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## **"Mere Merchants"? The Dutch Consular Service and the Diplomatic Agency of Consuls in Northern Europe 1693-1795**

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# “MERE MERCHANTS”?

The Dutch Consular Service and the Diplomatic Agency of Consuls in Northern Europe, 1693-1795



RMA Thesis, 'Europe 1000-1800', Leiden University

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## Introduction

“Your lords will say, in Copenhagen we have a minister of this state; this is true, but on the other hand it is certain that such people do not understand the business of commerce, and so often by over-indulgence to the Ministry they can do more harm than good.”<sup>1</sup>

When merchant Jan Willem van Arp wrote this letter to the *Directie van de Oostersche Handel en Reederijen* (Board of Eastern Trade and Shipowners, DOHR) in 1785, he had already written a letter to Engelbert François van Berckel, pensionary of Amsterdam, on the same subject: the appointment of a consul in Copenhagen.<sup>2</sup> According to Van Arp, a consul was necessary to help the unfortunate Dutch skippers and handle commercial conflicts, which an ambassador would not have time for. And, according to Van Arp, if an ambassador had to deal with such matters at the court where he resided, he would need the assistance of someone with knowledge about such affairs whom he could trust: a consul, who was appointed by the state and thus had a public character.<sup>3</sup>

This source fragment is illustrative for this thesis about the Dutch consular service and the diplomatic agency of Dutch consuls in Northern Europe in the eighteenth century. Due to the attention given to the consular service in France since the 1990s and the emergence of new diplomatic history in the 2000s, there is more attention to consular services in Europe. The consular services of countries such as Sweden and Spain, but especially France, have already been investigated extensively.<sup>4</sup> The Dutch consular service, however, has hardly been studied.<sup>5</sup> By studying the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe and comparing it to the consular services of other nations, this thesis will answer to

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<sup>1</sup> “Uw Ed: Gest: zal zeggen, wij hebben tot Coppenhagen een minister van weegens deezen staat, zulks is waar dog aan de andere kant zeeker dat de zodaanige de zaaken van den koophandel niet verstaande, en dus veeltijds door al te groote toegeefelijkheid voor het ministerie dezelve meer kwaad dan goed kunnen doen.” Stadsarchief Amsterdam (SAA), Directie Oostersche Handel en Rederijen (DOHR), inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeurs van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen, 1785*, Van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5 1785).

<sup>2</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeurs van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen, 1785*, Van Arp to Van Berckel (July 8 1785).

<sup>3</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeurs van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen, 1785*, Van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5 1785).

<sup>4</sup> See for example J.P. Nadal, ‘Los cónsules españoles del siglo XVIII. Caracteres profesionales y vida cotidiana’, *Revista de Historia Moderna* (1991) 209-260; J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l’époque moderne: L’affirmation d’une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015); A. Bartolomei e.a. eds., *De l’utilité commerciale des consuls. L’institution consulaire et les marchands dans le monde méditerranéen (XVIIe-XXe siècle)* (Rome 2017); L. Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce. The Swedish Consular Service and Long-distance Shipping* (Uppsala 2004); A. Mézin, *Les consuls de France au siècle des Lumières (1715-1792)* (Paris 1997).

<sup>5</sup> In 2016, less than two percent of the literature (3305 entries) on the consul related to the Netherlands, and most titles were from the eighteenth and nineteenth century and had a more legalistic approach to the consular institution: G. Fryksén, M. Manke and J. Ulbert, ‘Bibliographie : L’histoire de la fonction consulaire jusqu’au début de la première guerre mondiale’, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* (2016) 79-336.

the call for comparative research into the consular institutions of various countries. This will in turn enhance our understanding of the development of consular services in Europe.<sup>6</sup>

Additionally, the source fragment reveals a glimpse of the tasks of the consul and his role in the diplomatic process. Most attention in the historiographical debates about the tasks, role and usefulness of consuls has been given to the commercial tasks and the usefulness of a consul for merchants. The political and diplomatic role of the consul has remained underexposed, which is a consequence of the fact that legal scholars and theorists of international law have argued that consuls did not belong to the diplomatic scene.<sup>7</sup> But what was the role of the consul in diplomacy in practice? Did they have any diplomatic agency?

The aim of this thesis about the Dutch consular service and the diplomatic agency of Dutch consuls in Northern Europe between 1693-1795 is thus twofold, inspired by the approach of the research of Leos Müller, who has researched and mapped the development of the hitherto hardly studied Swedish consular service.<sup>8</sup> The first goal is descriptive, as the purpose is to show how and why the Dutch consular service was established in Northern Europe. The results are placed in a comparative framework, which will enhance our understanding of the development of consular services in Europe. The second goal is to analyze the diplomatic agency of Dutch consuls, thereby contributing to the historiographical debates about the role of consuls in international relations and about the usefulness of a consul. The debate about the usefulness of a consul has so far been conducted mainly from a commercial perspective, i.e. the usefulness of a consul for merchants. However, in this thesis the diplomatic usefulness of the consul for the state and ambassadors will be added as a new perspective to this debate. This research will be conducted from a relatively new angle, as the Dutch consular service has hardly received any attention in the existing debates. Additionally, the focus in consular research is on consuls in the Mediterranean, while the consuls in Northern Europe are hardly studied.<sup>9</sup> This thesis will thus add to the historiographical debates from the perspective of a relatively unexplored field: the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe.

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<sup>6</sup> A. Bartolomei, 'Introduction', in: A. Bartolomei e.a. eds., *De l'utilité commerciale des consuls. L'institution consulaire et les marchands dans le monde méditerranéen (XVIIe-XXe siècle)* (Rome 2017) 9-18, there 13; M. Grenet, 'L'institution consulaire en Méditerranée, des stratégies commerciales différenciées. Introduction', in: A. Bartolomei e.a. eds., *De l'utilité commerciale des consuls. L'institution consulaire et les marchands dans le monde méditerranéen (XVIIe-XXe siècle)* (Rome 2017) 206-214.

<sup>7</sup> See for example G. Poumarède, 'Le consul dans les dictionnaires et le droit des gens: émergence et affirmation d'une institution nouvelle (xvie-xviii siècles)', in: J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne : L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015) 23-36.

<sup>8</sup> Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*.

<sup>9</sup> S. Marzagalli and J. Ulbert, 'Présentation', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* (2016) 9-10, there 10.

## I. Historiographical Background

From the nineteenth century onwards the field of diplomatic history has kept a traditional focus on high politics and the official political relations between countries. This focus became increasingly unfashionable, resulting in the marginalisation of the field in the twentieth century.<sup>10</sup> Recently, the field has been revived by new diplomatic history.<sup>11</sup> This term 'new diplomatic history' was coined by T. Osborne and is an umbrella term involving many innovations regarding diplomatic history.<sup>12</sup> It is a result of the cultural turn and of new cross-disciplinary research in International Relations, both incorporated in new diplomatic history.<sup>13</sup> These changes within the study of diplomatic history has resulted in the questioning of many principles of the traditional narrative of diplomatic history. The theory of Italy as cradle for modern diplomacy and the theory of the Treaty of Westphalia as the beginning of a system of sovereign and equal states are rebuked.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the idea of a system of permanent resident ambassadors in Europe is proven to be incorrect, at least until the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>15</sup> Other historiographical changes can roughly be divided into four categories.

Firstly, as a result of an interdisciplinary approach in new diplomatic history, there is an increased attention for concepts and theories in the study of (early modern) diplomacy, such as the theory of soft power and the use of concepts of business or economic diplomacy.<sup>16</sup> Secondly, due to the expanding scope of diplomatic history, research has gone beyond a Eurocentric approach. The relations between Europe and Asia or the Ottoman empire and relations between non-European

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<sup>10</sup> D. Reynolds, 'International History, the Cultural Turn and the Diplomatic Twitch', *Cultural and Social History* 3 (2006) 75-91, there 76; D. Carrió-Invernizzi, 'A New Diplomatic History and the Networks of Spanish Diplomacy in the Baroque Era', *International History Review* 36 (2014) 603-618, there 603-604; T. Osborne, 'Whither Diplomatic History? An Early-Modern Historian's Perspective', *Diplomatica* 1 (2019) 40-45, there 40; J. Watkins, 'Premodern Non-State Agency: The Theoretical, Historical, and Legal Challenge', in: M.A. Ebben and L. Sicking eds., *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy* (Leiden 2020) 19-37, there 19. The works of G. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London 1955) and D.E. Queller, *Office of Ambassador* (Princeton 1967) were for a long time authoritative in diplomatic history.

<sup>11</sup> M.A. Ebben and L. Sicking, 'Nieuwe diplomatieke geschiedenis van de premoderne tijd', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 127 (2014) 541-552, there 542-545. See for example the two new journals for (early modern) diplomatic history: *Legatio: The Journal for Renaissance and Early Modern Diplomatic Studies* (2017) and *Diplomatica: A Journal of Diplomacy and Society* (2019).

<sup>12</sup> T. Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture and the Thirty Years' War* (New York 2002).

<sup>13</sup> J. Watkins, 'Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008) 1-14, there 1, 5; Reynolds, 'International History', 75-76; Ebben and Sicking, 'Nieuwe diplomatieke geschiedenis', 543-544.

<sup>14</sup> M.W. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450-1919* (London: Longman 1993) 149-204; Ebben and Sicking, 'Nieuwe diplomatieke geschiedenis', 543; T.A. Sowerby, 'Early Modern Diplomatic History', *History Compass* 14 (2016) 441-456, there 442; Carrió-Invernizzi, 'New Diplomatic History', 604-605; Watkins, 'Toward a New Diplomatic History', 2; A. Osiander, 'Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth', *International Organization* 55 (2001) 251-287; P.M.R. Stirk, 'The Westphalian model and sovereign equality', *Review of international studies* 38 (2012) 641-660; M.A. Ebben and L. Sicking, 'Introduction', in: M.A. Ebben and L. Sicking eds., *Beyond Ambassadors. Consuls, Missionaries, and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy* (Leiden 2020) 1-16, there 2.

<sup>15</sup> Sowerby, 'Early Modern Diplomatic History', 442.

<sup>16</sup> For an exploration of 'soft power' see for example *Legatio: The Journal for Renaissance and Early Modern Diplomatic Studies*, vol. 4 (2020) and N. Rivère de Carles ed., *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power. The Making of Peace* (London 2016). For business diplomacy see *Diplomatica: A Journal of Diplomacy and Society*, vol. 2: 1 (2020).

powers are now being explored.<sup>17</sup> Thirdly, the focus has shifted towards the process of diplomacy. Instead of looking at the outcome of diplomatic negotiating, there is a growing interest in the cultural, social and economic aspects of the diplomatic process. For example gift-giving, the use of marginal spaces in diplomacy and public diplomacy are explored.<sup>18</sup> Fourthly and most important for this thesis, is the growing attention for the actors in diplomatic history.<sup>19</sup> Where traditional historiography was concerned with sovereign states, rulers and their official ambassadors, attention has shifted towards non-state or low ranking state actors who had some form of agency in the diplomatic process.<sup>20</sup> The different actors could influence the diplomatic process. They also could use strategies other than those used by official ambassadors in order to get the results they wanted.<sup>21</sup>

One of the actors which has long been ignored in diplomatic history is the consul.<sup>22</sup> For a long time the main attitude about consuls was that they were “auxiliaries rather than actors at the centre

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<sup>17</sup> J. Black, *A History of Diplomacy* (London: Reaktion 2010) 11; Watkins, ‘Toward a New Diplomatic History’, 4; Sowerby, ‘Early Modern Diplomatic History’, 446; G. Kármán, ‘Transylvanian Envoys at Buda: Provincial and Tributaries in Ottoman International Society’, in: J. Hennings and T.A. Sowerby eds., *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410-1800* (London: Routledge 2017) 44-64; R. Dewièrè, ‘“Ismaël pria Osman de luy donner quelques Chrestiens”: Gift Exchanges and Economic Reciprocity in trans-Saharan Diplomacy (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)’, *Diplomatica* 2 (2020) 223-247; D. do Paço, ‘Trans-Imperial Familiarity: Ottoman Ambassadors in Eighteenth-Century Vienna’, in: J. Hennings and T.A. Sowerby eds., *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410-1800* (London: Routledge 2017) 166-184; Ebben and Sicking, ‘Nieuwe diplomatieke geschiedenis’, 547.

<sup>18</sup> Ebben and Sicking, ‘Nieuwe diplomatieke geschiedenis’, 547; B. Tremml-Werner, L. Hellman and G. van Meersbergen, ‘Introduction. Gift and Tribute in Early Modern Diplomacy: Afro-Eurasian Perspectives’, *Diplomatica* 2 (2020) 185-200; R. Anderson, ‘Marginal Diplomatic Spaces During the Jacobean Era, 1603-25’, in: N. Rivère de Carles ed., *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power: The Making of Peace* (London 2016) 163-182; H. Helmers, ‘Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe. Towards a New History of News’, *Media History* 22 (2016) 401-420; H.M. Scott, ‘Diplomatic Culture in Old Regime Europe’, in: H.M. Scott, B. Simms and T.C.W. Blanning eds., *Cultures of Power in Europe during the long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge 2007) 58-85; Watkins, ‘Premodern Non-State Agency: The Theoretical, Historical, and Legal Challenge’, 20-21.

<sup>19</sup> Ebben and Sicking, ‘Nieuwe diplomatieke geschiedenis’, 542-543; T. de Boer, *Amsterdam Diplomacy* (MA thesis Leiden University, Leiden 2020) 5-6; Sowerby, ‘Early Modern Diplomatic History’, 444; B. Tremml-Werner and D. Goetze, ‘A Multitude of Actors in Early Modern Diplomacy’, *Journal of Early Modern History* 23 (2019) 407-422; Ebben and Sicking, ‘Introduction’, 2-3.

<sup>20</sup> Ebben and Sicking, ‘Nieuwe diplomatieke geschiedenis’, 542; Black, *History of Diplomacy*, 47; Tremml-Werner and Goetze, ‘A Multitude of Actors in Early Modern Diplomacy’; A.J. Krischer and H. von Thiesen, ‘Diplomacy in a Global Early Modernity: The Ambiguity of Sovereignty’, *International History Review* 41 (2019) 1100-1107, there 1101; Carrió-Invernizzi, ‘New Diplomatic History’, 606; M.A. Ebben and L. Sicking eds., *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy* (Leiden: Brill 2020); J. Hennings and T.A. Sowerby eds., *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410-1800* (London: Routledge 2017); D. Pirillo, ‘Venetian Merchants as Diplomatic Agents: Family Networks and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe’, in: N. Rivère de Carles ed., *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power: The Making of Peace* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2016) 183-203; F. Kühnel, ‘Minister-like cleverness, understanding, and influence on affairs’: Ambassadors in Everyday Business and Courtly Ceremonies at the turn of the Eighteenth Century’, in: J. Hennings and T.A. Sowerby eds., *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410-1800* (London: Routledge 2017) 130-146.

<sup>21</sup> See for example G. van Meersbergen, ‘The Dutch Merchant-Diplomat in Comparative Perspective: Embassies to the Court of Aurangzeb, 1660-1666’, in: J. Hennings and T.A. Sowerby eds., *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410-1800* (London: Routledge 2017) 147-165.

<sup>22</sup> H. Leira and I.B. Neumann, ‘The Many Past Lives of the Consul’, in: A.M. Fernandez and J. Melissen eds., *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers 2011) 225-246, there 228; S. Marzagalli, F. de Goey (translator), ‘Les consuls et les relations internationales au xix<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* (2016) 49-59, there 49-50; H. Leira and I.B. Neumann, ‘Consular Representation in an Emerging State: The Case of Norway’, *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 3 (2008) 1-19, there 3-5.

of the diplomatic stage”<sup>23</sup>, “Watson to the diplomatic Holmes”<sup>24</sup> or a “Cinderella Service”.<sup>25</sup> This attitude stems from the conviction of (early modern) theorists of international relations that the consul did not belong to the diplomatic stage.<sup>26</sup> According to A. de Wicquefort, the consul was only a ‘mere merchant’ which was “incompatible with the quality of a public minister”.<sup>27</sup> Theorists such as De Wicquefort and F. de Callières argued that consuls were no ambassadors, because they were not attached to a court, they did not represent the monarch, they were mainly concerned with commercial matters and they were not protected under *ius gentium*. But at the same time they also recognized that consuls did have certain immunities and privileges.<sup>28</sup>

Although the main attitude towards consuls was as described above, there was one theorist that did not agree: J. Hotman. He included consuls among ambassadors, as he argued that consuls were appointed by the state and had received a *lettre de provision*. Hotman based his opinion on the consuls in the Levant and Barbary States.<sup>29</sup> There consuls had to maintain direct contact with the Dey, exchange gifts, respect treaties and maintain peace between states. However, contemporaries already acknowledged that consuls in the Levant differed in that respect from the consuls in Christian Europe, meaning that the consuls in the Levant and Barbary States are not representative for the consuls in Christian Europe.<sup>30</sup> And in Hotman's own time, his view was quite unique. Thus, the view that the consul in Europe was not a diplomat became commonplace in the early modern period.<sup>31</sup> Due to the unclear and ambiguous status of consuls in Christian Europe, and due to the main attitude of

<sup>23</sup> Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy*, 92.

<sup>24</sup> Leira and Neumann, ‘Past Lives’, 228.

<sup>25</sup> D.C.M. Platt, *The Cinderella Service. British Consuls since 1825* (Hamden 1971).

<sup>26</sup> Ebben, ‘Uwer Hoog Moogenden Onderdaenigsten Dienaers’, 649-650; Poumarède, ‘Le consul dans les dictionnaires et le droit des gens’; Ulbert, ‘Introduction. La fonction consulaire à l’époque moderne’, 15, 17-19; De Goey, ‘Les consuls et les relations internationales au xixe siècle’; Ebben and Sicking, ‘Introduction’, 3-4, 7.

<sup>27</sup> “Ce qui est incompatible avec la qualité de Ministre Public” A. de Wicquefort, *L’Ambassadeur et ses fonctions, volume 1* (Steucker 1681) 133.

<sup>28</sup> Poumarède, ‘Le consul dans les dictionnaires et le droit des gens’; Ebben, ‘Uwer Hoog Moogenden Onderdaenigsten Dienaers’, 649-650; Leira and Neumann, ‘Consular Representation in an Emerging State’, 3-5; D. Fedele, ‘Plurality of Diplomatic Agents in Premodern Literature on the Ambassador’, in: M.A. Ebben and L. Sicking eds., *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy* (Leiden 2020) 38-59, there 45-47, 55.

<sup>29</sup> Fedele, ‘Plurality of diplomatic agents’, 51-52.

<sup>30</sup> G. Calafat, ‘Les juridictions du consul: une institution au service des marchands et du commerce ? Introduction’, in: A. Bartolomei e.a. eds., *De l’utilité commerciale des consuls. L’institution consulaire et les marchands dans le monde méditerranéen (XVIIe-XXe siècle)* (Rome 2017) 124-132, there 125-126; Poumarède, ‘Le consul dans les dictionnaires et le droit des gens’, 33-34; P. Boulanger, ‘Les appointements des consuls de France à Alger au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle’, in: J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l’époque moderne: L’affirmation d’une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015) 123-145; Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*, 58-59, 77; Nadal, ‘Los cónsules españolas del siglo XVIII’, 217; M. Grenet, ‘Consuls et « nations » étrangères : état des lieux et perspectives de recherche’, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* (2016) 25-34, there 25-26; S. Marzagalli, ‘Études consulaires, études méditerranéennes. Éclairages croisés pour la compréhension du monde méditerranéen et de l’institution consulaire à l’époque moderne’, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* (2016) 11-23, there 12-14; N. Steensgaard, ‘Consuls and Nations in the Levant from 1570 to 1650’, *The Scandinavian economic history review* 15 (1967) 13-55; Heinsen-Roach, *Consuls and Captives*, 60-62, 70, 73; C. Windler, ‘Representing a State in a Segmentary Society: French Consuls in Tunis from the Ancien Régime to the Restoration’, *The Journal of Modern History* 73 (2001) 233-274.

<sup>31</sup> Fedele, ‘Plurality of diplomatic agents’, 52, 54-55.

theorists of international relations, consuls were not seen as full-fledged diplomatic actors by diplomatic historians, who have therefore neglected the consuls in their work.<sup>32</sup>

However, a number of historians have recently taken the first steps to bring the true diplomatic agency of the consul to the fore, due to the greater attention for lower-ranking actors in new diplomatic history. Attention has shifted from the ambiguous position of the consul in international law to the practical actions of the consuls. Based on research on Dutch consuls in Spain between 1646-1661, M.A. Ebben argued that consuls were an unifying element in Dutch diplomacy and that they could influence policy of the States General via politicians in the Republic and via Dutch diplomats abroad, allowing consuls to exert pressure on Madrid.<sup>33</sup> Additionally, M. Belissa, who studied the French consular service in the United States, argued that due to the circumstances, i.e. the American Revolutionary War and the fact that each state in the US could make its own regulations, the French consuls in the US had more political tasks and were more or less full-fledged diplomatic actors.<sup>34</sup> And lastly H. Leira and I.B. Neumann, who have researched consular representation in Norway, argued that consuls in Norway had a diplomatic role because their ambassadors were far away in Copenhagen. Moreover, the consuls had to interact with Norwegian officials, elites and the consul of other nations, practices which could be classified as diplomatic according to them.<sup>35</sup> While these studies have given important insights, these are only the first steps in the appreciation of the diplomatic agency of the consul. It is not without reason that J. Ulbert wrote that “the political role of consuls, cooperation and competition with their fellow diplomats, [...] the fields of research are still vast”<sup>36</sup>, and he is not the only historian with that conviction.<sup>37</sup>

Although the consul has been ignored in diplomatic history for a long time, it has been a subject of study in its own right far longer, especially in France.<sup>38</sup> This consular historiography can be divided into three phases. The first phase in this research is the long nineteenth century, in which the focus was on theoretical studies of consular functions. These studies often had practical and didactical

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<sup>32</sup> Poumarède, ‘Le consul dans les dictionnaires et le droit des gens’, 27-34; Leira and Neumann, ‘Consular Representation in an Emerging State’, 3-5; Ebben, ‘Uwer Hoog Moogenden Onderdaenigsten Dienaers’, 649-650; Fedele, ‘Plurality of Diplomatic Agents’.

<sup>33</sup> Ebben, ‘Uwer Hoog Moogenden Onderdaenigsten Dienaers’.

<sup>34</sup> Belissa, ‘Les consuls français aux États-Unis’.

<sup>35</sup> Leira and Neumann, ‘Consular Representation in an Emerging State’.

<sup>36</sup> “Le rôle politique des consuls, la coopération et la concurrence avec leurs collègues diplomates [...] les champs de recherche restent encore vastes.” in Ulbert, ‘Introduction. La fonction consulaire à l’époque moderne’, 19-20.

