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# MERCHANT CONSULS

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*DUTCH CONSULS IN CADIZ AND THEIR DIVIDED LOYALTIES (1713-1757)*

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*Hic sudavit, sed non frustra!*

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1. *Frans van der Meer* by an unknown painter
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*'S'il est vrai que la définition du consul conserve pour les contemporains une certaine opacité et que les fonctions qui lui sont désormais dévolues ne permettent pas de dissiper totalement l'ambiguïté qui entoure son statut, celui-ci n'en reste pas moins, à sa manière, un acteur crucial des relations internationales.'*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> G. Poumarede, 'Consuls, réseaux consulaires et diplomatie à l'époque moderne' in R. Sabbatini and P. Volpini (ed.), *Sulla diplomazia in età moderna: politica, economia, religione* (Milano 2011) 195-196. For translations of all non-English citations see Appendix I.



## INTRODUCTION

### *CONSULAR HISTORY AND ITS NEGLECT*

This thesis analyses the appointments, activities, and loyalties of three Dutch consuls in the Spanish port city of Cádiz during the first half of the eighteenth century. It reveals that merchants played an influential role in the appointment of consuls, how consuls participated in commerce, and subsequently explains how this affected their loyalties as part of the Dutch merchant community of Cádiz. This research adds to the increasing body of historiography on new diplomatic history and consular history in particular, which proposes a new manner of researching diplomatic history and therein attributes significant importance to consuls.

According to H. Leirda and I. B. Neumann in *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy*, consuls have played ‘*Watson to a diplomatic Holmes*’ in historiography for too long a time. Therefore the book seeks to enrich the thinly scattered academic literature on the consular institution, as consuls have been systematically omitted from the history of foreign affairs and diplomacy.<sup>2</sup> Over the past few years consular history has been increasingly subject to academic publications.<sup>3</sup> This topic has been deemed increasingly crucial to the study of international

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<sup>2</sup> J. Melissen and A. Fernández Pasarin, *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy* (Leiden 2011) 1-17.

<sup>3</sup> One of the most recent publications containing several studies is: M. Aglietti, M. Herrero Sánchez and F. Zamora Rodríguez, *Los cónsules de extranjeros en la Edad Moderna y a principios de la Edad Contemporánea* (Madrid 2013) Another good example is J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec, *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne l'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique 1500-1800* (Rennes 2006) and the latest edition of the long-established *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* (2014) volume 127, nr. 4, November 2014.

relations.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, historiography still mainly consists of either case studies, studies concerning geographical areas, or bundled volumes.

The progress being made runs parallel to but not in unison with developments in broader diplomatic history. In his 2008 article J. Watkins called for a *'multidisciplinary re-evaluation of one of the oldest, and traditionally one of the most conservative, subfields in the modern discipline of history: the study of premodern diplomacy.'*<sup>5</sup> He emphasised that diplomatic historians should no longer solely focus on traditional nineteenth century nation-based diplomacy and instead collaborate with historians specialised in other fields. Watkins believes that this will lead to a better understanding of early modern diplomacy, which consecutively is important to better understand the concept and process of globalisation.<sup>6</sup> At first glance a re-evaluation of consular history should neatly fit aforementioned narrative that tries to do away with nineteenth century nation and ambassador-based diplomatic history. Remarkably, not every historian agrees. Several books published after Watkins' article still neglect the role of consuls.<sup>7</sup> J. Black suffices with the remark that consular posts were dominated by merchants.<sup>8</sup> Likewise L. Bély, although devoting a book to the birth of modern diplomacy from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, does not consider consuls to be part of diplomatic history. His book solely concerns developments in diplomacy and international relations as seen through the eyes of ambassadors and other high level officials.<sup>9</sup>

Bély propagates an argument that diplomatic historiography generally agrees upon; in the eighteenth century various European diplomatic apparatus developed from the tools of kings

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<sup>4</sup> Poumarede, 'Réseaux consulaires', 195-196.

<sup>5</sup> J. Watkins, 'Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe', in *The Journal Of Medieval And Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008), 1-14, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Watkins, 'New Diplomatic History', 5.

<sup>7</sup> For examples of works before Watkins' article see M.S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450-1919* (London 1993).

<sup>8</sup> J. Black, *A History of Diplomacy* (London 2010) 74.

<sup>9</sup> L. Bély, *L'art de la paix en Europe: naissance de la diplomatie moderne, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris 2007).

into a state driven apparatus.<sup>10</sup> The same is true for consular networks, although their origins were different. Consuls had their origins in merchant communities dating back to the fifteenth century and were therefore even further beyond reach of the state.<sup>11</sup> Most European consular traditions were established in the Middle Ages, when foreign merchants represented their merchant communities. Several offices and positions at that time were denoted with the term consul, from whence the consul from early modern times slowly emerged.<sup>12</sup>

But what exactly typified an early modern consul? Exactly this question formed the nucleus of consular history for a long time. Far into the nineteenth century consuls had an ambiguous legal status, as they were not granted the same diplomatic rights and immunities as ambassadors. At the same time consuls fulfilled a large variety of functions for their merchant community and their respective home country.<sup>13</sup> Leirda and Neumann argue that the large variety of consular tasks evolved in a grey area between diplomatic, commercial history, and international law.<sup>14</sup> A. Bartolomei is of the opinion that activities by consuls can roughly be divided into three spheres, which often overlapped; providing information about products and markets, guarding national commercial interests, and various judicial functions.<sup>15</sup> Providing information to several parties is especially an overarching characteristic.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand diplomats were often active in less obvious spheres, for example as art dealers, bankers or even

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<sup>10</sup> Bély, *L'art de la paix*, 673-677.

<sup>11</sup> Poumarede, 'Réseaux consulaires', 206, H. Leira and I.B. Neumann, 'The Many Past Lives of the Consul' in J. Melissen and A. Fernández Pasarin (ed.), *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy* (Leiden 2011) 237-243, L. Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce: The Swedish Consular Service and Long-Distance Shipping, 1720-1815* (Uppsala 2004) 75-77.

<sup>12</sup> Leira and Neumann, 'Past Lives of the Consul', 233-234.

<sup>13</sup> For example see: Poumarède, 'Réseaux consulaires', 209, L. Müller, 'The Swedish Consular Service In Southern Europe, 1720-1815', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, nr. 31 (2006), 186-95, M. Bustos Rodriguez, 'Consulats et consuls à Cadix au XVIIIe siècle: une approche' in J. Ulbert, and G. Le Bouëdec (ed.), *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne l'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique 1500-1800* (Rennes 2006) 267-268.

<sup>14</sup> Leira and Neumann, 'Past Lives of the Consul', 226.

<sup>15</sup> A. Bartolomei, 'De la utilidad comercial de los cónsules' in Aglietti, Herrero Sánchez and Zamora Rodríguez (ed.), *Los cónsules de extranjereros*, 248.

<sup>16</sup> Müller, *The Swedish Consular Service*, 186-187.

miners.<sup>17</sup> It suffices to say that what exactly constituted a consul is difficult to define. The discussion does, in any case, clarify that consuls were positioned in the middle of international networks, be it commercial or diplomatic.

When the nomenclature of networks is discussed the concept of globalisation is never far away.<sup>18</sup> As mentioned earlier, Watkins stresses the contribution ‘new diplomatic history’ can make to the understanding of globalisation, especially since modern nation states laid their foundations in early modern times.<sup>19</sup> A few years earlier British historian A.G. Hopkins argued in *Globalization in World History* that it was time for historians to enter the ongoing sociological debate surrounding globalisation as historical analysis can provide valuable insights. According to Hopkins globalisation is a non-linear process with various different origins that stretch far back into history. One of these was the expanding trade originating from European countries in early modern times.<sup>20</sup> Diplomats formed an indispensable part of the expanding trade since the beginning, in which they themselves often acted as entrepreneurs. More importantly, they acted as agents providing structure in several types of international networks. Diplomats were pivotal in the networks that constituted early modern globalisation.<sup>21</sup> Consuls in particular were to be found in the heart of the bustling merchant communities along the European coasts. In researching their neglected histories, it is not only possible to shed more light on diplomatic history, but also on the process of globalisation.

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<sup>17</sup> K. Jonckheere, ‘Ik offer mij in alle dienst, The art dealership of merchant and diplomat Jan van Beuningen (1667-1720)’ in D. Lyna, F. Vermeylen, and H. Vlieghe (ed.), *Art Auctions and Dealers: The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art during the Ancien Régime* (Turnhout 2009), E. Thomson, *Jan Hoeffft and the Thirty Years War* (Unpublished essay 2013).

<sup>18</sup> In this thesis globalisation is defined as in D. Held, e.a., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford 1999) 27-28.

<sup>19</sup> Watkins, *New Diplomatic History*, 5.

<sup>20</sup> A.G. Hopkins, *Globalization in World History* (New York 2002) 1-10, 25.

<sup>21</sup> C. Antunes, *Globalisation in the Early Modern period: the economic relationship between Amsterdam and Lisbon, 1640-1705* (Amsterdam 2004) 141, 181-187.

Earlier it has been made apparent that consular history is still not as intensively researched as it should be. Dutch diplomatic historiography in particular is not as comprehensive as in neighbouring countries. Additionally, it is preoccupied with the ‘macro’ history of ambassadors and international relations. After the nineteen-sixties publications became very sporadic. Yet this does not mean no significant works have been written on the topic since. O. Schutte’s comprehensive reference work *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in het buitenland, 1584-1810* cannot be overlooked. It is an impressive work listing all Dutch representatives and foreign representatives in The Netherlands, often including biographical details. It should be noted that, understandably due to the size of the work, its data on consuls is at times incomplete.<sup>22</sup> J. Aalbers’ dissertation on the Dutch Republic’s politics and foreign policy after the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) also deserves special mention. More recently, the November 2014 issue of the longstanding Dutch *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* was published to demonstrate that new diplomatic history had also arrived in The Netherlands. With an article by M.A. Ebben focussing on the consuls in Cádiz in the seventeenth century as a vital element in Dutch diplomacy and defenders of Dutch commercial interests.<sup>23</sup>

Writing consular history - as will become apparent in this thesis - is also about writing commercial history. The Dutch Republic as a nation of merchants is well endowed in historiography on the latter. When considering relations with Cádiz, Spanish historians M. Bustos Rodríguez and A. Crespo Solana are most relevant to this study. Cádiz based historian Bustos Rodríguez has made the city and its commercial history his speciality. He has written several books about Cádiz’ role in the Atlantic trade system, its various merchant communities

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<sup>22</sup> O. Schutte, *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in het buitenland 1584-1810* (’s-Gravenhage 1976) & *Repertorium der buitenlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in Nederland 1584-1810* (’s-Gravenhage 1983).

<sup>23</sup> M.A. Ebben and L. Sicking, ‘Nieuwe Diplomatieke Geschiedenis van de Premoderne Tijd’, 541–552, 548-551 & M.A. Ebben, ‘Uwer Hoog Moogenden Onderdaenigsten Dienaers’, 649–672 in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 127.

and on foreign consulates in the port city.<sup>24</sup> Crespo Solana published several books and articles researching Dutch trade and merchant communities in Spain.<sup>25</sup>

### **A new direction in historiography**

While holding the chair of *Vaderlandse Geschiedenis* in Leiden, H. te Velde published a book on the continuity of traditions in Dutch politics. In it he summarized the opinions influential Dutch historians such as Fruin, Geyl and Huizinga held on the behaviour of the *regenten*, the ruling elite of the Dutch Republic. With the sole exception of Huizinga they were predominantly negative. Explanation for this can be found in the manner in which regenten ruled for their own gain and the by modern standards widespread nepotism they practiced.<sup>26</sup> Patronage and the elite merchant class in the Dutch Republic formed the *leitmotif* in J. Adams' *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*. She argued that the merchant elite in the Dutch Republic had such excessive influence that they were in fact the driving force behind the state, as certain merchant families managed to lay claim on parts of the Dutch state.<sup>27</sup> According to Adams and other historians, the city of Amsterdam dominated the States of Holland, which in turn dominated the States General and particularly in matters of foreign policy. In Amsterdam an overlap between merchants and rulers of the oligarchy reigned as an archetype for the rest of the Dutch state, where likewise a

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<sup>24</sup> M. Bustos Rodríguez, *Burguesía de negocios y capitalismo en Cádiz: los Colarte 1650-1750* (Cádiz 1991), *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico: la ciudad, sus comerciantes y la actividad mercantil 1650-1830* (Cádiz 2005), *Los comerciantes de la carrera de Indias en el Cádiz del siglo XVIII 1713-1775* (Cádiz 1995), 'Consulats et consuls à Cadix au XVIIIe siècle: une approche' in J. Ulbert, and G. Le Bouëdec, *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne l'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique 1500-1800* (Rennes 2006) 259-277.

<sup>25</sup> A. Crespo Solana, *Comunidades transnacionales: colonias de mercaderes extranjeros en el mundo atlántico, 1500-1830* (Madrid 2010), *El comercio marítimo entre Amsterdam y Cádiz 1713-1778* (Madrid 2001), *Mercaderes atlánticos: redes del comercio flamenco y holandés entre Europa y el Caribe* (Córdoba 2009), *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos: una comunidad mercantil en la ciudad de la ilustración* (Cádiz 2001).

<sup>26</sup> H. te Velde, *Van regentenmentaliteit tot populisme: politieke tradities in Nederland* (Amsterdam 2010).

<sup>27</sup> J. Adams, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca 2005) 38-75, 197-202.

mighty intertwined elite of merchants and statesmen ruled.<sup>28</sup> Diplomatic historians, as said before, agree that in this period the state was gaining control over its diplomats. This leaves an interesting proposition. If certain merchants controlled the Dutch state, they also controlled its diplomats. It should therefore be expected that merchants could use the Dutch Republic's consular apparatus for their own benefit.

In a 2013 bundled volume on consular history the *status quaestionis* was summarized in an article by Bartolomei. Historical research on consuls has settled that they were of importance to their respective nations' commerce. In the broadest sense a consul was working for the wellbeing of all trade from and to their nation. The question now demanding attention is what exactly constituted this national commerce. It could have been a façade behind which particular interests were at work, for example those of certain merchant lobbies in their home countries. Or a consul could have the interests of his own merchant community closer at heart, especially those consuls that were elected by their own communities as opposed to consuls that were appointed by the state. Bartolomei stated that Dutch consuls were particularly under strict state control.<sup>29</sup> If consuls were indeed faithful representatives of the Dutch Republic, this could lead to conflicts with merchants that actively tried to evade state authority and regulations. A research project currently underway at Leiden University has these type of merchants, designated 'free agents', as its subject. Scholars participating argue that these agents were actively defying state intervention and therewith the monopolies of empires through legal as well as illegal activities.<sup>30</sup> While the project is mainly concerned with European overseas

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<sup>28</sup> Adams, *The Familial State*, 47-49, Th.H.P.M. Thomassen, *Instrumenten van de macht. De Staten-Generaal en hun archieven 1576-1796* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam 2009) 87-89, M. Lindemann, *The Merchant Republics* (Cambridge 2014) 8, 116-127.

<sup>29</sup> Bartolomei, 'De la utilidad comercial', 253-258.

<sup>30</sup> *Fighting Monopolies, Defying Empires 1500-1750: a Comparative Overview of Free Agents and Informal Empires in Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire*. Description available at <http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/research/projects-mgi/fighting-monopolies-erc.html> (accessed 14-07-2015).

empires, it is plausible that this behaviour was not limited to colonial trade, especially since the increased use of foreign agents as representatives in the eighteenth century facilitated an increase of smaller merchants participating in European trade.<sup>31</sup> If the views on the intertwined governmental and merchant elite in the Dutch Republic as set out earlier are considered, these smaller merchants were less likely to be part of the ruling merchant elite and therefore more likely to evade the Dutch Republic's control. That is, if one accepts the proposition that the Dutch Republic was in fact there to protect the interests of the merchant elite that ruled it.

### **Research questions in this thesis**

Observing the above historiographical discourse, the principal question in this thesis investigates to which extent Dutch consuls were influenced by Dutch merchants and what the socio-economic background of these merchants was. First, the way in which consuls gained their office will be examined to discover which parties influenced this process. Secondly, official duties and unofficial commercial activities by Dutch consuls in Cádiz are determined to correctly situate consuls in the dynamics at play. This is of importance in order to answer the third and final question: where did a consul's loyalties truly lie?

Answers to these questions add valuable insights to several historiographical discussions. Such as the question to which extent merchants were the driving force behind the Dutch state, which is linked to the belief that state control over the diplomatic apparatus was established in the eighteenth century. Both beliefs contrast with merchants that tried to evade state control. Another issue is that scholars are still not certain what activities and responsibilities consuls had, official as well as unofficial.

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<sup>31</sup> H. Cools, M. Keblusek, and B. Noldus (ed.), *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe* (Hilversum 2006), 9-15, 129-130.



The distinction between merchants' social economic backgrounds will be made in the following manner. J.H. Elias catalogued the Amsterdam merchant regenten elite in his comprehensive *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795* (Amsterdam 1903-1905). This publication described members of the town council, their families, and business partners. Members of the council, amongst other things, appointed burgomasters and chose their new members themselves. This made Elias' work an excellent resource to determine which merchants were part of the oligarchy in Amsterdam. Another resource are contemporary publications that listed everyone with a position of influence in the Dutch Republic.<sup>32</sup> It has to be noted that wealthy merchants were not per definition regenten, since not all obtained a governmental office.<sup>33</sup>

Questions about early modern consuls are partially caused by an absence of proper archival sources. Consular history is mostly based on state sources and there is a distinct lack of commercial archives or private consular correspondence.<sup>34</sup> If only state archives are studied, available documents will be dominated by information of importance to state affairs, or only the information which consuls deemed necessary for their patrons to know. Non-state archives are examined to balance this issue. The extensive consular correspondence present in the State General's archive is intensively used because it provides an excellent view on official consular duties. The archive of the Levant Trade Society is another archive that cannot be ignored in this line of inquiry. These archives are wherever possible supplemented with archives of a commercial nature, such as the archive of the *Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie* (MCC). The MCC was a Dutch trading company founded in 1720 and its archives contain substantial

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<sup>32</sup> So called '*naamwyzers*' listing important authorities, offices and their occupants.

<sup>33</sup> Lindemann, *Merchant Republics*, 38-47, 187.

<sup>34</sup> A. Crespo Solana, 'Merchants and Observers. The Dutch Republic's Commercial Interests in Spain and the Merchant Community in Cádiz in the Eighteenth Century', *Dieciocho*, 32 (2009), 1-21, Leira and Neumann, 'Past Lives of the Consul', 227.

commercial correspondences with Cádiz which have never been studied before. Today, the company is mainly studied in relation to its slave trade.<sup>35</sup> Further commercial information is provided by notarial archives from Amsterdam and Cádiz.

In all archives the following three consuls will be investigated: Johan op ten Noorth, Leonard van Aalst, and Philip Renard. They were active in Cádiz from 1714 until 1757. The eighteenth century was chosen due to the consensus by scholars that state control over the consular apparatus was established during this century. Additionally, in the first half of this century the Dutch Republic was still considered to be a notable European power with an important economic significance, even though traditionally this century is seen as a period of decline in Dutch history. Recently historians came to recognize that the Dutch Republic had become a second rate power, but serious decline only started in the latter half of the eighteenth century.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) ending the War of Spanish Succession marked an important cessation in diplomatic history and signalled a new beginning in Dutch-Spanish relations.<sup>37</sup>

Now that the rationale for choosing this particular time period is clear, the next step is to expound upon the reasons to focus on Spain and Cádiz. Commerce between Spain and the Low Countries already formed an ages old trade in the eighteenth century. Despite the Dutch Revolt, trade between both countries was always plentiful, especially after the peace treaties of Munster (1648) and Utrecht. Dutch merchants were quite aware of this: *'Den handel op Spanjen is by vreedestyden een der alderbesten'* declared a contemporary merchant handbook.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> See for a comprehensive history: R. Paesie, *Geschiedenis van de MCC: Opkomst, bloei en ondergang* (Zutphen 2014). For the slavetrade see the works of Dutch historians P.C. Emmer and J. Postma.

<sup>36</sup> See the much valued and cited publications of J.I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford 1989) and *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford 1995).

<sup>37</sup> J. Aalbers, *De Republiek en de vrede van Europa: de buitenlandse politiek van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden na de vrede van Utrecht (1713)* (Groningen 1980) 1, Solana, *El comercio marítimo*, 9-11.

<sup>38</sup> J. le Moine de L'Espine & I. le Long, *De Koophandel Van Amsterdam: Naar Alle Gewesten Des Werelds* (Amsterdam 1715) 644.

Consequently diplomatic relations between both countries were dominated by trade interests.<sup>39</sup> It should also be noted that the Dutch Republic possessed the most extensive consular network in Europe and it had seven consuls in Spain in the eighteenth century.<sup>40</sup> In the first half of the eighteenth century relations between both nations were relatively decent. Some Spanish merchants and statesmen even harboured admiration for the Dutch Republic, considering it an exemplary nation.<sup>41</sup> Within Spain the most important trading port was the city in possession of the monopoly on Spanish American trade. After 1680 Cádiz took over this privilege from Sevilla to become the only port where ships to and from the Americas were allowed to depart or arrive.<sup>42</sup> The States General hence attributed great importance to the consulate in Cádiz, deeming it the most important consulate in Spain crucial for the welfare of commerce and maintaining good relations between both countries.<sup>43</sup> Because of the importance of Cádiz, its Dutch consuls lived in a maelstrom of trade and diplomatic relations between both countries, therefore they form excellent subjects to find answers to the questions posed in this thesis.

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<sup>39</sup> Solana, *El comercio marítimo* 9-21, *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos*, 21-43.

<sup>40</sup> V. Barbour, 'Consular Service in the Reign of Charles II' in *The American Historical Review*, nr. 33 (1928), 553-78, 575, Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 405-425.

<sup>41</sup> Solana, 'Merchants and Observers', 7.

<sup>42</sup> G.J. Walker, *Spanish Politics and Imperial Trade 1700-1789* (Bloomington 1979) 120.

<sup>43</sup> *Resolutiën van de Hoogh Mogende Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlandsche Provinciën* ('S Gravenhage 1756) 741.

*'Dat van Cadix dient wel ten eersten voorsien te worden, door een bequaam subject, die de taal en de manieren van dit lant bekent sijn.'*<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, The Netherlands (NA), Staten-Generaal (1.01.02), inv. 7132, 20-02-1733.

## FIRST CHAPTER

# *THE APPOINTMENT OF CONSULS*

### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter sets out to portray the type of man that became consul and how he came to obtain his position in Cádiz. Bibliographical details are set out to describe the social economic background of each consul and most importantly, an in-depth investigation of the manner in which consuls were awarded their position in Cádiz will be conducted. It will show that consuls owed their position to merchants and other parties actively lobbying on their behalf.

### **1.1 Historiographical background**

J. Aalbers established that the *de jure* appointment of diplomats was the responsibility of the States General. In reality considerable influence was exerted by the province of Holland, in which Amsterdam was often the driving force. In Amsterdam itself the connections that candidates had with the ruling elite within the city further complicated matters. On occasion this led to conflicts with other cities and provinces, such as the province of Zeeland that supplied diplomats for posts that were traditionally in its sphere of influence. Aalbers concluded that even while some provinces and cities lobbied for certain persons, the interest of possible candidates in many diplomatic posts was meagre at best. He offered the example of rumours by an eighteenth century Dutch official about an ambassador keeping his post simply because no better candidate was available. But Aalbers' research only concerned ambassadors and other

envoys to royal courts.<sup>45</sup> Schutte stated that the States General generally appointed diplomats. There was a limited amount of cases in which cities or individual provinces appointed ‘extraordinary representatives’, which he considered to fall outside the Dutch diplomatic apparatus. Besides the Admiralty, which in a few cases appointed diplomats, the directors of the Levant Trade Society had a significant influence on the appointments according to Schutte. They nominated candidates for diplomatic posts around the Mediterranean Sea. The directors apparently even had direct power over ambassadors and consuls in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>46</sup> Schutte is not the only historian that described how the Levant Trade Society interfered in the appointment of diplomats in its area of influence.<sup>47</sup> However, a wrongful assumption that is regularly encountered, is that the Levant Trade Society held all authority and appointed all consuls along the Mediterranean coast after which the States General would merely take over its recommendations and decisions.<sup>48</sup> The society, while indeed having far reaching influence on Dutch trade in the Mediterranean, in diplomatic matters was mainly concerned with consuls in areas under Ottoman influence. This chapter shows that the appointment of consuls to Cádiz was far from solely in the hands of the Levant Trade Society. Many more parties exerted influence on this process.

