging*), the holding of its first meeting in the buildings of the Soe Po Sia in Cantian and the election of a president, a certain Kwee Khing Tjan. It was very similar in aim to previous associations: as always, it was a matter of raising money for the unemployed.

A slightly different initiative was taken in 1927 by the president of the Siang Hwee, Tio Lien Kheng (a Peranakan born in Surabaya but with a Chinese education).<sup>190</sup> He created a *Kiauw Lam Tjong Hwee*, "Federation of Overseas Chinese", with the objective of coordinating activities within the community and helping the needy, notably by organising their repatriation to their country of origin. However, it is doubtful whether this federation really succeeded in dealing with the various movements, bridging the wide social gaps and achieving social harmony.

### Collective Life among the Peranakan

There was a parallel movement among the Peranakan to establish associations. From 1914, affected by the political transformations that had just shaken the community, they attempted to rally by organising a Hoa Kiauw Tjong Hwee 华侨总会, "Federation of Overseas Chinese". While under the patronage of Major The Toan Ing and Captain Han Tjiong Khing, it was in fact directed by the Surabayan-born but Chinese educated

<sup>188</sup> See *Bintang Soerabaja*, 8 Jan 1924.

<sup>189</sup> See *Thay Kong Siong Pao*, 16 May 1924.

<sup>190</sup> See *Javasche Courant*, 23 March 1927. It is interesting to note that Tio Lien Kheng was active in various other societies like Yoe Tik Hwee Kwan, Po Gie, Kian Gie, *Khong Kauw Hwee*, *THHK*, etc. See Tan Hong Boen, *Orang-orang Tionghoa*, p. 53.

merchant The Kian Sing 郑坚成 (1880-1937) who, in 1917, became the director of the Sino-Malay newspaper *Pewarta Soerabaja* (founded 1905).<sup>191</sup> Although he attracted several influential merchants into the committee, and also members of the Chamber of Commerce like Tjio Poo Liauw, Pwee Swie Goan, Tio Tjie An and Tan Hian Goan, it seems that gradually the Federation became concerned mainly with Peranakan problems.

In regard to social work, they successfully established an orphanage (1922), the *Thay Tong Bong Yan* 待童蒙院.<sup>192</sup> In 1931 it catered for forty-one boys and twenty girls. The struggle to set up a hospital required more time.<sup>193</sup> A campaign had been launched in the mid-1920s, following the example of Batavia where the *Jang Seng le* 养生院 was founded in 1925 (on the instigation of Dr Kwa Tjoan Sioe 柯全寿, 1893-1948), but it was only in 1929 that the statutes of the *Soe Swie Tiong Hwa le Wan* 泗水中华医院 were authorised, after being lodged on the initiative of Dr Oei Kiauw Pik. Among the committee members was the prominent local businessman Liem Seng Tee 林生地.<sup>194</sup> Even so, the hospital only really opened in 1931, in Jl. Undaan Wetan where it still stands. Thereafter it was run by an association called *Perkumpulan Adi Husada*.<sup>195</sup> From the start, the hospital dispensed its services without regard to its patients' origins.

Some associations were created for educational purposes, but they were slow to be realised. From 1908 the Peranakan had studied in Sino-Dutch schools, and the growing influence of western culture on them slowed the development of Chinese education while, from the 1920s on, the methods of THHK teachers were severely criticised. The idea of creating Sino-Malay schools for the children of poor Peranakan, which was promoted in Malang by Koo Liong Ing (1898-1980), was strongly criticised by the businessman The Kian Sing, who preferred to see the THHK schools teach in Dutch.

It was only towards the end of the 1920s that the Peranakan realised their backwardness and the disadvantages of their position. Culturally they were increasingly cut off from the Totok and, moreover, were becoming acutely aware of Totok commercial competition. Politically, they also realised that Indonesia was the country where they wanted to spend their lives; indeed, very few envisaged returning to settle in the land of their ancestors. However, in the mid-1920s, rarer still were those who really faced up to the problems of the future, by taking account of the Indonesian people and their struggles for independence. It seems clear that the only efforts made towards coming together with the Indonesians from this side were by Communist elements. Tan Ping Tjiat 陈秉节 (born in Surabaya about 1885 and died in Batu in 1964) is an example of those Peranakan who joined with the Indonesians in their political struggle, becoming a member of the PKI in

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<sup>191</sup> See *Javasche Courant*, 8 April 1914. For more biographical details about The Kian Sing, see Leo Suryadinata, *Eminent Indonesian Chinese. Biographical Sketches* (Singapore: Gunung Agung, 1981), pp. 142-43.

<sup>192</sup> It still existed in the 1990s in Jl. Undaan Kulon. While the orphanage's statutes were published in 1922, an earlier charitable institution had been set up in 1902 on the initiative of The Gwat Nio, wife of the future Chinese major Han Tjiong Khing. See Oei Liong Thay, "Thay Tong Bong Yan", *Sin Po* (weekly), 16 Oct 1937

<sup>193</sup> We note, however, that in 1911 a mutual aid association had been founded called *Tong Tjie le Sia* 同济医社, as a sort of dispensary for needy urban Chinese. The initiative arose from several big merchants like Lie Siong Hwie. See *Javasche Courant*, 24 Oct 1911.

<sup>194</sup> Liem Seng Tee (1893-1956) came from China while still a child. After working in various cigarette factories, he successfully founded his own business in Surabaya in 1927. In 1930 it became the *NV Sampoerna*. It still existed in the 1990s and was run by his descendants. Liem Seng Tee remains famous for several reasons: he helped Indonesians and mainland Chinese in their political struggles; he financed several philanthropic projects; and he funded the Malay newspaper *Soerara Oemoem* which inspired the nationalist Soetomo. See Suryadinata, *Eminent Indonesian Chinese*, p. 76. His tomb still existed in the 1990s in southern Surabaya, near the Banyuurip Kidul public cemetery. On the door someone has written *Makam Embah Sampoerna*, "Tomb of the patriarch of Sampoerna".