<sup>37</sup> See also for example De Goey, ‘Les consuls et les relations internationales au xix<sup>e</sup> siècle’ for a similar call for research into the consul as diplomatic actor. Recently, there is more attention for “the much-neglected study of the consular institution” and the consular dimension of diplomacy in early modern and contemporary history: J. Melissen, ‘Introduction. The Consular Dimension of Diplomacy’, in: A.M. Fernandez and J. Melissen eds., *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy* (Leiden 2011) 1-17, there 1. See for example A.M. Fernandez and J. Melissen eds., *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy* (Leiden 2011); Ebben and Sicking eds., *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy*.

<sup>38</sup> J. Ulbert, ‘Introduction. La fonction consulaire à l’époque moderne: définition, état des connaissances et perspectives de recherche’, in: J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l’époque moderne: L’affirmation d’une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)*. Histoire (Rennes 2015) 9-20, there 17-19; Ebben and Sicking, ‘Introduction’, 7.

purposes and were written by lawyers or diplomats. In the second phase, from 1950-1980, the consular sources were mainly used by economic historians for (quantitative) studies on international trade. The interest was mainly in foreign trading nations, the privileges the nations had and the consuls' description of the world in which they worked. Actual research into the social and institutional history of the consular function, the third phase, got underway from the 1990s. This has led to a broader range of studies, from prosopographic research to research into the information in consular correspondence.<sup>39</sup> This new phase has led to a few important monographs and articles which form the backbone of further consular research: studies about the development of consular services. The comparisons between consular services show that there is a spectrum in which the development of European consular services can be placed. On the one end of the spectrum is the French consular service, which developed top-down on the initiative of the king and his ministers. On the other end of the spectrum is the Prussian consular service. The Prussian consular service developed from the bottom up, by random requests from merchants, without a preconceived plan by the state.<sup>40</sup> In addition to these differences, there are also differences in who was in charge of the consular service and in the salary of a consul. It is unknown what position the Republic occupies in this spectrum and what model of development is characteristic for the Republic, for there is no complete overview for (the development of) the Dutch consular service.<sup>41</sup> Although there are some theoretical works from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, for example the work of J. Wertheim about the legislation and privileges of Dutch consuls, research into the Dutch consular service contains large gaps.<sup>42</sup> The study of Dutch consuls can best be characterized as a collection of case studies.<sup>43</sup> The work of E. Heinsen-Roach is the only work which covers a longer period of time and a broader geographical scope than most studies on the Dutch consular service, but it only focusses on consuls in Islamic areas.<sup>44</sup> This thesis will therefore add to this consular historiography by studying the development of the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe.

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<sup>39</sup> Bartolomei, 'Introduction' 10-12.

<sup>40</sup> J. Ulbert, *Les services consulaires prussiens au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne: L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015) 317-332.

<sup>41</sup> Kersten and Van der Zwan's contribution on the Dutch consular service amounts to only four pages for the early modern period and hardly covers these topics: A.E. Kersten and B. van der Zwan, 'The Dutch Consular Service: In the Interests of a Colonial and Commercial Nation', in: A.M. Fernandez and J. Melissen eds., *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers 2011) 275-301, there 275-278.

<sup>42</sup> J. Wertheim, *Manuel à l'usage des consuls des Pays-Bay: precede d'un aperçu historique sur l'établissement du consulat Néerlandais à l'étranger* (1861). See for other theoretical works for example *Nederlandsche consulaire voorschriften* (The Hague 1906);

<sup>43</sup> Ebben, 'Uwer Hoog Moogenden Onderdaenigsten Dienaers'; Steensgaard, 'Consuls and Nations in the Levant'. See the bibliography on Dutch consuls in Fryksén, Manke and Ulbert, 'Bibliographie'. More research on case studies of a consul is done by MA-students, see for example N.G.C.M. Karskens, 'Niet tegenstaande mijne meenigvuldige devoirs'. De ervaringen van Dirk van Domburg commissaris van de Hollandse handelsgemeenschap te Danzig, 1697-1712 (MA thesis Leiden University, Leiden 2012); P.A. Boorsma Mendoza, *Merchant Consuls. Dutch Consuls in Cadiz and Their Divided Loyalties* (MA thesis Leiden University, Leiden 2015); T. Agterhuis, *Tot dienst, voordeel ende profijt van de cooplyuden ende schipperen van dese landen. Nederlandse consuls in Italiaanse havens, 1712-1672* (MA thesis Leiden University, Leiden 2013).

<sup>44</sup> Heinsen-Roach, *Consuls and Captives*.

The studies about the consular services in the third phase of the French consular historiography has led to a number of debates about the consul. The first debate is about what the functions of consuls actually were.<sup>45</sup> According to A. Bartolomei, the consular functions can be divided into three categories: providing information to authorities, and providing protection of and jurisdiction in a nation.<sup>46</sup> A. Mézin on the other hand defines eight categories: the representation of the merchants (also called a nation) and the defence of its rights, judicial functions, police functions, notarial and civil administrations functions, navy-related functions (for commercial and military navy), informational functions, religious functions, and an 'other' category.<sup>47</sup> Tasks described by other historians can also be reduced to these categories.<sup>48</sup> The research into consular tasks has led to a second debate about the usefulness of a consul and about the question to whom the consul was useful.<sup>49</sup> Some historians have emphasized that the consul played an important role in the success of a country's commercial expansion,<sup>50</sup> while others believe that consuls were not useful or even a hindrance.<sup>51</sup> Currently, the focus in this debate is on the commercial usefulness of the consul, and thus on the relation between consuls and merchants.<sup>52</sup> This thesis will look at the diplomatic tasks and role of the consul and at the usefulness of a consul for ambassadors and the foreign policy of a country.

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<sup>45</sup> J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne: L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015).

<sup>46</sup> Bartolomei, 'Introduction', 11-12.

<sup>47</sup> A. Mézin, 'La fonction consulaire dans la France d'Ancien Régime: origine, principes, prérogatives', in: J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne: L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015) 37-49, there 42-47.

<sup>48</sup> See for example Ulbert, 'Introduction. La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne', 15; Poumarède, 'Le consul dans les dictionnaires et le droit des gens', 25-26; J. Cras, 'Une approche archivistique des consulats de la Nation française: Les actes de chancellerie consulaire sous l'Ancien Régime', in: J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne: L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015) 51-84, there 53-54, 72, 74-75, 76; A. Gautier, 'Les drogmans des consulats', in: J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne: L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015) 85-103, there 94; P. Even, 'La création d'une « nation française » à Hambourg à la fin de l'Ancien Régime', in: J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne: L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015) 105-121, there 106, 109, 117-118; M. Belissa, 'Les consuls français aux États-Unis et les premiers temps des relations franco-américaines', in: J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne: L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015) 147-159, there 147-151, 154-156; A. Faivre d'Arcier, 'Le service consulaire au Levant à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et son évolution sous la Révolution', in: J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne: L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015) 161-186, there 162-165; Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce* 19-21, 76-77, 79-80, 85-90; M.A. Ebben, 'Uwer Hoog Moogenden Onderdaenigsten Dienaers', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 127 (2014) 649-672, there 652-656, 660-661; Nadal, 'Los cónsules españoles del siglo XVIII', 214-216, 235-239; T. Zonova, 'The Consular Service in Russia: Past Problems, New Challenges', in: A.M. Fernandez and J. Melissen eds., *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy* (Leiden 2011) 173-198, there 174-175; E. Heinsen-Roach, *Consuls and Captives: Dutch-North African Diplomacy in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Rochester 2019) 60-62.

<sup>49</sup> Bartolomei, 'Introduction', 13-14; Calafat, 'Les juridictions du consul'; A. Bartolomei, 'Débats historiographiques et enjeux scientifiques autour de l'utilité commerciale des consuls', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* (2016) 49-59; S. Marzagalli and J. Ulbert, 'Introduction', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* (2019) 9-10; A. Bartolomei, 'Entre l'État, les intérêts marchands et l'intérêt personnel, l'agency des consuls. Introduction', in: A. Bartolomei e.a. eds., *De l'utilité commerciale des consuls. L'institution consulaire et les marchands dans le monde méditerranéen (XVII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Rome 2017) 323-331.

<sup>50</sup> Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*; P. Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant: une approche comparative entre la France et la Scandinavie', in: J. Ulbert and G. Le Bouëdec eds., *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne: L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1800)* (Rennes 2015) 191-209.

<sup>51</sup> Bartolomei, 'Introduction', 14.

<sup>52</sup> Bartolomei, 'Introduction', 9-10.

This research will thus broaden the debate by exploring the diplomatic agency of consuls and it will add a new perspective to the debate about the tasks, roles and usefulness of a consul. In order to study the diplomatic agency of a consul, the focus will be on the relation between the consul, the ambassador and the state. However, the merchants and trade-organizations representing merchants' interests were involved as important actors in the consular service as well. Therefore the field of tension between merchants, consuls and the state will also come to the fore in this thesis.

## II. Research Question

So far, consular research has overwhelmingly focused on the French consular service, while little research has been done on the Dutch consular service. Secondly, the focus is on consuls in the Levant and the Mediterranean, while the consular services in Northern Europe are underexposed.<sup>53</sup> And lastly, research into the diplomatic agency of a consul is still in its infancy. This thesis will therefore pose new questions and contribute to the debate about the role of the consul in diplomacy and to the debate about the tasks and usefulness of the consul from a new perspective: the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe.

The aim of this thesis is twofold: the first purpose is to show how and why the Dutch consular service developed in Northern Europe and to place the results in a comparative framework, thereby answering the call for comparative research into the consular institutions of various countries. This comparative research will enhance our understanding of the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe.<sup>54</sup> The second purpose is to study the tasks of the Dutch consuls in order to analyse the diplomatic agency of Dutch consuls, thereby contributing to the debate about the role of the consul in international relations, and thereby also contributing to the debates about the usefulness of a consul. This approach is inspired by the research of Leos Müller, who used a twofold approach to study the Swedish consular service. On the one hand, he surveyed and mapped the development of the hitherto hardly studied Swedish consular service and on the other hand he examined the role of consuls in the development of long-distance trade.<sup>55</sup>

The temporal scope follows from the geographical scope of this study: in 1693 a consul was appointed by the States General in Northern Europe for the first time.<sup>56</sup> Although there were already commissioners in Elsinore and Danzig in 1693, who were seen as consul in the course of the 18th century (see chapter one), I have decided to keep to 1693 as the starting date for this research for two

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<sup>53</sup> Marzagalli and Ulbert, 'Présentation', 10; Ulbert, 'Introduction. La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne', 17-19.

<sup>54</sup> Bartolomei, 'Introduction', 13; Grenet, 'L'institution consulaire and Méditerranée, des stratégies commerciales différenciées. Introduction'.

<sup>55</sup> Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*.

<sup>56</sup> O. Schutte, *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in het buitenland 1584-1810* (Den Haag 1976) 265.

reasons. First of all, it is hard to pinpoint the exact moment when the title of commissioner and consul gained the same meaning. Secondly, in 1693 the title of consul was used for the first time by the States General with regard to the appointment of a consul in Bergen. However, the origins of the consulates in Elsinore and Danzig will be traced back to the 16th and 17th centuries. 1795 is the endpoint of this study, as the Dutch Republic came to an end in that year, due to the Batavian revolution and the Napoleonic era that followed.

How consuls can be studied has been proposed by S. Marzagalli and Ulbert. According to them, consuls “constitute an entry capable of being approached from multiple points of view - political, economic, institutional, social or cultural history - and according to plural approaches, where visions “from above” of consular systems and their structuring can rub shoulders with visions at ground level, based on the agency of a consul and the relational networks in which the latter inscribes his action.”<sup>57</sup> Due to the lack of knowledge about the Dutch consular service, and to contribute to the historiographical debate about the usefulness of a consul, both approaches are necessary in this thesis. The perspective “from above” will be helpful to analyse the establishment and development of the Dutch consular service, and the perspective from “ground level” will be used to study the diplomatic agency of a consul.

Therefore, the perspective in the first chapter will be “from above”, as it is about the development of the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe. This chapter will explore the use of titles in the consular service and it will trace the expansion of the consular service by exploring the places where a consulate was established and/or requested. Additionally, the appointment process of a consul and the salary of consul will be examined, two important elements in studies about consular services.<sup>58</sup> Lastly, the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe will be compared with consular services of other European states, which will enhance our understanding of (the development and structuring of) the Dutch consular service.

The second chapter will use the perspective from “ground level” to answer the question what the consul did in practice. This chapter will first look at the qualifications a consul should have, because the qualifications one should have already says something about the tasks one had to perform. In addition, the instructions for consuls will be examined, to answer the question what the official duties of the consul were. Lastly, the diplomatic agency of the consuls will be examined on the basis of case studies of Arent van Deurs (Elsinore, 1710-1747) and of three Dutch

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<sup>57</sup> “Ils constituent une entrée susceptible d’être abordée à partir de points de vue multiples - histoire politique, économique, institutionnelle, sociale ou culturelle - et selon des approches plurielles, où les visions « d’en haut » des systèmes consulaires et de leur structuration peuvent côtoyer des visions au ras du sol, à partir de l’agency d’un consul et des réseaux relationnels dans lesquels celui-ci inscrit son action.” in Marzagalli and Ulbert, ‘Présentation’, 9.

<sup>58</sup> See for example Nadal, ‘Los cónsules españolas del siglo XVIII’ and Ulbert, ‘Les services consulaires prussiens au xviiiè siècle’.

consuls in Russia (1791-1795). By explicitly looking at the practical (diplomatic) actions the consul performed, this chapter aims to connect the (French) consular historiography with new diplomatic history, thereby bringing the consul to the fore as a diplomatic actor with agency in international relations.

### III. Sources

The repertory of O. Schutte, in which Dutch consuls are included, provides a lot of information, but the repertory is not always meticulous and requests for consular posts are not included.<sup>59</sup> Using multiple archives can solve this problem and will also provide various perspectives in order to formulate an answer to the questions posed above. Combining the perspective of the state, of semi-public organisations and of individual actors makes it possible to obtain a comprehensive picture of the Dutch consular service. First the perspective of the state. In order to trace the appointment process of a consul, their salary and their qualifications, this thesis will make use of the resolutions of the States General, States of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, the *instructie-* and *commissieboeken* of the States General, the requests to the States General, the *Staten van Oorlog* (the annual budget of the Dutch Republic) and the *brievenboeken* in which the incoming letters of envoys to the States General were copied into.

In addition, the perspective of semi-public trade-organisations will be used: the archives of the DOHR and the *Directie van de Moscovische Handel* (Board of Muscovian Trade, DMH). The semi-public organisations represented (Amsterdam) traders with interests in Northern Europe. Temporary organizations of merchants had already sprung up in wartimes in the seventeenth century to persuade the admiralties to arrange convoys for merchant ships going to the Baltic Sea. However, these organizations disappeared when the war ended.<sup>60</sup> During the Nine Years' War, interest groups for trade in Northern Europe were set up again, resulting in the DMH and DOHR. The DMH and DOHR, however, became permanent organisations who represented Dutch (mostly Amsterdam) traders. Initially they were private institutions, but in 1717 the DOHR became officially recognized by Amsterdam, and in 1781 the DMH was also officially recognized. The mayors could now appoint new directors from two nominees and the boards had to give insight into and justification of their finances. Thus, both the DOHR and the DMH had become semi-public organizations.<sup>61</sup> As will become clear from

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<sup>59</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*.

<sup>60</sup> Tielhof, *The 'mother of all trades'*, 232-233; S. van Brakel, 'De directie van den Oosterschen handel en reederijen te Amsterdam', *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde* 9 (1910) 329-364, there 331-335; Van Eeghen, *Inventarissen*, 5-6.

<sup>61</sup> Van Brakel, 'De directie', 329-330, 339, 343-345, 356-358; Van Eeghen, *Inventarissen*, 7-10, 23, 26; P. Boon, 'De Hoornse kamer van de Directie Oosterse Handel en Rederijen: meer rederij dan handel', *Tijdschrift voor zeegegeschiedenis* 9 (1990) 65-76, there 65; S. van Brakel, 'Statistische en andere gegevens betreffende onzen handel en scheepvaart op Rusland gedurende de 18e eeuw', *Bijdragen en mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 34 (1913) 350-404, there 355-356, 358, 361, 364. See for more literature about the DOHR or the DMH J.R. Bruijn, 'In een veranderend maritiem perspectief: het ontstaan van

this thesis, both organizations had a great deal of influence in consular appointments, they advised on consular matters and maintained contact with Dutch consuls in Northern Europe. Both organizations were important actors with influence on the Dutch consular service. Their archives can give insight into the role and influence of these semi-public boards in the consular service. A small remark about the archive of the DOHR has to be made here. The DOHR had two chambers, one in Amsterdam and one in Hoorn. The archive of the chamber in Hoorn consists of a small bundle of documents, which do not concern consular matters.<sup>62</sup> In addition, Amsterdam was the most important chamber. Thus, in this thesis, the DOHR refers to the Amsterdam chamber. Although the Amsterdam chamber is a very important actor, its archive is not complete. For example, there are no resolution books between 1707-1754 and the resolution books are poorly kept between 1773-1789. Sometimes correspondence is also missing.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, what is present in the archive can still grant insight into (the role the of the DOHR in) the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe.

Thirdly, the *legatiearchieven* of Denmark and Russia will be used. These archives were transferred to the National Archive in the 19th century and contain, among other things, correspondence from consuls with ambassadors, the States General and private persons within and outside the Republic.<sup>64</sup> The archive of the family Fagel, *griffier* of the States General is used as well, as there is some correspondence between consuls and the *griffier*. And lastly, the online index to the Amsterdam notarial deeds is used to search for cases in which Dutch consuls were involved. These archives can thus provide a more personal perspective and contain most information about the diplomatic role of consuls. By combining the perspectives of the state, of semi-public organisations and of the consuls and ambassadors themselves, it is possible to offer an analysis of the functioning of the Dutch consular service ‘from above’ and ‘from ground level’.

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directies voor de vaart op de Oostzee, Noorwegen en Rusland’, *Tijdschrift voor zeegeschiedenis* 9 (1990) 15-26; W.A. de Clercq, ‘Verleden, heden en toekomst van de Directie der Oostersche handel en Reederijen te Amsterdam’, *Tijdschrift voor zeegeschiedenis* 9 (1990) 5-14; A.A. van der Houwen, ‘De Directie Oostersche Handel en Reederijen en het Oostzeeeskader van 1715’, *Tijdschrift voor zeegeschiedenis* 9 (1990) 77-88.

<sup>62</sup> Westfries Archief (WA), Oud archief stad Hoorn (O.A.S.H.), inv. no. 2573, *Directie van den Oosterschen Handel, 1717-1772*.

<sup>63</sup> I.H. van Eeghen, *Inventarissen van de archieven van de directie van de Moscovische handel, directie van de oostersche handel en reederijen, commissarissen tot de graanhandel en commissie voor de graanhandel* (Amsterdam: Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst Amsterdam 1961) 30, 32-34; W.A. de Clercq, ‘Verleden, heden en toekomst van de Directie der Oostersche handel en Reederijen te Amsterdam’, *Tijdschrift voor zeegeschiedenis* 9 (1990) 5-14, there 12-13; P. Boon, ‘De Hoornse kamer van de Directie Oosterse Handel en Rederijen: meer rederij dan handel’, *Tijdschrift voor zeegeschiedenis* 9 (1990) 65-76, there 65.

<sup>64</sup> T.H.P.M. Thomassen and J.C.M. Pennings, *De archieven van Nederlandse gezanten en consuls tot 1811 - Algemene Inleiding* (The Hague 1994).

# Chapter 1. The Dutch Consular Service in Northern Europe

“And why should the Baltic be deprived of commissioners, who are so desperately needed there as elsewhere.”<sup>1</sup>

Although the Dutch consular service in the Mediterranean had existed since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe expanded mostly in the eighteenth century. This chapter will provide an overview of the development of the Dutch consular institute in Northern Europe from 1693-1795. It will start with a short introduction on the history of the consular service in Northern Europe and a discussion about the titles used for consuls in Northern Europe. Then the development and extension of the Dutch consular posts in Northern Europe will be explored and the question will be answered why the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe developed relatively late, compared to the Dutch consular service in the Mediterranean. The appointment process and the salary of a consul will be examined as well.

## I. The History of the Consular Service in Northern Europe

To find the origin of the consular service in Northern Europe, one has to go back to the Mediterranean during the tenth and eleventh centuries. From these centuries onwards, long-distance trade increased as a result of the Crusades and trade created merchant colonies, also called nations, in distant harbours. Trade could lead to conflicts between merchants of the nation and indigenous merchants, with both parties having different laws. To mediate these conflicts, a number of different types of consuls emerged. There was the consul of traders and consul of the sea. The first one was a representative of merchants who had internal jurisdiction. He had to represent and defend the nation of merchants before the local authorities. The latter was a municipal official who was responsible for trade. Both types of consuls had hardly any contact with the state where the merchants came from. Another type of consul was the consul at sea. This was a state-appointed leader of a merchant group during its voyage and their stay overseas. These different categories merged into one: the permanent office of overseas consul.<sup>2</sup>

Initially, the various types of consuls were elected by the merchants (consul electi). From the sixteenth century onwards, consuls were increasingly elected by the state to which the merchants

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<sup>1</sup> “En waarom zoude de Oostzee gepriveerd blijven van Commissarissen daar zoo hoog noodig als ergens anders” in SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeurs van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen, 1785*, Van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5 1785).

<sup>2</sup> Leira and Neumann, ‘Past Lives’; G.R. Berridge, *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (5th edition; Basingstoke 2015) 133-134; Ulbert, ‘Introduction. La fonction consulaire à l’époque moderne’, 9-12. For more the connections between long-distance trade, foreign nations and consuls in the Mediterranean, see for example O.R. Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 2003).

belonged (consul missi). Both types continued to co-exist for centuries. As a result, the sending state took control of and responsibility for their nation of merchants in foreign ports. This changed the role of the consul: he became tied to the home state and had to correspond with the state-authorities on commercial and political issues. In some parts of Europe the consul lost its jurisdiction in foreign ports. Gradually a rank system within the consular service emerged, from vice-consul, to consul to consul-general.<sup>3</sup>

From the sixteenth century onwards, the consular institution spread from the Mediterranean to Northern Europe. This didn't mean that there were no consul-like figures in Europe before consuls were appointed. Where first the aldermen of the Hanseatic League handled legal matters in their *kontors* (trading communities) internally and performed the tasks that would later be seen as consular duties, the Hanseatic League lost influence and importance. Because of this, consuls became more important as representatives of the trading community, they were there to help fellow countrymen and send information home.<sup>4</sup>

Before looking at the development of the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe, something must first briefly be said about the multiple titles used for the position of consul: commissioner, *commissaris der marine* and consul. A commissioner was initially a diplomatic delegate whose rank was not fixed. The term itself meant nothing more than that those involved were provided with a *commissie*, an assignment.<sup>5</sup> This assignment could take place in- or outside the Republic. In Elsinore for example there were *commissarissen in de Sont en 't Vlie* at the end of the sixteenth century, who were charged with the arrangement of Dutch convoys between the Sound and the Republic. And in Danzig there was a commissioner from 1638 onwards because of problems surrounding the introduction of the Polish toll.<sup>6</sup> In the 1770s the title of *commissaris der marine* emerged, a commissioner for maritime affairs. This title was first used with regard to consuls in France, but it was also used to refer to the posts in Heligoland, Danzig and Elsinore. And lastly there was the title of consul, which was also used in Northern Europe from 1693 onwards.