Te Velde used the assignment of governmental offices in his book to exemplify the nepotism practiced in the Dutch Republic. Nepotism even went so far as drawing up contracts between ruling families that settled which posts went to whom. At times certain offices were

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<sup>45</sup> Aalbers, *De Republiek en de vrede*, 70, 230-250.

<sup>46</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, XI-XII.

<sup>47</sup> A.A.H. Van der Burgh, *Aantekeningen bij Inventaris van het archief van de Directie van de Levantse Handel en de Navigatie in de Middellandse Zee 1625-1826* (1828), I.H. Kadi, *Ottoman and Dutch Merchants in the Eighteenth Century: Competition in Ankara, Izmir and Amsterdam* (Leiden 2012) 150-152 and others.

<sup>48</sup> See for example A.E. Kersten and B. Zwan, ‘Dutch consular service: in the interests of a colonial and commercial nation’ in Melissen and Fernández (ed.), *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy*.

also simply sold to the highest bidder.<sup>49</sup> Well-known Dutch-American historian K.J. Swart dedicated his 1949 dissertation to this sale of offices in the seventeenth century. A subject that was just then starting to gain attention. Swart argued that the Dutch Republic was no different from the rest of Europe in the sale of offices and that it increased during the eighteenth century.<sup>50</sup> Adams and others echoed these sentiments; governmental offices were awarded to a large degree by way of patronage and nepotism. Diplomatic posts are not specifically mentioned in this discourse, yet it could be possible that patronage and nepotism played a part in diplomatic appointments in the same vein. The appointment process of all three Dutch consuls in this thesis are examined to determine if patronage and nepotism was practiced and, more importantly, by whom. Did merchants mingle in this process to try and get a hold on the consular apparatus or the gratitude of individual consuls? Additionally, the social economic background of each consul is examined.

## 1.2 Johan op ten Noorth (1667-1740†)

*'(...) om de orders en bevelen waar mede u Hoog Mogende mij sullen gelieven  
te vereeren met alle vlijd en gehoorsaamheid na te komen.'*<sup>51</sup>

Johan op ten Noorth was born on December 22, 1667 in the city of Arnhem.<sup>52</sup> Sixth son to his identically named father, a lawyer, official, and burgomaster in Arnhem.<sup>53</sup> The family Op ten Noorth was a family of regenten hailing from the area around Zutphen and Arnhem.<sup>54</sup> The family had been incorporated into to the local elite fairly recently, due to the marriage efforts

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<sup>49</sup> Te Velde, *Van regentenmentaliteit tot populisme*, 30-38, K.W. Swart, *Sale of Offices in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague 1949) 73-78.

<sup>50</sup> K.W. Swart, *Sale of Offices in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague 1949) 73-78.

<sup>51</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7123, 23-12-1714.

<sup>52</sup> J.W. Wijndelts, *Het geslacht Op ten Noort* (Groningen 1913) 75.

<sup>53</sup> P.C. Molhuysen and P. J. Blok, e.a., *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden 1911-1937) 928-929.

<sup>54</sup> Present-day spelled Op ten Noort, the extra H was only used by the now defunct Arnhem based branch of the family.

of Johan op ten Noorth's father and grandfather. Sons of regenten families were predisposed for offices in government, but the extent to which this succeeded hinged on the wealth and influence of their family. Johan op ten Noorth had three older brothers who went on to study law in order to pursue their governmental careers. Being the youngest member of a family that had moderate wealth and influence, he had to find his fortune elsewhere. Youngest sons usually became either officers in the army or merchants. Johan op ten Noorth decided to enter the world of commerce.<sup>55</sup> He completed a five-year long apprenticeship under the supervision of an Amsterdam merchant in the beginning of the 1680s. He later moved to Cádiz and lived there from at least 1696. There he maintained a merchant company together with merchant Rodrigo Emants. Together they traded with Amsterdam and other cities in Europe.<sup>56</sup> Op ten Noorth stayed until 1702, when his business started to falter due to the decline in commerce during the War of the Spanish Succession.<sup>57</sup> The Treaty of Utrecht marked the end of the war and was signed in April 1713.<sup>58</sup> Due to the peace treaty with Spain many seized the opportunity to try and acquire a diplomatic post. In May alone the States General received at least seven requests for consular posts.<sup>59</sup> Realising that peace was eminent, Op ten Noorth started using his family ties to lobby for his appointment already by March that year.

The daughter of his oldest brother was married to Johan Beeldsnijder Steenberg, an official in the city of Kampen and representative for the province of Overijssel in the States

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<sup>55</sup> H. Pols, *Brave burgerheren, Arnhemse regenten in de achttiende eeuw* (Unpublished Doctaraal Scriptie Nijmegen 1988) 55, 77-79, 83.

<sup>56</sup> Archivo histórico provincial de Cádiz, Cádiz, Spain (AHPC) Protocolos notariales: distrito de Cádiz, inv. 3754, 27-03-1696, 18-04-1697, 21-11-1697, Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief, Amsterdam, The Netherlands (GAA), Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (5075), inv. 6562, 12-09-1701, inv. 5879, 04-02-1701, inv. 3406, 19-05-1701, inv. 3352, 12-08-1701.

<sup>57</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7680, 01-05-1713, Wijndelts, *Op ten Noort*, 55-56, 74-76. According to this book, whose writer had access to documents that no longer exist, his faltering business formed the reason for soliciting for the office of consul in Cádiz.

<sup>58</sup> D. Onnekink and R. de Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht (1713)* (Hilversum 2013).

<sup>59</sup> (NA) Staten van Holland en West-Friesland (3.01.04.01), inv.147, Staten-Generaal, inv. 7680.



General.<sup>60</sup> He was familiar with the intricacies surrounding lobbying for diplomatic posts, for his nephew had been appointed consul on Tenerife in 1690 after a career as a merchant in Amsterdam, just like Op ten Noorth.<sup>61</sup> Owing to his position as a member of the States General, Beeldsnijder was able to contact Grand Pensionary Anthonie Heinsius directly. His letter began with two paragraphs that contained nothing neither of note or urgency. Consecutively Steenberg asked Heinsius to recommend Op ten Noorth for the post of consul in Cádiz, noting that his person and competences were already known to the Grand Pensionary.<sup>62</sup> This would suggest that Heinsius was acquainted with Op ten Noorth.

Op ten Noorth's official request arrived the first of May that same year at the States General. It was decided to let the States of Holland deliberate on the matter.<sup>63</sup> On the third his request was brought by Heinsius before the meeting. Competition was stiff. At least three others applied for the post in Cádiz; Amsterdam merchant Nicolas van Beeck, consul in the Spanish city of La Coruña Hendrick Croesen, and the consul in Lisbon, Abraham Heysterman. Thus the Cádiz consulate was a well sought-after position. Heysterman already wrote the States of Holland in 1712, asking to be made consul in Cádiz as soon as peace was declared.<sup>64</sup>

In his request Op ten Noorth underlined his many years of experience as a merchant in both Amsterdam and Cádiz. During his time in Spain he obtained '(...) *een volkomen kennisse (...) van de Spaensche tael, wetten en costumen, en in der selver handel (...)*'.<sup>65</sup> Added were the names of merchants and trading companies from three cities attesting to his abilities. Seven names from Dordrecht were listed, 26 names from Leiden, and an impressive amount of 86

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<sup>60</sup> Wijndelts, *Op ten Noort*, Appendix: Geertruid Sophia (1689-1756) daughter of Joost op ten Noorth (1658-1691).

<sup>61</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 424. Jacobus Beeldsnijder (1661-1733).

<sup>62</sup> A. Heinsius, A.J. Veenendaal, C. Hogenkamp and M.T.A. Schouten, *De briefwisseling van Anthonie Heinsius 1702-1720* ('s-Gravenhage 1976-2001) part XIV 645, letter nr. 955, 28-03-1713.

<sup>63</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 738, 01-05-1713. According to the meeting the request was forwarded to the States of Holland, where it can be found today.

<sup>64</sup> (NA) Staten Holland, inv. 146, 11-10-1712, inv. 147, 03-05-1713, 06-05-1713, 21-09-1713.

<sup>65</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 1896, 1-05-1713.

names from Amsterdam. Van Beeck's request was similar, he gathered support from roughly the same number of merchants hailing from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Middelburg, and Vlissingen. None of the names were directors of the Levant Trade Society at the time. A closer look at the support for Op ten Noorth revealed all kinds of merchants. The list contained names of well-to-do and influential merchants, together with smaller merchants who left little historical trace. These merchants traded with all parts of Europe and beyond including Spain and the Levant. Some had ties to the governmental elite, although the extent to which their support meant active lobbying is uncertain.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, there is little overlap in supporters of Op ten Noorth and Van Beeck. This leaves the question whether it was simply a list of each man's business connections or that merchants felt strongly about the candidate they supported.

Documents from Croesen and Heysterman are not present in the archives. All four requests were delegated by the States of Holland to the *Heren van het Ridderschap Holland* and other Committed Councils members in charge of sea affairs. Committed Councils were various councils that dealt with specific matters ranging from military to local judicial affairs. The *Heren van het Ridderschap Holland* was a council formed by high nobility from the province of Holland possessing one vote in the States of Holland.

One year later the matter was still residing with the States of Holland. Meanwhile Steenbergen wrote Heinsius again in March 1714. He noted the '(...) *tegenswoordige favourable dispositie van burgermeesteren van Amsterdam en in 't bijhsonder van de heer burgemeester Hooft (...) om op den heer Optennoorth het consulaat van Cadix te brengen.*' None of the burgomasters of Amsterdam were directors of the Levant Trade Society, but they

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<sup>66</sup> In the interest of time roughly sixty names were investigated. Influential and wealthy merchants were: Andries Pels & Soonen, George Clifort, Christoffel Brants, et al. Smaller merchants were: Hendrick de Wacker, Hendrick Hop, Bartholome Muysken, et al. Merchants who traded with Spain were: Melchior van Susteren, Jacob Dirven, Antoni Carpfanger, Gilles van Eys, et al. While Jacob van der Waeyen was a member of the States General.

had close ties to the society and commerce in the city. Steenbergen further reminded Heinsius of his favourable disposition to Op ten Noorth and inquired whether he might be able bring up his appointment in the next meeting of the States of Holland and States General. Steenbergen seemed to be confident that the support gathered in Amsterdam would see the matter to a successful end.<sup>67</sup> Op ten Noorth was the only one who lobbied with Heinsius for support. Croesen and Heysterman also corresponded with him, albeit on other matters. The importance of Op ten Noorth's acquaintance and lobbying with Heinsius become self-evident when the office of Grand Pensionary is considered. Not only was he the unofficial political leader of the Dutch Republic during the Second Stadtholderless Period (1702-1747), he also presided over the States of Holland during meetings of the States General and their own meetings. Furthermore, the Grand Pensionary advised the Heren van de Ridderschap Holland. People around Heinsius saw him as a calm and very polite man, nonetheless holding enormous influence in the Dutch state apparatus and nothing happened without his support.<sup>68</sup>

In June, after more than a year had passed, the States of Holland agreed to recommend Op ten Noorth to the States General for the position of consul in Cádiz.<sup>69</sup> Documents present in the archives of the States of Holland seemed to indicate that the decision was made by the Heren van het Ridderschap. Yet, no reference to the subject can be found in neither the archives of the Heren van het Ridderschap or the Committed Councils.<sup>70</sup> Correspondingly there is no direct evidence - circumstantial evidence at best - that the Society of Levant Trade was involved in the process.<sup>71</sup> On Monday the second of July, Op ten Noorth was officially appointed consul of

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<sup>67</sup> Heinsius, *De briefwisseling*, part XIV 492, letter 890, 10-03-1714.

<sup>68</sup> J. A. F. de Jongste and A. J. Veenendaal, e.a., *Antonie Heinsius and the Dutch Republic 1688-1720: Politics, War, and Finance* (The Hague 2002) 13-15.

<sup>69</sup> (NA) Staten Holland, inv. 147, 29-06-1714.

<sup>70</sup> (NA) Ridderschap van Holland (3.01.06), inv. 7, Gecommitteerde Raden der Staten van Holland en West-Friesland (3.01.05) inv. 3063, 3064, 3486, 3485, 4057.

<sup>71</sup> (NA) Directie van de Levantse Handel en de Navigatie in de Middellandse Zee (1.03.01), inv. 11, inv. 283, inv. 293, inv. 323. Minutes of the meetings by all its chambers over 1713 and 1714 contain nothing regarding the Cádiz consulate.

Cádiz and its accompanying districts by the States General.<sup>72</sup> His oath was taken a few days later and the new consul left for Cádiz somewhere in November.<sup>73</sup>

Due to his bad health Op ten Noorth was allowed to return to The Netherlands in 1727. During this period his Vice-consul Antonio Borgers tended to the consulate until he died in 1733. Op ten Noorth's presence was hastily required to oversee matters in Cádiz, but his advanced age and failing health made him decide to request the States General for his dismissal.<sup>74</sup> While this marked the end of his consulate, he did not give up public life. Upon his return he moved to Arnhem, the city where his family held posts in the local government. There he spend the last four years of his life as a magistrate in Arnhem from 1736 until 1740. He died at the age of 73 never having married.<sup>75</sup> Sadly the family archive which could have provided more information went up in flames during the Second World War.<sup>76</sup>

Johan op ten Noorth's social background made him part of the local *regent* elite. He might not have been part of its highest circles, yet the position and connections of his direct and indirect family still enabled him to advance his own interests. He had secured the support of a significant number of merchants and the burgomasters of Amsterdam, who were intimately connected to the Dutch merchant elite. Heinsius and the burgomaster of Amsterdam were undoubtedly also of great importance to Op ten Noorth's bid. It is remarkable that direct evidence is absent for any say in the matter by Levant Trade Society, which contrasts with current historiographical consensus.

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<sup>72</sup> The following towns surrounding Cádiz are meant: towns of Puerto St. Maria, Puerto Real & Xerez.

<sup>73</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 2115, 2-07-1714, inv. 752, 2-07-1714, Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant 05-07-1714.

<sup>74</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7757, 21-09-1733, inv. 2346, 22-08-1733.

<sup>75</sup> Wijndelts, *Op ten Noort*, 77, Pols, *Brave burgerheren*, 19-20, 41, 55.

<sup>76</sup> All that rests is the already cited short biographical publication from 1913 by J.W. Wijndelts and a partly reconstructed archive containing pieces of a later date. I am very thankful to the Op ten Noort family members for their time and effort in answering my questions.

### 1.3 Leonardus Henricus van Aalst (1698-1759†)

*‘Neemt den suppliant met schuldige eerbiedighijt de vrijhijt U Hoog Mogende op het onderdanigste te versoeken van met het consulaet tot Cadix te mogen worden begunstigt.’<sup>77</sup>*

Leonard van Aalst was born the 25th of April 1698 in The Hague as the son of a local civil-law notary. He later married the daughter of a bread and flour salesman.<sup>78</sup> Van Aalst started his career in 1723, as secretary to the Dutch ambassador in Madrid Frans van der Meer. He appointed and paid his secretary himself. Van Aalst’s father’s position as a notary would have given him the right background for this job, which mainly consisted of tending to the ambassador’s extensive correspondence. Finding a competent secretary was not an easy task, due to the linguistic knowledge required and limited possibilities for advancement. Secretaries were therefore usually from a lower social background than the regenten ambassadors. Van Aalst would form an exception to the fact that advancement options were limited for secretaries when he became consul in Cádiz in 1733.<sup>79</sup>

Vice-consul Antonio Borgers had been in charge since Op ten Noorth had left for the Dutch Republic. Borgers fell ill in 1733 and Van der Meer soon feared the worst, as he considered the vice-consul’s old age. His advancing years are still visible in his letters written by an unsteady hand. Van der Meer requested the States General to order Op ten Noorth to appoint a substitute vice-consul in case Borgers died. The candidate had to be a protestant and was forbidden from converting to the Roman Catholic faith. In April Borgers’ health still showed no signs of improvement. Van der Meer was worried, as at the time four consular posts in Spain were vacant and he emphasized that the post in Cádiz had to be filled first. In May

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<sup>77</sup> (NA), Staten-Generaal, inv. 7758, 02-10-1733.

<sup>78</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 414.

<sup>79</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 396, 414, (NA) Staten Generaal inv. 7132, 06-10-1733, Aalbers, *De Republiek en de vrede*, 275-288, 402-403.

Borgers made a small recovery but soon relapsed.<sup>80</sup> At this point Van der Meer decided to send Ludwich Hameken, the consul in Algiers who was in Sevilla at the time to Cádiz '(...) *om aldaar pro interim een waackend oogje te houden*'.<sup>81</sup> Hameken visited Borgers and grippingly described his sickbed; by then the lower part of Borgers' body had completely swollen up. Between twelve and two in the night of the 28<sup>th</sup> of June Borgers passed away and the tussle over his succession started.<sup>82</sup>

Grand Pensionary Simon van Slingelandt informed the States of Holland of the situation in Cádiz and a request by Hameken to be made consul in Cádiz. It was decided that members from the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Hoorn would give their advice to the States of Holland on a later date.<sup>83</sup> Coincidentally those were the three cities in Holland that had their own Levant Trade Society chamber. However, records of their meetings do not mention any deliberations on the succession of the Cádiz consulate.<sup>84</sup> A while later a letter by Van der Meer recommended Hameken and his own secretary Van Aalst for the post. Van Aalst would have had ample time to prepare his application for the office. Due to his position he was always completely informed about the state of affairs in Cádiz. Both applied for the office of vice-consul since the consulate would not be handed out as long as Op ten Noorth was alive.<sup>85</sup>

Matters were complicated by a person called Jan de Koninghe. He signed his letters as Juan de Conique, the Spanish pronunciation of his name. De Conique claimed to have received a proxy from Borgers to look after his responsibilities during and after his sickness. Van der

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<sup>80</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7132, 20-02-1733, 13-03-1733, 13-04-1733, 17-04-1733, 08-05-1733.

<sup>81</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7132, 15-05-1733, inv. 2343, 24-07-1733, Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 378.

<sup>82</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7132, 13-06-1733, 30-06-1733, 30-06-1733. He died in the port village of Sanlúcar de Barrameda near Cádiz.

<sup>83</sup> (NA) Staten Holland, inv. 170, 20-06-1733.

<sup>84</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 13, inv. 293, inv. 323. Minutes of meetings by the chamber of Hoorn in 1733 are missing, but other years gave the impression that Hoorn was inactive in these kind of matters.

<sup>85</sup> (NA) Archief van de familie Van Heteren (3.20.24), inv. 54, 21-07-1733.



**Illustration 1.** Ambassador Frans van der Meer as depicted in H. van Wijn, e.a., *Bijvoegsels en aanmerkingen voor de Vaderlandsche Historie van J. Wagenaar* (Amsterdam 1790-1796). Nothing is known about the original painting this image was based on.

Meer accused him of thwarting efforts by Hameken to attend to consular matters in Cádiz and mobilising the Dutch merchant community for his own interests. De Conique pleaded his case in a letter to the States General. In it he detailed how he fulfilled Borgers' responsibilities after his death with verbal agreement from Van der Meer. He had also received permission from the governor in Cádiz to act as the Dutch consul. Permission which according to Conique was denied to Hameken. With his letter Conique tried to win the struggle for power that started in the wake of Borgers' passing.<sup>86</sup> Van der Meer was well aware of the importance of the Cádiz consulate and did not stay idle. He contacted Op ten Noorth who advised him to send Van Aalst to Cádiz to fill the position of vice-consul, he gave the same advice to the States General.<sup>87</sup> Op ten Noorth's letter explained that he was not able to make the journey to Spain himself in the coming winter months, due to his faltering health and advanced age. The old consul asked permission to wait until winter had passed and in the meantime recommended Van Aalst for the position.<sup>88</sup>

De Conique's letter was discussed by the States of Holland in August. As before, it was decided that members from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Hoorn would again give their advice to the States of Holland on a later date.<sup>89</sup> The next day a letter by Van der Meer was brought into the meeting, detailing his advice on what to do with the consulate in Cádiz. It clarified that Van Aalst was sent to Cádiz to take care of the consulate based on the advice of Op ten Noorth. The States General were advised to move Op ten Noorth to resume his duties. If that was not possible another person was to be sought for the consular position.<sup>90</sup> Van Aalst left in the

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<sup>86</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7132, 08-07-1733.

<sup>87</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7132, 14-07-1733, 28-07-1733.

<sup>88</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7757, 21-09-1733.

<sup>89</sup> (NA) Staten van Holland, inv. 170, 27-08-1733.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*, 28-08-1733.



beginning of August accompanied by a letter from the Spanish first secretary of state.<sup>91</sup> Van der Meer had asked the first secretary to intervene and make sure the governor in Cádiz recognized that Van Aalst as the Dutch consul. The letter Van Aalst carried granted him all the rights of the Dutch consular office.<sup>92</sup> This was clearly a move by Van der Meer to counter De Conique.

Hameken also applied for the post in Cádiz. His request was short and to the point: since after the death of Borgers the position was vacant, he was the person to fill it. He mentioned his knowledge of several languages and experience as a consul in Algiers.<sup>93</sup> Hameken's request was passed to members from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Hoorn just like previous applications. It took some time before this matter was settled.<sup>94</sup> In the meantime the States of Holland and States General decided to discharge Hameken only a few days after his request, due to him not originating from the Dutch Republic. Hameken disappointedly responded that he had served with such devotion as if he had, in fact, been born in the Dutch Republic.<sup>95</sup> Van Aalst's formal request to the States General was a short and polite letter stating his current position as secretary to Van der Meer.<sup>96</sup> As stated before he also had the support of Op ten Noorth, whom delivered his resignation to the States General at the end of October. The States General though it to be in the interest of the country and its commerce that the consulate in Cádiz was seen to as quickly as possible.<sup>97</sup>

Evidence to further support the fact that Op ten Noorth's recommendation carried weight can be found in the personal archive of a Court of Audit official; Hendrik van Heteren.

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<sup>91</sup> José Patiño (1666-1736).

<sup>92</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7132, 10-08-1733.

<sup>93</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7757, 25-07-1733.

<sup>94</sup> (NA) Staten van Holland, inv. 170, 29-10-1733.

<sup>95</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7132, 29-09-1733. Afterwards he served some time as a Danish consul; Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 727.

<sup>96</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7758, 02-11-1733.

<sup>97</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 2346, 22-10-1733.

He also acted as a business agent, it is therefore difficult to clearly distinguish between official and commercial papers.<sup>98</sup> Van Heteren maintained correspondence with Hameken in his official capacity. It soon spilled over into the business side of things when Hameken asked his help in securing the post of consul. Hameken also send him two letters to be delivered personally to the Grand Pensionary and a member of the Admiralty in Amsterdam.<sup>99</sup> Van Heteren went to work on Hameken's behalf. To this end he wrote personal notes on Hameken's letters with the current state of affairs. These provided great insight into Van Heteren's actions in the bid for the consular office. After learning that Borgers was approved as vice-consul when Op ten Noorth recommended him to the States General, Van Heteren asked a friend to contact the old consul in order to secure his support for Hameken. He soon learned that '*(...) de H. Op Ten Noort sigh aan een ander geëngageert heeft*'.<sup>100</sup> Meanwhile Hameken sought support and patronage by Van der Meer, but since Van Aalst was the ambassador's secretary this was a futile pursuit.<sup>101</sup>

The Pensionary of Amsterdam Jacob de la Bassecour, as representative of the members charged with the requests the States of Holland had received surrounding the Cádiz consulate, informed the meeting in October of the decisions they had reached. A contemporary described De la Bassecour as a difficult man to negotiate with and guided in everything he did by the interests of Amsterdam.<sup>102</sup> Considering the latest developments the members had deliberated on who to appoint a full consul and not merely as vice-consul. They decided that: '*In agting genoomen zijnde de eene zijde de recommandatie van den heer ambassadeur van der Meer in*

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<sup>98</sup> J.H. Kompagnie, *Inventaris van het archief van de familie Van Heteren (1635-1806)* (Den Haag 1979), 14-17.

<sup>99</sup> Both letters did not survive, but were addressed to Grand Pensionary Simon van Slingelandt and Admiral François van Aerssen van Sommelsdijck.

<sup>100</sup> (NA) Familie Van Heteren, inv. 54, 30-06-1733, notes written on the backside of the letter.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*, 30-06-1733, 21-07-1733, 29-09-1733.

<sup>102</sup> Molhuysen and Blok, *Biografisch Woordenboek*, part II 99, according to the French envoy and representative the Marquis of Fénelon (1725-1744).