<sup>195</sup> See *Javasche Courant*, 20 Sept 1929, no. 76 Extra-Bijvoegsel, for the statutes. For the early campaign for the hospital, see *Sin Po* (daily), 24 Nov 1927. The new statutes were published in *Tambahan Berita-Negara RI*, 19 Sept 1975, no. 75.

1924. Arrested after the uprisings of 1926-27, he renounced his political convictions and spent the rest of his life in Batu (near Malang) where he managed the *Batoe en Omstreken Belangan* (BOB), an association to promote cultural development and tourism in the region, with the assistance of other Indonesians and Dutchmen.<sup>196</sup> We should also note that, from the mid-1920s, certain literary figures and journalists tried to encourage their readers into a new type of struggle. In particular, Njoo Cheong Seng 祥众生, originally from East Java (1902-1962), published short news articles in the Sino-Malay press of Java about contemporaneous social problems, including one describing the poverty of the Madurese fishermen at a time when large fisheries were being set up.<sup>197</sup>

When in 1929 Peranakan from Menado formed the *Vereeniging Tionghoa Menado*, "Association of Peranakan Chinese from Menado", the news provoked a strong reaction in the local press, notably in *Liberty* (Sept. 1930, p. 45). This magazine protested against the fact that there were already a large number of associations, each only looking after the interests of one particular group, when it was time to be thinking about founding one for all Peranakan. The editor of *Liberty* was perhaps alluding to the *Chung Hua Hui* 中华会, a political association created in 1926 in Central Java, for the benefit of the westernised Peranakan elite, also known as *Kaum Packard*, "the Packard Group". The idea was thus to create an association which, as the *Sin Tit Po* put it in 1931, "should arise from the love one bears for the country of his birth and not from the fact of Chinese origin".<sup>198</sup>

And indeed, in December that year the *Nanyang Societeit* was formed, under the presidency of Liem Koen Hian 林群贤 (1896-1952), the future founder of the Partai Tionghoa Indonesia (Indonesian-Chinese Party). It does not seem that this society was ever registered. One of its objectives was to engage in a struggle against the group of the "affluent", who were the only ones representing the community at the municipal level, and to undertake a campaign to have its own representatives elected.<sup>199</sup> On the social level, the association helped the poor, and on 1 July 1932 opened the *Nanyang Armenschool*, which accepted children irrespective of "nation" and taught in Malay, picking up to some extent the ideas advanced by Koo Liong Ing a few years earlier.

Finally, however, in July 1932 the system of having Peranakan officers administer the Chinese community was officially abolished in Surabaya, as in Batavia and Semarang. The last major had not even been replaced after his death in 1924. It was the lieutenant Tan Thwan Djien who, with the new title of *hoofd*, now made the transition (1926-34) towards a direct style of administration.<sup>200</sup>

The economic malaise during the 1920s and the crisis of the 1930s, which can be regarded as a prelude to the Second World War and the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, completed the fragmentation of the social and economic fabric. The troubled period which followed Independence in Indonesia brought in its wake considerable population shifts from the interior of Java to Surabaya, as well as from that city to other countries. The disappearance of associations, the banning of Chinese language and replacement of Chinese names by Indonesian ones, have also clouded reality, so that it has become difficult to trace vestiges of the past behind the current names of businesses. There are, however, a few famous cases, such as the San Liem timber business that was founded in 1892 by the revolutionary Tan Hian Gwan (d. 1926, as mentioned above), the

<sup>196</sup> See Suryadinata, *Eminent Indonesian Chinese*, p. 135. For the statutes of the association, see *Javasche Courant*, Extra-Bijvoegsel, 26 Jan 1934, no. 8.

<sup>197</sup> "Achmad dan Kasjiah. Satoe tjerita fantassie", *Sin Bin* (Bandung), 17 Oct 1925.

<sup>198</sup> *Sin Tit Po*, 28 Dec 1931.

<sup>199</sup> See *Soeara Oemoem*, 22 Dec 1932. On the later political role of Liem Koen Hian, see esp. Suryadinata, "The Search for National Identity of an Indonesian Chinese: A Political Biography of Liem Koen Hian", *Archipel*, 14 (1977): 43-69.

<sup>200</sup> The *Soeara Oemoem*, 5 July 1932 reported moreover that they closed the office of the major at Ketapang and transferred the archives to the personal home of Mr Tan Thwan Djien.

lieutenant Liem Bong Lien (d. 1913) and Liem Sian Yoe, and which after spending many years marketing teak from Java to Europe, America, South Africa, China, and Japan, moved to exploit, on a smaller scale, timber from Kalimantan under the direction of a grandson and great-grandson of Liem Bong Lien. Another example is the "Sampoerna" cigarette factory, currently run by the descendants of Liem Seng Tee, as mentioned above.

Most of the great Peranakan families gradually declined in power, and the post-war period once again witnessed the rise of a new group of entrepreneurs, for the most part recent arrivals about whom, it must be admitted, very little is known. The most active came from the Fuqing region. Their networks equally changed their appearance. The growing importance of Jakarta and the decline of Semarang meant that henceforth the main Surabaya entrepreneurs needed to have a foothold in the capital in order to succeed in business.

It seems to me that, for this last period, the history of the Surabaya Chinese community as such becomes quite elusive, and that it merges once more with that of the whole town.

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