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<sup>3</sup> Leira and Neumann, 'Past Lives', 237-240; L. Müller and J. Ojala, 'Consular Services of the Nordic Countries during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Did They Really Work?', in: G. Boyce and R. Gorski eds., *Resources and Infrastructures in the Maritime Economy* (Newfoundland 2002) 23-42, there 26-27; Heinsen-Roach, *Consuls and Captives*, 60-63; Ebben, 'Uwer Hoog Moogenden Onderdaenigsten Dienaers', 649-650; Bartolomei, 'Entre l'État, les intérêts marchands et l'intérêt personnel, l'agency des consuls. Introduction', 323-326; Ulbert, 'Introduction. La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne', 16-17; Ebben and Sicking, 'Introduction', 6-7.

<sup>4</sup> Leira and Neumann, 'Past Lives', 236-237; Leira and Neumann, 'Consular Representation in an Emerging State', 5-7; Kersten and Van der Zwan, 'Dutch Consular Service', 276-277; Ulbert, 'Introduction. La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne', 12-13. For earlier consul-like figures, see for example L. Sicking, 'Space, Agency, and Conflict Management in the Late Medieval Baltic: Urban Colonies and Representatives of Hanse Towns at Scania', in: M.A. Ebben and L. Sicking eds., *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy* (Leiden 2020) 63-88.

<sup>5</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, XI.

<sup>6</sup> Nationaal Archief (NA), Staten-Generaal (S.G.), inv. no. 12451, *Instructieboeken 1588-1610* ff. 382-383 (April 9 1603); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12477, *Reglement op de ambassades en andere commissies, 1700* 7-8. For the various *commissarissen* see the index in NA, S.G., inv. no. 3795, *Gedrukte resoluties 1740*.

These titles came to be used interchangeably in the 18th century, an indication that these titles indicated the same function. First of all, the Danes characterized the Dutch commissioner in Elsinore, who was appointed in 1677 as consul.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, in 1693 the first consul of Northern Europe was appointed in Bergen, but almost thirty years later a “Commissioner or Consul”<sup>8</sup> was requested in Bergen.<sup>9</sup> Thirdly, in 1754, on a request for higher remuneration, the commissioner at Elsinore explicitly compared himself with the other consuls in Elsinore.<sup>10</sup> And in 1781, the resolutions mention the appointment of a deputy consul in Elsinore, but in the commission books it is called a deputy commissioner.<sup>11</sup> Fifthly, the commissioner in Elsinore asked permission to appoint vice-*consuls* in 1781, not vice-*commissioners* (see section II).<sup>12</sup> Another indication is that in the 1780s in the index of the resolutions of the States General the commissioners at Elsinore, Danzig and Heligoland are included under *commissaris der marine*.<sup>13</sup> And in the index to the resolutions of the States of Holland, these commissioners were included under the entry ‘Consul’.<sup>14</sup>

This all seems to indicate that the title of commissioner and consul acquired the same meaning in the course of the eighteenth century. This means that, in addition to the appointments of actual consuls, the appointments in Heligoland, Danzig and Elsinore (the only places where a commissioner-cum-consul was appointed) are also included in this history of the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe. As it is hard to pinpoint the exact moment when the title of commissioner and consul gained the same meaning, 1693 has been chosen as a starting point for this research into the Dutch consular service, as in that year the title consul was used by the States General in an appointment in Northern Europe for the first time.

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<sup>7</sup> NA, Legatiearchief Denemarken (L.D.), inv. no. 20, *Stukken betreffende de aanstelling en de bevoegdheden van de commissaris Arent van Deurs te Elseneur*, Danish ‘Rentecaemer’ to the magistrate of Elsinore (April 24 1714).

<sup>8</sup> “Commissaris of Consul” in NA, S.G., inv. no. 3775, *Gedrukte resoluties 1720*, 76 (Feb. 6). This also happened in 1715 in the request for a “Commissaris of Consul” in Koningsberg: NA, Staten van Holland (S.v.H.), inv. no. 149, *Gedrukte resoluties 1715 jan. 9 - dec. 21*, 377 (May 22).

<sup>9</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12461, *Instructieboeken 1690-1699 ff.* 79-80 (Jan. 11 1694).

<sup>10</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754*, 421 (July 29).

<sup>11</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3837, *Gedrukte resoluties 1781 juli - december*, 1169 (Oct. 17); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12292 *Commissieboeken 1779-1784*, 205-205v (Sept. 17 1781).

<sup>12</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3836, *Gedrukte resoluties 1781 januari – juni*, 148 (Feb. 7).

<sup>13</sup> In the index of 1781, a reference is made to Van Deurs (Elsinore) under the heading *Commissaris der Marine*: NG, S.G., inv. no. 3836, *Gedrukte resoluties 1781 januari-juni* and in the index of 1783, a reference is made to Ross (Danzig) and Frederiks (Heligoland) under the heading *Commissaris der Marine*: NG, S.G., inv. no. 3841, *Gedrukte resoluties 1783 juli-december*.

<sup>14</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 229, *Gedrukte resoluties 1773 jan. 13 - dec. 18*, 33-34 (Jan. 14); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 230, *Gedrukte resoluties 1774 jan. 12 - dec. 24*, 347 (May 18); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 231, *Gedrukte resoluties 1775 jan. 18 - dec. 22*, 233-234 (March 10).

## II. The Extension of the Dutch Consular Service in Northern Europe

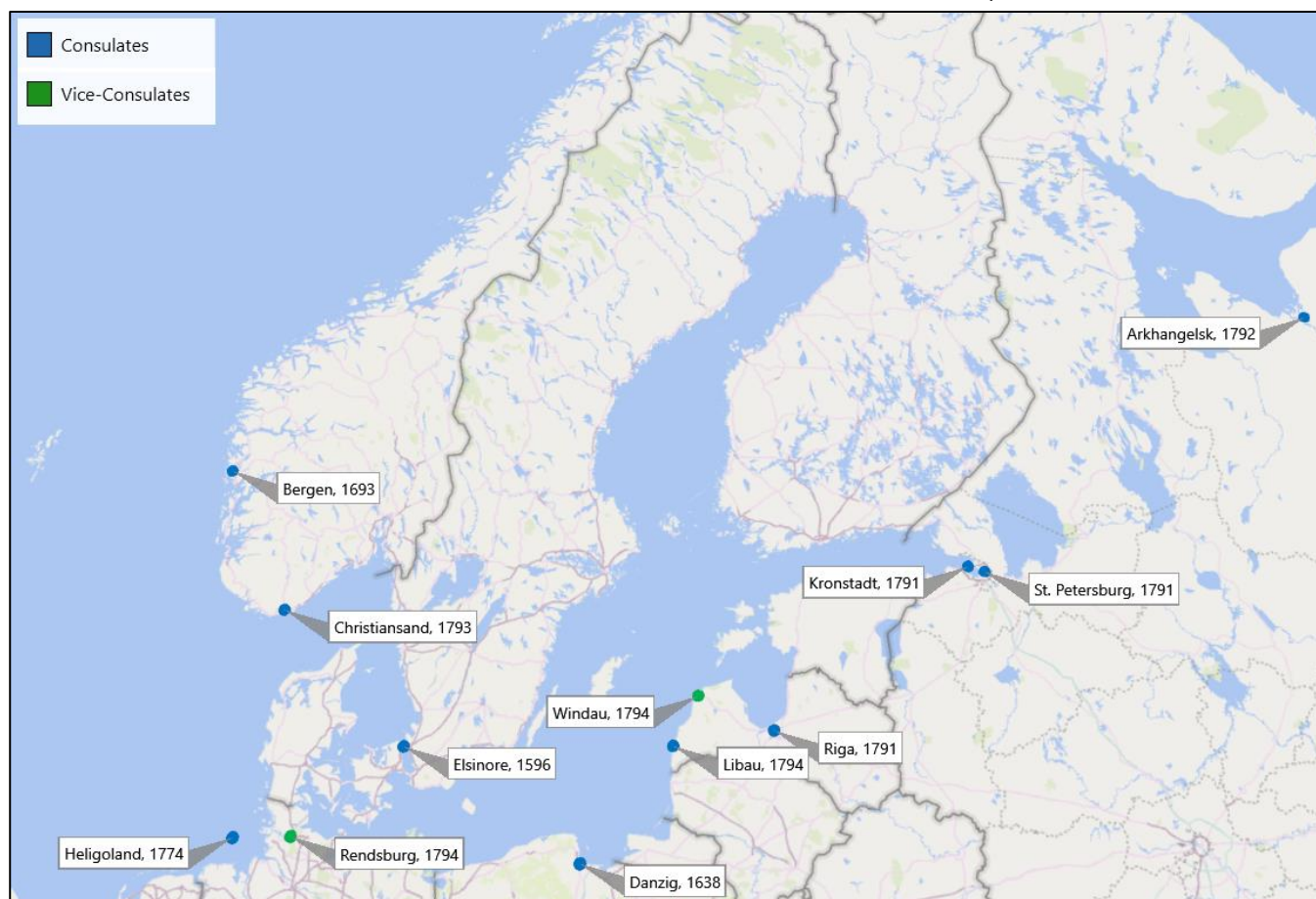


Figure 1: Consulates in Northern Europe. Source: Appendix.

Since 1596 there had been a commissioner appointed by the state in Elsinore, although the post was only seen as a consulate during the eighteenth century. Initially there were two commissioners in Elsinore, who had to keep track of the incoming and outgoing ships and who had to regulate shipping and convoying between the Sound and the Republic.<sup>15</sup> Where both commissioners had been appointed by Amsterdam, the appointment and provision of instructions passed to the States General in 1599.<sup>16</sup> The first general instruction for the commissioners in the Sound followed in 1603, in which the aforementioned tasks were written down. From 1614 onwards only one commissioner remained, whose duties became formally recorded with the instruction of 1625. In addition to the tasks already mentioned, he now had to represent the skippers' complaints with various authorities in Denmark.<sup>17</sup> This change, from commercial duties only to commercial duties combined with political duties, was

<sup>15</sup> N.M. Japikse eds., *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1579 tot 1609 (OR)*. 9 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1926) 332 (Oct. 19 1596); *Nederlandsch placaat- en rechtskundig woordenboek* (Amsterdam: Allart 1792) 70-71.

<sup>16</sup> N.M. Japikse eds., *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1579 tot 1609 (OR)*. 10 (The Hague 1930) 668 (March 10 1599).

<sup>17</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12451, *Instructieboeken 1588-1610 ff.* 382-383 (April 9, 1603). N.M. Japikse eds., *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1579 tot 1609 (OR)*. 13 (The Hague 1957) 423 (March 31 1605); A.T. Van Deursen eds., *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1610-1670 (NR)*. 1 (The Hague 1971) 51 (March 6 1610); A.T. Van Deursen eds., *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1610-1670 (NR)*. 2 (The Hague 1984) 533 (Oct. 30 1615); Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 235-239; NA, S.G., inv. no. 12454, *Instructieboeken 1623-1632, ff.* 289-290v (Dec. 20 1625).

the reason that the commissioner was promoted to the rank of resident in 1632, so that he could now plead before the court in Copenhagen.<sup>18</sup> In order to settle these and other trade and shipping matters at court, successive residents had to travel back and forth between Elsinore, where they resided, and Copenhagen. To ensure that the original duties, regulating shipping and convoying, received sufficient attention, the resident had to appoint a secretary in Elsinore.<sup>19</sup> In 1663 the official residence of the resident was moved to Copenhagen, but it took until 1671 for the resident to reside permanently in Copenhagen. Where the residents had initially appointed a secretary in Elsinore, the titles of commissioner and secretary were used interchangeably until the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>20</sup> From 1710, the commissioner was no longer appointed by the resident in Copenhagen, but by the States General. And in the last quarter of the eighteenth century they were referred to as *commissaris de marine*.<sup>21</sup> What is striking is that the Danes characterized the Dutch secretary, who was appointed in 1677, already as consul.<sup>22</sup> In Elsinore, the Van Deurs family occupied the post from 1677-1792.<sup>23</sup>

The reason a consulate in Elsinore was established relatively early, was the importance of the Sound to the trade of the Republic in the Baltic Sea. All ships going to the Baltic had to pass through the Sound, where tolls were levied. The Dutch consul in Elsinore had to oversee the tolls for the Dutch fleet. And because all ships had to go through the Sound, Elsinore was an excellent place for gathering (commercial) information and for regulating the Dutch fleet. Apart from the importance of trade, Elsinore was also important as a connector for the postal network between the continent and Sweden.<sup>24</sup>

Another consulate was Danzig, a 'free city' until 1793.<sup>25</sup> This consulate is not exemplary for the Dutch consular service because of the status of Danzig as a 'free city': the Republic also had to maintain official connections with the city government, and the Dutch commissioner was the only representative of the Dutch state in Danzig. Danzig was one of the most important ports for the Dutch

<sup>18</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3191, *Ordinaris resoluties Staten-Generaal 1632*, ff. 155v-156 (March 25).

<sup>19</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12456, *Instructieboeken 1646-1649*, ff. 213-217v (Feb. 9 1647); Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 238-244.

<sup>20</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 244-247, 259. In 1698, Jan van Deurs, for example, looked back on twenty years of being a 'Commissaris', while he was appointed secretary under the instruction of Jacob le Maire (article 16): NA, S.G., inv. no. 12457 *Instructieboeken 1650-1659*, ff. 467-472 (March 28 1657) and NA, S.G., inv. no. 3337, *Tweede serie ordinaris net-resoluties 1698 januari-juni*, ff. 82 (Jan. 23). His son, Arent van Deurs, was appointed "Comissaris en secretaries" in 1710: NA, S.G., inv. no. 3371, *Tweede serie ordinaris net-resoluties 1710 juli-december*, f. 240v (Aug. 23).

<sup>21</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 259-262; NA, S.G., inv. no. 3765, *Gedrukte resoluties 1710*, 920-921 (Aug. 23). In the instruction of the new resident in Denmark in 1729, there is no longer any reference to a secretary in the Sound: NA, S.G., inv. no. 12464, *Instructieboeken 1720-1730*, ff. 403-406 (April 22 1729).

<sup>22</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 20, *Stukken betreffende de aanstelling en de bevoegdheden van de commissaris Arent van Deurs te Elseneur*, Danish 'Rentecaemer' to the magistrate of Elsinore (April 24 1714).

<sup>23</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 259-262.

<sup>24</sup> Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*, 37; Kersten and Van der Zwan, 'Dutch Consular Service', 277.

<sup>25</sup> Karskens, 'Niet tegenstaande mijne meenigvuldige devoiren', 9, 11-12.

grain trade in the Baltic Sea, which was of great importance to Amsterdam's staple market.<sup>26</sup> Both the commercial and diplomatic considerations resulted in an instruction of diplomatic nature given to the first commissioner in 1638 because of the problems surrounding the Polish toll (see chapter two).<sup>27</sup> When these problems were resolved, the instruction of the commissioner “had been diminished in its entirety, and the costs and activities of the commissioner have diminished, to the extent that [...] no other instruction was given by Her High Mighty, [...] except to write about all matters related to trade and commerce, in addition to the current affairs”<sup>28</sup>: the commissioner had to report on trade and commerce from 1663 onwards and was referred to as *commissaris de marine* in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. That the commissioner in Danzig had lost his importance as a diplomatic representative is shown by a salary reduction in 1754 and by the fact that from that year the commissioner in Danzig could no longer make use of an arrangement of 1700 for all foreign ministers. This regulation, according to which the commissioners were allowed to submit an annual declaration for various diplomatic costs, included commissioners but excluded consuls (see section IV), meaning that the commissioner in Danzig had lost its diplomatic importance.<sup>29</sup> And in 1793 the question arose as to whether the commissioner should be appointed as consul-general in the Prussian ports, but no decision was taken.<sup>30</sup>

In 1693 Bergen became the first official consulate in this area and for the first time the title ‘consul’ was used. It was the Nine Years’ War (1688-1697) which led to the establishment of a consulate in Bergen: French privateers brought Dutch ships to neutral Norwegian ports and merchants wanted a consul in Norway to handle the affairs of captured ships. The consul passed away in 1704, after which the consulate became vacant. In 1720, a new consul was appointed because merchants

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<sup>26</sup> J.C.A. Schokkenbroek, ‘“Source ende wortel van de notabelste commercie’. Nederland en de Oostzeehandel’, *Spiegel Historiael* 34 (1999) 35-40, there 36-37; J.T. Lindblad and P. de Buck, ‘Shipmasters in the shipping between Amsterdam and the Baltic, 1722-1780’, in: W. J. Wieringa eds., *The Interactions of Amsterdam and Antwerp with the Baltic Region, 1400-1800* (Leiden: Nijhoff 1983) 133-152, there 145-147; M. Bogucka, ‘Dutch Merchants’ Activities in Gdansk in the First Half of the 17th century’, in: J.P.S. Lemmink and J.S.A.M. van Koningsbrugge eds., *Baltic Affairs. Relations Between the Netherlands and North-Eastern Europe 1500-1800* (Nijmegen: Instituut voor Noord- en Oosteuropese Studies 1990) 19-32, there 19, 22-24; J.V.T. Knoppers and F. Snapper, ‘De Nederlandse scheepvaart op de Oostzee vanaf het eind van de 17e eeuw tot het begin van de 19e eeuw’, *Economisch en Sociaal-historisch Jaarboek* 41 (1978) 115-153, there 139-140.

<sup>27</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3197, *Ordinaris resoluties 1638*, ff. 336-336v (June 18), 339v-340 (June 19); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12455, *Instructieboeken 1632-1639*, ff. 302-303v (June 19 1638).

<sup>28</sup> “Dat in het gevolg van de voornoemde eerste Instructie in het geheel is koomen te vervallen, en dat teffens considerabel zyn vermindert de kosten en moeyten, mitsgaders de bevestigheeden en verrichtingen dewelke in dien vroegeren tyd de voornoemde Commissarissen occupeerden, in soo verre, dat [...] geene andere Ordre of Instructie door haar Hoogh Mogende zyn gegeven [...] behalven de occureerende saacken oock over te schryven alle saacken de Negotie en Commerce raackende” in NA, S.G., inv. no. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754*, 420 (July 29).

<sup>29</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754*, 420-421 (July 19) NA, S.G., inv. no. 3830, *Gedrukte resoluties 1775*, 709-710 (Nov. 13); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12477, *Reglement op de ambassades en andere commissies, 1700*, 7-8.

<sup>30</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. 197, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754 jan. 9 - sept 5* 149 (Feb. 7) and 359 (April 12); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3858, *Gedrukte resoluties 1793 januari – juni*, 532-533 (April 29); Stadsarchief Amsterdam (SAA), Archief van de Directie van de Oostersche Handel en Reederijen (DOHR), inv. no. 285, *Stukken betreffende de aanstelling van Jacob Ross als consul-generaal in de koninklijke Pruisische havens in plaats van commissaris te Danzig*; Boorsma Mendoza, *Merchant Consuls*, 17; Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 225, 230.

wanted more protection for their ships and goods after a shipwreck or after a ship was taken by privateers in that area.<sup>31</sup> After his death in 1738, the Fasmer family occupied this consulate during the eighteenth and nineteenth century.<sup>32</sup>

The same quest of merchants for protection for their cargoes on ships which had been wrecked gave rise to the fourth consulate, Heligoland. It was founded in 1774, with the aim of helping ships that were overcome by storm or that were stranded on the coasts of Heligoland. Upon appointment, the title of commissioner was given, but it was referred to as *commissaris der marine* as well. In 1792, when the first commissioner had died, there had been a new request from someone who wanted to become commissioner in Heligoland, but no decision was made and the consulate remained vacant.<sup>33</sup>

Until 1791, there were only four consulates in Northern Europe. Three years later, this number had more than tripled. This was the result of a plan by the States of Holland and of the desire of the Dutch ambassador in Russia to have consuls in that country. The plan of the States of Holland was to appoint two commissioners in Denmark and three in Norway and was the result of a few requests of merchants in the 1780s: in 1781 a permanent consulate was requested in Christiansand, where there already was a temporary vice-consulate, and in Copenhagen, and in 1782 a consulate was requested in Trondheim where there was a temporary vice-consulate in 1781 as well (see below). In 1785 a new request was made to appoint a commissioner in Copenhagen, who had to help stranded ships and castaways. However, no consulate was established in the 1780s. In spite of the plan of Holland, only one extra consulate, apart from Elsinore and Bergen, was created in 1793: Christiansand.

In Russia, the consulate in Riga was requested by 461 merchants in 1790 before Jan Willem Hogguer was appointed as ambassador in Russia.<sup>34</sup> According to Hogguer, he had too little time for commercial matters. That is why he wanted to have consuls appointed in some important Russian

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<sup>31</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3328, *Tweede serie ordinaris net-resoluties 1693 juli-december*, ff. 9v-10 (July 2); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3775, *Gedrukte resoluties 1720*, 75-76 (Feb. 6); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12282, *Commissieboeken 1715-1722*, ff. 163v-164v (Feb. 6 1720); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12285, *Commissieboeken 1738-1742*, ff. 31-32 (Feb. 14 1739); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 126, *Gedrukte resoluties 1693 jan. 8 - dec. 19*, 255-256 (June 27), 632-634 (Dec. 19); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3775, *Gedrukte resoluties 1720*, 76 (Feb. 6); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7775, *Ingekomen requesten 1738 juli - december*, Request Fasmer (Dec. 11); Leira and Neumann, 'Consular Representation in an Emerging State', 8-10; Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 265.

<sup>32</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 265-266.; NA, S.G., inv. nr. 3793, *Gedrukte resoluties 1738* 701 (Dec. 11); NA, S.G., inv. nr. 3794, *Gedrukte resoluties 1739* 80-81 (Feb. 14).

<sup>33</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12291, *Commissieboeken 1772-1778*, ff. 178v-179v (Nov. 29 1774); S.v.H., inv. no. 275, *Gedrukte resolutie 1792 feb. 8 - aug. 31*, 694 (Aug. 31); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3857, *Gedrukte resoluties 1792 juli - December*, 621-622 (July 30), 763 (Sept. 26). In the index of 1783, a reference is made to Frederiks (Heligoland) under the heading *Commissaris der Marine*: NG, S.G., inv. no. 3841, *Gedrukte resoluties 1783 juli-december*.