*faveur van Leonard van Aalst, des selfs amanuensis, en aan de andere zijde, dat deselve Van Aalst de taal en saaken verstaat, en aan de kooplieden niet onaangenaam schijnt te weesen, is goedgevonden en verstaan, dat de saak ter Generaliteit daar heen sal worden aangestelt tot consul van deesen staat te Cadix.*<sup>103</sup>

Dismissal of the old consul by the States General was followed by the appointment of Van Aalst the second of November.<sup>104</sup> He did not only have the recommendations of Van der Meer and Op ten Noorth behind him at this meeting. The delegates from the province of Zeeland intervened on his behalf, as instructed by their States of Zeeland. No further motivation was written down.<sup>105</sup> The States of Zeeland's archive contains no special records or instructions regarding the appointment of the consul in Cádiz that year. In meetings of both the States of Zeeland and its committed councils the appointment of Van Aalst is treated as regular business. Those present in the meeting consented with the decision, which meant that the Zeeland representatives were informed of their consent and no further action was taken.<sup>106</sup> Barring the possibility that the relevant documents have been lost, nothing indicated that the States of Zeeland undertook any extraordinary actions. What then, could be the reason for the delegates to support Van Aalst? The consul himself offered the an explanation a few years later in a letter addressed to the directors of the *Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie* (MCC). He expressed his gratitude to them '*weegens derselves gunstige adviesen in de saak van mijn consulaat bij de provincie van Zeeland overgenoomen en hier door eijndelijk gelukkig getermineert.*'<sup>107</sup> Thus it were the directors of the MCC that used their influence to secure Van Aalst's appointment.

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<sup>103</sup> (NA) Staten van Holland, inv. 170, 31-10-1733.

<sup>104</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 413-414.

<sup>105</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 984, 02-11-1733, inv. 2347, 02-11-1733. The delegates from Zeeland present were: P.J. van Borssele, P. Bout, N.J.H. Noeij, and H.N. van Hoorn.

<sup>106</sup> Zeeuws Archief, Middelburg, The Netherlands (ZA), Staten van Zeeland en Gecommitteerde Raden (2), inv. 542, 12-10-1733, inv. 3086, 01-12-1733, inv 330, 01-12-1733.

<sup>107</sup> (ZA) Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie (MCC) (20), inv. 61.8, 10-09-1737.

None of the directors were members of the States of Zeeland. However, they were all local merchants with close ties to local, regional and often national governance.<sup>108</sup> Additionally, the local Middelburg regenten elite was not only heavily involved in the VOC and WIC, the majority was also invested in the MCC. To illustrate, its first chairman Willem van Citters was the brother of the Pensionary of Zeeland Caspar van Citters.<sup>109</sup> Undoubtedly, directors of the MCC possessed the necessary connections to influence the States of Zeeland and its delegates. The bid of Hameken showed that this happened through unofficial channels. It is thus not surprising that little evidence can be found in state archives. Sadly, family archives of the directors do not exist.

Van Aalst resigned as consul in September 1746.<sup>110</sup> In his letter of resignation he cited his family as the main reason for his decision. There were only Roman Catholic schools in Cádiz for his children, this proved to be problematic for his protestant family. Furthermore, life was too expensive and his income as consul was too scant.<sup>111</sup> He retired to the village of Bodegraven where he bought a sizable homestead. Van Aalst acted as a landlord and creditor, he was also involved in the management of a nearby polder. This suggests that his earnings as a consul were better than he purported to the States General. The former consul passed away in 1759 and was buried on his homestead.<sup>112</sup>

The appointment of Van Aalst was unlike that of his predecessor. Not only was there an element of haste involved, a certain type of power struggle ensued for the consular post in 1733.

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<sup>108</sup> H. van Damme, *Prosopografische analyse van directeuren-commissarissen en hoofdparticipanten van de Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie, 1720-1755* (Unpublished MA Thesis, Gent University 2009) 80-81. In 1733 these were: C. Speldernieuw, J. Huijten, C. Ribaut, H. Boursse, J. Wils, A. Claudoré & A. van den Bussche.

<sup>109</sup> Paesie, *Geschiedenis van de MCC*, 28-29.

<sup>110</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 414.

<sup>111</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7803, 29-08-1746.

<sup>112</sup> Regionaal Historisch Centrum Rijnstreek en Lopikerwaard, Woerden, The Netherlands (RHC), Notarissen te Woerden (W054), inv. 8637, 17-08-1748, inv. 8645, 17-09-1748, Notarissen te Bodegraven (B066), inv. 883, 27-04-1756, 24-02-1759, Ambacht Bodegraven (B065) inv. 7, 25-05-1756, 30-01-1750.

In it the importance of useful connections shined through yet again. Both Van der Meer's and Op ten Noorth's influence helped secure the post for Van Aalst. The MCC directors influencing the process through the States of Zeeland show that, even though he carried the recommendation of both the ambassador and the former consul, merchants exercised significant influence on the state apparatus in this case. In that light it is surprising to see that in the official records of the Levant Trade Society the Cádiz consulate is not mentioned at all. During deliberations in the States of Holland the matter was differed to members of the cities in Holland possessing chambers of the Levant Trade Society. This indicates that unofficially opinions of Levant Trade Society directors from those towns were taken into account.

#### **1.4 Phillipus Renard (1710-1781 †)**

*'(...) zal mijne welgunners tragten te justificeeren in de goede gedagten & verwagting over mij verwekt (...)'<sup>113</sup>*

There is little to be found about the early life of Phillipus Renard, who went by the name Philip Renard. Born to Huguenot parents he was baptized in the Westerkerk of Amsterdam.<sup>114</sup> Considering his later life it is likely he studied at a university and it is certain that he was active as a merchant in Amsterdam. In 1737 he joined Van Aalst in Cádiz as his business partner. This partnership will be further explored in the following chapter, but in this paragraph it will already become clear that Renard definitely profited from this partnership.<sup>115</sup>

On a Wednesday in August 1746 a meeting by directors of the Levant Trade Society was held. Their influential secretary announced that Cornelis Munter had informed him of Van Aalst's intentions to resign, who was also planning on asking the States General to have his

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<sup>113</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 173, 15-10-1746.

<sup>114</sup> (GAA) Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken van Amsterdam (5001), inv. 133, f. 189v.

<sup>115</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 10-09-1737.

companion Renard succeed him. Something which Munter recommended wholeheartedly. Cornelis Munter was the son of influential Amsterdam burgomaster Willem Munter who was in office at that time. Cornelis Munter himself was an official in Amsterdam and member of the firm Andries Pels & Soonen, one of the most influential banking and trading houses in Europe.<sup>116</sup> This was not the first time the firm meddled in the appointment of consuls. Its name was also listed as a supporter in the requests by both Op ten Noorth and Van Beeck.<sup>117</sup> The reason for their efforts on Renard's behalf is that he had been active as their agent during his time in Cádiz, as the next chapter will lay out comprehensively.<sup>118</sup> Munter was therefore acting in the interests of Andries Pels & Soonen when moving the Levant Trade Society to recommend Renard. The Levant Trade Society directors decided that if the time came he would indeed be preferred.<sup>119</sup>

Days later the States General received a request by Van Aalst for his resignation. The consul included a glowing recommendation for Renard to succeed him: He possessed all the necessary skills, was of Protestant faith, and was the only merchant from the province of Holland living in Cádiz.<sup>120</sup> Again, it was decided to pass the matter down to the States of Holland.<sup>121</sup> They decided to defer the matter to the judgement of delegates from the cities Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Hoorn, similar to Van Aalst's appointment.

While still in Cádiz Renard commissioned an advocate in the Dutch Republic to act on his behalf and his request was discussed in September. He emphasized that he hailed from the province of Holland and adhered to the protestant religion. Renard continued to write that he

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<sup>116</sup> J.E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795*, Part II (Amsterdam 1905), 693-696.

<sup>117</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 1896, 1-05-1713.

<sup>118</sup> See chapter two.

<sup>119</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 14, 24-08-1746.

<sup>120</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7803, 29-08-1746.

<sup>121</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 2500, 39-08-1746.

settled in Cádiz as a merchant eight years ago and in light of Van Aalst's resignation he requested to be the next consul.<sup>122</sup> Like the resignation of Van Aalst, the request was directed to the delegates from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Hoorn.<sup>123</sup> No other requests for the post reached the States of Holland, unlike in the case of Op ten Noorth and Van Aalst. This can be explained due to that the raging War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) was severely hampering Dutch trade with Cádiz.<sup>124</sup> Other than the aforementioned preference that the Amsterdam chamber of the Levant Trade Society had for Renard, no other chamber recorded any further deliberations on the succession of the Cádiz consulate.<sup>125</sup> With only the single meeting of the Amsterdam chamber to go on it seems that the opinion of the directors was indeed consulted, albeit unofficially. The States General or the States of Holland do not seem to have wanted to completely forfeit control of the Cádiz consulate. The delegates reached a decision by the end of September. Pensionary of Amsterdam Jan de la Bassecour informed the meeting that they would request the States General to agree with Van Aalst's resignation. He also set out the deliberations surrounding the appointment of Renard. After acquiring '*goede informatien en bekoome getuigenissen van des suppliant's bequaamheid*' the States of Holland consented to recommending him to the States General.<sup>126</sup> The States General then copied the decision almost letter for letter and officially appointed him consul in Cádiz.<sup>127</sup>

Like Van Aalst, Renard knew who to thank for his appointment. In his first letter to the Levant Trade Society he expressed his gratitude to the directors for influence exerted by them

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<sup>122</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7803, 10-09-1746, (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 1608, 24-10-1746.

<sup>123</sup> (NA) Staten van Holland, inv. 184, 14-09-1746.

<sup>124</sup> J.G. van Dillen, *Van rijkdom en regenten; handboek tot de economische en sociale geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Republiek* ('s-Gravenhage 1970) 506, 516-517.

<sup>125</sup> (NA) Staten van Holland, inv. 184, 02-09-1746, Levantse Handel, inv. 285, inv. 294, inv. 323.

<sup>126</sup> (NA) Staten van Holland, 184, 22-09-1746. Jan de la Bassecour was family of the earlier mentioned Jacob de la Bassecour.

<sup>127</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 1138, 27-09-1746.

in the matter.<sup>128</sup> Pels & Soonen undoubtedly received a similar letter. Interestingly, during his term in a letter more widely discussing the state of affairs in Cádiz, Renard reflected on the manner in which consuls were appointed. He remarked that recommendations by merchants were not always a good endorsement.<sup>129</sup>

Renard was dismissed after ten years. Chapter two explains how he fell from grace with the States General due to insulting a naval officer. Nonetheless they allowed him a yearly emolument which his successor was to pay him with revenue from the consulate.<sup>130</sup> After his return from Spain he settled in Maastricht and became involved in the community of what was known as the natural sciences. The Pietersberg near Maastricht was famous for fossils that could be found there. Renard created a small name for himself as a scientist and participated in the popular pastime of keeping a cabinet of curiosities. He had already started with this in Cádiz, collecting rocks from its bay. Furthermore, he maintained correspondence with scientists such as Philip Fermin and Arnout Vosmaer, whereby he at times also sent fossils and minerals to his fellow scientists.<sup>131</sup> Renard additionally won a gold medal and cash sum for an essay on the water management of Dutch rivers, written for the *Bataafs Genootschap voor Proefondervindelijke Wijsbegeerte*.<sup>132</sup> Despite his prize winning effort he never became a member of the society.<sup>133</sup> Renard's personality raised eyebrows at times. A German scientist travelling through Europe visited him to see his cabinet and noted that he was '(...) *der*

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<sup>128</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 173, 15-10-1746.

<sup>129</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7146, 20-07-1751.

<sup>130</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 2627, 15-03-1757.

<sup>131</sup> C.O. van Regeteren Altena, 'Nieuwe Gegevens over achttiende-eeuwse verzamelaars van fossielen te Maastricht' in *Natuurhistorisch Maandblad* 28-02-1963 nr.2.

<sup>132</sup> *Verhandelingen van het Bataafsche Genootschap der Proefondervindelyke Wysbegeerte te Rotterdam*, (Rotterdam 1774), IX.

<sup>133</sup> M.J. van Lieburg and J.R. ter Molen 'Bataafsche Genootschap der Proefondervindelijke Wijsbegeerte, Het Bataafsche Genootschap na 225 jaar' in *Nieuwe Verhandelingen van het Bataafsche Genootschap der Proefondervindelijke Wijsbegeerte te Rotterdam*; 3th series (Rotterdam 1995).



*närrischste, lächerlichste Mann, den man sehen kan.*<sup>134</sup> The old consul passed away in Maastricht on the 25th of November 1781 without any direct heirs.<sup>135</sup> Judging by his estate he did not die in poverty. It consisted of a considerable amount of books and his cabinet contained valuable gemstones, amongst other things.<sup>136</sup>

This third consular appointment offered the first direct evidence of influence by the Levant Trade Society. Although its support for Renard's bid for office was orchestrated by a specific party from the merchant regenten elite.

### **1.5 Conclusions: competence or connections?**

This chapter has set out the appointment process and social economic background of three Dutch consuls in Cádiz. Johan op ten Noorth hailed from a minor local regenten family and had been a merchant in Amsterdam and Cádiz. Van Aalst was the son of a civil law notary and secretary to the Dutch ambassador in Spain. Renard had also been a merchant in Cádiz. Only Op ten Noorth formed part of the regenten elite, albeit not its highest circles. Beforehand all three men had lived in Spain for quite some time.

While the States General officially appointed consuls, it were the States of Holland that did most of the decision making process and in their meetings Amsterdam was the biggest player. Historians often attribute the appointment of Dutch consuls in Cádiz solely to the Levant Trade Society. However, in the appointments of Op ten Noorth, Van Aalst, and Renard direct evidence of meddling by the Levant Trade Society was encountered only once. Although it is possible that directors or members from the Levant Trade Society exerted influence through channels that left no written records, it is still far removed from complete authority. The Levant

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<sup>134</sup> H. Sanders, *Beschreibung seiner Reisen durch Frankreich, die Niederlande, Holland, Deutschland und Italien, Ersten Teil* (Leipzig 1783) 608.

<sup>135</sup> *Amsterdamse Courant*, 22-01-1782.

<sup>136</sup> *Amsterdamse Courant*, 22-10-1782, 29-10-1782, *Diemer- of Watergraafs-meersche courant*, 31-07-1782.

Trade Society did not possess the same power in the appointment of consuls in Spain as it did in the Ottoman Empire.

The nepotism practiced in the Dutch Republic as described by historians also played a role in diplomatic appointments. Various parties actively lobbied on the behest of consular candidates. Not all individuals lobbying for consular candidates encountered in this chapters were merchants, but merchants held considerable influence on decision making process. More than a hundred merchants pledged their support to the request by Op ten Noorth. MCC directors used representatives from Zeeland to the States General to support Van Aalst. Renard was backed by the important firm Pels & Soonen, a business connection of his.

In conclusion, all three consuls received support from a wide variety of individuals during their appointment. Not all of them were merchants and political support was certainly beneficial, but merchants were the only party that is encountered in all three instances. In the cases of Van Aalst and Renard these merchants were part of the regenten elite, while Op ten Noorth had a more diverse backing. Still, in light of the other two appointments it is likely that the most important benefactors of Op ten Noorth were the regenten merchants. All these merchants were not acting on the behalf of candidates without good reason. The next chapters will show how merchants reaped the benefits of their support.



*'Todos los viajeros y visitantes que llegan a ella insisten en los mismos tópicos: Cádiz es una ciudad opulenta, rica, elegante, culta, cosmopolita...'*<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> M. Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico: la ciudad, sus comerciantes y la actividad mercantil (1650-1830)* (Cádiz 2005) 37.

## SECOND CHAPTER

# *DIPLOMACY AND COMMERCE IN CÁDIZ*

### **2.0 Introduction**

The preceding chapter demonstrated that Dutch merchants influenced the appointment of consuls. This chapter examines various activities of Dutch consuls in Cádiz for the benefit of the Dutch community and trade. It will show that they did not exclusively work for the Dutch Republic. Consuls formed their own trading companies that operated under the name of their business partners. With these companies consuls actively participated in various trade networks as merchants and agents.

### **2.1 The Dutch in Cádiz**

Lying on a narrow peninsula at the entrance of a natural bay, Cádiz is perfectly located to act as a port. This formed one of the reasons for moving the *Casa de Contratacion* from inland lying Sevilla to Cádiz.<sup>138</sup> Spanish fleets destined to the New World were already stopping in Cádiz since 1679, after which the government agency responsible for all trade and navigation was also moved in 1717. In that century Cádiz grew from 41.000 to 77.500 inhabitants and firmly established itself in the middle of Atlantic trade networks. According to an eighteenth century French merchant the city dictated popular fashion and products to the whole Spain, even its capital Madrid. Before Cádiz became the centre for trade with Spanish America its location at the gateway to the Mediterranean Sea had already seen a lively trade flourish with

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<sup>138</sup> Walker, *Spanish Politics and Imperial Trade*, 120.

Europe and the Mediterranean. The city was dominated by trade for centuries.<sup>139</sup> Consequently Cádiz was home to a large number of foreign merchant communities since the fifteenth century. Before the *Casa de Contratación* was relocated around 75% of the merchants in Cádiz were foreigners, after the relocation they were joined by a large number of Spanish merchants and their percentage dropped to around 40%. Although foreign merchant communities profited from the fact that they enjoyed certain privileges granted to them by the Spanish state.<sup>140</sup>

Literature on merchant communities in general is extensive. The findings of most relevance to this study concern their vital importance in trade networks. This made them pillars of globalisation in early modern times.<sup>141</sup> Dutch merchant communities were particularly important to Dutch trade interests. Their presence on the Iberian Peninsula began during the Twelve Year Truce, a time wherein trade between both countries steadily increased.<sup>142</sup> French and Italian merchant communities were the most numerous in Cádiz, followed by the Flemish. While the Dutch were never as copious, their strength laid in their quality of services and excellent networks.<sup>143</sup> A recent publication stressed the importance of these Dutch networks in the Atlantic, of which Cádiz was a vital part, for Dutch trade.<sup>144</sup> Quantifying Dutch numbers in Cádiz is difficult due to a lack of proper sources and the ambiguous nature of the community. Not every merchant stayed long enough to be considered a *vecino* of Cádiz. Furthermore, many Dutch merchants changed their nationality when it suited their interests. Several individuals

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<sup>139</sup> Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, 37-62.

<sup>140</sup> X. Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World: Spanish Merchants and Their Overseas Networks* (Woodbridge 2010) 133. In early modern times and some historical works foreign merchant communities were also called nations; an example would be 'the Dutch nation'. In the interest of clarity the term merchant communities will be used throughout this thesis.

<sup>141</sup> Antunes, *Globalisation in the Early Modern period*, 16-28, 181.

<sup>142</sup> J.W. Veluwenkamp 'Merchant colonies in the Dutch trade system' in P.W. Klein, C.A. Davids, E.A., *Kapitaal, Ondernemerschap en Beleid: Studies over Economie en Politiek in Nederland, Europa en Azië van 1500 Tot Heden: Afscheidsbundel Voor Prof. Dr. P.W. Klein* (Amsterdam 1996) 160-164.

<sup>143</sup> Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, 106-112.

<sup>144</sup> G. Oostindie and J. Roitman, *Dutch Atlantic Connections, 1680-1800 Linking Empires, Bridging Borders* (Leiden 2014) 139-140.

that are part of this thesis form excellent examples. Amsterdam merchant Louis le Grand once pretended to belong to the Flemish nation, as they held better trade privileges.<sup>145</sup> Others translated their names into Spanish. In chapter one for example, ‘De Koningh’ became ‘De Conique’.<sup>146</sup> What and who exactly comprised the Dutch merchant community was far from set in stone.<sup>147</sup> When Vice-consul Borgers listed all Dutch merchant houses active in 1728 and only came to a total of seven, other sources show that many more merchants were present that year.<sup>148</sup> Amongst other evidence, surviving business correspondence testifies that the merchant house of Francois Joseph van Hemert was working for Daniel van Eys, a cloth merchant in Leiden.<sup>149</sup> Although merchant communities were in a constant state of flux, foreign consuls in Cádiz represented these communities along the lines of their home countries.

## 2.2 Historiographical background

The problematic status of consuls was explained in the introduction of this thesis. This problem was partly caused by their ambiguous legal status and the large variety of roles they fulfilled for their merchant community, as well as their patria.<sup>150</sup> Or as French historian Poumarède inquired: ‘*Qu’est qu’un consul?*’<sup>151</sup> Thus historians do not always see eye to eye on their exact activities and responsibilities. While one saw their *raison d’être* to be the need of the merchant community for internal and external judicial matters, another stressed the information they

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<sup>145</sup> Solana, *Comunidades transnacionales*, 60, *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos*, 117.

<sup>146</sup> Solana, *Comunidades transnacionales*, 44.

<sup>147</sup> Solana, *Mercaderes atlánticos*, 129-142.

<sup>148</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7130, 05-10-1728.

<sup>149</sup> Regionaal Archief Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands (RAL), Daniël van Eys (0016), inv. 1i.

<sup>150</sup> For example see: Poumarède, ‘Réseaux consulaires’, 209, Müller, ‘The Swedish Consular Service’, 86–95, Bustos Rodríguez, ‘Consulats et consuls’, 267-268.

<sup>151</sup> G. Poumarède, ‘Le consul dans les dictionnaires et les droit des gens: émergence et affirmation d’une institution nouvelle (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)’ in Ulbert, *La fonction consulaire*, 23.

supplied to their patria.<sup>152</sup> Leirda and Neumann were of the opinion that the large variety of consular tasks evolved in a grey area between diplomatic history, commercial history, and international law.<sup>153</sup> Bartolomei stated that activities by consuls can roughly be divided into three spheres; information about products and markets, guarding national commercial interests, and various judicial functions.<sup>154</sup> Both viewpoints broadly covered activities of consuls, although they do not offered a clear answer to the exact definition of a consul. This often boiled down to discussion between historians about whether consuls were diplomats or merchants. It is further complicated by the fact that before their appointments, consuls were often making a living as merchants. This was not unique to the Dutch Republic, Swedish consuls often belonged to merchant families and their tasks mainly dealt with promoting and protecting Swedish trade.<sup>155</sup> S. Murdoch talked about ‘merchant consuls’ in his book, in which he argued that Scottish consuls as part of commercial networks actively acted in the interests of their families.<sup>156</sup> In contrast, Venetian consuls were career officials. They had strict regulations and were not allowed to have business ties to the country they were send to.<sup>157</sup> Spanish consulates in the eighteenth century, in turn, were honorary positions.<sup>158</sup>

If one were to classify the *raisons d'être* most frequently outlined by scholars the following three categories would be the end result: First there was the judicial function of consuls, they were to provide law and justice for their fellow countrymen. Second was their

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<sup>152</sup> N. Steensgaard, ‘Consuls and Nations in the Levant from 1570 to 1650’ in *The Scandinavian Economic History Review* *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 15 (1967), 13–55, 15, Müller, *The Swedish Consular Service*, 86, Poumarède, ‘Réseaux consulaires’, 209-215.

<sup>153</sup> Leira and Neumann, ‘Past Lives of the Consul’, 226.

<sup>154</sup> Bartolomei, ‘De la utilidad comercial’, 248.

<sup>155</sup> L. Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*, 80, 225.

<sup>156</sup> S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Association in Northern Europe 1603-1746* (Leiden 2006) 158-207.

<sup>157</sup> Steensgaard, ‘Consuls and Nations’, 25-26.

<sup>158</sup> J. Núñez Hernández, ‘A History of Spanish Consular Service’ in Melissen and Fernández (ed.), *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy*, 257.



role as diplomats of their home state. Third was their informational function. Consuls provided information of a commercial nature to several parties in their home country. In response to this Bartolomei rightly asked the following question: If merchants had their own networks of agents that supplied them with the latest commercial news, why then would they rely on consular correspondence?<sup>159</sup> This chapter will investigate the activities by consuls in Cádiz with above three functions in mind. In this manner a clear image of official consular functions will arise.

### **2.3 The Dutch consulate in Cádiz**

The Dutch consulate in Cádiz was established after the peace treaty of Munster in 1648 and had jurisdiction over some smaller outlying towns.<sup>160</sup> Dutch historians have traditionally seen the consul as being mainly concerned with the protection and aid of Dutch merchants. In return consuls levied the *consulaatrecht*, a tax over each Dutch ship that anchored in the harbour and the *lastgelden*, raised on the cargo of Dutch ships to finance the Levant Trade Society's affairs. Both taxes were not always easily collected which could make life difficult for a consul, as he had to maintain his consulate from a percentage of the *consulaatrecht* innings.<sup>161</sup> In addition, consuls maintained regular correspondence with their ambassador in Madrid, the States General, and the Levant Trade Directors. Incidentally consuls also wrote to the Grand Pensionary, the Admiralty, Dutch consuls around the Mediterranean, and other parties in the Dutch state apparatus. Consuls were assisted by a Dutch vice-consul, who they appointed themselves.