<sup>34</sup> In 1716, the DOHR already had requested a consul in Riga: NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 150, *Gedrukte resoluties 1716 jan. 15 - dec. 31*, 405-406 (June 17). The request to appoint a consul in Riga dated from 1790, but he was appointed in 1791: NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 272, *Gedrukte resoluties 1790 jan. 13 - dec. 10*, 166 (March 4); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3854, *Gedrukte resoluties 1791 januari - juni*, 193 (March 22). For Hogguer, see Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 294 and J.D. De Langen, 'De missie van Jan Willem Hogguer, Nederlands diplomaat in Sint-Petersburg 1791-1795', in: E. Waegemans and H. van Koningsbrugge eds., *Noord- en Zuid-Nederlanders in Rusland 1703-2003* (Groningen 2004) 54-72, there 60-61.

ports, such as Archangel, Reval (Tallinn) and St. Petersburg.<sup>35</sup> But the DMH, with whom he corresponded about his desired consulates, responded that “it seems to us one cannot look for the consuls, but that they must present themselves for that purpose.”<sup>36</sup> Thus, the initiative for new consulates still had to come from below. In all these places, except at Reval, a consul was appointed.<sup>37</sup> The consulate in St. Petersburg had already been requested in 1781, but it took ten years before the appointment was finalized. The consulate in St. Petersburg and Kronstadt was held by the same person.<sup>38</sup> The consulate in Arkhangelsk was already requested in 1765, in order to improve the trade on Arkhangelsk and because the distance to the ambassador at the Russian court was too large in order to communicate effectively, but no decision was taken on this request. In 1792, a new request met with more success and a consul was appointed.<sup>39</sup> These consuls were thus appointed in the 1790s thanks to the effort of Hogguer, in order to relieve Hogguer from some of his duties.

In 1794, the consulate of Libau was established. It was held by the same person who requested to be a consul there in 1792, but he was appointed two years later. The consul was allowed to appoint a vice-consul in the city where he did not live, which was Windau.<sup>40</sup> And lastly, in the same year a vice-consul was appointed in Rendsburg by the consul at Elsinore because of the need to gather information about Dutch skippers who sailed under a foreign flag. However, this appointment posed problems because the vice-consul was appointed in duchy Holstein, and not in Denmark, and thus fell outside the area of authorization of the consul in Elsinore. It is unknown how this case ended.<sup>41</sup>

The vice-consul at Rendsburg had been appointed on the basis of a resolution of 1781.<sup>42</sup> In 1781, as a result of the fourth Dutch-English War (1780-1784), the commissioner in Elsinore was allowed to appoint eight temporary vice-consuls “to support the captured Dutch ships with advice and action.” (figure 2)<sup>43</sup> This resulted in the appointment of three vice-consuls in Sweden and five in

<sup>35</sup> NA, Legatiearchief Rusland (L.R.), inv. no 173, *Correspondentie met Nederlandse particulieren in de Republiek*, DMH to Hogguer (Oct. 13 1791), Hogguer to DMH (July 5 1791), Hogguer to DMH (June 11 1792).

<sup>36</sup> “Ons dunkt men dezelve niet wel kan opzoeken maar sig zelfs daartoe diende aantebieden” in NA, L.R., inv. no. 173, *Correspondentie met Nederlandse particulieren in de Republiek*, DMH to Hogguer (Oct. 13 1791).

<sup>37</sup> Although Zuckerbecker (Consul in Riga) did tip Hogguer about a possible consul Kuster for the consulate in Tallinn, no request was submitted nor was he appointed as consul: NA, L.R., inv. no 173, *Correspondentie met Nederlandse particulieren in de Republiek*, DMH to Hogguer (Oct. 13 1791); NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (Jan. 25 1793).

<sup>38</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 242, *Gedrukte resoluties 1781 jan. 3 - juli 13*, 740 (July 6); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 273, *Gedrukte resoluties 1791 jan. 12 - juli 8*, 86-87 (Jan. 21); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12294, *Commissieboeken 1791-1794*, ff. 41-43 (Sept. 5 1791).

<sup>39</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 217, *Gedrukte resoluties 1765 jan. 2 - dec. 31*, 125-126 (Feb. 6); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3856, *Gedrukte resoluties 1792 januari - juni*, 284 (April 11); SAA, Directie van de Moscovische Handel (DMH), inv. no. 42, *Brief aan directeurs van Ph.Fr. Tinne te 's-Gravenhage 1794*, Tinne to DMH (June 18).

<sup>40</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 275, *Gedrukte resoluties 1792 feb. 8 - aug. 31*, 664-665 (Aug. 31); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12294, *Commissieboeken 1791-1794*, ff. 250-251v (Sept. 9 1794).

<sup>41</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3860, *Gedrukte resoluties 1794 januari - juni*, 357-358 (April 25); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3861, *Gedrukte resoluties 1794 juli - December*, 670-671 (July 26).

<sup>42</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3860, *Gedrukte resoluties 1794 januari - juni*, 357-358 (April 25).

<sup>43</sup> “Dewelke de Nederlandsche Scheepen by het opbrengen konden ondersteunen met raad en daad” in NA, S.G., inv. no. 3836, *Gedrukte resoluties 1781 januari - juni*, 148 (Feb. 7). For the proposal to appoint vice-consuls, see NA, S.G., inv. no. 11558, *Brievenboeken 1781 Duits register*, ff. 266-267 (Jan. 23).

Norway. The appointment of these vice-consuls took quite some effort, especially in Sweden. First of all, it was difficult to find suitable candidates, and when he had found them, two of the vice-consuls had already died before the beginning of 1782. In addition, Sweden did not want to have vice-consuls in their country if there was no Dutch consul in Sweden, because otherwise they could not hold the

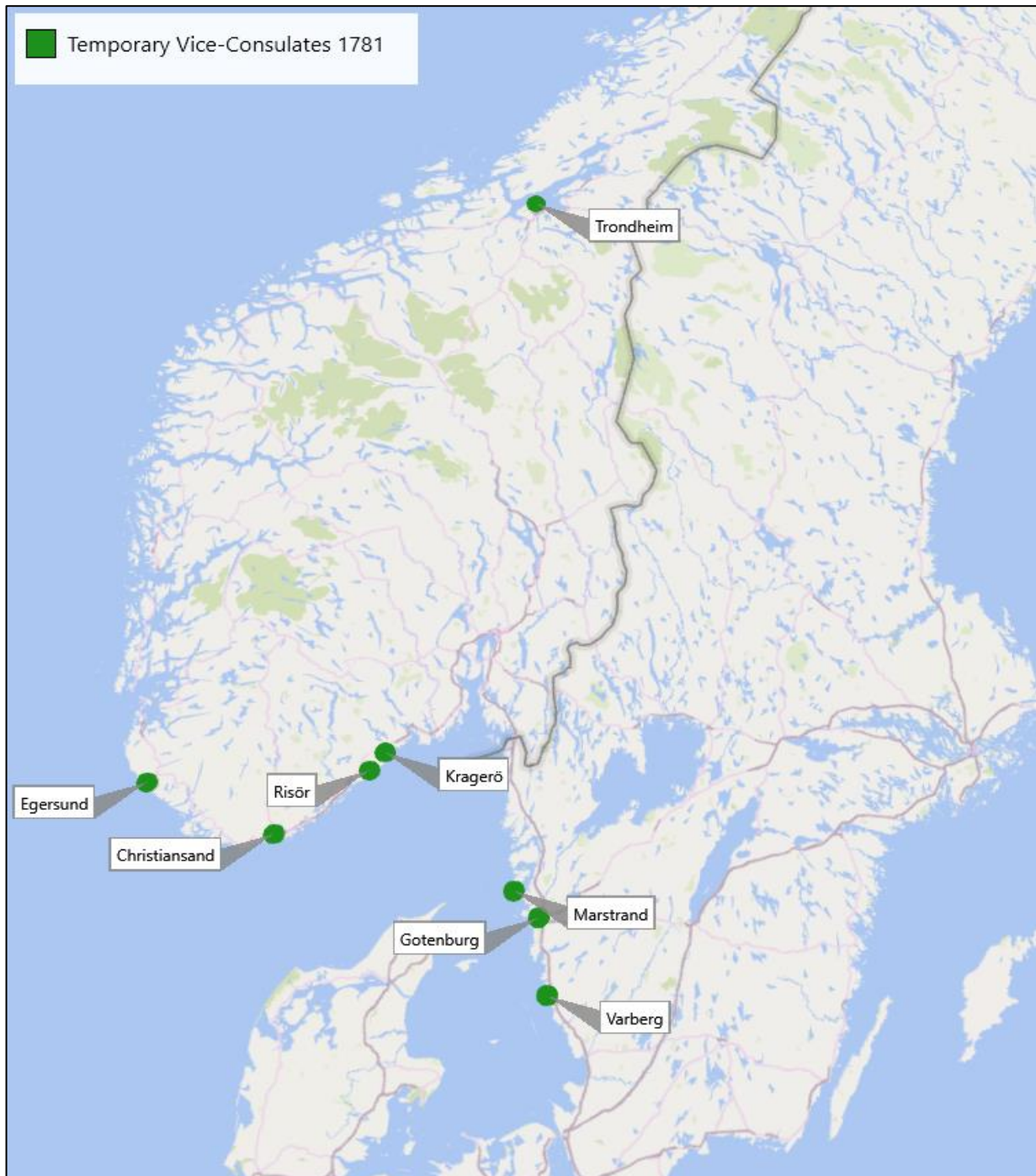


Figure 2: Temporary Vice-Consulates 1781. Source: Appendix.

Dutch consul in Sweden accountable for the misconduct of the vice-consuls. That is why a proposal was made to appoint a consul in Gothenburg, but this plan was not realised.<sup>44</sup>

In Norway the vice-consuls fell directly under the authority of the consul in Elsinore. But this did not resolve all problems. For example, the vice-consuls lacked instructions, so they did not know how to act when there were problems. And because they were vice-consuls, they did not always have sufficient authority to resolve problems within their district. That is why the vice-consuls in Trondheim and Christiansand tried to be appointed as consul, but the commissioner in Elsinore successfully prevented this because it would be detrimental to his position.<sup>45</sup> Not without reason it was said about ten years later that “the appointment of vice-consuls or commissioners [in Denmark and Norway] is subject to difficulties from time to time”.<sup>46</sup> After the war had ended, the appointed vice-consuls were put out of action again, although as mentioned some did try to become consul.<sup>47</sup>

As has already been made clear above, it often happened that a consulate was requested, but the States General made no decision to appoint one. Figure 3 (and the appendix) shows the places where a consulate was requested, but which either was never established, or which were not given to the person who requested it. In some cases there was a request to set up a consulate, without linking a specific person to it. The appendix also contains the names of those who applied for an already existing, vacant consulate, but who did not get appointed.

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<sup>44</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 244, *Gedrukte resoluties 1782 jan. 9 - dec. 28*, 47 (Jan. 22), 1151 (Dec. 28); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 245, *Gedrukte resoluties 1783 jan. 4 - sep. 8*, 72 (Feb. 3), 374-375 (March 26); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3836, *Gedrukte resoluties 1781 januari – juni*, 172-173 (Feb. 12), 187 (Feb. 19), SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 381, *Kopie van een advies van directeuren aan burgemeesteren betreffende een missiven van de vice-consul Furst te Riesor in Noorwegen over het aanstellen van vice-consuls door de commissaris van Deurs te Elseneur*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (April 17 1783); Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 264-266, 280-281.

<sup>45</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 244, *Gedrukte resoluties 1782 jan. 9 - dec. 28*, 55-56 (Jan. 24), 89-90 (Feb. 13), 106-108 (Feb. 21), 230-231 (March 27), SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 380, *Stukken betreffende de opvolging van Stephan Arent van Deurs van zijn overleden vader J.C. van Deurs*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (June 1781, Aug. 22 1781, Feb. 28 1782).

<sup>46</sup> “Het aanstellen van Vice Consuls of Commissarissen van tyd tot tyd aan moeijelykheden onderhevig was” in NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 275, *Gedrukte resoluties 1792 feb. 8 - aug. 31*, 442 (June 15).

<sup>47</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 7967, *Ingekomen requesten 1785 augustus - september*, Letter of recommendation for Coninck (Sept. 28 1785); SAA, DMH, inv. no. 46, *Brieven copijboek 1781-1821 Directeuren van de Moscovischen Handel*, ff. 9-10 (no date).

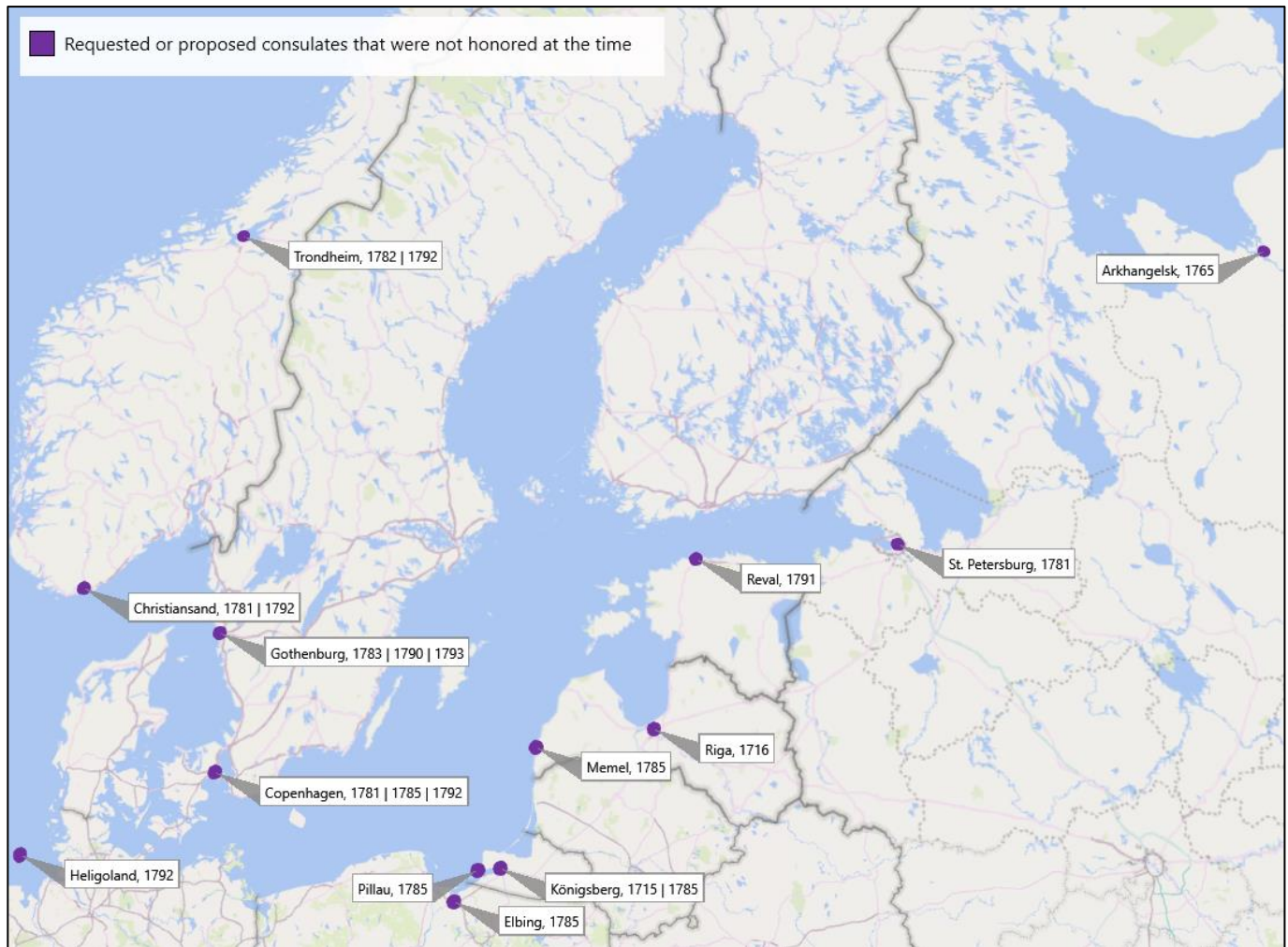


Figure 3: Requested or Proposed Consulates that were not honoured at the time in Northern Europe, 1693-1795. Source: Appendix.

How should one account for the relative late development of the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe in comparison to the Dutch consular service in the Mediterranean? Because in 1612-1618, the first seven consulates in the Mediterranean had already been established.<sup>48</sup> To this end, the larger international developments must be considered. Dutch trade with Northern Europe had existed for a long time, but it was gaining momentum in the 1590s, when there was a rapid increase of Dutch trade with the Baltic, with Amsterdam becoming the staple market of Europe.<sup>49</sup> After a war against Denmark in 1614, the Republic could impose a *pax nederlandica* on the Baltic Sea: no state was allowed to block trade, and the Dutch Republic guaranteed this by force.<sup>50</sup> The Dutch navy thus intervened in the Baltic region in the 17th century when the expansion of a state threatened the Dutch interests. In 1656-1660, for example, the Dutch Republic intervened in the war between Denmark and

<sup>48</sup> J.I. Israel, *Dutch primacy in world trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford 1989) 98.

<sup>49</sup> H. Brand, 'Baltic Connections: Changing Patterns in Seaborne Trade, c. 1450-1800', in: L. Bes, E. Frankot and H. Brand eds., *Baltic Connections: Archival Guide to the Maritime Relations of the Countries Around the Baltic Sea (Including the Netherlands) 1450-1800* (Leiden: Brill 2007) 1-23, there 3-5, 7-8, 11-12.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 12-13; Israel, *Dutch primacy in world trade, 1585-1740*, 95; J.L. van Zanden and M. van Tielhof, 'Roots of Growth and Productivity Change in Dutch Shipping Industry, 1500-1800', *Explorations in Economic History* 46 (2009) 389-403, there 390.

Sweden in order to prevent Sweden from taking possession of both sides of the Sound.<sup>51</sup> Dutch shipping to Northern Europe was relatively safe during this *pax nederlandica*, although in the last quarter of the seventeenth century this situation and the balance of power at sea changed.<sup>52</sup>

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, several wars succeeded each other: a war with England (1672-74) and with France (1672-78), the Nine Years' War (1689-1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), and in Northern Europe there was the Great Northern War (1700-1721) as well.<sup>53</sup> These wars caused great financial burdens for the Republic. The Republic became less resilient at sea as equipping larger fleets to reinforce the politics of the Republic in the Baltic area ran into the financial limits of the Republic. At the same time the North sea became more dangerous to the outbreak of wars and the accompanying French privateers who targeted Dutch ships.<sup>54</sup> The destructiveness of war for trade, as war led to shipwrecks, shipwrecked sailors and ships taken by privateers, and the fact that the Dutch Republic could less easily use their military power to impose their will on Baltic states had two results.<sup>55</sup> The first was the founding of a consulate in Bergen. The second was the founding of lobby organisations for trade: the DOHR, DMH and the *Directie voor de Noorweegse handel* (DNH, which soon merged with the DOHR).<sup>56</sup> After the Nordic War ended, peace and thus safety in the Northern seas was restored.<sup>57</sup> In the second half of the eighteenth century four wars disrupted peace in Northern Europe again: the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748), the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784) and the War of the First Coalition (1792-1797), and the wars were again accompanied by the use of privateers, who threatened the trade and shipping of the Republic.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, where the North- and Baltic seas were relatively safe in the first three quarters of the seventeenth century and the Dutch Republic could send large fleets to curb the expansion drive of other states in the Baltic area and thus defend its own interests, the situation had become much more complicated in end of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century. The end of the relative safety of both seas led to the emergence of the first consulate (Bergen) and the establishment of the DOHR

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<sup>51</sup> Brand, 'Baltic Connections: Changing Patters in Seaborne Trade, c. 1450-1800', 13-14.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.; Israel, *Dutch primacy in world trade, 1585-1740*, 217-221.

<sup>53</sup> J.R. Bruijn, 'In een veranderend maritiem perspectief: het ontstaan van directies voor de vaart op de Oostzee, Noorwegen en Rusland', *Tijdschrift voor zeegeschiedenis* 9 (1990) 15-26, there 15-16.

<sup>54</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), voornamelijk gedurende de jaren 1720-1733. Dl. I: Achtergronden en algemene aspecten* (Groningen 1980) 297-302; J.R. Bruijn, *De admiraliteit van Amsterdam in rustige jaren, 1713-1751: regenten en financiën, schepen en zeevarenden* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema 1970) 165; Bruijn, 'Veranderend maritiem perspectief', 16-18; Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*, 75-82; NA, L.R. inv. no. 173, *Correspondentie met Nederlandse particulieren in de Republiek*, Hogguer to DMH (Feb. 18 1793).

<sup>55</sup> Bruijn, 'Veranderend maritiem perspectief'; Leira and Neumann, 'Consular Representation in an Emerging State', 8-11.

<sup>56</sup> Milja van Tielhof, *The 'mother of all trades': the Baltic grain trade in Amsterdam from the late 16th to the early 19th century* (Leiden: Brill 2002) 233-234.

<sup>57</sup> Bruijn, *De admiraliteit van Amsterdam in rustige jaren, 1713-1751*, 165-166.

<sup>58</sup> Tielhof, *The 'mother of all trades'*, 234-245; Bruijn, *De admiraliteit van Amsterdam in rustige jaren, 1713-1751*, 32-34.

and the DMH. In the 1780s war was again an important reason for the establishment of (vice)consulates. This also explains why consulates were already established in the seventeenth century the Mediterranean Sea, as the Mediterranean Sea, with many North African privateers, was a more unsafe sea in the seventeenth century than the Baltic Sea.<sup>59</sup>

Apart from these larger international developments, the local circumstances and the considerations of the actors involved in the consular service should also be considered. The Swedish Navigation Act (1724-1827) is for example an important local circumstance which explains why there were no Dutch consulates in Sweden. According to the act, goods that were imported or exported to Sweden were only allowed to be transported with Swedish ships, or with ships from the country where the freight came from. As a result, Dutch freight shipping between other countries and Sweden was affected, causing Dutch shipping to Sweden to decrease. And without many Dutch ships in Swedish harbours, there was no need to appoint consuls in Sweden: the Navigation Act was given as a reason by the DOHR to advise negatively at the requested consulate in Gothenburg.<sup>60</sup>

And secondly the considerations of the actors involved. The plan of the States of Holland, and the fact that Hogguer wanted to have consuls in certain ports, which helped the expansion of the Dutch consular service in Russia and the Baltic states have already become clear. Other major actors were the DOHR and the DMH, who played a major role in the process of appointing consuls, as will become clear in section III. Although the DOHR made two consular requests in the early eighteenth century, its attitude toward new consulates had changed thereafter.<sup>61</sup> Its main argument was that trade with Northern Europe also flourished without appointing consuls in various places, so why should they be appointed now? In addition, they thought it was very difficult to abolish a consulate once it was established, as the abolishment would affect the dignity of the state and the States General would thus not do it. And third, linked to this, was their argument that they feared that appointing consuls would always end up with extra costs for trade and commerce. They feared that if the consul who wanted the post didn't ask for money, a successor would do so, and the States General would then have to grant this, because otherwise the dignity of the state would (again) be at stake.<sup>62</sup> The fear that consuls would eventually become a burden for the commerce is also reflected by the DMH.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Van Zanden and Van Tielhof, 'Roots of Growth and Productivity Change in Dutch Shipping Industry, 1500-1800', 390.

<sup>60</sup> Müller and Ojala, 'Consular Services', 30-31; Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*, 62-63; SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 10, *Resolutie- of notulenboeken van directeuren, 1793-1932*, ff. 4-5 (April 2 1793).

<sup>61</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 149, *Gedrukte resoluties 1715 jan. 9 - dec. 21*, 376-377 (May 22); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7694, *Ingekomen requesten 1716 april - juni*, Request DOHR (June 5).

<sup>62</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 424, *Kopie van een advies door directeuren aan burgemeesteren over het verzoek van Abraham Boudon om consul te mogen worden*, notes DOHR (Unknown); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeuren van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen*, J.W. van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5 1785); DMH, inv. no. 82, *Stukkende betreffende een eventuele benoeming van Berend Johann Rodde tot consul te Archangel 1765*.

<sup>63</sup> SAA, DMH, inv. no. 46, *Brieven copijboek 1781-1821 Directeuren van de Moscovischen Handel*, ff. 9-10 (no date), ff. 76-78 (no date), f. 83 (Feb. 21 1791), f. 84 (Feb. 21 1791), f. 92 (March 9 1792).

The attitude of both boards can therefore best be summarized as restraint: "the creation of a new commissariat or consulate is generally always objectionable for the state or for the commerce. That is why Her High Mightiness should not do so, except in such cases where apparently a substantial advantage for the country and for commerce could be generated by it."<sup>64</sup> The different actors involved could thus obstruct and promote the expansion of the consular service.

But why then were there more consulates established at the end of the 18th century? The reason for this seems to be that times had changed. As Van Arp wrote: "Now one must have men in almost all places to have equal rights with other powers who take advantage of our weakness. They have sent commissioners and consuls everywhere to uphold their rights and, moreover, intrude upon that esteem which there was for our nation before"<sup>65</sup> and "all the powers now appoint consuls or commissioners everywhere. And shouldn't this state, so interested in commerce and navigation for its natives, do the same?"<sup>66</sup> The fact that other countries had consuls in several places in Northern Europe was a reason that eventually the Dutch state appointed more consuls in Northern Europe as well.<sup>67</sup>

Thus, commercial considerations, war and the presence of consuls of other countries have determined *that* the Dutch consular service did develop.<sup>68</sup> But for the relative *late* development, one should consider the larger international developments in Northern Europe, the local circumstances and the attitude of various actors in the appointment process.

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<sup>64</sup> "Het creëeren van een nieuw Commissariaat of Consulaat over het algemeen genoomen altijd bezwaarende is of voor den staat of voor de Commerce, en dat diensvolgens Haar Hoog Mogende daartoe [...] niet behooren overtegaan dan alleen in zulke gevallen waar in oogenschijnlijk een wezentlijk voordeel voor den lande en voor de Commerce daardoor zoude kunnen in[...]ceeren" in SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 324, *Kopie van een adres van de directeuren aan burgemeesteren tot aanstelling van Jonas Malm tot commissaris te Gothenburg*.

<sup>65</sup> "Doch nu zodanig loopen dat men menschen moest hebben bijna op alle plaatsen om eevengelijk recht te hebben als andere moogendheeden, welke van onze zwakheid geprofiteerd hebbende overal commissarissen & consuls hebben gezonden om hunne rechten te handhaaven en zig daarenboven intedringen in die achting daar bevoorens onze natie buiten 's lands in was." in SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeuren van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen*, J.W. van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5 1785).

<sup>66</sup> "Alle mogendheden stellen overall thans consuls of commissarissen aan en zoude deze staat die zo zeer voor zijn ingezeetenen bij de commercie en navigatie geïnteresseerd is zulks ook niet mogen doen." in SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeuren van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen*, J.W. van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5 1785).

<sup>67</sup> This can also be seen in the recommendation letter of Boudon: "And in which places [Libau and Windau] were also found consuls from the courts of Sweden, Denmark, Russia and Prussia" ("en ter welker plaatsen voor schreeven ook werden gevonden Consuls van de Hoven van Zweeden, Deenemarken, Rusland en Pruissen"), which was used as an argument to appoint a Dutch consul there as well. See SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 424, *Kopie van een advies door directeuren aan burgemeesteren over het verzoek van Abraham Boudon om consul te mogen worden*, Letter of recommendation for Boudon (copy, no date). And a reference to other consuls in Russia is also made in the letter of recommendation for Zuckerbecker: NA, S.G., inv. no. 7987, *Ingekomen requesten 1790 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Zuckerbecker (Feb. 10).

<sup>68</sup> H. Leira and I.B. Neumann make the same argument about the influence of war and the presence of consuls of other nations on the development of consulates in Norway. They write: "The logic described as 'the security dilemma' seems to apply: given that the state system is a self-help system, there is systemic pressure for any major state to match what other states are doing" in: Leira and Neumann, 'Consular Representation in an Emerging State', 10.

### III. The Appointment Process

The official procedure for the appointment of a consul crystallized in the eighteenth century. Although some applicants had sent their request to the States of Holland in the early eighteenth century instead of addressing the States General directly, the latter became customary in the process of submitting a request to become consul during the eighteenth century.<sup>69</sup> It was also customary that a request was supported by merchants, insurers and shipowners.<sup>70</sup> In addition, an ambassador could support a certain candidate.<sup>71</sup> It could also happen that a consul sent a letter to the States General in order for his son to succeed him.<sup>72</sup> And finally, organizations such as the States of Holland or the DOHR could call for the establishment of a consulate without nominating a specific person, although this did not happen often.<sup>73</sup>

When a request was sent to the States General, it was discussed in their meeting. Often the States of Holland copied the request in order to discuss it in their own meeting and towards the end of the eighteenth century the States of Zeeland, and in some cases other provinces, also wanted to discuss the request in their own meeting. When a vacancy in Danzig was discussed the requests were also referred to a committee of foreign or maritime affairs within the States General, who sought advice from the boards of the admiralty in the Republic.<sup>74</sup> Within the States of Holland, the request was referred to the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Hoorn. At the end of the eighteenth century, the deputies of these cities were called the "Commissioners for consular affairs"<sup>75</sup> but it was already common for a request to be discussed by representatives of these cities at the end of the seventeenth century. Of course, variations were possible, occasionally Enkhuizen or Dordrecht wanted to

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<sup>69</sup> The request of Niels Sanderssen Weinwich was for example first discussed in the States of Holland, before it was discussed in the States General in 1719-1720: NA, S.v.H., inv. nr. 153, *Gedrukte resoluties 1719 jan. 4 - dec. 21* 559-560 (Nov. 11); NA, S.v.H., inv. nr. 154, *Gedrukte resoluties 1720 jan. 3 - dec. 14* 69-70 (Feb. 1); NA, S.G., inv. nr. 3775, *Gedrukte resoluties 1720 75-76* (Feb. 6). When traders wanted to appoint Rodde in Archangel in 1765, they had sent the request to Amsterdam. However, the latter replied that they should address the request to the States General: NA, S.G., inv. no. 7875, *Ingekomen requesten 1765 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Rodde (Jan. 24).

<sup>70</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 10, *Resolutie- of notulenboeken van directeuren 1793-1932*, f. 36 (Oct. 10 1793). See for example NA, S.G., inv. no. 7833, *Ingekomen requesten 1754 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Hoyman (Feb. 27 1754); S.G., inv. no. 7987, *Ingekomen requesten 1790 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Zuckerbecker (Feb. 10). In the case of Jacob Frederik van Deurs, there were even Danish merchants who sent letters of recommendation to their Dutch trading partners in order to get their support for Deurs' candidacy. NA, S.G., inv. no. 7995, *Ingekomen requesten 1791 oktober - december*, Letters of recommendation Deurs (Oct. 25).

<sup>71</sup> Resident Hogguer (Denmark) had received a request from Johan Heinrich Muller and he had sent it to the States General: NA, S.G., inv. no. 3857, *Gedrukte resoluties 1792 juli - december*, 621-622 (July 30); Resident Vander Goes (Denmark) supported Frederik de Coninck: NA, S.G., inv. no. 3857, *Gedrukte resolutie 1792 juli - december*, 839-840 (Oct. 30). And an ambassador could be a reference for candidates: NA, S.G., inv. no. 7993, *Requests received 1791 April - June*, Request Konow (May 21); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7995, *Requests received 1791 oktober - december*, Request Aller (Oct. 17).

<sup>72</sup> The Van Deurs family managed to achieve this in 1744 and 1781: NA, S.G., inv. no. 3799, *Gedrukte resoluties 1744*, 380-381 (June 9); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3837, *Gedrukte resoluties 1781 juli - december*, 783 (July 23), 1008 (Sept. 17).

<sup>73</sup> See for example NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 149, *Gedrukte resoluties 1715 jan. 9 - dec. 21*, 376-377 (May 22); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7694, *Ingekomen requesten 1716 april - juni*, Request DOHR (June 5).

<sup>74</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754 35* (Jan. 18); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3853, *Gedrukte resoluties 1790*, 99 (Febr. 10).

<sup>75</sup> "Gecommitteerden tot de Consulaire zaaken" in NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 274, *Gedrukte resoluties 1791 juli 13 - dec. 23*, 1229 (Oct. 7).

participate in the discussion about a request, yet this rarely happened.<sup>76</sup> These commissioners then evaluated the requests, whereby the mayors of Amsterdam asked for advice from the DOHR or the DMH.<sup>77</sup> If the commissioners agreed that someone should be appointed, they proposed a candidate, of which a resolution was then forwarded to the States General.<sup>78</sup>

Within the States of Zeeland it became commonplace from the 1780s onwards to discuss a consular request in a committee, consisting of provincial deputies. The committee was advised by members of the Admiralty of Middelburg. Because of a fire which has destroyed a large part of the archive of the admiralties, it is not possible to reconstruct their role in the appointment process.<sup>79</sup> But the final decision of the provincial committee shows that the Admiralty nor the provincial deputies had strong preferences: it was often stated that the deputies of Zeeland in the States General themselves had to come to an agreement with the deputies of Holland, although candidates from Zeeland, or candidates supported by Zeeland merchants, were preferred. Thus, although Zeeland claimed a greater role for itself in the appointment process of a consul, the final decision was mostly left to the States of Holland.<sup>80</sup>

The States of Friesland were involved in consular appointments as well. But when a possible appointment was discussed in the Frisian States, the reply of the Frisian deputies was the same as that of the States of Zeeland: the Frisian deputies in the States General had to come to an agreement with the deputies of the other provinces in the assembly themselves. Like the other provinces, who rarely discussed consular appointments at all, the States of Friesland left the appointments of consuls in Northern Europe, and other consular matters related to it, in the hands of Holland.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 150, *Gedrukte resoluties 1716 jan. 15 - dec. 31*, 405-406 (June 17); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 153, *Gedrukte resoluties 1719 jan. 4 - dec. 21*, 559-560 (Nov. 11).

<sup>77</sup> See later on for the role of the DOHR and the DMH in the appointment process.

<sup>78</sup> See for example the appointment of Soermans in 1754: NA, S.v.H., inv. nr. 197, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754 jan. 9 - sept 5* 149 (Feb. 7), 174 (Feb. 15), 359 (April 12), 700-701 (July 26); NA, S.G., inv. nr. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754* 35 (Jan. 18), 82 (Feb. 12), 194 (April 8), 420-421 (July 29).

<sup>79</sup> For example, the resolutions of the Admiralty of Middelburg from 1750 onwards do not exist anymore, except for parts of 1782 and 1790: J. de Hullu, *Inventaris van het archief van de Admiraliteitscolleges, 1586-1795* (Den Haag 1924) 42-43, 189-190.

<sup>80</sup> NA, *Inventaris van de Collectie Resoluties van de Staten van Friesland, Gelderland, Groningen, Holland, Overijssel, Utrecht en Zeeland, 1532-1807* (C.R.S.), inv. no. 256, *Resoluties van de Staten van Zeeland 1781*, 129 (Feb. 19), 243-244 (April 19), 281-282 (April 26), 393 (June 18), 447 (July 13), 498 (Aug. 2); NA, C.R.S., inv. no. 257, *Resoluties van de Staten van Zeeland 1782*, 26 (Feb. 26), 73-74 (March 24); NA, C.R.S., inv. no. 260, *Resoluties van de Staten van Zeeland 1785*, 17 (Jan. 12), 740-741 (Dec. 29); NA, C.R.S., inv. no. 265, *Resoluties van de Staten van Zeeland 1790*, 27 (March 29), 134-135 (April 26), 335 (July 15); NA, C.R.S., inv. no. 266, *Resoluties van de Staten van Zeeland 1791*, 119 (Feb. 3), 344-346 (May 30), 591 (Oct. 27), 657 (Nov. 21); NA, C.R.S., inv. no. 267, *Resoluties van de Staten van Zeeland 1792*, 50 (April 2), 346-347 (Aug. 13), 438-440 (Sept. 10), 453-454 (Sept. 17); NA, C.R.S., inv. no. 268, *Resoluties van de Staten van Zeeland 1793*, 565-566 (Sept. 30).

<sup>81</sup> With regard to consular appointments in Northern Europe, the resolutions of the States General only state once that an appointment had to be discussed by the States of Gelderland, and once by *Stad en Lande* (the States of Groningen): NA, S.G., inv. nr. 3775, *Gedrukte resoluties 1720* 75-76 (Feb. 6), NA, S.G., inv. nr. 3820, *Gedrukte resoluties 1765* 59 (Jan. 24). A few cases in which a possible appointment was discussed in the States of Friesland are for example: Tresoar, *Gewestelijke bestuursinstellingen van Friesland 1580-1795* (G.b.v.F.), inv. no. 199, *Resoluties 1792*, ff. 2-2v (Feb. 17); Tresoar, G.b.v.F., inv. no. 192, *Resoluties 1785*, f. 230 (July 21), f. 246 (Oct. 8); Tresoar, G.b.v.F., inv. no. 188, *Resoluties 1781*, f. 23v (March 14); NA, C.R.S., inv. no. 462, *Resoluties van de Staten van Friesland 1792*, f. 2 (Feb. 17).

That Holland was in control of the consular service in Northern Europe is apparent from two examples wherein Holland was able to push through its will. Firstly, Holland managed to persuade the States General to adopt the aforementioned plan from 1792 to establish five consulates in Denmark and Norway, before the States of Zeeland could even discuss this matter. Although Zeeland did not appreciate the state of affairs, they resigned themselves to it. And in the appointment of Weinrich (1720, Bergen) the decision was made in the States General before the States of Zeeland could discuss it and Zeeland was again faced with a *fait accompli*.<sup>82</sup>

Thus, because of the governmental build-up of the Republic, a request had to pass through various administrative layers: the States General, the Provincial States and committees within those Provincial States, who in turn sought advice from organisations such as the admiralties, the DOHR and the DMH. This process was also used for other consul-related matters, such as a request for (higher) consulate fees (the money a consul was allowed to collect from Dutch ships, see section IV). Due to the many layers at which a request had to be discussed, it could die a silent death in one of these layers if some actors did not want to establish a consulate or appoint a certain candidate. This can be seen in the unsuccessful request of Frederik de Coninck to become consul in Copenhagen. "I have been assured that those gentlemen [the DOHR] have found objections to think favourably about this [the appointment of Coninck], and so, to my knowledge, no report from this city [Amsterdam] has gone to Holland, and from there it was not even brought to the States General."<sup>83</sup> But if everyone approved, a consul could finally be appointed, after months had passed from the moment he had gathered support for his candidacy to his final appointment.

As can be seen in the example of De Coninck, the DOHR did have a role in the appointment process. In the historiography of the appointment of consuls in the Mediterranean, it is assumed that the *Directie van de Levantse handel en navigatie* (Board of Levantine trade and Navigation, DLH) had a decisive, or at least a major role in the choice of a candidate.<sup>84</sup> But what was the role of the DOHR and the DMH in appointment of consuls in Northern Europe? In order to investigate their role, two appointments of the DOHR and one of the DMH will be analysed. The first is the application of Willem Theodorus Houwens in 1775 for the consulate in Danzig. Houwens was one of the four applicants for the Danzig consulate, the others were Carel Sittig, Nathanaël Warnsman and Jacob Ross.<sup>85</sup> Because

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<sup>82</sup> NA, C.R.S., inv. no. 195, *Resoluties van de Staten van Zeeland 1720*, 54-55 (March 20); NA, C.R.S., inv. no. 267, *Resoluties van de Staten van Zeeland 1792*, 399 (Aug. 27); 430 (Sept. 10).

<sup>83</sup> "Dog mij is verzeekerd dat die Heeren zwaarigheid hebben gevonden daarover Favorabel te denken, en dus is van wegens deze stad geen rapport zoo mij voorstaat bij Holland, en daar uit van zelfs niet ter Generaliteit uitgebragt geworden." SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeurs van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen*, J.W. van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5 1785).

<sup>84</sup> Ebben, 'Uwer Hoog Moogenden Onderdaenigsten Dienaers', 655; Steensgaard, 'Consuls and Nations in the Levant', 31, 48-49.

<sup>85</sup> Carel Sittig, who had been secretary of various ambassadors, Nathanaël Warnsman, consul in Tripoli, and Jacob Ross, merchant in Danzig, were the other applicants.

Houwens was staying in Danzig, he asked his father, Nicolaes Houwens, to apply to the States General for him to become consul. A connection of the Houwens family, Mr. Dubbeldemuts (probably Franco or Adriaan Dubbeldemuts, who were traders from Rotterdam), had advised Houwens Sr to do this with a request to the States General and to ask the merchants of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Schiedam and Dordrecht to support his request.<sup>86</sup> Houwens Sr had the request signed by 40 merchants from Rotterdam and Schiedam and had requested Arnoldus Dupper (an Amsterdam merchant who knew Willem Theodorus Houwens) to have the request signed by merchants from Amsterdam. And now Houwens Sr requested the DOHR for a recommendation for his son.<sup>87</sup>

With this letter, Houwens Sr tried to find support for his son's candidacy. A few weeks later, he sent the request to the States General.<sup>88</sup> The request then went to the States of Holland and the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Hoorn. The mayors of Amsterdam in turn asked advice from the DOHR. At an extraordinaire meeting of the DOHR each candidate was discussed. Warnsman had given no proof of his commercial skills and he had no knowledge about Danzig. This also applied to Sittig, who had never been in Danzig. As far as Houwens was concerned, he was a fairly good candidate, but he was currently not in anyone's service, and had no business of his own. That is why, according to the DOHR, Jacob Ross was the best choice: he was skilled in commerce between Holland and Danzig, and was known in Danzig.<sup>89</sup> This advice from the DOHR then went to the mayors of Amsterdam. Ultimately, the DOHR's advice was adopted almost verbatim in the States of Holland and in the States General, and Ross was appointed.<sup>90</sup> Ross in turn thanked the DOHR for the favourable recommendation.<sup>91</sup>

The second example is the appointment of a consul in Bergen in 1791. The DOHR had received all resolutions, requests and letters of recommendation from the mayors of Amsterdam.<sup>92</sup> There were five candidates for the position: Hendrik Jan Fasmer, Hans Tank, Clamer Meltzer, Hildebrand Harmens and Frederik Ludwig Konow.<sup>93</sup> Each candidate had sent an application to the States General, in which they had stated the reasons why they thought they were a good candidate. For example, Fasmer wrote

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<sup>86</sup> J. Jacobsen, 'Twee Rotterdamsche handelshuizen door H.H. van Dam C.Hzn.', *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje* 2 (1920) 11-26, there 12.

<sup>87</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 274, *Stukken betreffende de sollicitatie van Willem Theodorus Houwens*, Nicolaes Houwens to DOHR (Aug. 29 1775).

<sup>88</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 7912, *Ingekomen requesten 1775 september - december*, Request Houwens (Sept. 27).

<sup>89</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 4, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeuren 1774 - 1791*, Nov. 6 1775; SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 9, *Resolutie- of notulenboek van directeuren 1754-1791*, ff. 125-126 (Nov. 6 1775); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 274, *Stukken betreffende de sollicitatie van Willem Theodorus Houwens*.

<sup>90</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3830, *Gedrukte resoluties 1775*, 709-710 (Nov. 13); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 231, *Gedrukte resoluties 1775 jan. 18 - dec. 22*, 814-815 (Nov. 1), 904-905 (Nov. 11).

<sup>91</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 275, *Stukken betreffende de opvolging van de overleden commissaris Hendrik Soermans te Danzig door Jacob Ross there*, Jacob Ross to DOHR (Jan. 3 1776).

<sup>92</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 385, *Stukken betreffende de benoeming van Hendrik Jans Fasmer tot commissaris in Bergen*; SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 9, *Resolutie- of notulenboek van directeuren 1754-1791*, ff. 174 (March 22 1791).

<sup>93</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3854, *Gedrukte resoluties 1791 januari - juni*, 97 (Feb. 15), 106-107 (Feb. 22), 113-114 (Feb. 25), 123 (March 2), 406 (May 24); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3855, *Gedrukte resoluties 1791 juli - december*, 785 (Oct. 12)

that his family had been consul in Bergen since 1739, that they had always helped anyone who needed it, and that he had worked for the firm of Fasmer and Son for a long time. Meltzer also relied on his experience of trade and the personal relationship he maintained with the main Dutch trading houses, as well as being fluent in the Dutch language. In addition to the requests, the States General had received letters of recommendation from merchants: Fasmer's had 138 signatures, Harmens' 137, Tank's 76 and Meltzer's 8. Konow had no letter of recommendation. The DOHR had to advise the mayors of Amsterdam on all these requests, and they advised to appoint Fasmer as consul in Bergen. Although the other candidates would also be suitable, Fasmer stood out in particular because of his experience: "H.J. Fasmer is known in Holland and is highly appreciated for his services already done and has all the capabilities for that post"<sup>94</sup>. It would be "very harsh"<sup>95</sup> to reject Fasmer's application. The States General took over their advice and appointed Fasmer.<sup>96</sup> After the States General had subsequently made that decision, a copy of the resolution was sent to the DOHR the same day.<sup>97</sup>

The DOHR appears as an advisory board with significant influence on consular appointments, which support was also sought after: "it seems to me to be of the utmost importance now that the noble gentlemen of the board favourably advise in this matter [the appointment of Frederick de Coninck], and for which hereby your support is requested."<sup>98</sup> But the DOHR wanted to remain an impartial advisor of the authorities, they did not want to sign requests in their character as director of the DOHR.<sup>99</sup> This did not mean that it did not happen, as witnessed by the DOHR's requests for a consulate in Königsberg in 1715 and in Riga in 1716.<sup>100</sup> Notwithstanding the great influence of the DOHR, it is not to be assumed that the board was in charge of (all appointments in) the consular service. For example, the two consulates the DOHR requested did not get established. And in 1754 the DOHR had preferred Leonard de Vogel for the consulate of Danzig, which they advised to the mayors of Amsterdam.<sup>101</sup> However, the report that the cities of Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Hoorn issued to

<sup>94</sup> "H.J. Fasmer alhier in Holland niet alleen zeer bekend is, maar door zijne reeds gedaane diensten zeer geestimeerd is en alle de capaciteiten bezit, welke tot dien post gerequireerd worden" in SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 385, *Stukken betreffende de benoeming van Hendrik Jans Fasmer tot commissaris in Bergen*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (March 31 1791).