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<sup>159</sup> Bartolomei, 'De la utilidad comercial', 251-252.

<sup>160</sup> Solana, *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos*, 85, Ebben, 'Onderdaenigsten Dienaers', 656. The towns of Puerto St. Maria, Puerto Real & Xerez.

<sup>161</sup> L'Espine and I. le Long, *De Koophandel Van Amsterdam*, 608, Ebben, 'Onderdaenigsten Dienaers', 653-654, Solana, *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos*, 84-86.

A series of articles drawn up by the States General and Levant Trade Society regulated responsibilities and privileges of the consuls. These articles were far from all-encompassing and focussed on taxes consuls had to collect. The 1658 article applied to consuls in the Mediterranean outside the Ottoman Empire and mainly laid the base for the levies collected by consuls. Besides regulating taxation, consuls were not entitled to extra compensation for any work to the benefit of captains, be it judicial proceedings or the mediating of conflicts. Most importantly, consuls were not allowed to exercise authority nor jurisdiction over merchants and their goods. The Spanish state was also very strict on any consul exercising legal authority outside of the Spanish legal system. Symbolically, consuls were even prohibited from exhibiting their national emblems outside their residence.<sup>162</sup> In addition, all legal matters in Cádiz in which someone from a foreign merchant community was the defendant were decided by a special Spanish judge without interference from other jurisdictional authorities. Foreign merchants felt he was essential to protect them from the ordinary Spanish legal system, which was less favourable to them.<sup>163</sup> All these factors seem to make any judicial consular function non-existent. Regulations drawn up in 1675 further specified the collection and distribution of consular levies.<sup>164</sup> These were adjusted for Dutch consuls in the Spanish towns of Cádiz, Sevilla, San Lucar, San Maria, and Malaga in 1737. The height of taxation was lowered and the manner in which the funds were to be used was adjusted. Consular levies had to pay for the required incitements to local officials and alms for the poor. Additionally, it was emphasized that captains were required to hand over their original cargo manifests to the consuls, or face a high fine. The 1658 articles stayed in place for consuls in the rest of Spain. In 1662 all Dutch

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<sup>162</sup> M. Aglietti 'El debate sobre la jurisdicción consular en la monarquía Hispánica (1759-1769)' in Aglietti, Herrero Sánchez and Zamora Rodríguez (ed.), *Los cónsules de extranjeros*, 108-109.

<sup>163</sup> They were called '*Juez Conservador*'. Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust*, 166-167, see also: A. Crespo Solana, 'El Juez Conservador: ¿Una Alternative al Cónsul de la Nación?' in Aglietti, Herrero Sánchez and Zamora Rodríguez (ed.), *Los cónsules de extranjeros*.

<sup>164</sup> Van der Burgh, *Inventaris van het archief van de Directie*, 12, (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 96.

consuls around the Mediterranean received an addendum, after numerous complains, that consuls were to refrain from engrossing themselves in the freighting of ships or selling of cargo. Instead they should content themselves with their current salaries and only ask reasonable compensation for any extraordinary work. Officially Dutch consuls were expected to maintain themselves on the revenue from their office.<sup>165</sup> These earnings were not always sufficient, so it is not surprising historians sometimes suspected that consuls might have been participating in commercial activities.<sup>166</sup> The three Dutch consuls discussed in this thesis were quick to complain about insufficient salaries. This is understandable when the case is considered of Dutch consul in La Coruña, Hendrik Croesen. Consular revenue had dwindled so low that the English and French consuls pleaded with the States General to award Croesen a stable salary, since he was barely able to feed himself.<sup>167</sup> Croesen's colleagues in Cádiz proactively evaded this risk. The following paragraphs will show that it was established practice for Dutch consuls to have a business partner who was actively involved in commerce on both their behalves, thereby acting as merchant and agent.

An archetype of the early modern agent cannot be easily determined. An agent provided all types of commercial services to facilitate the trade of his employer. One Dutch historian argued that the increasing use of foreign agents is even to blame for the decline of the Dutch merchant communities at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>168</sup> Agents were not always commercial players, one publication examined diplomats that acted as cultural agents and cultural agents that meddled in diplomatic affairs.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Steensgaard, 'Consuls and Nations', 32-33. Bustos Rodriguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, 155.

<sup>166</sup> Bustos Rodriguez, 'Consulats et consuls', 270, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, 155.

<sup>167</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7128, 04-05-1725.

<sup>168</sup> Cools, Keblusek, and Noldus (ed.), *Your Humble Servant*, 9-15, 129-130.

<sup>169</sup> M. Keblusek and B. Noldus (ed.), *Double Agents Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden 2011) 6.

Typically, historians examined consular history with the help of state archives. In doing so they only revealed official aspects of consular life. This chapter starts out with state archives and then moves on to commercial sources, such as correspondence contained in the *Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie* archive. Trade activities in the first thirty years of the company's existence were divided between Europe and America.<sup>170</sup> Right from the start the MCC equipped contraband voyages to Spanish colonies in the Americas, at the same time that Cádiz was the centre of trade with Spanish America. Meanwhile within its European trade fourteen trade voyages were conducted to Cádiz.<sup>171</sup> Thus during the first thirty years of the MCC's existence its commercial correspondence with Cádiz was of great importance to the company. It survived in almost complete form in its archives.<sup>172</sup> In 1730 the MCC slowly started to shift its focus to the slave trade and after 1755 it became a solely slave-trading company, marking the end of its Spanish commerce.<sup>173</sup> Notarial archives in Amsterdam and Cádiz contain valuable information on the unofficial commercial activities by consuls and were used to further trace commerce by consuls. This chapter will use a two pronged approach: it will first determine the consuls' official duties and subsequently unearth their unofficial commercial activities. This makes it possible to investigate the different interests that were a result of these activities in the third chapter.

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<sup>170</sup> C. Reinders Folmer-Van Prooijen, *Van goederenhandel naar slavenhandel: de Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie 1720-1755* (Middelburg 2000) 208-209, 212-213.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibidem*, 206-209. This included five chartered voyages.

<sup>172</sup> J. van de Voort, *De Westindische plantages van 1720-1795: financiën en handel* (Eindhoven 1973) 54-55.

<sup>173</sup> Van Prooijen, *Van goederenhandel naar slavenhandel*, 96.

## 2.4 Johan op ten Noorth (1714-1727)

*‘Sal ik egter alle diligentie doen om de coopluijden en schippers  
soo veel in mijn vermogen is de behulpsame hand te bieden.’<sup>174</sup>*

### 2.4.1 Consular life

Shortly after arriving in Cádiz Op ten Noorth received documents from the court in Madrid, officially granting him the consular position together with all freedoms and immunities fitting to his position.<sup>175</sup> Permission was granted to appoint vice-consuls in all towns that were part of the district of Cádiz.<sup>176</sup> It proved to be the start of a very busy office, after ten years Op ten Noorth remarked that he had only left the city thrice and only on official duties.<sup>177</sup> He contracted an agent in Madrid to act in the interests of the consulate. In Cádiz agreements were made with two merchants with the same purpose.<sup>178</sup>

In letters sent to the States General surprisingly little attention was paid to the ins and outs about trade in Cádiz. Commerce is most frequently mentioned in light of changes to regulations or taxes in Spain. The States General were more often informed of movements by navy and merchant ships, mainly from Spain and the Dutch Republic, but on occasion also from France and England. Considerable attention was paid to affairs that go beyond what scholars would expect from a consulate; consuls were meant to occupy themselves with local affairs. Yet the content of Op ten Noorth’s letters regularly transcends the borders of Cádiz and surrounding areas to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Cádiz was the European city best connected to the Spanish Americas and therefore Op ten Noorth would often relay news from

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<sup>174</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7123, 23-12-1714.

<sup>175</sup> The Dutch words used are: *‘vrijheden en inmunitieijten’*. This study found no copy of the relevant document in Dutch or Cádiz archives. If it still exists, it can be found in all likelihood in the Spanish National Archives in Madrid. Specifically in the archive of the *Junta de las Dependencias y Negocios de Extranjeros*.

<sup>176</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7123, 09-12-1714.

<sup>177</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7127, 13-06-1724.

<sup>178</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 990, 12-01-1715, 13-02-1715, inv. 994, 25-09-1724.

those regions. The wellbeing of Spanish trade fleets from the Americas together with their arrival or departure from Cádiz was the most important subject.<sup>179</sup> Barbary corsairs were another subject Op ten Noorth spend considerable time on. The proximity of Cádiz to North-Africa ensured that the consulate was rapidly aware when corsairs had managed to capture a Dutch ship. The plight of slaves in the region was closely linked to this, the consul received pleads for help from Dutch slaves being held in the Barbary States and relayed these to the States General.<sup>180</sup> While Op ten Noorth should have had correspondence with the Levant Trade Society, only one letter is present in its archive.

Correspondence was not the only task Op ten Noorth busied himself with. He also helped Dutch merchants in their affairs or conflicts. For example, he helped ships that ran aground in the region and would actively pursue justice for Dutch ships that were taken by Spanish privateers. Raising the required taxes on incoming Dutch ships was another time consuming task.<sup>181</sup> As is to be expected, this together made the consul heavily involved in Cádiz' commercial life. The distinction between the ambassador in Madrid and consul in Cádiz in commercial matters was at times negligible. Op ten Noorth was often the main driving force behind diplomatic efforts to counter tax regulations that would adversely affect the Dutch Republic's trade interests.<sup>182</sup> One case concerned a considerable increase of levies on spices, of which he realised that it: *'(...) streckende tot ruine van die negotie op dese gewesten die voor de Oostindische Maatschappije en u Hoog Mogende onderdanen van veel importantie is.'*<sup>183</sup> In

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<sup>179</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7123, 10-02-1715, inv. 7125, 02-02-1716, 30-08-1716, 22-08-1718, inv. 7127, 21-04-1722.

<sup>180</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7127, 17-02-1722, 08-12-1722, inv. 7128, 10-07-1725, 11-12-1725.

<sup>181</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7125, 02-08-1717.

<sup>182</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7125, 28-03-1718, 25-07-1718, 22-05-1719.

<sup>183</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7125, 10-07-1719.



**Illustration 2.** Johan op ten Noorth in 1710, painted by Jan Vollevens and as depicted in J.W. Wijndelts, *Het geslacht Op ten Noorth* (Groningen 1913). The location of the original is unknown.

other words, the consul defended global Dutch trade. This was underlined when he was invited by Ambassador Van der Meer to a conference in Madrid regarding new trade regulations.<sup>184</sup>

Yet the consulate was more than a permanent trading mission. It delivered letters and dispatches to Dutch navy ships in the area on convoy duty or operating against Barbary corsairs.<sup>185</sup> The consul also arranged supplies for these squadrons.<sup>186</sup> Furthermore, when the emperor of Morocco wanted to open peace negotiations with the Dutch Republic he did so through contacting Op ten Noorth. The States General entrusted him thereafter with guiding the process.<sup>187</sup> Setting up peace negotiations with this North-African state was an important diplomatic venture when Dutch shipping interests in the Mediterranean are taken into account.

Historians doubted the extent to which the Dutch in Cádiz formed a closely knitted community, but there is evidence that it did not differ much from other merchant communities. For example, all decisions made by the Dutch merchant community were recorded in the '*Resolutieboek van de Hollandse natie te Cádiz*', a book which was lost to time. Revenues from the consulate were partly used to help Dutch widows, orphans, slaves and sick sailors in the hospital.<sup>188</sup> The Dutch community was thus far from disjointed.

The importance and status of the consulate was again emphasized when the new English ambassador to the Spanish court visited Op ten Noorth before journeying on to Madrid.<sup>189</sup> At that time an ambassador representing the Dutch Republic was still absent. This soon proved to be a problem. Op ten Noorth pleaded with the governor to change a commercial regulation, who replied that he was under orders from Madrid.<sup>190</sup> This was a response the consul often had

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<sup>184</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7127, 13-06-1724.

<sup>185</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7128, 05-06-1724, 08-01-1726.

<sup>186</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 997, 25-09-1724.

<sup>187</sup> Wijndelts, *Het geslacht Op ten Noort*, 76. Moulay Ismaïl Ibn Sharif (1634/1645-1727).

<sup>188</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7126, 20-05-1720.

<sup>189</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7123, 24-03-1715.

<sup>190</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7123, 23-12-1714.



to deal with. While the Dutch consul held a position recognized by the Spanish state, he did not dare to write the court on his own accord even though he had his own contact in Madrid. This happened more often, his direct influence did not go higher than the governor of Cádiz and other authorities in the city, such as the admiral of the navy.<sup>191</sup>

According to regulations Dutch consuls were not allowed to exercise authority nor jurisdiction over merchants and their goods. When in major conflict with captains or sailors from Dutch ships *Op ten Noorth* often waited for a formal decision by the States General before acting. At times matters would be judged by an admiral from Dutch naval ships, if they were present in Cádiz. The consul could arrest Dutch sailors with help of the Spanish governor and his soldiers. In one case the consul explicitly stated that he arrested a Dutch captain to prevent losing authority in front of other captains. In another instance he had two sailors arrested for sodomy, but waited for the arrival of a Dutch naval squadron to have them sentenced by its admiral. In other matters, the consul relied on Spanish lawyers, such as when a Dutch ship was unjustly captured. Spanish civil law notaries were used to produce judicial documents like declarations and memorials.<sup>192</sup> At times the consul drafted certain declarations himself and certified them with the seal of the States General, but only two instances were encountered during this study.<sup>193</sup> All things considered, other than historiography would suggest, *Op ten Noorth* did not hold an important judicial function.

*Op ten Noorth* went on leave to the Dutch Republic in 1727 and never returned. Vice-consul Antonio Borgers was left in charge, who had already been serving under former consul Gilles Amia. While vice-consuls certainly deserve their own study, the six years that Antonio Borgers was *de facto* responsible for the Cádiz consulate demanded a look into these years. It

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<sup>191</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7124, 05-05-1715, inv. 7125, 25-07-1718, and others.

<sup>192</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7126, 31-12-1720, inv. 7127, 24-02-1722, inv. 7128, 12-12-1724.

<sup>193</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 714.3, 13-11-1734, (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7126, 20-05-1720.

appears that Borgers was merely minding the shop during this time, not in the least since his successor Van Aalst would later complain about the state in which he found the consulate. Borgers' correspondence was considerably smaller and showed that Borgers did not defend the interest of the consulate as diligently as Op ten Noorth.<sup>194</sup> This was probably partly due to the demanding job for his advanced age and that he never was formally appointed, thus holding less authority.

#### **2.4.2 Commercial life**

After he was awarded the consular post Op ten Noorth made travel preparations in Amsterdam. These included the signing of a contract with an Amsterdam merchant named Louis le Grand, whose father had been active in the trade with Cádiz.<sup>195</sup> Le Grand was also included on the list of Amsterdam merchants supporting Op ten Noorth's bid for consul.<sup>196</sup> Their contract stipulated – amongst other conditions – that both men established a joint trading company. However, it is explicitly stated that the company was to use the name of Le Grand in all company related matters. Unlike when Op ten Noorth was in business with Rodrigo Emants in Cádiz before the war, when they traded on conjoined names.<sup>197</sup> A six-year term was agreed upon, starting the first day both men arrived in Cádiz after which continuation or discontinuation was possible.<sup>198</sup> Both men also included each other in their wills drawn up after arriving in Spain.<sup>199</sup> When Op ten Noorth returned to Spain as consul his intent was also clearly commercial right from the onset. State archives revealed nothing about his commercial activities. This problem was solved

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<sup>194</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7131, 02-09-1730.

<sup>195</sup> Solana, *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos*, 90, 290-291.

<sup>196</sup> See Appendix V for the full list.

<sup>197</sup> See the first chapter.

<sup>198</sup> (GAA) Notarissen Amsterdam, inv. 6082A, 16-04-1714.

<sup>199</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 990, 04-12-1715, 04-12-1715.

by tracking his business partner (on whose name all business was handled), it revealed the unofficial commercial life of Op ten Noorth during his time in office.

In 1722 Le Grand was contacted by the directors of the MCC and asked for his services. There is no clue as to the way in which he was found and chosen. One can assume that it happened in the private sphere of the directors, since the correspondence starts as if both parties were previously acquainted. In any case, he answered promptly and a correspondence started that lasted until 1726.<sup>200</sup> A letter written by Op ten Noorth arrived that year, informing the MCC that *'(...) het god almachtig behaagt heeft mijn waarde compagnon de heer Louis le Grand den 8 maart door een seer haestige dood uijt dese werelt tot sig te nemen (...) alsmede dat ik sedert geresolveert heb een contract van societeijt inte gaan met de heer Gerard Beumer.'*<sup>201</sup> Thus Le Grand and Op ten Noorth remained business partners after their initial six years, proving the importance of this business relationship for Op ten Noorth. In the second part of the letter the consul requested that the MCC's directors settled the account they still had with his merchant house by transferring the indebted amount to his name. This letter proved beyond all doubt that while commercial affairs were handled in Le Grand's name, Op ten Noorth was an important part of the trading company. He was not only consul for the Dutch Republic, but merchant as well.

In the same letter, Op ten Noorth wrote that he had partnered with Le Grand's apprentice Gerard Beumer. Beumer had arrived in Cádiz from the town of Doesburg together with his brother Jan a few years earlier.<sup>202</sup> A contract drawn up between Op ten Noorth and Beumer confirmed their joint business.<sup>203</sup> The MCC happily accepted the new arrangement.<sup>204</sup> Besides

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<sup>200</sup> (ZA) MCC, 61.8, 03-11-1722.

<sup>201</sup> (ZA) MCC, 61.8, 07-05-1726, also see Appendix IV.

<sup>202</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 07-05-1726, Solana, *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos*, 246.

<sup>203</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 1000, 28-02-1728.

<sup>204</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 87, 14-11-1726.

the relationship with the MCC, Beumer also took over other ongoing business.<sup>205</sup> Le Grand and Beumer serviced various other clients and both men were regularly encountered in notarial documents drawn up in Cádiz. They were very active in the city's commerce and described themselves as '*hombre de negocios*'; or 'businessman' active as both merchant and agent.

The trading company Op ten Noorth ran with Le Grand and Beumer had business dealings with the Dutch Republic, Spain, and Spanish-America.<sup>206</sup> Plentiful correspondence with Middelburg revealed they facilitated trade voyages to Cádiz for the MCC, helping to buy and sell cargo. The agents were also important for the MCC's contraband trade with Spanish America.<sup>207</sup> Since Cádiz was the central hub for all affairs relating to Spanish America, they informed the MCC of everything newsworthy related to the contraband trade. This ranged from fluctuating prices and changing trade prospects to rumours from Madrid about policy changes to combat contraband trade.<sup>208</sup> Foreign ships smuggling along the coasts of Spanish America were involved in a constant cat-and-mouse game with Spanish ships. When an unlucky smuggler was caught the ship was hauled off as a prize and its crew sent to Cádiz, often in chains. The MCC lost several ships in this manner. As soon as the news reached Middelburg the directors asked Le Grand to achieve two things: find out exactly what happened to claim their insurance policies and to attain the release of their sailors from Spanish custody. The latter was not a completely Samaritan act, insurers required written statements made by sailors with acknowledged notaries as evidence. On several occasions Le Grand helped in these matters, which will be treated in depth in the next chapter.<sup>209</sup> Beumer's employment for the MCC

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<sup>205</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 1000, 28-02-1727, 02-03-1727, 03-03-1727.

<sup>206</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 994, 23-12-1727, inv. 995, 26-04-1726, inv. 997, 29-06-1724, inv. 1000, 29-10-1727, inv. 1598, 1726 (date damaged), Solana, *El comercio marítimo*, 113-152.

<sup>207</sup> For the Dutch contraband trade with Spanish America see: P. van de Poel, '*Hollantsche kuyperijen*' op de Venezolaanse kust 1700-1750 (Utrecht 1991) & W. Klooster, *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795* (Leiden 1998).

<sup>208</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 1722-1750.

<sup>209</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 12-02-1724, 18-03-1724, inv. 86, 13-03-1724.

survived the return of Op ten Noorth to the Dutch Republic which signalled the end of their joint business. Beumer stopped acting as the MCC' agent a few years later.

## **2.5 Leonard van Aalst (1733-1746)**

*'Sullende mijn bij continuatie en met alle ijver soo veel doenelijk voor het regh  
en welzijn van onze navigatie en commertie amployjeeren.'*<sup>210</sup>

### **2.5.1 Consular life**

Van Aalst gained a consulate in disarray. Whether by his old age or due to the fact that he held the title of vice-consul, Borgers had a difficult time defending the consulate against encroachments by Dutch captains and Flemish merchants. Instead of their original shipping manifests captains now handed over unverified copies. This made it impossible to verify if they paid the right amount of taxes over their cargo. Meanwhile the Flemish merchant community was enrolled in legal efforts to avoid paying the Dutch consulate's taxes over goods shipped on Dutch ships destined for Flemish and Spanish merchants.<sup>211</sup> Despite efforts by Van der Meer it became a long drawn out conflict. Ultimately the Spanish court ruled in favour of the Flemish and even ordered the Dutch consulate to pay back earnings over the past years. To make sure the Dutch consulate cooperated it was threatened with fines and the housing of soldiers in the consular residence.<sup>212</sup> Van Aalst journeyed to the Dutch Republic in 1736 and stayed until 1737. During this time he was able to discuss the matter in person with the States of Holland and the Levant Trade Society.<sup>213</sup> It resulted in new regulations being drawn up for the consulate in

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<sup>210</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7139, 25-09-1742.

<sup>211</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7132, 06-11-1733, inv. 7133, 15-03-1735.

<sup>212</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7133, 05-04-1735, 29-03-1735.

<sup>213</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7135, 16-07-1737.

Cádiz. His correspondence with the Levant Trade Society started in 1737, an agreement probably made during his visit.<sup>214</sup>

While Van Aalst's first years as consul were far from a status quo, his duties and activities were quite similar to the years of Op ten Noorth. The informational function remained largely the same, although smaller commercial matters were relayed to the Levant Trade Society after 1737. Van Aalst wrote about ship movements in the area, roaming Barbary corsairs, matters related to Spanish America, and other local news. He was also instrumental in efforts to free Dutch slaves held in North-Africa. Van Aalst received pleas for help from slaves and relayed their messages to the States General. Later he arranged exchanges and administrated funds provided by the States General to buy their freedom.<sup>215</sup> The consul was also asked to keep his eye on developments in Morocco favourable to the possibility of a peace treaty.<sup>216</sup>

Van Aalst continued helping Dutch merchants and ships in their conflicts with Spanish authorities. Like Op ten Noorth he worked against undesirable changes in commercial regulations and taxes. At times consuls from the different merchant communities in Cádiz cooperated together to exert influence on the Spanish. Unlike Op ten Noorth, Van Aalst had to deal with a Dutch trade that was coming under increased scrutiny and pressure from Spanish authorities. On one occasion not a single notary was willing to put his name under a protest by the consul to the Spanish government regarding a new trade regulation.<sup>217</sup> Inspections against contraband trade of tobacco steadily increased.<sup>218</sup> During the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1748) and War of the Austrian Succession Spanish privateers targeted Dutch ships. Cádiz became the

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<sup>214</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 173, 16-09-1737.

<sup>215</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7133, 09-10-1733, 12-01-1734, 05-03-1735, inv. 7135, 31-12-1737, inv. 7137, 05-07-1740.

<sup>216</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7134, 15-03-1735, 16-08-1735.

<sup>217</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7136, 15-04-1738, Levantse Handel, inv. 173, 23-09-1738.

<sup>218</sup> J. Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808* (Oxford 1989) 145-150.

city where all the corresponding legal cases were held, providing Van Aalst with ample work.<sup>219</sup> He soon complained about being drowned in legal work as he had to help defend all these merchants' cases.<sup>220</sup> Van Aalst held the same limited sway over captains as Op ten Noorth, he commonly awaited instructions from the Dutch Republic in the same manner as his predecessor. The consulate remained facilitating Dutch navy ships in the area by handing out dispatches and more; in one instance Van Aalst arranged supplies from the Spanish navy to repair a Dutch navy ship. On another occasion he arranged medical care for a sick officer. Spanish authorities in turn held the consul responsible for the conduct of Dutch naval vessel in the bay of Cádiz.<sup>221</sup>

Documents from Van Aalst's years included two sheets regarding the consulate's finances over the years 1736 and 1737.<sup>222</sup> They were intended for the Court of Audit, regrettably its archive was almost entirely sold as old paper in the nineteenth century. This makes these surviving records very valuable, although they are of a concise nature.<sup>223</sup> Both documents summarized revenues and expenditures. Revenue entirely depended on the *consulaatrecht* and *natiepenningen*.<sup>224</sup> Expenditures were diverse, but roughly fell into three categories: alms, expenses, and enticements. There were alms for Dutch orphans, widows, unfortunate sailors, and the poor of the community. Expenses made by the consulate for its functioning were also compensated. Both categories combined constituted half the consulate's expenses. Gifts for Spanish officials made up the other half and were essential. Shortly after his appointment Van Aalst organized a gift of hundred golden doubloons from the Dutch merchant community for Cádiz' governor to receive his protection; '(...) *waar door men veele*

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<sup>219</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7139, 25-09-1742.