<sup>95</sup> "Een zeer groote hardigheid" in SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 385, *Stukken betreffende de benoeming van Hendrik Jans Fasmer tot commissaris in Bergen*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (March 31 1791).

<sup>96</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3855, *Gedrukte resoluties 1791 juli - December*, 785 (Oct. 12); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 150, *Gedrukte resoluties 1716 jan. 15 - dec. 31*, 405-406 (June 17); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3771, *Gedrukte resoluties 1716*, 481-482 (June 5). Konow does not appear in the discussions of the DOHR, and in the archive of the States General only his personal request can be found: NA, S.G., inv. no. 7993, *Ingekomen requesten 1791 april - juni*, Request Konow (May 21).

<sup>97</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 385, *Stukken betreffende de benoeming van Hendrik Jans Fasmer tot commissaris in Bergen*; SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 9, *Resolutie- of notulenboek van directeuren 1754-1791*, ff. 174 (March 22 1791).

<sup>98</sup> "'t komt mij meede voor thans van het uiterste gewicht te weesen dat daarin door de weledele Heeren van de directie favorabel in werde geadviseert, en waartoe bij deesen uwedg. veelvermoogende appuij solliciteeren." SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeuren van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen 1785*, J.W. van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5).

<sup>99</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 9, *Resolutie- of notulenboek van directeuren 1754-1791*, ff. 4-5 (March 23 1754); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 10, *Resolutie- of notulenboek van directeuren 1793-1932*, ff. 22-23 (May 23 1794).

<sup>100</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 149, *Gedrukte resoluties 1715 jan. 9 - dec. 21*, 376-377 (May 22); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7694, *Ingekomen requesten 1716 april - juni*, Request DOHR (June 5).

<sup>101</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 9, *Resolutie- of notulenboek van directeuren 1754-1791*, ff. 3-4 (March 12 1754).

the States of Holland presented Hendrik Soermans as preferred candidate. The main reason why his candidacy was supported was because he was "the only one who saw the honour of the position more than the benefit of it."<sup>102</sup> Whether Soerman's lobby with the *griffier* Fagel played any role in this is unknown.<sup>103</sup> All in all, in what we can find in the resolution books and archive of the DOHR, there are twelve cases where the advice of the DOHR was in accordance with the final judgement of the States General, and there are four cases where this is not the case.<sup>104</sup>

In addition to the DOHR the DMH was also asked for advice. Unfortunately, no resolution book can be found in the archive of the DMH. Nevertheless, their archive also contains documents about consular appointments.<sup>105</sup> A reconstruction of their role can thus be made, for example in the request of merchants to appoint Berend Johann Rodde as consul in Archangel.<sup>106</sup>

Although the DMH held Rodde in high esteem, they believed that the appointment of a consul was not useful for the trade, because there had never been a consul in Archangelsk in earlier years and now the trade on Archangel had even decreased in comparison with earlier years. And secondly, in the past merchants at Archangel had had a system which still existed whereby two merchants were elected annually to represent the interests of the trade and, if necessary, write to the Dutch ambassador at the Russian court. Another important issue was Rodde's nationality. In a letter from

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<sup>102</sup> "De eenigste van alle de Sollicitanten is, dewelke meer de eere als het profyt van de voornoemde post in het oog hebbende" in NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 197, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754 jan. 9 - sept 5*, 701 (July 26).

<sup>103</sup> NA, Collectie Fagel (C.F.), inv. no. 4230, 'Brieven van ministers' aan de griffiers Fagel 1754, Soermans to Fagel (Jan. 2 1754). Soermans was the only one who sought Fagel's support, but this was exceptional in the appointment of consuls in Northern Europe.

<sup>104</sup> Cases where the advice of the DOHR was in accordance with the final judgment of the States General (positive or negative): Blüssener (Helgoland, 1774), Ross (Danzig, 1774), Coninck (Not appointed in Copenhagen, 1781), Deurs (Appointed vice-consul in Elsinore, 1781), Fürst (Not appointed as consul instead of temporary vice-consul in Risør, 1783), Knudtzon (Not appointed as consul instead of temporary vice-consul in Trondheim, 1781), Boudon (Not appointed in Memel, 1785), Fasmer (Bergen, 1791), Malm (Not appointed in Gotenburg, 1791), Aller (Elsinore, 1792), Breukelman (Not appointed in Gothenburg, 1791), Isaachsen (Christiansand, 1793), Cases where the advice was not in accordance with the final judgement of the States General: Vogel (Soermans was appointed, 1754), Deurs (Aller was appointed, 1791/1792), Müller (no-one was appointed, 1792), Boudon (Libau and Windau, 1794). Sources: SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 9, *Resolutie- of notulenboek van directeuren 1754-1791*, ff. 3-4 (March 12 1754), 122 (Sept. 13 1774), 125-126 (Nov. 6 1775), 156 (Aug. 4 1785), 174 (March 22 1791), 174-175 (March 26 1791); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 324, *Kopie van een adres van de directeuren aan burgemeesteren tot aanstelling van Jonas Malm tot commissaris te Gothenburg*; SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 431, *Kopie van een advies van directeuren aan burgemeesteren betreffende de sollicitatie van Johan Heinrich Muller op Helgoland*, (unknown 1792), SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 4, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeuren 1774 - 1791*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (Nov. 1 1791); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 424, *Kopie van een advies door directeuren aan burgemeesteren over het verzoek van Abraham Boudon om consul van Libau en Windau te mogen worden*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (Unknown); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 10, *Resolutie- of notulenboeken van directeuren 1793-1932*, ff. 4-5 (April 2 1793), 43-46 (Oct. 10 1793); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeuren van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen 1785*, J.W. van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5), SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 381, *Kopie van een advies van directeuren aan burgemeesteren betreffende een missiven van de vice-consul Furst te Riesor in Noorwegen over het aanstellen van vice-consuls door de commissaris van Deurs te Elseneur*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (April 17, 1783), SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 380, *Stukken betreffende de opvolging van Stephan Arent van Deurs van zijn overleden vader J.C. van Deurs*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (June 1781, Aug. 22 1781, Feb. 28 1782); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 242, *Stukken betreffende een memorie van de heer St. Saphorin aan de Staten-Generaal betreffende oprichting van vuurbakens in de Sont*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam.

<sup>105</sup> See for example SAA, DMH, inv. no. 46, *Brieven copijboek 1781-1821 Directeuren van de Moscovischen Handel*, ff. 9-10 (no date), ff. 76-78 (no date), f. 83 (Feb. 21 1791), f. 84 (Feb. 21 1791), f. 92 (March 9 1792).

<sup>106</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 7875, *Ingekomen requesten 1765 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Rodde (Jan. 24).

Rodde to the DMH, he wrote that he was Russian and that it was forbidden by the Russian government for a Russian to be a consul for another nation. His letter also reveals another remarkable phenomenon: the request to appoint Rodde as consul was entirely on the initiative of the merchants themselves, not on the initiative of Rodde.<sup>107</sup>

All these examples show that both boards had a great deal of influence in the appointment process. The DOHR is also known to have provided advice on other topics of the consular institution, such as consulate fees. For their advice, the DOHR sought information from experienced skippers sailing in the North Sea.<sup>108</sup> While both boards did have an important say in the appointments, they weren't the only actors in the process, which is evident from the fact that their preferences did not always become the final choice in the meeting of the States General.

Besides the role played by the DOHR and the DMH, these examples also shed some light on what happened behind the scenes; it shows the importance of networking and lobbying in the Republic. Candidates lobbied in the Republic to find merchant support to make their candidacy as strong as possible. At the same time, these examples also hint at the considerations of the qualifications of candidates which will be discussed in chapter two. While these examples provide a first clue to the answer to the question what was going on behind the scenes, further research into the appointment of consuls should focus on examining the consul's networks and the interests of the different actors involved.

#### IV. The Salary of a Consul

“And if they are afraid that it will be a burden for the commerce, let it [the consulate] be made honorary [...] after all, this takes place with all the commissioners in England, and for the most part those of France and throughout North America, the consuls in Spain & Italy may levy consulate rights like those in Portugal.”<sup>109</sup> When Van Arp lobbied to appoint De Coninck as consul, he proposed to appoint him as honorary consul, as was customary in other countries. And when consuls were appointed, the sentence “provided that the aforementioned appointment will now and in the future be and remain at no expense to the country or to the commercial and navigating residents of the

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<sup>107</sup> SAA, DMH, inv. no. 82, *Stukkende betreffende een eventuele benoeming van Berend Johann Rodde tot consul te Archangel* 1765.

<sup>108</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 9, *Resolutie- of notulenboek van directeuren 1754-1791*, ff. 2-3 (March 5 1754), 3-4 (March 12 1754), 6 (April 2 1754), 7 (May 7 1754); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 4, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeuren 1774 - 1791*, March 13 1782, Nov. 8 1784.

<sup>109</sup> “En is men benaauwd dat het de Commercie zal drukken laat men het honnorair maaken [...] dit heeft immers plaats bij alle de Commissarissen van Engeland en voor het grootste gedeelte die van Vrankrijk en Noord America in het geheel, de Consuls in Spanje & Italien moogen Consulaaten reekenen als meede die van Portugal” in SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeuren van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen, 1785*, Van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5 1785).

country”<sup>110</sup> was often included in the commission with which a consul was appointed. The States General was clear about it: the consulates were not allowed to incur any costs for the Republic or for the merchants. The DOHR and the DMH also reflected this attitude. They also did not want to pay consular salaries themselves.<sup>111</sup> They argued that the consul corresponded with the *griffie* and that the general Dutch shipping made use of the consul. Therefore, the state had to bear possible costs.<sup>112</sup> But the fact that a lot of actors did not want to pay consuls, does not mean that it did not happen.

In fact, there were two exceptions, Danzig and Elsinore. In Danzig the consul received 2,400 guilders a year from 1638 onwards. In 1702 the salary was temporarily increased until 1712, to 3,000 guilders with a one-time bonus of 1,000 guilders, because of the extra effort the commissioner had put in and because of the costs of food at that time. From 1754 the salary was reduced to 1,500 guilders, whereby no emoluments or other requests for more money were allowed. This meant that the consul in Danzig could no longer make use of a compensation regulation of 1700 for all foreign ministers, including the commissioners but not consuls.<sup>113</sup> This salary was born by Holland, and probably the reason why there were so many candidates for this consulate when there was a vacancy.<sup>114</sup>

The consul in Elsinore has never made use of the regulation of 1700. When in 1754 the consul asked to be able to make use of it, because he was appointed as commissioner, he was answered that "due to the nature and quality of the work this did not really apply"<sup>115</sup> to him. From 1698 onwards, the consul did receive a salary of 200 guilders per year.<sup>116</sup> From 1709 onwards, the consul was given a the right to collect a consulate fee of eight pennies from each Dutch ship who sailed through the

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<sup>110</sup> "Met dien versttande egter, dat de voornoemde aanstelling nu en in't vervolg van tijd zal zijn en blijven buiten eenig bezwaar van den Lande, of van de commercieerende en navigeerende Ingezeetenen van dezelve" in NA, S.G., inv. no. 12294, *Commissieboeken 1791-1794*, ff. 61v-62v (April 11 1792). Another, earlier example is: "Sonder eenige de minste andere recognitie of beloning, hoedanig dezelve ook genaamt soude mogen werden [...] later consul of die hem soude mogen succederen, nu of t'eenigertijd eenig tractement of ander vergelding sal mogen quiten" in NA, S.G., inv. no. 12282, *Commissieboeken 1715-1722*, ff. 163v-164v (Feb. 6 1720).

<sup>111</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 430, *Kopieën van adviezen van directeuren aan burgemeesteren betreffende de vergoeding voor J.J. Friederichs 1782-1783*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (Nov. 18 1783).

<sup>112</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 429, *Concept voor een bericht van directeuren aan burgemeesteren over de missive van commissaris Ross te Danzig, betreffende hun tractementen 1779*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (Feb. 1779).

<sup>113</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12455, *Instructieboeken 1632-1630*, f. 303v (June 19 1638); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 136, *Gedrukte resoluties 1702 jan. 12 - dec. 22*, 520-521 (Oct. 19); NA, De familie Fagel: Supplement, 1524-1795 (F.S.), inv. no. 454, *Gedrukte resoluties Staten-Generaal 1702*, 933 (Oct. 27); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754*, 420-421 (July 19) NA, S.G., inv. no. 3830, *Gedrukte resoluties 1775*, 709-710 (Nov. 13); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12477, *Reglement op de ambassades en andere commissies, 1700*, 7-8.

<sup>114</sup> There were eight candidates in 1754, and four in 1775 (see Appendix). That the States of Holland paid the consul in Danzig, see for example NA, S.G., inv. no. 8156, *Staten van Oorlog 1715*; NA, S.G., inv. no. 8228, *Staten van oorlog 1760*; NA, S.G., inv. no. 8266, *Staten van Oorlog 1779*; NA, S.G., inv. no. 8290, *Staten van Oorlog 1794*. Ross explicitly stated that he had applied because he hoped that the salary would be restored to 3.000 guilders: NA, C.F., inv. no. 4886, 'Brieven van ministers' aan de griffiers Fagel 1784, Ross to Fagel (Jan. 30).

<sup>115</sup> "Als op de natuur en qualiteyt van des Suppliants employ en dienst van geene eygentlijcke applicatie zynde" in NA, S.G., inv. no. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754*, 422 (July 29).

<sup>116</sup> NA, F.S., inv. no. 450, *Gedrukte resoluties Staten-Generaal 1698*, 45 (Jan. 23), 701-702 (Dec. 15); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 332, *Extract van een verzoek van Jan van Deurs te Elsenore aan de Staten-Generaal*, Jan Van Deurs to States General (Aug. 3 1709).

Sound. And in 1754 this duty was temporarily increased to 1 guilder per Dutch ship until 1781.<sup>117</sup> In addition, the consul in Elsinore received a fee for sending letters to Sweden and to the Republic.<sup>118</sup> Although the salary for the consul in Elsinore had to be included in the *Staten van Oorlog*, in which all salaries for the foreign envoys were included, it can only be found there from 1793 onwards.<sup>119</sup> So although the consul in Elsinore was entitled to a salary of 200 guilders, it is unknown by whom this was paid during the eighteenth century.<sup>120</sup> In addition, the consuls in Elsinore received reimbursement from the DOHR for expenses, such as postage.<sup>121</sup>

None of the other consuls were entitled to a fixed salary. But a consulate fee was levied in Bergen as well. In 1693 the consul in Bergen was allowed to levy 1,25 rixdollar from ships loading or unloading cargo in every Norwegian port. However, collecting this proved so difficult that in 1703 it was decided to pay off the consul with 1,000 guilders, thus suspending the consulate fee. In 1720, it was set up a little differently again. The consul now received 3 percent of the ships and goods salvaged in case of shipwreck for himself and 0,1 percent of it was for the assistance of the seamen. Because this tax yielded so little, he requested the right to levy 4 rixdollar from every Dutch ship arriving in Bergen in 1749, which was granted in 1750. His successor submitted a similar request in 1784, which was granted in 1787 and which was also granted for his successor in 1791.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>117</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 332, *Extract van een verzoek van Jan van Deurs te Elsenear aan de Staten-Generaal*, Jan Van Deurs to States General (extract, Aug. 3 1709), NA, S.G., inv. no. 3764, *Gedrukte resoluties 1709*, 1338 (Nov. 23); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754*, 265-266 (May 3); NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Feb 11. 1744); Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 259-260.

<sup>118</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 148, *Gedrukte resoluties 1714 jan. 17 - dec. 15*, 146-147 (April. 18); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 152, *Gedrukte resoluties 1718 jan. 7 - dec. 24*, 391-392 (July 2)

<sup>119</sup> NA, F.S., inv. no. 450, *Gedrukte resoluties Staten-Generaal 1698*, 701-702 (Dec. 15); NA, S.G., inv. no. 8286, *Staten van Oorlog 1793*. The years 1789-1792 from the *Staten van Oorlog* are missing from the archive, so it is possible that the salary did appear earlier in the *Staten van Oorlog*.

<sup>120</sup> That he was paid can for example be seen in this resolution: NA, S.G., inv. no. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754*, 265-266 (May 3); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3841, *Gedrukte resoluties 1783*, 711 (Aug. 11).

<sup>121</sup> See for example SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 69, *Jaarlijkse rekening en verantwoording van directeuren 1717-1761*, 1v (Feb. 2 1718), 3v, (Feb. 8 1719 and Jan. 25 1720), 4v (Jan. 15 1721), etc. According to some notes of E. de Vrij Temminck, mayor of Amsterdam, who asked "the question what the burdens are for this college [the DOHR] - the maintenance of the consuls" ("is de vraag wat de lasten zijn voor dit collegie - het onderhoud der consuls") in NA, Familiearchief Slingelandt (van) de Vrij Temminck (F.S.V.T.), inv. no. 478, *Aantekeningen van E. de Vrij Temminck betreffende de Moskovische en "Oostersche" handel, na 1753*. Also in the accounts of the DOHR it is occasionally noted that a payment has been made to Van Deurs in Elsinore for salary. However, this payment was less than the 200 guilders salary he was promised by the States General. And Van Deurs submitted various declarations to the States General for the 200 guilders: NA, S.G., inv. no. 3781, *Gedrukte resoluties 1726*, 124 (Feb. 25). Together with the fact that the DOHR believed that the consuls should be appointed at the expense of the state, as mentioned earlier, this makes it unlikely that the DOHR actually maintained consuls. Also, there are no fees for consuls other than those in Elsinore that can be found in the DOHR's books.

<sup>122</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12461, *Instructieboeken 1690-1699*, ff. 79-79v (Jan. 11 1694); NA, F.S., inv. no. 455, *Gedrukte resoluties Staten-Generaal 1703*, 578 (May 26); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3775, *Gedrukte resoluties 1720*, 75-76 (Feb. 6); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 189, *Gedrukte resoluties 1749 aug. 20 - dec. 24*, 959 (Oct. 8); NA, S.G., *Gedrukte resoluties 1750*, 121 (Feb. 25), 189-190 (March 23), 342-343 (May 19), 686-687 (Oct. 10); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3843, *Gedrukte resoluties 1784 juli - december*, 1045 (Nov. 9); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 252, *Gedrukte resoluties 1785 mrt. 30 - juli 14*, 1064 (April 20), 1956 (July 14); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3844, *Gedrukte resoluties 1785 januari - juni*, 153 (Feb. 14), 402 (April 16); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3849, *Gedrukte resoluties 1787 juli - december*, 1354-1355 (Dec. 27); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3855, *Gedrukte resoluties 1791 juli - december*, 785 (Oct. 12); Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 265-266, SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 383, *Kopie van een advies van directeuren aan burgemeesteren op een verzoek van Hendrik J. Fasmer*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (Nov. 1787).

The other consuls did not have a salary nor a fixed consulate fee, although they could agree a fee with the owners of stranded ships and goods. Consuls were not allowed to force people to pay if they didn't need his help. Sometimes consuls requested a salary, for example Johan Blüssener in Heligoland: in 1778, 1779, 1782 and 1783 he unsuccessfully requested a fixed salary via direct requests and via the Dutch ambassador in Hamburg, because of the costs of conducting correspondence. He had hoped that the title of commissioner would bring him money, but "instead of bringing in any money, it causes me harm."<sup>123</sup> Despite the support of Daniel Hogguer, ambassador in Hamburg, and the DOHR, who supported his request because he successfully had helped Dutch shipping, it does not seem like Blüssener has received a salary.<sup>124</sup> Other consuls had already indicated in their request that they were willing to take on the post *honoris causa*.<sup>125</sup> They did not say why they wanted to observe the consulate for free. But Blüssener's attitude shows that consuls expected financial or commercial benefits from their appointment. Further research could focus on these intended benefits of the consulate.

## V. The Dutch Consular Service in International Perspective

This last section serves to place the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe in a comparative international perspective. Besides the fact that there is a call for comparative research into consular services from different countries, this comparison also has intrinsic value.<sup>126</sup> By analysing the differences and similarities in the expansion of the consular service and in other elements of the consular service that have been researched in this chapter, it is possible to better understand the unique and shared characteristics of the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe. This comparative study is based on literature on the Danish, Swedish, Prussian, French and Spanish consular services in Christian Europe.

There are major differences in the way in which the development of the consular service came about in the various countries. At one end of the spectrum is France, where the state was the driving

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<sup>123</sup> "In plaats van eenige vergelding optebrengen, veroorzaakt het mij in het tegendeel schade" in SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 430, *Kopieën van adviezen van de directeuren aan burgemeesteren betreffende de vergoeding voor J.J. Friederichs 1782-1783*, Friederichs to Hogguer (Aug. 26 1782).

<sup>124</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3820, *Gedrukte resoluties 1765*, 287-288 (May 6); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3829, *Gedrukte resoluties 1774*, 587-588 (Oct. 3); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3833, *Gedrukte resoluties 1778*, 949 (Dec. 16); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3834, *Gedrukte resoluties 1779*, 902 (Nov. 24); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3839, *Gedrukte resolutie 1782 juli – december*, 781 (Sept. 9); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3840, *Gedrukte resoluties 1783 januari – juni*, 403 (April 29); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3841, *Gedrukte resoluties 1783 juli – december*, 915 (Oct. 27); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 430, *Kopieën van adviezen van de directeuren aan burgemeesteren betreffende de vergoeding voor J.J. Friederichs 1782-1783*, Friederichs to Hogguer (Aug. 26 1782), DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (Nov. 1782, June 1783).

<sup>125</sup> See for example NA, S.G., inv. no. 7987, *Ingekomen requesten 1790 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Zuckerbecker (Feb. 10 1790); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7996, *Ingekomen requesten 1792 januari - maart*, Request Menssendijk (Feb. 2).

<sup>126</sup> Bartolomei, 'Introduction', 13; Grenet, 'L'institution consulaire en Méditerranée, des stratégies commerciales différenciées. Introduction'.

force behind the development of the consular service.<sup>127</sup> On the other side is Prussia, where it was not the authorities who initiated the establishment of the consular service, but those who wanted to become consul. Their requests were the driving force behind the development of the Prussian consular service.<sup>128</sup> In Sweden, too, it is not government policy, but actions by merchant families that caused the consular service to expand.<sup>129</sup> The Republic leans more towards the Prussian model. The many requests for a consulate, granted or not, point to a bottom-up development of the consular service. The fact that the States of Holland had developed a plan for the consulates in Denmark and Norway does not alter this, since the plan was a response to requests for consulates in those areas in the preceding years. And even when Hogguer wanted consuls in Russia, the DMH responded that the initiative had to come from the candidates themselves. Like the consular service of Prussia, that of the Republic in Northern Europe was thus created from below, requested by merchants, after which the state appointed the consuls. And because of the bottom-up development of the consular service there were rivalries to become consul in Sweden.<sup>130</sup> This can also be seen in the Republic: several candidates often applied for an consulate when it had become vacant.