<sup>220</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 1740, 05-02-1747.

<sup>221</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7133, 02-03-1734, inv. 7135, 03-09-1737, inv. 7136, 08-04-1738.

<sup>222</sup> See appendix VI.

<sup>223</sup> P. Schotel, *Inventaris van het archief van de Generaliteitsrekenkamer (1586) 1608-1799* (Den Haag 1978), 7-10.

<sup>224</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7136, without date. Received from a total of 59 ships in 1736 and 62 in 1737.

*moeijelikheden die hier daegelijks voorkomen kan ontgaan (...).*<sup>225</sup> Furthermore, the salaries for both the consuls and vice-consuls were listed. Vice-consul Juan Carlos Hoydonck received 1600 *reales de plata* and consul Van Aalst around 8000.<sup>226</sup>

The reforms in 1737 and subsequent meagre years of trade had reduced the consulate's income considerably while the workload had steadily increased. Van Aalst pleaded with the States General for a regular salary several times. His requests went unanswered for years and instead he decided to request his demission. Interestingly, Van Aalst emphasized that he had not been able to properly exercise sacraments since arriving in Cádiz. His children had all been left unbaptized for months, until a Swedish East Indiaman came into port when they were taken aboard to be baptized by a Swedish clergyman.<sup>227</sup> Years earlier, other merchants testified that it was common practice for those of Protestant faith to marry in secret on board visiting Dutch or English ships.<sup>228</sup> This confirmed that contrary to the Flemish and other merchant communities, the Dutch did not have their own chapel or clandestine church.<sup>229</sup> The Dutch ambassador in Madrid, however, was allowed to organise Protestant services.<sup>230</sup> Likewise, only of the Dutch community is it still unknown where in Cádiz they buried their dead.<sup>231</sup>

Van Aalst wrote his regular letters to the Levant Trade Society since 1737. A considerable amount of trade affairs which Op ten Noorth formerly brought to the attention of the States General, were now delegated to the Levant Trade Society. These were smaller, yet not completely unimportant, matters, such as the arrival of merchant ships, capture of ships,

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<sup>225</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7133, 12-01-1734.

<sup>226</sup> A document in Cádiz showed that Hoydonck was working as a commercial agent in 1714, (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 990, 14-09-1714, see appendix VI.

<sup>227</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7141, 20-10-1744.

<sup>228</sup> (GAA) Notarissen Amsterdam, inv. 6594, 24-04-1702.

<sup>229</sup> Or 'schuilkerk'.

<sup>230</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 403-405. The Flemish, French, and Genovese *capillas* can still be visited in the churches of Cádiz.

<sup>231</sup> Scholars in Cádiz speculate that there might have been a cemetery outside of the city that since has been lost to time. English dead, the other significant protestant community, were often transported to Gibraltar for burial.



small conflicts, and troubles in incurring the various taxes. Every six months Van Aalst included a list of all ships that arrived in the harbour flying the Dutch flag.<sup>232</sup> In addition, the consul informed the Society's directors of news important to the Levant trade and, more importantly, his undertakings for the good of Dutch trade and its merchants. This included making sure Dutch captains paid the various levies. Van Aalst also sprang into action when Dutch merchants' interests were endangered by actions of the Spanish government. When Dutch ships were seized at sea he tended to administrative duties in service of the merchants and if the crew made it to Cádiz, the consul tended to unfortunate sailors.<sup>233</sup>

### 2.5.2 Commercial life

Van Aalst had to do without a business partner for the first few years of his consulate. Until his period of leave in 1736 and 1737 gave him the opportunity to go into business with Amsterdam merchant Philip Renard. Two explanations are available as to why he waited so long: The absence of a suitable candidate in Cádiz and the fact that Van Aalst anticipated lower consular revenue due to the new regulations written in 1737. A document in Cádiz confirmed Van Aalst and Renard signed a contract with Amsterdam public notary Philippe De Marolles; '*Declaro que tengo compania de negocios y dependencias universales de commercio con oho Leonard van Aalst (...)*'.<sup>234</sup> Due to fire and water damage the Amsterdam notaries' books their original contract has been lost.<sup>235</sup> Nevertheless, it was likely much in the same vein as the contract between Op ten Noorth and Le Grand. Van Aalst and Renard men likewise traded exclusively

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<sup>232</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 173, 29-04-1738, 20-02-1742.

<sup>233</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 173, 06-09-1738, 30-06-1739, 22-03-1740.

<sup>234</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 1601, 02-05-1738.

<sup>235</sup> (GAA) Notarissen Amsterdam, inv. 8054-8066.

on the name of Renard. Through researching Renard it was possible to discover Van Aalst's commercial activities as had been done with Le Grand and Beumer.

As stated before, Van Aalst gained the consulate with help of the MCC's directors. They made sure the Zeeland delegates put in a good word with the States General. One would expect him to continue a business relationship with the MCC akin to Op ten Noorth before him. In his letter thanking the MCC for their support Van Aalst offered the services of his merchant house: *'Ik versoek onderdaanig dat uweledesensten deezer geleegentheit mij gelieven te permitteeren uweledesen neevens hartelijke dankzegging mijn geringe dienst alhier te presenteeren zoo in uweledele commercie als alle andere geleegenheeden zullen ik en mijn huijs van negotie gaande op de naam van Ph: Renard & Comp: ons ten uijterste vereert houden uweledelens waarde beveelens te moogen ontfangen (...).'*<sup>236</sup> Despite Van Aalst's offer the MCC did not continue working with him and Renard. The MCC had received offers from two other parties. One was the merchant Juan de Conique, the same who applied for the office of consuls in the previous chapter.<sup>237</sup> Second was French merchant house Garnier & Cornabé. They had heard of the business opportunity through their Amsterdam contacts.<sup>238</sup> The MCC chose the French as their new agents in Cádiz. There are several probable reasons for this. First of all Garnier & Cornabé were a sizeable merchant house with an extensive business network active in Cádiz since 1718.<sup>239</sup> Second, the switch was made in a time when the French merchant community was growing in numbers and wealth due to their privileged access to Spanish trade with the Americas.<sup>240</sup> Garnier & Cornabé would be agents until the end of the MCC's trade with Cádiz

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<sup>236</sup> (ZA) MCC, 61.8, 10-09-1737. A transcribed version of the letter can be found in Appendix IV.

<sup>237</sup> (ZA) MCC, 61.8, 19-07-1737.

<sup>238</sup> Archives Nationales, Paris, France, (ANF) Fonds Des Affaires Étrangères (A.E.), *Correspondance Des Consuls De France À Cadix* inv. B/I, 23-08-1718, D. Ozanam, 'La colonie française de Cadix au XVIIIe siècle, d'après un document inédit 1777' (Paris 1968) in *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 259-348, 269-274, (GAA) Notarissen Amsterdam, inv. 8050, 13-04-1735, (ZA) MCC, 61.8, 14-07-1737. De Normandie & Compagnie from Amsterdam.

<sup>239</sup> (ANF) Affaires Étrangères, inv. B/I, 23-08-1718, 7-10-1737, 28-04-1738, 29-11-1738, 11-08-1745 and others.

<sup>240</sup> Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, 142-145, Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 144.

and the Spanish Americas. Little difference can be seen within their work for the MCC when compared to Le Grand and Beumer. But it is certain that Garnier & Cornabé did not have the same business relationship with the French consul as Le Grand and Beumer had with Op ten Noorth.<sup>241</sup>

Commercial undertakings by Renard and Van Aalst were reconstructed with notarial archives in Amsterdam and Cádiz. In both cities' notarial archives a range of documents were found that gave insight into their business dealings.<sup>242</sup> After his arrival in Cádiz Renard worked - amongst others things - as agent for the influential Amsterdam banking and merchant house Andries Pels & Soonen. The importance of this firm can be illustrated simply by way of the nickname its founder was given: the banker of France.<sup>243</sup> This did not mean Pels & Soonen only did business with France, they were active throughout Europe. They were without a doubt an important client for Renard and Van Aalst. Their merchant house maintained business relations with Pels & Soonen until 1745, when Renard became consul and Van Aalst returned to the Dutch Republic. The amount of payments encountered in notarial archives indicated that the Amsterdam firm provided the most business for Renard. He facilitated payments from the firm to merchants from various communities in Cádiz and other Spanish cities.<sup>244</sup> Additionally, correspondence similar to that between the MCC and Le Grand would have taken place describing similar duties.

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<sup>241</sup> (ANF) Affaires Étrangères, inv. B/I, 10-05-1751, (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 23-06-1739.

<sup>242</sup> Notarial documents in Cádiz found during research for his thesis mainly dealt with monetary transactions. This provided excellent insight into the variety of contacts the company of Renard and Van Aalst had. On a related note, the documents used stem from public notaries. In addition, there also existed ecclesiastical notaries who mainly dealt with matters of faith but in principle could perform similar duties as public notaries. Surviving documents in Dutch archives showed that the Dutch protestant consuls at times used the services of these ecclesiastical notaries. There were no indications as to why exactly, as the types of documents varied. Ecclesiastical notaries were not required to hand over their personal archives unlike their public colleagues. Thus archives of ecclesiastical notaries are not present in the Cádiz provincial archive. The archives of the Cádiz diocese and cathedral yielded no results. Local archivists were also surprised to hear about the practice. Assuming these archives still exist somewhere - sufficient Spanish archives are still not completely inventoried - interesting discoveries could be made.

<sup>243</sup> Elias, *De Vroedschap*, Part II, 1062-1063.

<sup>244</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 1601, 23-09-1738, inv. 1602, 1739 (date damaged) Malaga, 25-05-1739, San Sebastian, 1739 (date damaged), inv. 1605, 10-11-1743, inv. 1608, 22-04-1746, 23-05-1746.

Renard and Van Aalst worked for other Amsterdam merchants in a similar fashion.<sup>245</sup> In one instance Renard was tasked with collecting a debt from an English merchant in Seville for an Amsterdam diamond trader.<sup>246</sup> A task where the authority of the consular office would certainly have helped. Besides operating as agents Renard and Van Aalst traded on their own within Spain and the rest of Europe.<sup>247</sup> They participated in the trade to Spanish America as well, by way of Spanish ships.<sup>248</sup> The commerce undertaken by Van Aalst and Renard was identical to the arrangement of Op ten Noorth and Le Grand/Beumer. Both men signed a contract in Amsterdam and journeyed back to Cádiz together, but business was conducted on the name of Renard. Documents in Cádiz show that the trading company conducted business in the same vain as their predecessors.

## 2.6 Philip Renard (1746-1757)

*'Het eigenlijk & weesentlijk werk van die post is, alle onderdanen van den staat te protegeeren & regt te verschaffen; het welk vrij wat te doen geeft (...)'*<sup>249</sup>

Renard thought it was his duty to provide the States General and the Levant Trade Society with his unsolicited advice on consular affairs and Dutch commerce, even though his predecessor had already been asked to only differ important matters to the States General. Everything else had to be sent to Ambassador Johan Lodewijk Haganus van Wassenaer, who subsequently decided what to relay to the States General.<sup>250</sup> Nevertheless, little changed in consular functions between Van Aalst and Renard. Renard continued to fulfil an informational function and he

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<sup>245</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 1602, 11-05-1739, 02-06-1739, 16-07-1739. Such as Abraham Hoogwerf and Cesar Sardi, both well known in the city.

<sup>246</sup> (GAA) Notarissen Amsterdam, inv. 8778/490, 02-04-1739, S.L. Engerman, P.T. Hoffman, J. Rosenthal and K.L. Sokoloff, *Finance, Intermediaries, and Economic Development* (Cambridge 2003) 23.

<sup>247</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 1603, 25-02-1741, inv. 1605, 10-11-1743.

<sup>248</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos notariales Cádiz, inv. 1602, 1739 (date damaged).

<sup>249</sup> Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, The Netherlands (UBL), Collectie Bibliotheca Publica Latina (BPL), inv. 246.

<sup>250</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 396-397.

remained acting on large and small commercial matters; inning taxes, helping individual ships, and lobbying against Spanish policy changes.<sup>251</sup> Furthermore, the consulate continued to facilitate Dutch naval squadrons in the area. In contrast, Dutch slaves in North-Africa or diplomatic relations with North-African states were not part of Renard's responsibilities anymore, Consul Francisco Butler in Gibraltar handled these affairs instead.<sup>252</sup> Letters to the Levant Trade Society underline the above. The difference between these letters and those to the States General is that they contain more detail on the consul's work in service to Dutch commerce. Additionally, every few months Renard included a list of all Dutch ships that had arrived in Cádiz.<sup>253</sup> Little insight is available on Renard's judicial function, it is certain he frequently had to deal with notaries and make court appearances to defend Dutch commercial interests, but not much more than that.

A summarized account over the Cádiz consulate's finances over the year 1747 survived. Although expenditures were not specified, the categories were identical to the account by Van Aalst ten years earlier. It included alms to the widows, orphans, poor, and sailors from the Dutch community. Payments to local officials and other consular expenses also formed a category. The latter included some extraordinary expenses of which only one was listed; a dinner in honour of Stadtholder Willem IV's election. Compared to the account of 1737 there is little increase or decrease in both revenues and expenditures.<sup>254</sup> Unfortunately, the consul and vice-consul's salaries are not listed unlike ten years earlier, preventing a comparison.

According to his own words Renard solicited the consular post to save it from decline and to help his fellow countrymen prosper. Renard intentionally stopped working as a merchant

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<sup>251</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7145, 29-07-1749, inv. 7147, 17-03-1755, *Levantse Handel*, inv. 173, 30-01-1748.

<sup>252</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 132.

<sup>253</sup> (NA) *Levantse Handel*, inv. 173, 09-05-1747.

<sup>254</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7145, 29-04-1748, inv. 1736, 23-12-1738. See appendix VI.

to completely devote himself to the consulate and thus did not go into business with a partner like consuls before him. Instead Renard focussed his energy on the improvement of the Dutch consulate and trade. This proved to be a short hiatus from an established practice. Succeeding Consul Jacob van Eynden set up a merchant house with his brother immediately after his appointment.<sup>255</sup>

Renard's correspondence reveal a passionate man. In one of his first letters he quoted an order from his commission and interpreted it as an obligation to share his thoughts on everything regarding commerce in Cádiz: *'En sal hij consul ons van tijd tot tijd met alle occasion hebben te advertieren van het geene hij zal verneemen den dienst van den lande te importieren.'*<sup>256</sup> The first opportunity came with the impending Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) that ended the War of Austrian Succession. Renard suggested new ways of protecting Dutch merchants from anti-contraband measures by the Spanish such as prohibiting unannounced searches or seizures of merchants' bookkeeping. While trials against Dutch merchants were not to be treated within the Spanish legal system. Instead, consuls should be present during arbitration by local government officials. In a second letter a year later Renard requested that the States General would inform their consuls more properly. He wanted to receive all new regulations, decisions, and other news that would affect commerce. Without it, he could do little to quench circulating rumours. He filled the same request with Levant Trade Society, annex with a proposal for a new convoy system between the Dutch Republic and the Levant. The new system would offer better protection to more trade routes. The Levant Trade Society received another letter in which Renard stated that consuls had to receive better instructions on how to perform their duties in 1748. Dutch captains in turn had to be instructed

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<sup>255</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7148, 21-09-1757, Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 414.

<sup>256</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7144, 04-04-1747.

how to properly behave towards consuls. Most remarkably, he proposed prohibiting consuls all commerce without further explanation.<sup>257</sup>

In 1750 Renard was granted a leave of absence to the Dutch Republic. He spent a total of fourteen months away from Cádiz, during which he travelled to Madrid, Paris, London, and Lisbon in search of insights to the benefit Dutch commerce. When he arrived in the Dutch Republic his eagerness soon turned to bitterness when no States General member granted him an audience. To make matters worse, the States General had been steadily ignoring his suggestions the past few years. Only the States General's clerk and the Stadtholder's secretary expressed interest in his views.<sup>258</sup> They invited him to write a treatise on how trade with Spain could be improved. In it, he began with the suggestion to form a new institution with responsibility over all Dutch commerce. Conjointly policies in the Dutch Republic should stimulate the founding of new Dutch merchant houses, as they formed the backbone of Dutch commerce. On the Spanish side, a proper allocation of funds to the ambassador in Spain was of importance. The ambassador should also be assigned a consul-general. In that way the ambassador could focus on state affairs while the consul-general would handle commercial affairs. According to Renard, competent consuls were essential and above all they had to receive adequate pay. Renard lived a frugal life, without wife or carriage, but even so, he had an average yearly deficit of 5000 florins. The right consul with the right pay could make all the difference.<sup>259</sup> Renard further stressed that the consulate was in a state of distress when he took over. Apparently all Dutch merchant houses had disappeared, Dutch sailors filled Cádiz' prisons, Spanish privateers captured Dutch vessels at will, and the consul was ill received at the

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<sup>257</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7144, 04-04-1747, inv. 7145, 09-04-1748, *Levantse Handel*, inv. 173, 09-05-1747, 14-05-1748.

<sup>258</sup> Hendrik Fagel and Th.I. de Larrey.

<sup>259</sup> (NA) Archief van de familie Fagel: Supplement (1.10.94), inv. 31, Archief van de Stadhoudelijke Secretarie (1.01.50), inv. 548. That both copies from Renard's essay survive testifies to the fact that both men took him seriously, otherwise one would expect the essay to have hastily disappeared into a garbage bin.

governor's residence. He did not blame his predecessors. According to Renard, the situation had drastically improved in the years that he had been consul. To illustrate he wrote about the invitation he received to watch a bullfight and play from the governor's residence's balcony, where he was seated next to the governor himself. A clear sign that the status of the Dutch consul had improved. On a more practical level, prisons were free of Dutch sailors, Dutch merchants were returning, both from outside the city as from foreign merchant communities inside the city, Dutch ships and houses were seldom harassed, and Spanish privateers curtailed. This was all met with no admiration or response from his patrons.<sup>260</sup> Perhaps because they were of the opinion that the explanation could be found elsewhere, such as the Spanish state loosening its monopoly on trade with the Americas, the improved prospects for foreign merchants, or the peace treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.<sup>261</sup>

The lack of enthusiasm from the States General dissuaded Renard until 1755. War was imminent between the Dutch Republic and Algiers, in his view this would be disastrous for Dutch trade interests. He complained that the Admiralty did not have Dutch trade interests in mind and reiterated that a new trade institution was necessary, he again added his detailed plans for a new convoy system in the Mediterranean. A similar letter in November caused his resignation. In it he fiercely criticized the admiralty's lack of attention to the information consuls supplied and the way convoys were organized. Renard wrote it had damaged trade in nine months' time more than '(...) *de Algerijnen in 10 jaaren soudén gedaan hebben al hadde men al 's Lands scheepen tot brandhout gekapt.*' In addition Renard viciously blamed *Schout-bij-nacht*<sup>262</sup> Hendrik Jan Boudaen. Boudaen had arrived in the area commanding a naval squadron and had done nothing to protect Dutch trading vessels. Renard mocked that his

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<sup>260</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7146, 20-07-1755.

<sup>261</sup> Lynch, *Bourbon Spain*, 171-172.

<sup>262</sup> Dutch naval rank roughly equivalent to a rear admiral.



expedition was a pleasure cruise costing millions.<sup>263</sup> The States General responded swiftly and unforgivingly. Renard's letters were judged to be filled with '(...) *veele insolente, schandelijke en extravagante uitdrukkingen en reflexien* (...)'.<sup>264</sup> The States General deliberated on what to do while Renard tried to excuse himself. Nevertheless, he was firmly invited to request his resignation and did so in 1756, but not before he had explained one last time just how he had selflessly served his country and its trade.

Years later Renard reflected upon his experiences as a consul to friend and fellow scientist Arnout Vosmaer. A friend of Vosmaer had expressed interest in the soon to be vacant consular post. The former consul answered that he did not know whether it was a good idea to apply for the '*schijnschoon baantje*', nevertheless he summarized his experiences: The job had no fixed salary and there were no profitable business opportunities to be had. The consul had to survive on the taxation collected by the consulate which in turn depended on the amount of Dutch ships visiting Cádiz, a number which was unpredictable. Meanwhile the real job was to protect all Dutch subjects, which provided ample work (Renard's original words on the matter precede this paragraph). Correspondence had to be kept with the States General, the Ambassador in Madrid, and the directors of the Levant Trade Society. Practical considerations were that the journey was best undertaken on board of a navy ship, the area was healthy and beautiful, but also expensive and unfree. Presumably Renard meant the lack of religious freedom.<sup>265</sup>

It is safe to say that Philip Renard was different to his predecessors. He actively voiced his opinions on the consulate and the trade it administered. It is hard to judge whether he was taken seriously by the people in charge, especially considering his demission. The Levant Trade

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<sup>263</sup> (NA) Archief van de Admiraliteitscolleges (1.01.46), inv. 31, 04-11-1755.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibidem*, 11-12-1755.

<sup>265</sup> (UBL) Bibliotheca Publica Latina, inv. 246.

Society was not very thrilled by his views, although this is to be expected since his suggestion for a new board of trade was an unsubtle critique of the society.<sup>266</sup> On the other hand, secretaries of both the States General and the Stadtholder paid attention to him. The latter maintained further correspondence with Renard and was ordered by the Stadtholder himself to summarize his previous letters to the States General.<sup>267</sup> At the very least Renard's zealous writing provided an interesting contemporary perspective on the Dutch consular apparatus. His decision to cease with his life as a merchant to completely dedicate himself to the consulate was out of the ordinary. More so since he did not have a business partner, unlike his predecessors or successor. This further strengthened the notion that contracting a business partner as consul was common practice. Thus consuls in Cádiz were as much consuls as they were merchants and Renard's financial woes demonstrate that consuls depended on that unofficial income.

## **2.7 Conclusion: diplomat or merchant?**

Up until now little was known about the unofficial life of consuls, while discussion about what constituted their official responsibilities still reigned. Three *raisons d'etre* were identified from the scholarly discourse and compared to the three Dutch consuls in Cádiz. Firstly, an informational function was clearly present, as the extensive consular correspondence testified. Bartolomei was right to argue that merchants did not rely on consular correspondence and Dutch consuls clearly did not write with them in mind. Albeit it often concerned commercial matters, it went beyond information relevant to merchants. Instead the correspondence was tailored to the needs of the States General and of geopolitical relevance.

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<sup>266</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 280.

<sup>267</sup> (NA) Stadhouderslijke Secretarie, inv. 1933.

Secondly, findings of this chapter underlined that Dutch consuls did not hold a significant judicial function. Although they were involved in legal affairs as a representative of Dutch interests, they depended on Spanish judges, lawyers, and notaries. Barring the minor statements they certified in a few instances, Dutch consuls were not in Cádiz to exercise judicial powers or dispense justice. Their judicial function was at most to lend assistance in legal matters and represent Dutch interests.

Thirdly, Dutch consuls were active as full-fledged diplomats. Consuls defended merchants' interests and mitigated conflicts. They also acted on Spanish proposals for commercial regulations that could affect Dutch trade on a wider scale. In addition, they were diplomatically active on other matters. The example of Op ten Noorth perfectly illustrated this by being involved in peace negotiations with the emperor of Morocco, similar to the diplomatic responsibilities of his colleagues in the Ottoman Empire. Dutch consuls were responsible for a merchant community that was in a constant state of flux. Yet the consulate took care of the impoverished and sick, there were meetings at the consulate by all members of the community and deliberations were recorded. These findings indicated that the community was less disjointed as formerly presumed.

On the unofficial side, this chapter has shown that Dutch consuls in Cádiz contracted a business partner. The regulations governing consulates stipulated that a consul's income depended on consular revenues and these were subject to the flow of trade. Several statements made by consuls indicated that their income was not always sufficient. Renard in particular made this very clear. Thus right from the onset Op ten Noorth founded a merchant company together with Dutch merchant Le Grand. Both agreed that business was to be conducted on name of the former. Van Aalst had a similar arrangement with Renard, who would later even succeed him as consul. Renard choose to give up on this practice and did not seek out a business

partner. It was to be a temporary break from an established practice, his successor Van Eynden went into business with his brother shortly after being appointed. A consul exercising commerce on the side was a grey area, since the trading company was never on the name of the consul and there is no mention of consuls' commercial activities in any state archives. Instead, commerce undertaken by these companies had to be traced via their partners' names. Because the practice was so common among Dutch consuls in Cádiz, it can be assumed that Dutch consuls in other countries did the same.

Consuls traded with merchants from all social economic backgrounds, yet they had strong ties to merchants from the regenten elite, such as the MCC and Pels & Soonen. The consuls' unofficial commercial activities must have had ramifications for their official duties, which were heavily intertwined with commercial life in Cádiz. Renard provided unique opinions on the modus operandi of Dutch consuls in Spain. His critical remarks on merchants providing recommendations for new consuls, together with his appeals for banning commerce by consuls and providing them with stable salaries, proved that an atmosphere was present wherein consuls could be influenced by merchants or their own commercial interests. Whether he abstained from having a business partner wilfully or he was unable to find one is uncertain. But it has demonstrated that without an additional income consuls encountered financial difficulties. Furthermore Renard's critique - leaving aside its validity - of how state institutions such as the Levant Trade Society managed Dutch commerce and his subsequent dismissal, exposed that a consul was not allowed to critique the establishment dominated by the regenten merchant elite. It did not matter that his proposals would have given the state more power over commerce.

Resuming, in their official capacity consuls were heavily involved in Cádiz' commerce and at the same time their merchant companies were participating in this very commerce. These

two facts combined form a recipe for conflicts of interest. Even more so if findings from the first chapter are considered; consuls needed the help of merchants to obtain their office. All these discoveries beg the question where the consuls' interests and loyalties lied. Were consuls still under state control? Did consuls favour the merchant elite that controlled this state? Did they favour their own business contacts? Or did they use their position as consul to compete with other merchants? The following and final chapter investigates these propositions.

*‘Sijnde dat dien eijnde de conferentien met coopluiden onnodigh, als welkers interest niet  
altijdt over eenkomt met dat van den souverijn, often van eene geheele natie.’<sup>268</sup>*

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<sup>268</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7137, 29-12-1739.

## THIRD CHAPTER

# *WHOM DID CONSULS TRULY SERVE?*

### **3.0 Introduction**

The first chapter has set forth that consuls were appointed through the influence of merchants. Subsequently, the second chapter described how consuls were heavily involved in commerce during their official duties and with their own trading companies. Although the latter was done ‘sub-rosa’ under the name of their business partners. These findings signify that a consul could easily encounter conflicts of interests during his service to the Dutch state. This final chapter examines the dynamics between various parties and the consuls’ loyalties to the various interests they served.

### **3.1 Loyalty to the Dutch state**

In the introduction to this thesis the new direction of consular history, as proposed by Bartolomei, was linked to scholarly views on the merchant elite’s hold on the Dutch state, while other merchants (free agents) defied state authority.<sup>269</sup> This leads to doubts about Dutch consular loyalties. It is not certain consuls represented the interests of all Dutch merchants, since there were different social economic groups of merchants with varying interests and state power. Were consuls mere tools of the merchant elite in control of the state while smaller merchants tried to evade or challenge consular authority?

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<sup>269</sup> See Adams, *The Familial State*, Lindemann, *The Merchant Republics*, Te Velde, *Van regentenmentaliteit tot populisme* and the *Fighting Monopolies, Defying Empires* research project underway in Leiden mentioned in the introduction.

This is not to say that the merchant elite played by the rules at all times. The MCC, a large company ran by the local regenten elite and with ties to the national government, participated in illegal trade with the African coast. It thereby evaded the monopoly of the *West-Indische Compagnie* (WIC), even though one of the MCC's directors held an important function there.<sup>270</sup> At first glance it seems that merchants from all walks of life tried to evade governmental authority. For consuls that were the Dutch Republic's representatives abroad, these tendencies undoubtedly presented issues during their work. Furthermore, relations between merchant communities and their consuls were not always good natured. Some merchants saw consuls as leeching of their profits or as servants to the Spanish crown.<sup>271</sup> According to one historian, merchants on occasion even challenged the Dutch state's authority and representatives.<sup>272</sup>

When aforementioned themes are considered, the trade conducted by the consuls' merchant companies immediately spring to mind. Their salaries were tied to the revenue from the consulate, which made consuls complain about a lack of income. Ambassador Van Wassenaer cited this as the reason why consuls continued being merchants under the guise of a business partner. He recommended that the States General prohibited this practice, which was also one of the many recommendations Renard made.<sup>273</sup> Everything indicated diverse potential loyalties outside of allegiance to the Dutch state. For example, consuls could have defended their own commercial interests or those of the merchants that helped them gain their office. On the other hand, since consuls were the *patres familias* of Dutch merchants in Cádiz, maybe they

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<sup>270</sup> Paesie, *Geschiedenis van de MCC*, 85-86. See also R. Paesie, *Lorrendrayen op Africa: de illegale goederen- en slavenhandel op West-Afrika tijdens het achttiende-eeuwse handelsmonopolie van de West-Indische Compagnie, 1700-1734* (PhD thesis Leiden University 2008).

<sup>271</sup> Solana, *Comunidades transnacionales*, 60-61.

<sup>272</sup> M. van Gelder, *Trading Places: The Netherlandish Merchants in Early Modern Venice* (Leiden 2009) 161-168.

<sup>273</sup> *Resolutien van de Hoog Mogende Heeren Staaten Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlandsche Provinciën* ('S Gravenhage 1756), for Renard see the second chapter.



sided against adverse commands from the States General or Levant Trade Society. This chapter investigates the varying loyalties and interests of the Dutch consuls in Cádiz, by combining information about their commercial interests, consular responsibilities, and disputes that arose in Cádiz. Did conflicts of interest lead to divided consular loyalties?

### 3.2 Between consular and commercial interests

*'Ick versoek vrindelijck op u edele dat gij dog eens na Cadix toe schrijft aen u koopman of aen de consul, dat sij mij dogh de behulpsaeme hant bieden.'*<sup>274</sup>

The previous chapter revealed that Op ten Noorth ran a merchant company conjointly with a partner. One of their clients was the MCC, active in the European trade with Cádiz and contraband trade with Spanish America. The company organized a total of 59 contraband voyages to the Spanish-American coast.<sup>275</sup> The *Anna Catharina* was on one of these voyages when it was captured. It took four Spanish ships to seize the ship; *'Dog sij wensten wel dat sij mijn nooit gesien hadden om de dooden die sij gehad hebben'* according to the captain.<sup>276</sup> The crew narrowly evaded the noose and was brought to Cádiz. In a letter the captain pleaded with the MCC's directors to request the help of the Dutch consul or their agent within the city.<sup>277</sup> His worries turned out to be unnecessary, four of his sailors had arrived in Cádiz ahead of him and received the help of Op ten Noorth's business partner Luis le Grand.<sup>278</sup> These sailors had successfully evaded the Spanish authorities, but it was certain the *Anna Catharina*'s captain faced a jail sentence. Le Grand asked the MCC what the course of action was to be: should his merchant house try to secure his release? The response was swift; the MCC wanted their captain

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<sup>274</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 211.6, 14-04-1724 copy of a letter from 23-11-1723.

<sup>275</sup> Van Prooijen, *Van goederenhandel naar slavenhandel* 66, 73-74, 137-140, 149-150.

<sup>276</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 211.6, 14-04-1724, this is a copy of a letter from 23-11-1723.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>278</sup> Le Grand says the sailors visited his house, it is likely he had his own house separate from the consular residence.

and any other sailors released and aided in all possible manners.<sup>279</sup> In order to secure their insurance policies they also ordered statements to be drawn up that described what happened near the Spanish-American coast. The statements of two sailors drawn up by a Spanish public notary brought to light just how intertwined Op ten Noorth's commercial and diplomatic activities were. It was the consul who contacted the notary to record the statements, while Vice-consul Borgers was appointed as a translator.<sup>280</sup> Was the involvement by Op ten Noorth part of his responsibilities as Dutch consul or a private business matter? Distinctions between both were certainly quite blurred, especially when it is considered that a consul was not required to record statements at a public notary. Le Grand later succeeded - undoubtedly with the help of Op ten Noorth - in securing the release of a further twelve sailors despite the fact that '(...) *het de Spanjaarden nooit aan prentzen [manqueert] om de menschen te plagen.*'<sup>281</sup> Sadly, it was too late for their captain who perished during the journey to Cádiz.

After he took over as Op ten Noorth's business partner, Gerard Beumer was soon put to work by the MCC. The company had organised an expedition to the coasts of present-day Chile and Peru which ended in complete failure when all ships were captured by the Spanish. This had brought the company to the edge of financial ruin. Therefore, every effort was made to secure financial compensation from insurers and the Spanish government. Beumer was tasked with securing official documents confirming the capture of the ships from Madrid. This was not done by way of the Dutch ambassador and no record of any direct involvement by the consul survived.<sup>282</sup> But Op ten Noorth employed his own contacts in Madrid and therefore his

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<sup>279</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 12-02-1724, inv. 86, 13-03-1724.

<sup>280</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 18-03-1724, inv. 211.6, 16-04-1724.

<sup>281</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 22-08-1724, 05-09-1724.

<sup>282</sup> R. Paesie & H. Kempe, *Voor zilver en Zeeuws belang: de rampzalige Zuidzee-expeditie van de Middelburgse Commerciale Compagnie, 1724-1727* (Zutphen 2012) 7-9.

involvement was inevitable.<sup>283</sup> This was again a distinct blurring of lines between consular and commercial interests.

When Op ten Noorth returned to the Dutch Republic in 1727, Vice-consul Borgers was left in charge of the consulate. During this time Borgers considered it to be his duty to inform the MCC that their ship the *Ceulse Galley* had been on the coasts of modern-day Venezuela. Since Borgers had acted as a translator in the case of the *Anna Catherina*, it may very well be that he saw it as his duty due alliance to his consul. The *Ceulse Galley*'s captain, his son and a cabin boy were imprisoned in Cádiz.<sup>284</sup> Securing their release resulted in a long lasting diplomatic struggle. In exchange the Spanish desired the freedom of one of their officers held on Curacao. This grew into an issue involving high-level government officials. Not only did the governors of Curacao and the province of Caracas intervene, the States General were also involved.<sup>285</sup> In all these efforts Borgers played a pivotal role. He corresponded with the MCC's directors and actively lobbied with local authorities, thereby alternating between commercial and official spheres.

Another case where consular affairs mixed with private commercial interests presented itself in 1719. A Spanish licensed privateer captured the Dutch merchant ship *Jan en Francois* in Portuguese waters. This ship was owned by Amsterdam merchant Ferdinand Elcoma and destined for Louis le Grand. In other words the ship was destined for Op ten Noorth's own merchant company. Elcoma regularly traded with Cádiz and had lent his support to the appointment of Op ten Noorth six years earlier.<sup>286</sup> The consul went to work vigorously to defend his merchant company's interests and those of his business contact. All imprisoned crew

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<sup>283</sup> See chapter two.

<sup>284</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 03-07-1730.

<sup>285</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 10-03-1730, 09-10-1730, 19-12-1730, 07-08-1731, 13-02-1732.

<sup>286</sup> (GAA) Notarissen Amsterdam, inv. 5883, 09-03-1702, inv. 5912, 30-05-1709. See appendix V.

members were quickly released after Op ten Noorth paid a visit to the Spanish governor. To find the whereabouts of the *Jan en Francois* Op ten Noorth wrote to all Dutch consuls along the Spanish and Portuguese coasts. Ambassador Colster in Madrid was also notified of what happened. In the meantime, Op ten Noorth initiated legal proceedings against the privateer captain through his Spanish lawyer, accusing him of piracy, demanding the ship's return, and financial compensation. A document present in Cádiz showed that Vice-consul Borgers was also involved, working with the advocate, prosecutor and governors' office. In the end the ship and cargo turned up in Lisbon intact and the privateer was made to pay for all expenses and damage.<sup>287</sup> In comparison with similar cases of captured Dutch ships encountered during this study, Op ten Noorth exercised a substantial larger amount of effort to further his own commercial interests. His business contact Ferdinand Elcoma was not part of the merchant elite and appears to have been a smaller player in Amsterdam. Therefore, relevant interests for Op ten Noorth in this case are predominantly his own commercial affairs and to a smaller degree the fact that Elcoma had supported his bid for consul.

When the MCC-ship the *Leliëndaal* laid anchored in Cádiz' bay in 1734, several sailors refused to follow captain's orders. They demanded a boat with which reach the shore. When this was denied they loudly cursed the captain and rapidly jumped into a barque lying next to the *Leliëndaal*. When the sailors reached the shore they visited the house of Consul Van Aalst and requested his help in retrieving their personal belongings from the *Leliëndaal*. The consul sternly refused and ordered them back to their ship. When the sailors rebuffed that their intentions were to enlist on another ship Van Aalst had them taken prisoner.<sup>288</sup> This demonstrated that he certainly remembered how the MCC had helped him gain his consular

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<sup>287</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7125, 08-05-1719, 22-05-1719, 09-06-1719, 10-07-1719, 14-07-1719, (AHPC) Protocolos Notariales, inv. 993, 11-08-1719.

<sup>288</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 714.3, 13-11-1734.

post. On other occasions Van Aalst likewise did not hesitate to mix official duties with commercial interests. For example, he made sure a payment from the States General to buy the freedom of Dutch slaves was made by way of Renard, conveniently omitting this was his merchant company.<sup>289</sup> Years later, in 1754, Renard likewise would insist that a payment from the States General would be made by way of their former business contact Andries Pels & Soonen.<sup>290</sup>

Above cases demonstrate that a consul's commerce had a substantial influence on their official duties. These examples were found through intensive and painstaking archival research due to their unofficial nature. Undoubtedly there were more instances when a consul used his office to benefit his own commercial interests that went unrecorded.

### 3.3 Defying consular authority

*'Waar op den onderconsul repliceerde dat men soo  
met de vlag van de staat niet speelde.'*<sup>291</sup>

Despite that a large part of consular duties consisted of lending assistance to Dutch merchants and captains, conflicts between consuls and captains were far from absent. In 1720 Op ten Noorth complained to the States General that two captains were refusing to pay the consular levies or hand over their cargo manifests. Claas Hooft commanding *De Margareta Galleij* initially refused and Albert Statema of the *St. Theresa* followed his lead shortly thereafter. Op ten Noorth issued verbal and written warnings to the captains, including threats to directly involve the States General. This was to no avail. Meanwhile, the Dutch merchant community held a meeting at the consulate where it was decided that Op ten Noorth was to contact the

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<sup>289</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7140, 26-03-1743.

<sup>290</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7147, 26-11-1754, 31-12-1754.

<sup>291</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7125, 16-08-1719.

States General as he had threatened earlier. During the meeting the Dutch merchants complained that some captains falsely claimed to have incurred damages during their journey so they could claim additional expenses. The fraud was possible because captains drew up the required statements with notaries in Cádiz who were not officially certified by the consulate. This increased costs for the merchants transporting goods on a ship, as they had to share in damages incurred during the voyage. Cádiz' governor sided with the consul; he reaffirmed the consul's right to tax ships and threatened unauthorized notaries with fines if they assisted captains with any dishonest practices. But captains were not discouraged. Jacob Raven of the *Agatha Galleij* also refused to pay any taxes and Jan de Boer captaining *De Twee Jonge Ploegers* did likewise two years later. Undoubtedly there were many more instances that went unreported to the States General. In the intervening time *De Snelheyd* commanded by captain Bateman tried to trade contraband tobacco and cacao. In that manner Bateman not only dodged taxes, but also put Dutch trade at risk of increased scrutiny and contra measures by the Spanish authorities.<sup>292</sup> In 1724 the same Albert Statema, this time in command of the *St. Antonis de Padua*, again refused to hand over his original cargo manifest. In the copy he handed over instead he tried to hide the true amount of cargo in his hold so that he could pay lower levies. Only when he displayed the same behaviour a third time did the Amsterdam admiralty initiate a trial against the captain back in the Dutch Republic. By this time Op ten Noorth clearly had enough and feared losing authority against other captains if this behaviour remained unchecked. He had Statema arrested with cooperation of the Spanish authorities. With impending legal proceedings Statema wisely chose to pay the levies.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7126, 20-05-1720, 17-06-1720, 13-12-1721, inv. 7127, 14-07-1722.

<sup>293</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7126, 20-06-1724, inv. 7128, 12-12-1724, 26-12-1724, 20-02-1725.

Who were really behind these rebellions against consular authority? Dutch merchants and agents in Cádiz were of the opinion that one ‘(...) *niet responsabel is voor de folies die eene schipper begaet.*’<sup>294</sup> Op ten Noorth soon discovered that Hooft and Statema were incited by merchants from other communities, in particular the Flemish: ‘*Den schipper Albert Statema sig door eenige quaadaardige Vlamingen (...) tegen mij hebbende laten ophitsen.*’<sup>295</sup> Relations between the Dutch and Flemish community were strained at the time due to the latter losing its prime position in the trade with Spain. The Flemish tried to hinder their competitors in all possible manners. Borgers’ and Van Aalst’s troubles illustrated this in the previous chapter.<sup>296</sup> Still, it is odd that Dutch captains would let themselves be pushed so far solely by foreign Flemish merchants. There has to be more than meets the eye; for whom were the captains working?

There were various administrative constructions for freighting ships in the Dutch Republic of the eighteenth century. The most straightforward option was a company which owned, operated, and freighted its own ships, like the MCC. More common was the *partenrederij* in which several merchants each owned a share of the ship, which spread financial risks. The bigger the share a partner had, the bigger his say in all decisions. This system has been credited with having important part in the Dutch Republic’s economic rise. If the ship was of a modest size it was common for only a couple of persons to own the ship. In both these cases cargo was often supplied by other parties. Rarely did a captain own the ship himself, although this was more typical in inland shipping. Matters are further complicated by the emergence of *cargadoors* in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. These men were ship brokers who brought a ship, captain, merchants, and cargo together, after which the

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<sup>294</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7121, 13-12-1721, according to Francisco Joseph van Hemert.

<sup>295</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7128, 26-12-1724.

<sup>296</sup> J. Parmentier, *Oostende & Co: Het verhaal van de Zuid-Nederlandse Oost-Indiëvaart, 1715-1735* (Gent 2002) 4.

cargadoors handled all shipping affairs. Reders, cargadoors, and merchants with shares in a partenrederij were not per definition the same parties sending cargo with the ships, as cargo was often supplied by many different merchants.<sup>297</sup> Captains, reders, cargadoors, and merchants formed a close network that worked together on a regular basis. Once a captain arrived at his destination he relied on local merchants and agents to take on return cargo.

According to Op ten Noorth captains always primarily acted in the best interest of their reders, any regulations came second at best.<sup>298</sup> Captain Raven underlined this when he claimed that his reders had explicitly forbidden him to pay the taxes.<sup>299</sup> These reders were Barent Leijen and Arnoldus Dupper, both left hardly any historical trace and neither one of them belonged to the merchant-elite.<sup>300</sup> Eventually Op ten Noorth found out who was Captain Statema's cargadoor, the most notorious troublemaker in Cádiz. His name was Johannes Calckberner and he specialized in shipping to the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>301</sup> He was also responsible for the earlier journeys by Hooft on *De Margareta Galleij* and Statema on the *St. Theresa*.<sup>302</sup> Calckberner was not part of the merchant-elite and little information was found about him, other than that he

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<sup>297</sup> S. Hart, 'Rederij' 106-117, in G. Asaert, (et al.), *Maritieme geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Bussum 1976) Part II and F.J.A. Broeze 'Rederij' 92-135 in *Ibidem* part III, J. van Beylen, *Maritieme encyclopedie* (Bussum 1970) Part II, 17-18.

<sup>298</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7127, 24-02-1722.

<sup>299</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7126, 17-06-1720. Op ten Noorth used the word '*consignateur*'.

<sup>300</sup> (GAA) Archieven van de Schout en Schepenen, van de Schepenen en van de Subalterne Rechtbanken (5061), inv. 2820, 04-03-1718, inv. 2827, 19-02-1726. Finding the original shipping contract is extremely difficult and success is far from guaranteed due to the notarial archives of Amsterdam lacking a proper index. Adding to the difficulty is that it is not sure on whose name the contract was drawn up, by which notary (a large number of notaries was in business at the time), and if the contract was drawn up by a notary at all. An agreement could also have been signed between the *reders* or *cargadoors* themselves and kept in their personal archives. Due to these obstacles a different method was used. There is an index of all Amsterdam ships that claimed damages during their journey. They had to make official statements with the proper authorities in the city and this resulted in the so called '*Averij Grosse*'. It has been made searchable by captain and ship, name amongst other terms. The corresponding documents list all kinds of data, including the interested parties and how large a share of the damages they had to reimburse. Considering the way the same networks of captains, reders, cargadoors, and merchants regularly worked together the parties in the cases of this paragraph can be determined to an accurate degree. In this case the *Agatha Galleij* and its Captain Jacob Raven suffered damage on two journeys: one to Lisbon in 1725 and another to Sevilla in 1717, in both cases with the same reders. See also: I. Schöffner 'De vonnissen in averij grosse van de Kamer van Assurantie en Avarij te Amsterdam in de 18e eeuw' in *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek Bijdragen tot de Economische Geschiedenis van Nederland* ('S-Gravenhage 1956) 73-132.

<sup>301</sup> (GAA) Notarissen Amsterdam, inv. 6121, 17-11-1719.

<sup>302</sup> (GAA) Schout en Schepenen, inv. 2822, 12-10-17, inv. 2824, 25-11-1721. The *Averij Grosse* records showed that Calckberner arranged a journey by the *Margareta Galleij* with Hooft as captain to Livorno, Alicante, and Cádiz in 1721 and a journey by the *St. Theresa* and captain Statema to Cádiz in 1719.



later took over his father's employment as an accountant to an Amsterdam regenten family.<sup>303</sup> He was a servant to the regenten elite, not part of it. Data is available with the names of merchants that transported goods on an earlier journey to Cádiz organized by Calckberner with the *St. Theresa* commanded by Statema. Considering that networks of merchants and shippers were fairly constant, the names would have been similar to later journeys. A considerable amount of merchants from Amsterdam transported cargo on the ship, together with a handful from Cádiz, to a total of 41 parties. As is to be expected, most of them regularly traded with the Mediterranean and Levant. Their wealth and fame ranged from small to significant.<sup>304</sup> Those who loaded the most valuable cargo were Jan Battista Cloots, Joseph de Medina, Melchior van Susteren, and Jacob de Prado. All three were wealthy merchants from either a Jewish or Catholic background and therefore without governmental offices. Merchants with ties to the regenten elite also participated. Leonard de Vogel for example, he advised the Levant Trade Society a few years later. The merchant company of former Levant Trade Society director Nicolaas Warin even had some cargo on the ship. When conflict with Op ten Noorth first arose the next year, correspondence testified that the *St. Theresa* was transporting cargo for wealthy Amsterdam merchant David de Leeuw, amongst others. A letter from his Flemish agents Vincent & Christian van de Walle stated that part of the cargo was destined for Juan Baptista Copenoll, a well-known Flemish merchant in Cádiz.<sup>305</sup> These three men were part of the Flemish community in Cádiz that had incited Dutch captains against their consul, but were simultaneously working for Dutch clients. The *Twee Jonge Ploegers* and the *Snelheyd* were not

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<sup>303</sup> I. H. van Eeghen, 'Het Deutzen hofje' in *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* Vol. 52 (Amsterdam 1960) 113.