The development of the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe is roughly the same as that of other European countries in that area. Only at the end of the eighteenth century did the number of Dutch consulates increase from three to more than ten. The Scandinavian countries already had a few consuls around the Baltic Sea in the seventeenth century, but this number only increases in the eighteenth century, especially in the last quarter.<sup>131</sup> The other countries also really did not have an extensive consular network in Northern Europe until the eighteenth century.<sup>132</sup> In this respect, the relatively development of the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe, in comparison with that in the Mediterranean, is not late.

In many countries the consular service was subject to a board of trade. For example, Sweden and Denmark had a Board of Trade that was authorized to appoint consuls.<sup>133</sup> In France, the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce initially employed consuls in the Levant and Barbary States, but the

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<sup>127</sup> Grenet, 'L'institution consulaire en Méditerranée, des stratégies commerciales différenciées. Introduction', 207.

<sup>128</sup> Ulbert, 'Les services consulaires prussiens au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle' 323-326.

<sup>129</sup> G. Fryksén, M. Grenet (translator), 'Les réseaux de la diplomatie et du commerce: George Logie, consul de Suède et intermédiaire marchand en Afrique du Nord, v. 1726-1763', in: A. Bartolomei e.a. eds., *De l'utilité commerciale des consuls. L'institution consulaire et les marchands dans le monde méditerranéen (XVIIe-XXe siècle)* (Rome 2017) 236-247, there 237.

<sup>130</sup> Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant', 196.

<sup>131</sup> Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*, 42-43; Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant', 199; P. Pourchasse, 'Réseau consulaire et information économique : l'exemple du Danemark au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Relations internationales* 157 (2014) 25-39, there 31-36.

<sup>132</sup> Nadal, 'Los cónsules españolas del siglo XVIII', 212, 222-226; Ulbert, 'Les services consulaires prussiens', 319-320; Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant', 198; P. Pourchasse, 'Chapitre 6. Les consuls au service de la navigation et du négoce', in: *Le commerce du Nord: Les échanges commerciaux entre la France et l'Europe septentrionale au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rennes 2015) 171-191.

<sup>133</sup> Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*, 39, 79-82; Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant', 195-197; Pourchasse, 'Réseau consulaire et information économique', 32; Leira and Neumann, 'Consular Representation in an Emerging State', 7 (and footnote 29).

appointments fell into the hands of the state, which also appointed consuls in other parts of Europe.<sup>134</sup> In Spain, the granting of consulates was subject to secretaries of state, just like in Prussia.<sup>135</sup> The Republic had no Board of Trade for consular appointments, the appointments were in the hand of the States General. The DOHR and the DMH should not be compared with the boards of trade mentioned above, but, for example, with the Stockholm Merchant Association, which was allowed to advise on consular appointments.<sup>136</sup> In this way, traders from certain cities, such as Marseille and Stockholm, but also Amsterdam due to the presence of the DOHR and the DMH, had a great influence on consular appointments.<sup>137</sup>

Opinions differed on whether consuls could be merchants. In Sweden, Prussia and Denmark this was no problem.<sup>138</sup> Neither was this a problem in the Republic. In the appointments of Dutch consuls in Northern Europe, the majority of consuls and those who want to become consuls were involved in trade (see chapter two). In France and Spain it was (in theory) forbidden for consuls to trade.<sup>139</sup> As a result, the French and Spanish consuls had have different occupations when they became consul. For example, they had been a diplomatic secretary or soldier, or they had received administrative or legal training.<sup>140</sup>

And lastly the salary. Spanish and French consuls often received a salary. It could, however, differ per post and over time how much a consul earned. In addition, consuls could also levy consulate fees.<sup>141</sup> In Denmark and Sweden, most consuls received no official compensation, but were allowed to levy consulate fees for vessels entering their district, and for the additional assistance they provided to skippers. Also in Prussia consuls were not paid.<sup>142</sup> The Spanish and French consular services also differed from those of the other countries in other respects. Making a career for consuls was possible in those countries, although in practice, as in the other countries, mobility was limited. People were

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<sup>134</sup> J. Ulbert, 'A History of the French Consular Services', in: A.M. Fernandez and J. Melissen eds., *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy* (Leiden 2011) 303-324, there 304-305; Pourchasse, 'Les consuls au service de la navigation'.

<sup>135</sup> Nadal, 'Los cónsules españoles del siglo XVIII', 226; Ulbert, 'Les services consulaires prussiens', 320-321.

<sup>136</sup> Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*, 81.

<sup>137</sup> For example, the directors of the DOHR were among the richest traders in Amsterdam: Tielhof, *The 'Mother of all Trades'*, 251. See also Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant', 195-196; J. Ulbert, 'L'origine géographique des consuls français sous Louis XIV', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* (2019) 11-27, there 11-12; Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*, 81-82.

<sup>138</sup> Ulbert, 'Les services consulaires prussiens', 326; Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant', 195-196; Pourchasse, 'Réseau consulaire et information économique', 34-35.

<sup>139</sup> Grenet, 'Consuls et « nations » étrangères : état des lieux et perspectives de recherche', 25-26; Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant', 193-194; Nadal, 'Los cónsules españoles del siglo XVIII', 220-221; Mézin, 'La fonction consulaire', 42.

<sup>140</sup> Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant', 193-194; Nadal, 'Los cónsules españoles del siglo XVIII', 219-222.

<sup>141</sup> Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant', 201; Nadal, 'Los cónsules españoles del siglo XVIII', 244-251.

<sup>142</sup> Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant', 202-204; Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*, 83-84; Ulbert, 'Les services consulaires prussiens', 325-326.

## Development of Consular Services in International Perspective

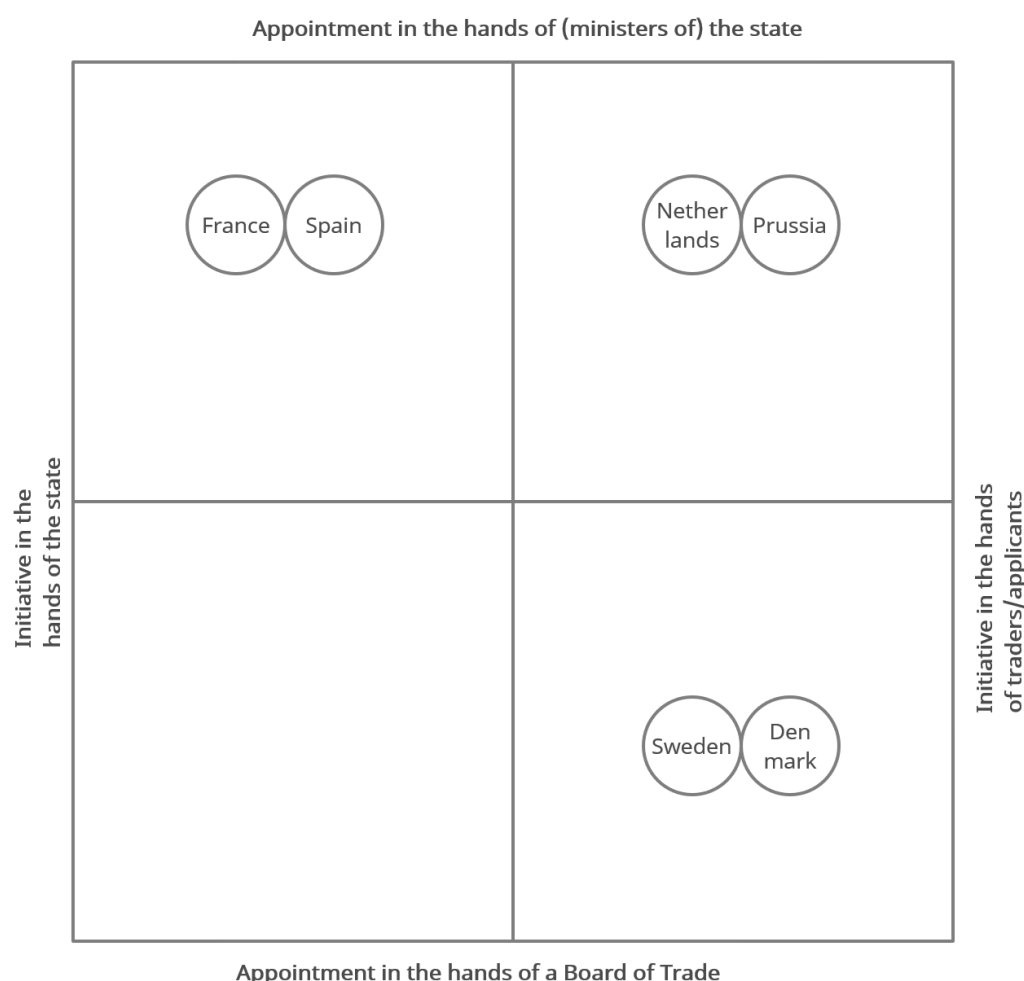


Figure 4: Development of Consular Services in International Perspective

often consuls until death, even though pensions were granted in both countries.<sup>143</sup> It is therefore not exceptional that the Dutch consuls, except for two cases, did not receive any official compensation. The Dutch consul dynasties in Northern Europe, the dynasties of the families Fasmer and Van Deurs, were no isolated phenomenon either. Each country had families that usurped consulates, where successors were already deployed as vice consuls or were otherwise involved in the consulate.<sup>144</sup>

This international comparison, summarised in figure 4, shows that there were multiple models for the development and organization of the consular service, with the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe having many similarities with those of Prussia, Denmark and Sweden. Merchants

<sup>143</sup> S. Lloret, 'Entre clientélisme, compétence et intérêt individuel : de l'avantage d'être agent général de France à Madrid (1702-1793)', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* (2019) 45-46, there 45-46, 51; Mézin, 'La fonction consulaire', 43; Nadal, 'Los cónsules españoles del siglo XVIII', 212, 218, 222, 226, 230; Ulbert, 'Les services consulaires prussiens', 328-329.

<sup>144</sup> Ulbert, 'Les services consulaires prussiens', 328-329; Pourchasse, 'Les consulats, un service essentiel pour le monde négociant', 193-194, 197-198; Marzagalli, 'Études consulaires, études méditerranéennes', 14-16; Pourchasse, 'Réseau consulaire et information économique', 35-36.

were the driving force behind the development of the consulate services and the state was only involved in the appointment, as they paid little or no salary to the consuls.

## VI. Conclusion

Where the consular institute had its origin in the Mediterranean, the institute also spread to Northern Europe.<sup>145</sup> Although the origins of the Dutch consular posts in Elsinore and Danzig can be traced back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the founding of these posts had a more or less diplomatic nature: the first candidates in Elsinore were soon appointed as residents and in Danzig, the commissioner had to maintain official connections with the Dantzig government. Over time, however, these posts have become consular posts, as can be seen in the way they were referred to in resolutions and correspondence and because from 1754 onwards, they were not allowed to make use of the regulations of 1700 for Dutch diplomats anymore. In 1693, the title 'Consul' was used for the first time with regard to the consulate in Bergen, and the titles used in the consular service increasingly acquired the same meaning in the eighteenth century. In the course of the eighteenth century many requests for the establishment of a consulate followed, but it was not until the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe really expanded. In general it can be said that commercial considerations, war and the presence of consuls of other nations have determined *that* the Dutch consular service did develop. The wars and the decline in maritime security also gave rise to trade organizations that wanted to defend the interests of the merchants trading with Northern Europe. For the relative *late* development of the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe, one should consider the larger international developments in Northern Europe, the local circumstances and the attitude of various actors in the appointment process.

Although there was a (not so successful) plan of the States of Holland to expand the consular service in Denmark and Norway, and although the efforts of Hogguer led to the expansion of the consular service in Russia and the Baltic states, most requests to become consul were the result of a bottom-up request by traders and insurers. While there were many requests to become consul, not all of them were granted. When looking at the appointment process, it becomes clear why. A request to become consul had to go through various governmental layers. The request was discussed at several meetings, which meant that there were many actors who had some influence in the process. A request could thus simply strand in one of these layers, if some of the actors did not approve of it. Although there were many actors involved, the States of Holland, and therein the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Hoorn, had the most influence in the process. And the mayors of Amsterdam in turn requested advice of the DOHR and the DMH. Although these boards did not control the (appointment

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<sup>145</sup> Leira and Neumann, 'Consular Representation in an Emerging State', 1-2.

process of) the consular service, their advice has directly influenced the development of the Dutch consular service. The DOHR and the DMH could also give advice on other consular topics, such as the salary of a consul. Most consuls did not receive a salary, although Danzig and Elsinore were an exception. This salary was paid by the state. Some consulates, such as Elsinore and Bergen, were allowed to levy consulate fees. Other consuls were allowed to charge a fee for the services rendered, but the amount of the fees was not fixed. Occasionally, allowances were paid by the States General. The fear of the DOHR that consulates eventually ended up costing money thus seems to be right when looking at the consulates which existed for a long time (Elsinore, Danzig and Bergen). While this section provides an initial insight into what the consulate's merits *could* be, further research can look at the intended benefits of the consulate and the reasons why people wanted to become a consul in the first place.

The international comparison shows that the Dutch consular service has many similarities with those of Denmark, Sweden and Prussia. There too, the traders and trade organizations were the driving force behind the development of the consular service, consuls usually received no official compensation and it was no problem if the consul was also a trader. In this respect, these consular services do not resemble the consular services of France and Spain. Although the French consular service has received the most attention in the literature, the French consul should thus not be seen as exemplary for all consuls in Europe.

In the development of the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe, the field of tension between merchants, trade organisations, consuls and the government becomes apparent. The merchants and those aspiring to be consuls were the driving force behind the development of the consular service in Northern Europe. The trade organizations had a great influence on the appointment of consuls through their advice to the authorities. But the trade associations' views did not always match those of individual merchants eager to have consuls in certain areas, as evidenced by the reticence of the DOHR and DMH toward new consulates. In the development of the Dutch consular service, the state is only a mere facilitator of the consular service, as the authorities had to officially appoint the consul. In addition, the state had to pay the salaries for some consuls, although the state preferred that consular appointments should not cost them any money at all. Thus, even though the consuls were officially appointed by the state and the state was therefore officially in charge of the consular service, its implementation was mainly in the hands of the merchants and trade organisations. However, the next chapter will show that the state itself would make use of the consuls as well once a consul was appointed.



## Chapter 2. The Tasks of a Consul

“In order to have someone on whom our nation can safely rely [...] someone who is capable, and who truly understands commerce and navigation, has become absolutely necessary there.”<sup>1</sup>

Van Arp thought it to be necessary that a consul was someone on whom the Dutch merchants could rely. The assistance to the Dutch merchants also came to the fore in recommendation letters, where it was stated multiple times that a consul should be appointed “to settle conflicts between the skippers and the crew and other issues that arise there. And to observe the interest of the Dutch merchants and to give them the necessary and prompt assistance in all further matters.”<sup>2</sup> But which ‘matters’ are meant here? This chapter will answer the question what the consul actually did. In the introduction it has already been said that Mézin has defined eight categories of consular tasks: the representation of the nation of merchants and the defence of its rights, judicial functions, police functions, notarial and civil status functions, navy-related functions (for commercial and military navy), informational functions, religious functions, and an ‘other’ category.<sup>3</sup> Did the consuls in Northern Europe have similar duties? And, most important, did a consul also have agency in the (international) policy of the Republic and in the diplomatic processes of the Republic?

These two questions will be answered in this chapter. An analysis of the requests will follow, which will show on which qualities a candidate for a consulate invoked himself and which qualities of a candidate were recommended by others. Examining the qualities a consul should have will provide a framework to think about the tasks of a consul. Next, the instructions for the consul will be analysed, based on the commission books and on the instructions that are left. Thirdly, two case studies will analyse the tasks and diplomatic agency of a consul. The first is about Arent van Deurs (1710-1747, Elsinore) and the second about the consuls in Russia, Thomas Zuckerbecker, Carl Johan Bagge and Anthony Menssendijk. In addition to consular correspondence between consuls and the DOHR/DMH and the Dutch ambassador to the court, notarial deeds, *instructie*- and *commissieboeken*, requests to and resolutions of the States General are used as well in this chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> “Om iemand te hebben waar op onze natie zig veylig konde verlaaten [...] is absoluut iemand noodig die kundig, en de commercie en de navigatie in de grond is verstaande daar ten hoogsten noodzakelijk geworden.” SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeuren van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen, 1785*, Van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5 1785).

<sup>2</sup> “Zoo om de questien tuschen de schippers en het scheepsvolk als andere there voorkomende omstandigheeden bij te leggen en aff te doen als om het interest der Neederlandsche kooplieden waar te neemen en hun in alle verder de nodige en prompte assistentie te verleenen” in NA, S.G., inv. no. 7992, *Ingekomen requesten 1791 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Fasmer (Feb. 25).

<sup>3</sup> Mézin, ‘La fonction consulaire’, 42-47.

## I. The Qualifications of a Consul

In this section the qualifications, which were deemed important to become a consul will be analysed. The qualities one needed to become a consul tells something about the skills one needed to have to perform his consular tasks. This section is based on the requests of applicants and the qualifications submitted by the merchants who supported these candidates.

The candidates themselves often gave the same reasons why they thought they were qualified to become consul. If someone could, he boasted that he had experience in consular affairs. For example, this could be if the post one applied for had been in the family for a long time and one was already working within this consulate, or because one already had experience at another consular post.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, familiarity with the place where the consulate was located was very important, probably because many local problems had to be dealt with for which knowledge of local customs was important.<sup>5</sup> Thirdly, experience in trading was very important: being familiar with the main trading houses of the Republic, being part of or related to a trading house, and being skilled in commerce and navigation were all brought forward.<sup>6</sup> And fourthly, language skills could be brought forward by the candidates.<sup>7</sup> The importance of these four qualifications was also reflected in the letters of

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<sup>4</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 385, *Stukken betreffende de benoeming van Hendrik Jans Fasmer tot commissaris in Bergen*, Fasmer to States General (Jan. 22 1791); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 431, *Kopie van een advies van directeuren aan burgemeesteren betreffende de sollicitatie van Johan Heinrich Muller op Helgoland*, Müller to Hogguer (June 23 1792); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7995, *Ingekomen requesten 1791 oktober - december*, Request Deurs (Oct. 17); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 424, *Kopie van een advies door directeuren aan burgemeesteren over het verzoek van Abraham Boudon om commissaris te Libau en Windau te mogen worden*, 1792, Request Boudon (July 16); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7936, *Ingekomen requesten 1780 mei - juni*, Request Fasmer (May 19); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7833, *Ingekomen requesten 1754 januari - maart*, Request Pott (Jan. 15 and Feb. 18).

<sup>5</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 274, *Stukken betreffende de sollicitatie van Willem Theodorus Houwens*, Nicolaes Houwens to DOHR (Aug. 29 1775); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7996, *Ingekomen requesten 1792 januari - maart*, Request Menssendijk (Feb. 2); NA, S.G., inv. no. 8001, *Ingekomen requesten 1793 januari - maart*, Request Breukelman (Feb. 28); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7912, *Ingekomen requesten 1775 september - december*, Request Ross (Oct. 24); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7833, *Ingekomen requesten 1754 januari - maart*, Request Vogel (Jan. 14); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7833, *Ingekomen requesten 1754 januari - maart*, Request Ruyter (Jan. 15).

<sup>6</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 385, *Stukken betreffende de benoeming van Hendrik Jans Fasmer tot commissaris in Bergen*, Fasmer to States General (Jan. 22 1791); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7992, *Ingekomen requesten 1791 januari - maart*, Request Bagge (Jan. 21), Request Meltzer (March 2); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7993, *Ingekomen requesten 1791 April - June*, Request Konow (May 21); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7995, *Ingekomen requesten 1791 oktober - december*, Request Aller (Oct. 17); NA, S.G., inv. no. 8004, *Ingekomen requesten 1793 augustus - oktober*, Request Isaachsen (Sept. 23), SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 389, *Stukken betreffende de benoeming van Daniel Isaachsen tot commissaris te Christiaansand*; NA, S.G., inv. no. 7966, *Ingekomen requesten 1785 juni - juli*, Request Boudon (July 7); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7912, *Ingekomen requesten 1775 september - december*, Request Ross (Oct. 24); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7833, *Ingekomen requesten 1754 januari - maart*, Request Waasbergen (Jan. 11); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7833, *Ingekomen requesten 1754 januari - maart*, Request Ruyter (Jan. 15).

<sup>7</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 385, *Stukken betreffende de benoeming van Hendrik Jans Fasmer tot commissaris in Bergen*, Request Metlzer (no date); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7987, *Ingekomen requesten 1790 januari - maart*, Request Zuckerbecker (Feb. 10); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7992, *Ingekomen requesten 1791 januari - maart*, Request Bagge (Jan. 21); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7995, *Ingekomen requesten 1791 oktober - december*, Request Aller (Oct. 17); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7912, *Ingekomen requesten 1775 september - december*, Request Ross (Oct. 24).

recommendation, send by Dutch merchants to support the candidacy.<sup>8</sup> In addition, the “good character”<sup>9</sup> or good reputation of a candidate was referred to.<sup>10</sup>

In a few cases, especially in the appointments for the consulate in Danzig, two other elements came to the fore as well: a candidate's diplomatic experience and a reference to whether the candidate had completed a study. For example, Carel Sittig reported that he had been employed by the foreign ministers of the state from an early age onwards in various embassies. This is, however, exceptional.<sup>11</sup>

The experience that candidates had in applying for a consulate reflects the qualities that were important in order to become a consul. It is possible to paint a picture of this group based on requests and resolutions from the 46 people who became consuls or who applied for a consulate, not including the vice consuls because they were mostly only active on an ad hoc basis, and because hardly any information about them is known as they were not appointed by the state. Some candidates had diplomatic backgrounds, there were for example four candidates who had been secretary in an embassy, and there were two agents from the Hanseatic cities who wanted to become consul for the Republic in Heligoland.<sup>12</sup> Some candidates already had consular experience, there was for example a

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<sup>8</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 385, *Stukken betreffende de benoeming van Hendrik Jans Fasmer tot commissaris in Bergen*, Letter of recommendation for Fasmer to States General (no date); Letter of recommendation for Tank to States General (no date); Letter of recommendation for Meltzer to States General (no date); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 324, *Kopie van een adres van de directeuren aan burgemeesteren tot aanstelling van Jonas Malm tot commissaris te Gothenburg*, Letter of recommendation for Malm to States General (no date); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 4, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeuren 1774 - 1791*, H. van Son to States General (no date), Schultz to States General (no date); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7987, *Ingekomen requesten 1790 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Zuckerbecker (Feb. 10); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7989, *Ingekomen requesten 1790 juni - juli 15*, Letter of recommendation for Malm (July 1); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7992, *Ingekomen requesten 1791 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Bagge (Jan. 21), letter of recommendation for Meltzer (March 2); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7995, *Ingekomen requesten 1791 oktober - december*, Letter of recommendation for Deurs (Oct. 25), Letter of recommendation for Aller (Nov. 3); NA, S.G., inv. no. 8001, *Ingekomen requesten 1793 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Breukelman (Feb. 28); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directeuren van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen*, J.W. van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5 1785); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7967, *Ingekomen requesten 1785 augustus - september*, Letter of recommendation for Coninck (Sept. 28 and Aug. 25); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7942, *Ingekomen requesten 1781 mei - juni*, Letter of recommendation for Bagge (June 11); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7947, *Ingekomen requesten 1782 januari - februari*, Letter of recommendation for Knudtzon (Feb. 15); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7947, *Ingekomen requesten 1782 januari - februari*, Letter of recommendation for Hoë (Feb. 15); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7936, *Ingekomen requesten 1780 mei - juni*, Letter of recommendation for Fasmer (May 19); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7912, *Ingekomen requesten 1775 september - december*, Letter of recommendation for Ross (Oct. 24), letter of recommendation for Houwens (Sept. 27); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7875, *Ingekomen requesten 1765 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Rodde (Jan. 24); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7833, *Ingekomen requesten 1754 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Soermans (Jan. 22), Letter of recommendation for Van Collen (Feb. 26), Letter of recommendation for Hoyman (Feb. 27).