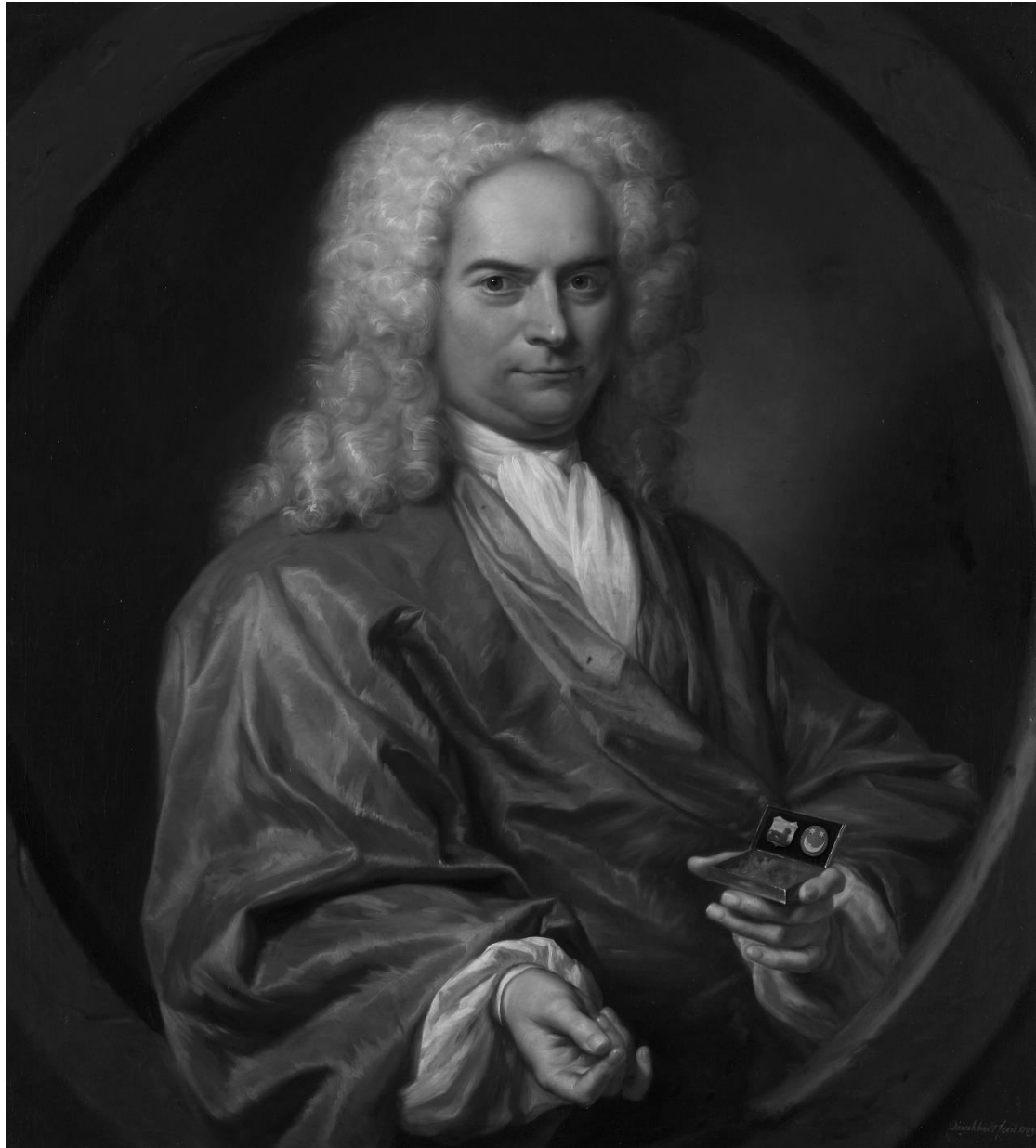
<sup>304</sup> See the appendix of Solana, *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos*, 327-338. The lesser known merchants were traced with help of the list of merchants supporting Op ten Noorth's request for the Cádiz consulate. The *Vroedschap* by Elias helped identify merchants part of the regenten elite.

<sup>305</sup> (GAA) Archief van de Familie Brants en Aanverwante Families (88), inv. 994, 13-05-1720, Solana, *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos*, 338, I.H. van Eeghen, *Archief van de Familie Brants en Aanverwante Families* (s.l. 2015) 8-10, Solana, *El comercio marítimo*, 118.

from Amsterdam, these ships originated from Zaandam and Vlissingen. Both operated for single merchants: Vernier Danckearts and Pieter Brouwer. Neither of these men were particularly affluent or had noticeable ties to the Dutch ruling elite.

Which parties encouraged captains to defy consular authority? This is a difficult question to answer when the complexity of shipping structures in the Dutch Republic are taken into account. The idea of all 41 merchants shipping cargo on the *St. Theresa* meeting together to jointly decide to rebel against the consul is farfetched. On the one hand, the four merchants with by far the most stake in the cargo were Portuguese Jews or Roman Catholics. Despite their wealth they held no governmental positions and therefore were not part of the regenten elite. Which could be a motivation for them to ignore their state's authority. On the other hand, it could also be the work of the cargadoor. Calckberner was responsible for goods on at least four ships that caused Op ten Noorth trouble. The cargadoor together with those merchants without ties to the government and with large shares of the cargo are the most likely culprits. While the Flemish latched onto an opportunity to hinder the competing Dutch merchant community. Other merchants with cargo on the ships likely turned a blind eye to the misconduct, as long as they suffered no negative consequences.

Consular levies were not the only reason for dispute. It was part of Van Aalst's duties to regularly write the Levant Trade Society and include a list of all ships that came into port. Therein the name of the person responsible for the ship in the Dutch Republic had to be recorded, be it its owner, cargadoor or reder. Van Aalst encountered great difficulty in getting all captains to disclose their contacts in the Dutch Republic. While Op ten Noorth actively acted



**Illustration 3.** David de Leeuw in 1729 as painted by Jan Maurits Quinkhard, currently residing in Het Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

against any challenge to his authority, Van Aalst had more trouble keeping captains in line even though the problems did not change much in nature.<sup>306</sup> The deterioration of the consulate's authority under the tenure of Vice-consul Borgers made it difficult for Van Aalst to restore consular authority.<sup>307</sup> Three biannual lists of ships that Van Aalst send to the Levant Trade Society remained. In 1737 around a quarter of the incoming ships refused to name their contact in the Dutch Republic.<sup>308</sup> Tempers rose as more and more Dutch ships refused to cooperate with consular regulations. This had repercussions for Van Aalst, complains about the consul were lodged with the Levant Trade Society: *'Omme mijn persoon daerdoor bij deselve haetelijk te maaken.'* Adding to the troubles were cargadoors that forced captains to pay less than required, or nothing at all. Johannes van Keulen Johanszoon was one of the cargadoors who most frequently agitated affairs. Little is known about him other than his occupation.<sup>309</sup> Other Dutch merchants sought refuge in Flemish agents, who in turn tried to make Van Aalst's life difficult as they had done to Op ten Noorth before him.<sup>310</sup> In 1738 Flemish merchant Joseph Beyens, posing as a Dutch merchant from Cádiz, complained about Van Aalst to the Levant Trade Society. In response Van Aalst had several Dutch merchants sign a statement that Beyens was in fact Flemish and none of his allegations were true. Needless to say Philip Renard was one of these men.<sup>311</sup> Interestingly, this affair did not prevent Renard and Beyens from doing business several years later.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>306</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 173, 29-04-1738.

<sup>307</sup> See the second chapter.

<sup>308</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 173, lists over 1737, 1738, and 1740, all without further date.

<sup>309</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 173, 22-07-1738, B. Mourik, *Naamen en woonplaatsen der solliciteurs, occuperende voor de subalterne regtbanken, en van de oudste clerquen der respectieve procureurs, alsmede de zuiker raffinadeurs, cassiers, cargadoors, convoyloopers, keurmeesters van 't rundvlees, capiteins van de nagtwagts, & Ook hier ingevoegt aanwyzinge van de staan plaatsen der kooplieden en handelaars op de gewone beurs tyden. Alle binnen de stad Amsterdam, (Amsterdam 1738)* 10.

<sup>310</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 173, 08-07-1738, 22-07-1738.

<sup>311</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 173, 29-04-1738

<sup>312</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos Notariales, inv. 1605, 22-04-1746.

The second chapter briefly dealt with Van Aalst's leave to the Dutch Republic in the years 1737 and 1738. During this time, he attended a meeting of the Levant Trade Society where he offered his views on the discussions about new regulations for the Cádiz consulate. He was not the only one consulted by the society's directors, several *cargadoors* and merchants from Amsterdam who often traded with Spain were also asked for their opinions. These merchants were undeniably part of the regenten elite. Two examples underline this: Isaac van Eys and Thomas van Son. The family Van Eys were wealthy textile merchants and two years later one family member held a position as a Levant Trade Society director. Van Son would become a director for the VOC, Levant Trade Society, and the board of East Sea trade.<sup>313</sup> The parties disagreed the most about the height of consular levies in Cádiz. The consul wanted a higher sum to maintain the consulate's revenue. But the directors disagreed; in their view revenues would remain sufficient if regulations were made stricter to counter tax evasion.<sup>314</sup> In this case the regenten elite merchants' interests did not line up with the consul's viewpoint. The *cargadoors* that were consulted by the Levant Trade Society were slightly milder. However, neither Calckberner nor Van Keulen were among them, which confirmed that they fell outside of Amsterdam's elite.<sup>315</sup>

Conflicts between the consuls and merchants were plentiful. They depict the conflicting interests between consuls and merchants from different social economic backgrounds. Those challenging consular authority in Cádiz fell outside of the merchant regenten elite. But consuls could not completely count on the merchant regenten elite's complete support, as the Levant Trade Society policies lowered the consulate's revenues in 1737.

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<sup>313</sup> Elias, *De Vroedschap* Part II, 789-790, 861, the names are listed as: Van Eys, De Vogel, Van Son, Cock & Russher. The '*Directie der Oostersche handel en reederijen*'.

<sup>314</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 13, 05-12-1736, 12-12-1736.

<sup>315</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 13, 05-12-1736, 12-12-1736.

### 3.4 Defending the Dutch merchant community's interests

*'Om my (uyt liefhebbery) geheel & al toe te leggen om die  
myner compatriotten te doen prospereeren'*<sup>316</sup>

When the *Jan en Francois* was captured Op ten Noorth worked to the benefit of his own commercial interests. Be that as it may, a consul did not only think of himself. The interests of the Dutch merchant community were next in line, such as when *De Stad Rotterdam*, like the *Jan en Francois*, was captured by a Spanish privateer. Originating from the identically named city the ship had taken in cargo in Amsterdam and Oostende before it was captured. The vessel was brought to Cádiz and the privateers claimed that a ship loading cargo in Oostende had to be in possession of a Spanish passport. Op ten Noorth disputed this, as several Dutch and French vessels had done precisely the same multiple times before without repercussions. If *De Stad Rotterdam* created a precedent it meant a potential threat to all Dutch trade. Therefore Ambassador Colster brought the dispute to the attention of the royal court in Madrid. Meanwhile Op ten Noorth tried to prevent cargo being offloaded from the ship. A document from Cádiz listed some of the merchants with cargo on the *Stad Rotterdam*. They held all kinds of nationalities including Dutch, French, British, and Flemish.<sup>317</sup> No commercial interests of Op ten Noorth could be discerned. Thus in this case the consul defended the commercial interests of the Dutch merchant community as a whole.

A consul acting in the interest of his merchant community could go against the wishes of the Dutch ambassador in Madrid. All foreign consuls in Cádiz had come together after the start of the War of Jenkins' Ear to voice their discontent to the Spanish authorities about the consequences for trade in Cádiz. Consuls from different nations united more often when the

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<sup>316</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7148, 21-09-1757.

<sup>317</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos Notariales, inv. 993, 06-08-1720, (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7126, 22-01-1720, 04-02-1720.

stakes at hand concerned all merchants in Cádiz.<sup>318</sup> In this case they drew up a joint statement of disapproval. Van der Meer was not pleased with the participation of Van Aalst. Earlier, the ambassador had explicitly requested Van Aalst to act '*als minister van der selven hooge principaelen maer niet als voorstander van eenige particuliere coopluijden.*' Van Aalst's actions hindered diplomatic efforts at the Spanish court to make sure that Dutch commerce remained unaffected. Moreover, the financial misfortunes of a few individuals certainly did not stand above the law of nations.<sup>319</sup> Van der Meer and Van Aalst were well acquainted with each other, it is therefore even more telling that these actions aroused the ambassador's discontent. On another occasion, Renard learned that the States General were contemplating war with Algeria and did not hesitate to strongly advise against it. He feared the war would damage commerce in Cádiz.<sup>320</sup> In these examples consuls chose to side with their fellow merchants against the Dutch Republic's interests. A partial explanation is to be found in the consuls' merchant companies, in defending the interests of the Dutch merchant community they were just as much defending their own commercial interests. Renard's views set out in the second chapter on how to improve trade and make the Dutch merchant community prosper, contain an element of similar disobedience. He did not hesitate to question important state institutions such as the Admiralty or Levant Trade Society. This is further proof that consuls felt very much responsible for the wellbeing of the community they were part of, which could result in taking stance against their patrons in the Dutch Republic.

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<sup>318</sup> (AHPC) Protocolos Notariales, inv. 990, 04-10-1715, (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7127, 28-04-1722.

<sup>319</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7137, 29-12-1739.

<sup>320</sup> (NA) Staten-Generaal, inv. 7147, 01-07-1755.

### **3.5 Conclusions: loyal to whom?**

Discourse surrounding consular history recently moved into a new direction: discovering which and whose interests consuls were really defending during their time in office. Adding to the dynamics at play in this research is the practice of Dutch consuls to run their own merchant companies, while they had also originally gained their position with the help of merchants.

Unofficial commercial activities by consuls influenced their official duties. Evidence has been laid out showing that consuls were not afraid to use their position to benefit their own commercial interests and that of their clients. At the same time consuls had to deal with challenges to their authority. In these moments a sense of duty and loyalty to the Dutch state can be discerned. Consuls firmly defended regulations imposed by the States General and the Levant Trade Society, *de facto* these were drawn up by the merchant regenten elite and represented their interests. The regenten elite not only held influence over consuls through state institutions, but also via their direct business ties to the consuls' merchant companies.

Consuls' defence of the consulate against encroachments by the Flemish is to be expected, but it went further than that. Consuls held their own against Dutch captains, cargadoors, reders, and merchants. Those trying to evade or challenge consular authority were often small commercial actors and lacked political ties to the regenten elite or governmental power. It might not be surprising that consuls were actually doing that which they were appointed for. After all, consular revenue paid their salary. But this salary was not always sufficient and as soon it is taken into account that consuls themselves were commercially active, the perspective changed. Enforcing state regulations and authority could harm consuls' business relations. In one of this chapter's examples a ship transported cargo from dozens of merchants, thus every time a consul enforced regulations he could damage a lot of potential business opportunities.



In spite of other loyalties, consuls held the interests of their merchant community close at heart. Van Aalst and Renard showed that if the interests of their community were at stake, consuls, although loyal to the States General, were not afraid to go against the decisions and policies of their betters. Undoubtedly not only out of loyalty to their merchant community, but also because their own merchant company's interests aligned with that of the community.

*'Het maekt hier ondraegelijk heet & landewaerts in is het nog erger so dat ik een ongemackelijke rijs voor mijn hebbe. Godd geve! dat ick gezond & behouden uijt dit d...[duyvelse] land mag komen.'*<sup>321</sup>

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<sup>321</sup> (RAL) Van Eys, inv. 1i, 21-05-1729, Daniel van Eys' accountant Conrad Zellweger on a journey to Cádiz for his patron's bussiness interests.

## CONCLUSIONS

### *DIVIDED LOYALTIES?*

Consular history has firmly cast away its role as a diplomatic Watson to Holmes. Diplomatic historiography no longer keeps consuls out of its spotlights, granting consuls the scholarly attention that was formerly exclusively reserved for ambassadors. This thesis has enriched consular history in its latest direction of research by investigating the different loyalties and interests that influenced consuls during their duties. The principal goal was to investigate to which extent Dutch consuls were influenced by Dutch merchants and what the social economic background of these merchants was.

The first chapter set out the consuls' social backgrounds and the manner in which they gained the consulate in Cádiz. Only Op ten Noorth came from a minor regenten family, Van Aalst and Renard originated from a lower social background. All three men used their personal and commercial contacts to further their bid for the consulate. Influence by merchants proved to be decisive in each case and this strengthened the consuls' connections to the Dutch regenten elite. The second chapter showed that it was standard practice for Dutch consuls in Cádiz to contract a business partner to jointly run a merchant company. The involvement of the consuls with commerce besides their regular duties was a grey area, since all commerce was conducted on the name of their business partner. It is likely that further research with the same methodology of Dutch consuls in other countries will unearth the same type of arrangements. Consuls had to supplement their income in this way because their consulate did not always yield sufficient revenue to sustain themselves. Upon tracing the commercial activities of consuls and their business partners a wide variety of commercial undertakings came to light. All consuls had business dealings with the regenten elite, while their official duties saw consuls act as full-

fledged diplomats. For example in their lobbying efforts with Spanish authorities or in peace negotiations with Morocco. The extensive consular correspondence was not intended to provide Dutch merchants with the latest commercial news. Instead, it was aimed at supplying the Dutch state apparatus with important information. Due to the nature of the Cádiz consulate the information flow often dealt with commerce, but developments of a geopolitical nature were just as important. Barring writing up minor declarations, consuls did not have a judicial function. Furthermore, the Dutch merchant community that the consuls had to protect was not as disjointed as previously thought. Its consulate took care of the impoverished and infirm, and there were meetings at the consulate where jointly made decisions were recorded.

The first two chapters set the stage for chapter three to investigate where consuls' loyalties and interests laid. Consuls did not think twice about acting to the benefit of their own commercial interests, or that of their business contacts. A close second were the interests of the Dutch merchant community, whereby consuls could even act against the wishes of the Dutch state. This is not surprising, considering that in those instances their own commercial interests were also at stake. They were not only responsible for the Dutch merchants in Cádiz, they were one of them. Consuls used their position to further their own interests and that of their business connections. Yet, consuls also had to defend their authority against certain captains, reders, cargadoors, and merchants that tried to challenge consular authority. Many of these men could be classified as free agents, as they tried to operate outside of their state's hold on commerce both by using the existing institutions to their advantage and by evading governmental authority. This widens the original definition of free agents to encompass European trade as well as the trade of colonial empires. There is also evidence that wealthy merchants without political power joined these free agents in challenging consular authority. The Flemish

community in Cádiz handily encouraged these conflicts to hinder their competitors from the Dutch community.

The combined political and commercial elite of the Dutch Republic was of great influence in the appointment of each consul, after which they cultivated commercial ties with those consuls. Influence came from the state and merchants outside of it, but all were part of the same intertwined regenten elite. In the Dutch Republic the question was not about whether the consular apparatus was under control of the state, but rather about which societal group controlled it. Like the state, its consular apparatus was an extension of the merchant regenten elite's interests and they were very much in control of their consuls. For this reason, merchants without governmental ties or power were likely to rebel against consular authority. Remarkable is that possible free agents were not defined by their affluence - as small and wealthy merchants were involved in the same practices - but rather by whether or not they were part of the political elite and held a share of the state's governmental power.

Wider implications of this study are the insights into the social dynamics in the Dutch Republic, customarily characterized as a nation of merchants. However, the Dutch state was not there to benefit all merchants, but only those pertaining to the regenten elite. The findings on this are best exemplified by Renard. He was quickly fired when he criticized the way in which the Dutch state was administrating trade. Another new perspective is provided on diplomats' importance in the networks that constituted early modern globalisation. Diplomatic and commercial networks were very much intertwined, rather than separate, affairs. Therefore, the Dutch Republic's historiography cannot be separated in diplomatic and commercial history, as both were very much unified.

The limitations of this research are to be found in its scope. A more comprehensive and meticulous study is required to fully investigate which social economic groups of merchants

supported or challenged Dutch consuls. It will have to include detailed biographical backgrounds together with an extensive analysis of business and political ties. Another limitation is that the research is confined to three consuls within the same century and one, albeit important, port city. Nonetheless, this research has indicated on which research methodology and direction Dutch consular research should focus. Archives with documents of a commercial nature are rarely used with diplomatic history in mind. There is a considerable amount of archives from merchant families that contain documents on their political and business networks. These could be used to further study the intertwining of diplomacy and commerce in the Dutch Republic.

To conclude, the findings of this thesis have demonstrated that the social economic relations within the Dutch Republic had their effect on Dutch commerce and diplomacy abroad. On the one hand, the merchant regenten elite controlled the consular apparatus to a large degree through both governance and commerce. On the other hand, merchants of both small and large calibre that fell outside the ruling elite could and would defy the state's authority as represented by the consuls. But then again, the consuls were not merely extensions of the merchant regenten elite. They worked to further their own commercial interests and those of their merchant community. Ultimately, Dutch consuls in eighteenth century Cádiz were situated in the middle of commercial and diplomatic dynamics, where their different interests and loyalties made them complex actors in early modern diplomacy.



## APPENDIX I

### *TRANSLATED CITATIONS*

<b>Page</b>	<b>Original</b>	<b>English</b>
0	‘S'il est vrai que la definition du consul conserve pour les contemporains une certain opacité et que les fonctions qui lui sont désormais dévolues ne permettent pas de dissiper totalement l'ambiguité qui entoure son statut, celui-ci n'en reste pas moins, à sa manière, un acteur crucial des relations internationals.’	‘If it is true that the definition of a consul for contemporaries retains a certain ambiguity and the functions that are assigned to him now do not fully address the ambiguity that surrounds his status he is, none the less in its own way, a crucial player in international relations.’
10	‘Den handel op Spanjen is by vreedestyden een der alderbesten’	‘The trade with Spain is one of the best in peace time’
12	‘Dat van Cadix dient wel ten eersten voorsien te worden, door een bequaam subject, die de taal en de manieren van dit lant bekent sijn.’	‘That of Cádiz has to be fulfilled as first, by a capable subject, who is familiar with the language and manners of this country.’
15	‘(...) om de orders en bevelen waar mede u Hoog Mogende mij sullen gelieven te vereeren met alle vlijd en gehoorszaamheid na te komen.’	‘(...) to exercise the orders and commands with which your Highest will please to honour with all diligence and obedience.’
17	‘(...) een volkomen kennisse (...) van de Spaensche Tael, Wetten en costumen, en in der selver handel (...)’	‘(...) a complete knowledge (...) of the Spanish language, laws and customs, and its trade (...)’
18	‘tegenswoordiege favourable dispositie van burgerm.ren van Amsterdam en in 't bijhsonder van de heer burgemeester Hooft (...) om op den H.r Optennoorth het consulaat van Cadix te brengen.’	‘present-day favourable disposition of the burgomasters of Amsterdam and especially of sir burgomaster Hooft (...) to give sir Op ten Noorth the consulate of Cádiz.’
21	‘Neemt den suppliant met schuldige eerbiedighijt de vrijhijt U Hoog Mogende op het	‘The applicant with required reverence takes the liberty to humbly request your High Mightiest to be awarded the consulate in Cádiz.’



	onderdanigste te versoeken van met het consulaet tot Cadix te mogen worden begunstigt.	
22	‘(...) om aldaar pro interim een waackend oogje te houden.’	‘(...) to yonder <i>pro interim</i> keep a watchful eye.’
26	‘(...) dat de heer Op ten Noort sigh aan een ander geëngageert heeft’.	‘(...) that the sir Op ten Noorth engaged himself to someone else.’
27	‘in agting genoomen zijnde de eene zijde de recommandatie van den heer ambassadeur vander Meer in faveur van Leonard van Aalst, des selfs amanuensis, en aan de andere zijde, dat deselve Van Aalst de taal en saaken verstaat, en aan de kooplieden niet onaangenaam schijnt te weesen, is goedgevonden en verstaan, dat de saak ter Generaliteit daar heen sal worden aangestelt tot consul van deesen staat te Cadix.’	‘(...) having been taken into account on one hand the recommendation of the sir ambassador Van der Meer in favour of Leonard van Aalst, his amanuensis, and on the other hand, that the same Van Aalst comprehends the language and affairs, and does not lie ill with the merchants, has been found good and well, that the affair shall be brought to the States General to be named consuls of this state in Cádiz.’
27	‘weegens derselves gunstige adviesen in de saak van mijn consulaat bij de provincie van Zeeland overgenoomen en hier door eijndelijk gelukkig getermineert.’	‘(...) because of your favourable advices in the matter of my consulate, taken over by the province of Zeeland and because of this ultimately ended favourably.’
29	‘(...) zal mijne welgunners tragten te justificeeren in de goede gedagten & verwagting over mij verwekt (...)’	‘(...) shall try to justify my beneficiaries in their good thoughts and expectancies raised about me (...)’
31	‘goede informatien en bekoome getuigenissen van des suppliants bequaamheid’	‘good information and acquired testimonies to the applicant’s suitability’
33	‘(...) der nährischste, lächerlichste Mann, den man sehen kan.’	‘(...) the most odd, strange man that one can see.’
36	‘Todos los viajeros y visitantes que llegan a ella insisten en los mismos tópicos: Cádiz es una ciudad opulenta, rica, elegante, culta, cosmopolita...’	‘All the travellers and visitors who arrive at her insist on the same topics: Cádiz is a city which is opulent, wealthy, elegant, cultured, cosmopolitan...’
39	‘Qu’est qu’un consul?’	‘What is a consul?’
45	‘Sal ik egter alle diligentie doen om de coopluijden en schippers soo veel in	‘However, I will use all diligence to offer the merchants and captains the

- mijn vermogen is de behulpzame hand te bieden.’
- 46 ‘(...) streckende tot ruine van die negotie op dese gewesten die voor de Oostindische Maatschappij en u Hoog Mogende onderdanen van veel importantie is.’
- 51 ‘(...) het god almachtig behaagt heeft mijn waarde compagnon de heer Louis le Grand den 8 maart door een seer haestige dood uijt dese werelt tot sig te nemen (...) alsmede dat ik sedert geresolveert heb een contract van societeijt inte gaan met de heer Gerard Beumer.’
- 53 ‘Sullende mijn bij continuatie en met alle ijver soo veel doenlijk voor het recht en welzijn van onze navigatie en commertie amloijeeren.’
- 56 ‘(...) waar door men veele moeijelijckheden die hier daegelijks voorkomen kan ontgaan (...).’
- 57 ‘Declaro que tengo compania de negocios y dependencias universales de commercio con oho Leonard van Aalst (...)’
- 58 ‘Ik versoek onderdaanig dat uweledesensten deezer geleegentheit mij gelieven te permitteeren uweledesen neevens hartelijke dankzegging mijn geringe dienst alhier te presenteeren zoo in uweld: commercie als alle andere geleegenheeden zullen ik en mijn huijs van negotie gaande op de naam van Ph. Renard & Comp: ons ten uijterste vereert houden uweledelens waarde beveelens te moogen ontfangen (...)’.
- 60 ‘Het eigentlijk & weesentlijk werk van die post is, alle onderdanen van den staat te protegeeren & regt te helping hand as much as is in my power.’
- ‘(...) to ruin the trade to these areas which is of much importance to the VOC and your Highest Mightiest subjects.’
- ‘(...) is has pleased the lord almighty to take to him from this world my valued partner sir Louis le Grand on the eight of March with a very speedily death (...) also that since then I have decided to enter a contract of partnership with Sir Gerard Beumer.’
- ‘I shall continue with all zeal to do as much as possible for the justice and the wellbeing of our navigation and commerce.’
- ‘(...) through which we can evade a lot of the difficulties that occur here daily (...)’
- ‘I declare that I have a company of trade and universal agencies of commerce with the same Leonard van Aalst (...)’
- ‘I humbly request that your most nobles might want to permit me to profoundly thank your most nobles and here present my limited service for your most nobles commerce and all other occasions. Me and my house of commerce on the name of Renard & Comp. would be most honoured to receive your most nobles orders.’
- ‘The real and actual task of the post is to provide protection and law to all subjects

- verschaffen; het welk vrij wat te doen geeft (...)'
- of the state; which provides quite a bit of work (...)'
- 62 'En sal hij consul ons van tijd tot tijd met alle occasion hebben te advertieren van het geene hij zal verneemen den dienst van den lande te importieren.'
- 'And he the consul will from time to time with all occasions have to inform us of that which he will learn that is of importance to the service of the country.'
- 65 '(...) de Algerijnen in 10 jaaren souden gedaan hebben al hadde men al 's Lands scheepen tot brandhout gekapt.'
- '(...) than the Algerians would have done in 10 years, even if all Dutch naval ships would have been chopped into firewood.'
- 65 '(...) veele insolente, schandelijke en extravagante uitdruckingen en reflexien (...)'
- '(...) many insolent, scandalous and extravagant expression and opinions (...)'
- 70 'Sijnde dat dien eijnde de conferentien met coopluijden onnodigh, als welkers interest niet altijdt over eenkomt met dat van den souverijn, often van eene geheele natie.'
- 'Because of that the assemblies with the merchants are unnecessary, because their interests do not always accord with those of the sovereign, or of a whole nation.'
- 73 'Ick versoek vrindelijkck op uedele dat gij dog eens na Cadix toe schrijft aen u koopman of aen de consul, dat sij mij dogh de behulpsaeme hant bieden.'
- 'I friendly request your nobles, that you might write to Cádiz to your merchant or the consul, that they might offer me the helping hand.'
- 74 '(...) het de Spanjaarden nooijt aan pretexten [manqueert] om de menschen te plagen.'
- '(...) it never lacks the Spaniards of pretences to torment people.'
- 77 'Waar op den onderconsul repliceerde dat men soo met de vlag van de staat niet speelde.'
- 'To which the vice consul replied that one does not play with the flag of the state in that manner.'
- 79 '(...) niet responsabel is voor de folies die eene schipper begaet.'
- '(...) is not responsible for the follies a captain commits.'
- 79 'Den schipper Albert Statema sig door eenige quaadaardige Vlamingen (...) tegen mij hebbende laten ophitsen.'
- 'The captain Albert Statema had let some malicious Flemish (...) incite him against me.'
- 84 'Omme mijn persoon daerdoor bij deselve haetelijk te maaken.'
- 'To make my person hated there.'

- 86 Om my (uyt liefhebbery) geheel & al  
toe te leggen om die myner  
compatriotten te doen prospereeren’
- 90 ‘Het maakd hier ondraegelijk heet &  
landewaerts in is het nog erger so dat ik  
een ongemackelijke rijs voor mijn  
hebbe. Godd geve! dat ick gezond &  
behouden uijt dit d...[duyvelse] land  
mag komen.’
- ‘To dedicate (out of passion) myself  
completely and all to make my  
compatriots prosper.’
- ‘It is unbearable hot here and land  
inwards even worse, so that I have an  
uncomfortable journey ahead. Lord  
provides! that I might leave this devilish  
country healthy and preserved.’

## APPENDIX II

### *GLOSSARY OF INSTITUTIONS AND FUNCTIONS*

#### **English**

#### **Dutch**

States General

*Staten Generaal*

States of Holland

*Staten van Holland*

States of Zeeland

*Staten van Zeeland*

Committed Councils

*Gecommitteerde Raden*

Court of Audit

*Generaliteits Rekenkamer*

Admiralty

*Admiraliteit*

Levant Trade Society

*Directie van de Levantse handel en de Navigatie op de Middellandse Zee*

Grand Pensionary

*Raadpensionaris*

Pensionary of Zeeland

*Raadpensionaris van Zeeland*

Pensionary of Amsterdam

*Pensionaris van Amsterdam*

### APPENDIX III

#### *AMBASSADORS, CONSULS, AND BUSINESS PARTNERS*

##### **Dutch ambassadors in Spain**<sup>322</sup>

1715-1718	Johan Willem Ripperda
1719-1722	Willem Maurits van Cats
1724-1743	Frans van der Meer
1747-1762	Johan Lodewijk Haganus van Wassenaer

##### **Dutch consuls in Cádiz**<sup>323</sup>

1714-1733	Johan op ten Noorth
1733-1746	Leonard van Aalst
1746-1757	Philip Renard

##### **Dutch vice-consuls in Cádiz**<sup>324</sup>

1680-1733	Antonio Borgers
1733-c.1746	Juan Carlos Hoydonck
c.1746-c.1778	Joseph Romano

##### **Business partners of Dutch consuls in Cádiz**<sup>325</sup>

1714-1726	Louis le Grand
1726-1733	Gerard Beumer
1733-1746	Philip Renard
1746-1757	None

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<sup>322</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 394-396.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibidem*, 413-414.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibidem*, (NA) *Levantse Handel*, inv. 239, inv. 173, 16-12-1749.

<sup>325</sup> See chapter two.

APPENDIX IV

*TRANSCRIBED LETTERS*

**Letter by Leonard van Aalst to the MCC directors<sup>326</sup>**

Weledele Heren,

Niet teegenstaande ik nooijt het geluk hebbe gehad met uweledele eenige directe relatie te hebben is mij niet onbekent gebleeven de verpligting welke ik met erkentnisse aan uweledele bekenne verschuldigt te zijn weegens derselves gunstige adviesen in de saak van mijn consulaat bij de provincie van Zeeland overgenoomen en hier door eijndelijk gelukkig getermineert. Ik versook onderdaanig dat uweledesensten deezer geleegentheit mij gelieven te permitteeren uweledesen neevens hartelijke dankzegging mijn geringe dienst alhier te presenteeren zoo in uweledele commercie als alle andere geleegenheeden zullen ik en mijn huijs van negotie gaande op de naam van Ph. Renard & Comp: ons ten uijterste vereert houden uweledelens waarde beveelens te moogen ontfangen en nooit iets naalaaten om dezelve met alle zorgvuldigheid en applicatie te volbrengen ik heb d'eere met behoorlijke dankbaarheijt en agting te verblijven weledele heeren

Uweledelens zeer  
onderdanige dienaar

Van Aalst  
Cadiz den 10 7ber 1737

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<sup>326</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 10-09-1737.

**Letter by Philip Renard to the Levant Trade Society's directors<sup>327</sup>**

Met behoorlijke dankbaarheid hebbe Uweledele Gestrenge Heeren obligeante missive van den 20<sup>e</sup> October ontvangen; zijn de deselve ten hoogste verplicht, zo wegens de gunstige felicitatie waer meede my vereeren als oover derselver voorgaande geneege influentie (gelyk van elders geïnformeerd ben) in het my zeer aangenaam succes van door Haare Hoogh Mogende tot consul onses natie alhier benoemt te werden. Verwagte de patent; zoodraa deselve bekoome, zal myne welgunners tragten te justificeeren in de goede gedagten & verwagting oover my verwekt; & dus in alle gevallen het commercie der onderdanen van den staet int mogelyke ondersteunen.

Alle ses maanden zullen Weledele Gestrenge Heeren een preciese lyst der scheepen van onze natie bekoomen ingevolge der notitie welke my daer van ten voorbeeld zenden; & in al t geen my mogten gebieden hoope te betoonen, dat my de gehoorzaamheit aan Weledele Gestrenge Heeren, geen last maer een genoegen is. Verblijve met alle eerbied,

Weledele Gestrenge Heeren,

Cadiz den 15 9ber 1746

Uweledele Gestrengens  
zeer onderdanige dienaer  
Philip Renard

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<sup>327</sup> (NA) Levantse Handel, inv. 173, 15-09-1747.



## Letter by Op ten Noorth to the MCC<sup>328</sup>

De heeren directeuren vande Commercie Compangie residerende tot Middelburg

Cadiz 7 meij 1726

Mijn Heeren,

Dewijl het god almagtig behaagt heft mijn waarde compagnon de heer Louis Le Grand den 8 maart door een seer haestige dood uijt dese werelt tot sig te nemen het tot van mijn pligt geacht uweledele van dit gevoelig verlies kennisse te geven als mede dat ik sedert geresolveert heb een contract van societeijt inte gaan met de heer Gerard Beumer, niet twijffelende uweledele sullen door desselfs capaciteijt en vlijt int gene alhier van uweledele bevelen mogten voorvallen, met alle trouw en vigelantie bediend werden.

Ingesloten gaat reekening van diverse onkosten bedragende Rp. 103,, 27,, endese volgens de tegenwoordige cours der wissel, als aanden voet derselve geexpliceert F. 25,, 44,, courant welke klenigheijd (tot slot en effening van reekening rakende mijn gewesene compagnie) ik de vrijheijd genomen heb heden op uw te assigneren te betalen aande ordre van mejuffrouw de weduwe Van Kommena en de heer Bartolome vanden Sandheuvel dewelke voldaan sijnde daar mede alles blijft gesloten en vereffent.

(...)

Ik heb de eer met veel hoogachting te sijn  
Mijn Heeren

Uweledele dienaer  
Joan Opten Noorth

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<sup>328</sup> (ZA) MCC, inv. 61.8, 07-05-1726.

APPENDIX V

*MERCHANTS SUPPORTING OP TEN NOORTH'S BID FOR CONSUL*

**Names listed in his request to the States General<sup>329</sup>**

**Dordrecht**

Catarina Crilla  
M. Sonnemaens  
Corn. van Cleverskerck  
Adolff vander Linden, Jansz.  
Arnold van Wessem  
M.P. Lucque

**Leiden**

Isaac Fremaux  
Laurens van Bueren  
De Wed. zal. Balthazar van Hoogmade en Soon  
Arnoldus van der Sloot  
Pieter Dozy en Soonen  
F.D. Schregel Galenus  
Christoffel Hend. Freher  
Abrah. en Arent Musquetier  
Abraham Dozy  
Gustaef Daniel le Pla  
Jan van Tongeren  
Samuel van Acker  
Jan van Breda  
Isaac Fremaux Jacquessoon  
Michiel van Bommel  
Otto Venlo  
Casper Alensoon  
Abraham du Rieux  
Jacob Fris  
Hugo Caauw  
Pieter en Carel van de Walle  
Pieter Anthony Bonenfant  
A. Boulenger, & Fils & Pluiker

**Amsterdam**

Melchior van Susteren  
Joan Bouwens

Gerbrand Coornhart  
Les des Lespaul  
Pierre Testart  
Joan Baptist Weenix  
Joan Hoppenroth  
Jacob en George Roeters  
Jan van Mekerem en Gerard Roeters  
Nicolas Marcus  
Isaac de la Fontaine Janzoon  
Joseph Henrique Medina  
Joost Voogt  
Juan de Morter  
Jacob Matthues Chrstoffers  
Andries Pels en Soonen  
Pieter Pieterse van Beek  
Bartholome Muysken  
Antoni Carpfanger  
Joannes Eggebrecht  
Joost de Smeth  
Louis le Grand  
Govert Loten  
Jan Burgert  
Adriaen Verwer  
Jacob Dankerts  
Cornelio van Lintelo  
Reinier la Clé  
Ellard Ditelaar  
Benjamin du Try  
Balt. Rongenbergh  
Jan van Ghesel  
Jacob Bas  
Jan Brant  
Hend. Blankenhagen  
De Wed. Pieter van Halmael ads. En Soon

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<sup>329</sup> (NA) Staten van Holland, inv. 1896, 03-05-1713.

Pieter d'Orville  
Jeremias van Waey  
Jan van Anklam  
Jacob Muhl  
Jacob Temminck  
Hendrick de Wacker  
Christiaan Benjamin Schmidt  
Pieter Pechlin  
Jacob Loten  
Nicolaas Andrea Tenzini  
Cesar Sardi  
Fredrick Raphoen  
Hendrick Hop  
Cornelis du Try  
Christoffel Brants  
Jacob vander Waeyen  
Gerard Rogge  
Jacob Dirven  
Jan Berewout en Soon  
Wed. Tourton en Vernet  
Elcoma en Muylman  
Isaac Clifford en Carel C. van de Putte

De Wed. Abr. Slicher en van Asperen  
Christiaan Palm  
Paulus Heeger  
Francois en Pieter Bourgeois  
Jacob Bosch  
Godefrido Ringenbergh  
Joan Rauwenhof en Soon  
Philip Hack  
Silvester van Tongeren  
Hendrik Straalman  
Wed. Pieter Blese  
Isemuel Henrique Medina  
Chri. Hartmans en Hendrik Hartman  
M. de Pinedo  
Ishac Curiel Abc.  
Philippe de la Fontaine  
Math. Schonenberg  
Christoffel Schlaaff  
Nicolaas Lakeman Jacobs  
J.B. v. Cloots  
Gilles van Eys en Soon

APPENDIX VI

*CONSULAR REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES OVER 1736, 1737, AND 1747*

De heeren van de Hollandsche natie binnen Cadiz 1736<sup>330</sup>

Debet			Credit
Voor de gewoonlijke agulande, aan de heer gouverneur, alcalde, secretarisen, ayudant, pages, ministres & lacayen, voor het voorleede jaer 1735 t'saemen	Rp. <sup>331</sup> 5760	Voor den saldo sooper cass gebleeven van het jaer 1735	Rp. 20161
Voor de beurs met silver gewerckt	032	Voor 59 scheepen in dit gansse jaer 1736 hier gekomen dit t'samen betaalt aan consulaat & naatie penningen	<u>20394,5</u>
Aan den consul van Denemarck voor almoes	080		Rp. 40555,5
Aan de wagt van den gouverneur	004		
Aan de heer gouverneur op sijn versoek 3 vaetjes booter a 3,5ps	084		
Aan 2 Hollandsche gevangens van de Caraques, die hier siek geleegeen hebben, in het gevangenhuijs sittende	016		
Aan Don Juan de Conquie betaalt 25 ps. Almoes voor de weduwe Caymans	200		
Aan den schipper Joannes Steevenst, die met het laatste ingecoomen schip van de Caraues gevangen is gekomen voor een almoes	016		
Aan brieffport voor eenige matroosen in de Caraques	016		

<sup>330</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7136.

<sup>331</sup> *Real de plata.*

Aan de heer gouverneur voor 5 vaetjes bootter op sijn versoeck	40
Aan ditto voor 2 hammen	037,5
Voor onderhoudt van 5 matroosen, soo tot San Lucar sijn verongeluckt op het sloopje St. Cruz & hier op slooppen verdeelt	051
Voor soo veel door Don Juan de Conique, aen de arme wedeuwe van de Hollandse naatie gedistribueert in absentie van de consul & die volgens sijn notta betaalt als:	
Aan Doña Leonora Buttler	Ps. <sup>332</sup> 10
Aan de weduwe Croquesol	30
Aan Doña Chatalina & Ana Beversen	10
Aan de doghter van Niepler	48
Aan Rodrigo Schroder	20
Aan de weduwe Almues	40
Aan de weduwe Caymans	40
Aan de weduwe Croquesel	30
Weduwe Van Eten	30
Aan de weduwe Van Goor	20
Aan de weduwe Holthuys	20
Aan de doghters van Elias Colonus	24
Aan de doghters van Carpentir	20
Aan Doña Juna van Latuem in de candelaria	20
Aan dona Leonor Butler	14
Aan Doña Ana & Chatalina Beverssen	10
Aan de arme & passeerende matroosen	16
<hr/> Ps. 402	<hr/> 3216

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<sup>332</sup> *Pesos.*

Voor 6 hamen aan de heer gouverneur & een ditto aan zijn secretario	082,5
Voor 2 caasen & 12 theekometjes aan ditto heer gouverneur	046
Voor 4 hamen tot reijs van de gouverneur uijt Cadiz	048
Voor 2 brooden zuijker, 4 varas wasdock, 1 vaatje boter & 2 caasen idem	062
Transporteere	9891
Transport van voorstaend debet Rp.	9891
Voor de copeij der acte van het parlement van Engeland oover consulaat & naatie penninge	016
Voor 2 grootte caasen vereert aan den schrijver van oorlogh	012
Voor ½ quintaal bacalao vereert aan den Thente Rey	024
Voor 1 pot booter aan den nieuwen gouverneur vereert	044
Voor 1 pot ditto aan den administrateur a Port St. Marij Don Diego Navarre	044
Voor regalia an Don Estavan Peres, eenige matroosen te lossen om taback	037,5
Voor 12 hammen aan de heer gouverneur op seijn versock vereert	401,25
Voor 1 vatje bootter idem	036
Voor 12 stoelen idem	072
Voor 6 hamen aan Don Luis de Balderama, om enige faveurs in de caraques	072
Voor onderhoudt van 5 matroosen, van het verongeluckte schip de Santa Cruz bij San Lucar vergaan	051
Voor regaal aan Diego Mendes, om gevangene matroosen om taback vrijte krijgen	012
Voor de gevangen int gevangenhuijs tot Cadiz	010
Voor heen & weer gaen nae Puerto St. Marij, om een matroos van taback te lossen	009

Voor differente restituciones aan de Vlamingers, soo sij volgens resiff aan de caps te veel aan consulaat betaalt	120
Voor een wimpel aan granados vereert	064
Voor papieren, brieffporten voor gheheele jaer	104
Aan de paters van San Juan de Dios, voor cureeren van eenige matroosen	140
Voor gedruckte lijsten van geen & commente scheepen, an sijne excellentie de heer ambassadeur gesonden naer Madrid	052
Voor de gewoonlijcke aquilande, aan de heer gouverneur, alcalde voor het presente jaer 1736 betaalt	5760
Voor het perteneseerende aan den consul Van Aalst van de ontfange consulaat & natie penningen	8096,5
Aan Don Juan Carlos Hoydinck vice consul, voor het incasseeren der nationale penningen voor dit geheele jaer 200ps.	1600
	<hr/>
	Rp. 26668,5
Komt per saldo deezer aan de heeren van de naatie voort jaer 1736 derthien duijsent aght hondert seven & taghtentigh reales de platta, die vergoed worden int jaer 1737	13887
	<hr/>
	Rp. 40555,5

D' Heeren van de Hollandsche natie binnen Cadix 1737<sup>333</sup>

Debet		Credit
Voor de gewoonlijke aquilande aan de heren gouverneur, alcalde, secratrissen, aijudant, pages, ministers, & lacaijen vor het jaer 1737, t'saemen	Rp. 5760	Voor den saldo van het jaer 1736 per cass gebleeven Rp. 13887
Voor de beurs met silver gewerckt	040	Voor 62 scheepen ingekomen int geheele jaer 1737 saemen betaalt aan consulaat & natie penninghe <u>23445</u>
Voor soo veel aan d'arme weduwen van de Hollanse naatie betaalt als		Rp. 37332
Aan de weduwe Croquesel	Ps. 60	
Aan de doghter van Nepler	48	
Aan Doña Leonor Buttler	24	
Aan de doghters van Elias de Colonia	24	
Aan Rodrigo Schroder	20	
Aan de weduwe Olmius	40	
Aan de weduwe Caymans	40	
Aan de weduwe Van Eten	30	
Aan de weduwe Van Goor	20	
Aan de weduwe Holthuys	20	
Aan Cathalina & Ana Beversen	20	
Aan de doghters van Carpentir	20	
Aan Juana van Latuin inde Candelaria	20	
Som Ps.386	<u>3088</u>	
Aan de heer gouverneur 2 veatjes bootter	064	
Aan den uijtkuijker van Cadiz een nieuwe Hollandsche standaert	128	

<sup>333</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7136.



Aan de Hollandse matroos int ghevangenhuijs voor ider een wambus & een hemdt	048
Bij resolutie van de heren van de Hollandse naatie aan den consul Van Aalst vergoed eene somma van 250ps voor de reijs naer Holland & onkosten bij den selven geleden tot het solliciteeren van het nieuwe reglement van redres der consul & natiepennigen	2000
Aen 2 matroosen uijt Caraques ontvlucht	034
Naar Puerto St. Maria gewezen met de heer Braak om den capitein generaal op te waghten	024
Om die gevangens uijt Caraques genaemt Jan Pieter Pieters, Jan Antonij & Pater de Silva, sijnde 3 swarten van Courasau met den heer capitein Bordaen vertrokken voor ider een wambus, broock, coussen & kostgeld 13ps.	104
Aan den heer Capitein Generaal gesonden 1 vaetje bootter & een vaetje haringh	016
Wamisgen & hemde	080
Voor een jaer lijsten & scheepen voor den heer ambassadeur	052
Voor papieren briefporten voor het gheheele jaer	240
Aan Don Juan Hoydonck, vice consul, voor het incasseeren der natie penningen in dit gheele jaer 200ps.	1600
Transporteere	<u>Rp. 13278</u>
Aan den Heer Gouvernateur voor permissie van 8 Hollandsche coopvaerdeij scheepen, die alhier zeedert den 14 novbre tot ultimo xbre deezes jaers 1737 sijn ingecomen de welke volgens resolutie van har hoog moogende gelast, betaelt op rekening van de naatie penninge us voor ijder schip a 18 Rp. beloopt	144
Voor het pertenesfeerende aan den consul Van Aalst van de ontfange consulaat & naatie penninge	<u>8884</u>

Komt per saldo deezer aan de heeren van de naatie van het  
jaer 1737 vuyffthien duysent & ses & twintigh reales de platta  
die vergoed worden int jaer 1738

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Rp. 22306

15026

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Rp. 37332

Rec: 17 meij 1748

Extract der consulaet & nationael reeckeninge tot Cadiz van 't jaer 1747<sup>334</sup>

Debet			Credit
Voor jaerlijks royaal aan den Gouverneur, Alcalde Mayor, secretissen &ce	Rp. 7389,2	Voor 't beloop van 21072 a 1,5 p.	Rp. 31608
Voor arme weduen & kinderen, van de natie & arme matroosen &ce	3514	Voor ijdem van 1387 lasten a 4 p.	<u>5548</u>
Voor licentie aen de Gouverneur & verdere ordinarise onkosten	4538		37156
Voor een expres na Madrid over de visitte der scheepen, met 12 dagen detensie aldaer	1482	Af voor de schippers 6pc	<u>2229,5</u>
Voor eenige extraordinaris onkosten, waer onder een maeltyt aen de schippers ten huysse Cathalina van Beeck over de electie van sijn doorluchtige hoogheit tot stadhouder & capityn generael van de Unie (ongereek: eenige Rijnse, Moessel & Pagaret wijn door de consul daer toe gegeven	<u>406,14</u>	Blijft	<u>Rp. 34926,5</u>
	17330	Dogh in detail ontfangen zijnde helft geproduc:	
Schiet per saldo van dit jaer over voor de natie	<u>147,2</u>	Rp. 34954..4.. waer van de helft van de natie	<u>Rp.17477,2</u>
	<u>Rp. 17477,2</u>		

Cadiz den 9 april 1748

Philip Renard  
Joseph Romano

<sup>334</sup> (NA) Staten Generaal, inv. 7145, 29-04-1748.

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