<sup>9</sup> “Goed Character” in SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 385, *Stukken betreffende de benoeming van Hendrik Jans Fasmer tot commissaris in Bergen*, Letter of recommendation for Tank (no date).

<sup>10</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 7967, *Ingekomen requesten 1785 augustus - september*, Letter of recommendation for Coninck (Sept. 28 1785); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7875, *Ingekomen requesten 1765 januari - maart*, Letter of recommendation for Rodde (Jan. 24).

<sup>11</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 7912, *Ingekomen requesten 1775 september - december*, Request Sittig (Oct. 3), Request Warnsman (Sept. 29). NA, S.G., inv. no. 7833, *Ingekomen requesten 1754 januari - maart*, Request Waasbergen (Jan. 11), Request Hoyman (Jan. 17), Request Van der Hellen (Jan. 17).

<sup>12</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 210; NA, S.G., inv. no. 7833, *Ingekomen requesten 1754 januari - maart*, Request Van der Hellen (Jan. 17), Request Hoyman (Jan. 17); NA, S.G., inv. nr. 3829, *Gedrukte resoluties 1774 392* (June 21); NA, S.G., inv. no. 7912, *Ingekomen requesten 1775 september - december*, Request Sittig (Oct. 3 1775); NA, S.G., inv. nr. 3857, *Gedrukte resoluties 1792 juli - december 621-622* (July 30).

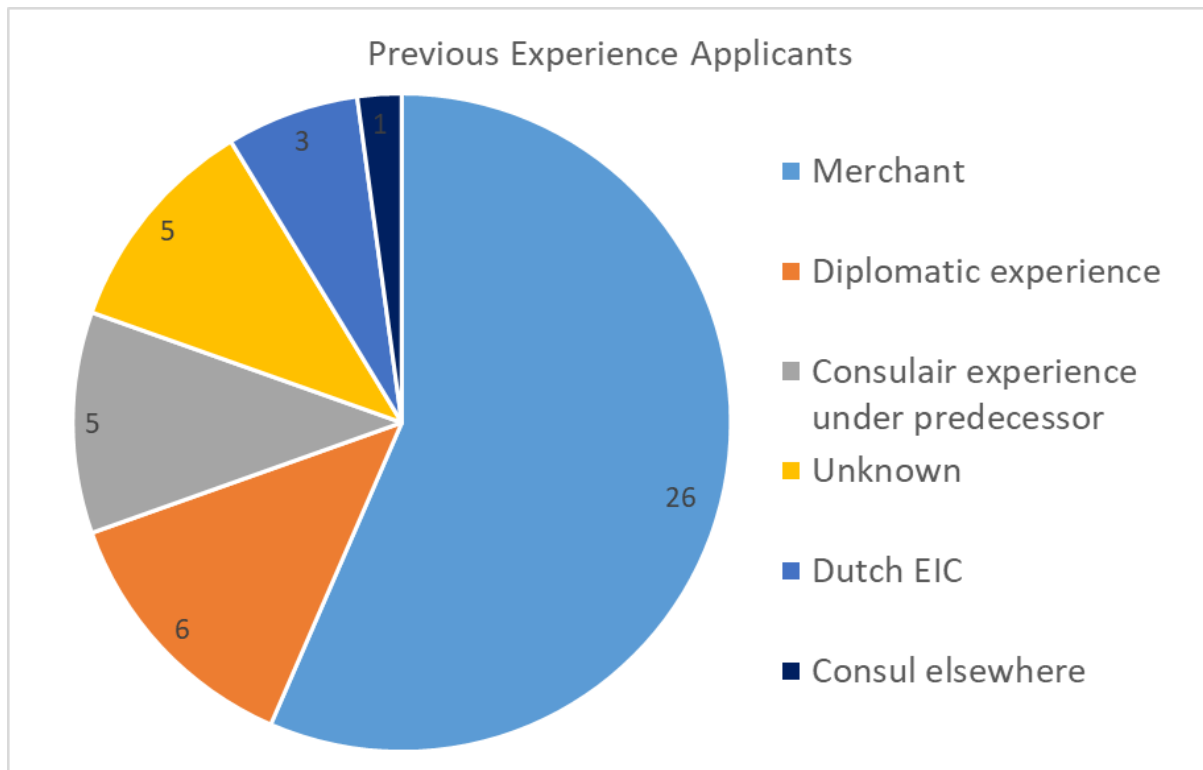


Figure 5: Activities of applicants for a consulate in Northern Europe, 1693-1795. Source: NA, S.G., *Gedrukte resoluties*; NA, S.G., *Ingekomen requesten*; NA, S.v.H., *Gedrukte resoluties*.

consul from Tripoli who wanted to become a consul in Danzig and there were five candidates who were already active in consular affairs under their predecessor, because they had been appointed as vice consuls at the same consulate, or because they had already taken up some tasks. This was mostly the case in the Van Deurs and Fasmer consul dynasties.<sup>13</sup> Most of the candidates had a background in trade and commerce. Among those with commercial experience should not only be counted the merchants, but also those who worked for the EIC, and those who had consular experience (figure 5). That consuls were merchants themselves was accepted in the Dutch Republic, it could even be seen as a disadvantage if someone was not affiliated with a trading house, as became clear in the case of Houwens' appointment in chapter two.<sup>14</sup> But it was frowned upon if a candidate was related to or had interests in a foreign trading company, because a consul had to be independent from other (foreign) interests to fulfil his consular duties.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 7912, *Ingekomen requesten 1775 september - december*, Request Warnsman (Sept. 29). See for the succession in consular dynasties for example: NA, S.G., inv. no. 3799, *Gedrukte resoluties 1744*, 275 (April 28), 380-381 (June 9), 477 (July 14) (Jean Christoffer van Deurs appointed as vice-consul in 1744); NA, S.G., inv. nr. 3836, *Gedrukte resoluties 1781 januari - juni* 462 (May 2); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3837, *Gedrukte resoluties 1781 juli - december*, 783 (July 23), 1008 (Sept. 17) (Stephan Arend van Deur appointed as vice-consul in 1781, just before his father died); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11636, *Brievenboeken 1791 Duits Register*, J.F. Van Deurs to States General (Oct. 8) (Jacob Frederik van Deurs was appointed vice-consul by his brother Stephan Arend van Deurs on his deathbed in 1791).

<sup>14</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 9, *Resolutie- of notulenboek van directieuren 1754-1791*, ff. 125-126 (Nov. 6 1775).

<sup>15</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 382, *Brieven aan een der directieuren van J.W. van Arp over de wenselijkheid van de benoeming van Fredrik de Coninck tot commissaris in Kopenhagen*, 1785, Van Arp to DOHR (Nov. 5 1785).

Thus, the qualifications a consul should have were linguistic skills, necessary in order to be able to communicate with Dutch skippers and foreign authorities, experience with the local customs in order to advise skippers, and experience with trade, as they needed to observe the commercial interests of the Republic. From the perspective of the applicants and the merchants who supported them, the trade related skills of a consul were the most important.

## II. The Official Instructions of a Consul

After a consul was appointed, the appointment was recorded in the commission books in which almost all consular appointments can be found.<sup>16</sup> The newly appointed consul received the resolution which stated he was appointed and the commission. The commission, or *patent*, in turn was necessary for an ambassador to apply for approval, the *exequatur*, for the consul from a foreign court.<sup>17</sup> The commission “is an open letter in which the issuer declares that he has appointed a named person to a particular office, in which he describes the duties and powers associated with that office and the conditions under which it is to be exercised and in which he orders any person concerned to recognize the person concerned in that capacity and to assist him in carrying out his task or assignment.”<sup>18</sup> This commission contained the mission of the consul in general terms: “to assist the merchants, their factors and the skippers [...] where necessary, in all fair and lawful matters arising for them, with his advice, instruction, direction, help and assistance”<sup>19</sup> and to inform the States General about current affairs.<sup>20</sup> Only the commissions related to Danzig were slightly different, because of the status of Danzig as a ‘free city’ as explained in chapter one. This resulted in a specific instruction of diplomatic

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<sup>16</sup> Only the appointment of Teeuwis Dominicus, Jan van Deurs (as he was appointed by Le Maire, not by the States General), Arent van Deurs and Jean Christoffer van Deurs can not be found in the *Commissieboeken*. NA, S.G., inv. no. 12270-12294.

<sup>17</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3855, *Gedrukte resoluties 1791 juli – december*, 667-668 (Sept 5); NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Zuckerbecker (June 10 1791, Jan. 16 1792); NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (July 1 1791), Menssendijk to Hogguer (July 2 1792); NA, L.R., inv. no. 173, *Correspondentie met Nederlandse particulieren in de Republiek*, Hogguer to DMH (July 5 1791), DMH to Hogguer (Oct. 13 1791), Hogguer to DMH (June 11 1792); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 380, *Stukken betreffende de opvolging van Stephan Arent van Deurs van zijn overleden vader J.C. van Deurs*, DOHR to mayors of Amsterdam (June 1782); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12294, *Commissieboeken 1791-1794*, ff. 45-46v (Oct. 12 1791); NA, C.F., inv. no. 4718, *Brieven van ministers’ aan de griffiers Fagel 1776*, Ross to Fagel (Jan. 2).

<sup>18</sup> “Een akte van commissie of commissiebrief is een open brief waarin de uitvaardiger verklaart een met name genoemd persoon te hebben aangesteld in een bepaald ambt of officie, waarin hij de taken en bevoegdheden omschrijft die met dat ambt zijn verbonden en de voorwaarden waaronder het moet worden uitgeoefend en waarin hij eenieder die het aangaat beveelt de betrokken persoon in die hoedanigheid te erkennen en hem te helpen zijn taak of opdracht te volbrengen” in T.H.P.M. Thomassen, *Instrumenten van de macht. De Staten-Generaal en hun archieven 1576-1796. Band 1*. (Den Haag 2015) 394.

<sup>19</sup> “Omme de voorschreeve kooplieden, derzelver factooren ende schipperen [...] daar dat vereischen en voorvallen zal, te assisteeren en behulpelijk te weezen, in alle haare voorvallende billijke en regtmatige zaaken, daarinne zij zijnen raad, onderrigtinge, directie, hulpe en assistentie zullen behoeven en van nooden hebben” in NA, S.G., inv. no. 12294, *Commissieboeken 1791-1794*, ff. 7 -7v (March 22 1791). See also, for example: NA, S.G., inv. no. 12282, *Commissieboeken 1715-1722*, ff. 163v-164v (Feb. 6 1720); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12285, *Commissieboeken 1738-1742*, ff. 31-32 (Feb. 14 1739); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12292 *Commissieboeken 1779-1784*, 154-155 (Aug. 7 1780).

<sup>20</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12282, *Commissieboeken 1715-1722*, ff. 163v-164v (Feb. 6 1720); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12285, *Commissieboeken 1738-1742*, ff. 31-32 (Feb. 14 1739); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12292 *Commissieboeken 1779-1784*, 154-155 (Aug. 7 1780).

nature given to the first commissioner in 1638 because of the problems surrounding the Polish toll, which instruction soon became outdated. Instead, the next commissions explicitly stated that the commissioner had to implement the resolutions of the States General and maintain good relations with the Danzig government.<sup>21</sup> Although this instruction is more diplomatically oriented and the aforementioned general order to help the merchants cannot be found in the commission, the commissioner in Danzig did have trade related tasks, as he had “to write about all matters relating to trade, in addition to the occurring matters”<sup>22</sup> to the States General as well.

Until the 1790s, new consuls in a pre-existing consulate were appointed with reference to resolutions concerning their predecessor's appointment, meaning that the new consul was to take over the duties of the old consul.<sup>23</sup> In the 1790s, however, the content of the commission for consuls changed. The position of the consul as public servant abroad became more clearly defined when it was added to the commissions that the consul was subject to the Dutch ambassador in that country: the consulates came under the responsibility of the embassies. It was furthermore added that consuls were required to send important information to the ambassador every three months (or more if the envoy wished so), consult with him if necessary, and notify the DOHR or the DMH from time to time, in addition to the general mission to assist merchants stated above.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to a commission, the States General could also give explicit instructions.<sup>25</sup> During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the States General had issued several general instructions for consuls in the Levant, the Barbary States and the southern European states.<sup>26</sup> For Northern Europe, the States General had only issued one instruction for the first consul in Bergen, which fixed the consulate fee and which stated that the consul had no jurisdictional powers whatsoever. And he had to observe that the commercial treaty with Denmark was complied with.<sup>27</sup> This instruction largely

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<sup>21</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12455, *Instructieboeken 1632-1639* ff. 302-303v (June 19 1638); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754*, 420 (July 29); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12277, *Commissieboeken 1680-1684*, ff. 103v-104 (Sept. 7 1682); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12279, *Commissieboeken 1693-1700*, ff. 109-109v (March 8 1697); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12281, *Commissieboeken 1709-1714*, ff. 209v-210 (Oct. 15 1712); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12288, *Commissieboeken 1752-1758*, ff. 140-141 (July 29 1754); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12291, *Commissieboeken 1772-1778* ff. 216-216v (Nov. 13 1775).

<sup>22</sup> “Behalven de occureerende saacken oock over te schrijven alle saacken de Negotie en Commerce raackende” in NA, S.G., inv. no. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754* 420 (July 29).

<sup>23</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12291, *Commissieboeken 1772-1778*, ff. 216-217 (Nov. 13 1775); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12292 *Commissieboeken 1779-1784*, 154-155 (Aug. 7 1780); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12285, *Commissieboeken 1738-1742*, ff. 31-32 (Feb. 14 1739); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12292 *Commissieboeken 1779-1784*, 154-155 (Aug. 7 1780); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12291, *Commissieboeken 1772-1778*, ff. 216-216v (Nov. 13 1775); NA, S.G., inv. nr. 3765, *Gedrukte resoluties 1710* 920-921 (Aug. 23); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3809, *Gedrukte resoluties 1754*, 420 (July 29).

<sup>24</sup> See for example NA, S.G., inv. no. 12294, *Commissieboeken 1791-1794*, ff. 6-7v (March 22 1791); ff. 41-43 (Sept. 5 1791), ff. 45-46v (Oct. 12 1791), ff. 250-251v (Sept. 9 1794).

<sup>25</sup> T.H.P.M. Thomassen, *Instrumenten van de macht. De Staten-Generaal en hun archieven 1576-1796. Band 2.* (Den Haag 2015) 672-673.

<sup>26</sup> Wertheim, *Manuel A L'Usage Des Consuls Des Pays-Bay*, 262-263, 267-276, 278-285. NA, S.G., inv. no. 3792, *Gedrukte resoluties 1737*, 460-462 (Aug. 19).

<sup>27</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12461, *Instructieboeken 1690-1699*, Instruction for Domincus (Jan. 11 1694); Wertheim, *Manuel A L'Usage Des Consuls Des Pays-Bay*, 297-298. Wertheim makes no further mention of other instructions issued by the States General that apply to consuls in Northern Europe, nor have I found them.

corresponds to a general instruction from 1658 for the consuls in Christian Europe along the Mediterranean, which also regulated the consulate fees, and which also denied the jurisdiction of consuls.<sup>28</sup>

During the 1790s, some consuls did receive instructions as well, at least in the Russian consulates. Those instructions, however, were not issued by the States General but by Hogguer. After Hogguer drafted an instruction for Zuckerbecker, he sent it to the DMH, asking if they agreed, probably because according to the commission, Zuckerbecker should correspond to the DMH as well. The DMH agreed to its contents and the instruction was "according to that of the other consuls of Their High and Mighty."<sup>29</sup> According to the instruction, the consul had to investigate everything that could serve to promote commerce and navigation, inform the DMH about this from time to time and correspond with the ambassador about Dutch shipping every three to four weeks. The consul also had to write to the ambassador about the administration of the local government in which he was appointed, and about new taxes. The consul had to think about how the Dutch could get a better position than merchants of other countries. He had to do everything he could to help Dutch commerce. In a struggle between skippers and sailors, he had to resolve the conflict amicably and otherwise follow the customs of Riga. He had to keep a copy book of all letters he wrote as consul, just as he did for letters he received as consul. He had to make a note of all the curious things concerning the consulate. Upon departure or death, the papers had to be handed over to the successor. The consul was only allowed to leave the post if he had permission to do so. And finally, he had to carefully execute all orders he received.<sup>30</sup> Although no instruction has survived from the other consuls on Russian territory, it seems that this instruction also applied to them. For example, Bagge kept a copy book of outgoing letters (which corresponds to article 7 of Zuckerbecker's instruction), and Menssendijk wrote that he had received the instruction, but that he had some comments about leaving the city where he was consul, because due to the nature of the business in Archangel he often had to travel. He hereby referred to article 11, which corresponds to the same article in Zuckerbecker's instruction about travelling<sup>31</sup>

It has already been said that the DMH wrote that Hogguer had to draft up an instruction according to that of the other consuls, and it seems that they meant that the instruction had to be drafted in accordance with the instructions for the consuls in the Barbary States and in Southern

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<sup>28</sup> Wertheim, *Manuel A L'Usage Des Consuls Des Pays-Bay*, 262-263.

<sup>29</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no 173, *Correspondentie met Nederlandse particulieren in de Republiek*, Hogguer to DMH (July 5 1791), DMH to Hogguer (Oct. 13 1791). Quote: "overeenstemmende met die der overige consuls van Hun Hoog Mog." in DMH to Hogguer (June 19 1792).

<sup>30</sup> SAA, DMH, inv. no. 93, *Stukken betreffende de benoemingen van consuls te Petersburg, Kroonstad, Riga en Archangel, 1791-1792*, Instruction for Zuckerbecker from Hogguer (July 5 1791).

<sup>31</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven 1791-1806*; NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Menssendijk to Hogguer (Dec. 11 1794); NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Menssendijk (Sept. 29 1792); Hogguer to Menssendijk (Jan. 29 1795).

Europe. In 1786, the States General had issued general instructions for consuls in both areas, which correspond almost verbatim with some articles of Zuckerbecker's instruction, especially concerning the obligation to write about notable events, the organisation of the consulate's archive and the order to help those who needed it and. But the consuls in the north had been given no instructions to correspond with fellow consuls (which was obligatory for the consuls in the Barbary States) or on how to assist Dutch naval warships (which was instructed to the consuls in Southern Europe).<sup>32</sup> The instructions in the last quarter of the eighteenth century thus show that there were tasks for the Dutch consuls that applied everywhere, but also that there were specific tasks for specific areas. At the same time, the similarities between the instructions for consuls in the Mediterranean and in Northern Europe shows that the consular service in the Mediterranean served as an example for the consular service in Northern Europe.

Few of the categories of consular duties mentioned in the introduction have appeared in the commissions and instructions. The tasks that do appear are giving aid to commercial shipping and the informational tasks (corresponding with the DMH, ambassador and States General). But were the consuls in Northern Europe then so different from their counterparts in the Mediterranean? In the following case studies it will become clear that this is not the case, that the instruction does not fully cover all the consular tasks. And secondly, the instructions for consuls in Northern Europe show the first contours of the consul's influence on the policy of the States General and his agency in the diplomatic process: Hogguer did expected independent input and vision from consuls under his authority on measures to promote trade.<sup>33</sup>

### III. Case Study: Arent van Deurs, Elsinore

The first case study is about Arent van Deurs, who was consul in Elsinore from 1710-1747. The Van Deurs family settled in Elsinore in 1640, after which Jan van Deurs was appointed secretary-cum-commissioner in Elsinore in 1677 by the Dutch ambassador.<sup>34</sup> The Van Deurs' family occupied the consulate in Elsinore from 1677 until 1791. In 1744, he had requested that his son could be appointed to help and succeed him because he himself was sick and old. It is thus likely that his son also

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<sup>32</sup> Wertheim, *Manuel A L'Usage Des Consuls Des Pays-Bay*, 267-271. That the organisation of the archive of a consul was necessary becomes clear from a letter of Ross: "For I have not been able to profit the least from my predecessor's papers, they have not been kept in order [...] and I have been ashamed to receive such an irregular heap of papers from the secretary of this city who had sealed them under the name of an archive." Translation: "Want uit de papieren van mijn voorzaat heb ik niet het minste kunnen profiteeren zijnde dezelve in geen de minste ordre gehouden [...] en ik ben beschaamt geweest een zulke ongereegeld hoop papieren van den secretaris deeser stad die dezelve hadde verzeegeld onder de naam van een archiv te moeten ontfangen" in NA, C.F., inv. no. 4763, 'Brieven van ministers' aan de griffiers Fagel 1778, Ross to Fagel (Feb. 6).

<sup>33</sup> SAA, DMH, inv. no. 93, *Stukken betreffende de benoemingen van consuls te Petersburg, Kroonstad, Riga en Archangel, 1791-1792*, Instruction for Zuckerbecker from Hogguer (July 5 1791).

<sup>34</sup> A. Tønnesen, 'Al het Hollandse volk dat hier nu woont' *Nederlanders in Helsingør, circa 1550-1600* (Hilversum 2003) 24. See also the appendix.

performed part of the tasks from 1744 onwards.<sup>35</sup> This case study is based on letters from Van Deurs to the States General, to Coymans (1729-1747) and to the DOHR. In addition, the archives of the DOHR and the Legation Archives of Denmark were used, as were the resolutions of the States General in which Van Deurs' letters were discussed. And finally, the online index of the notarial deeds of Amsterdam was searched for the name "Van Deurs" for the period 1710-1747. These sources, such as authorizations or ship's statements, show the consul's work from the perspective of the skippers and merchants.<sup>36</sup> Some letters Van Deurs sent to merchants in the Republic in the archive of the family Brants can also provide information about consular tasks from the perspective of merchants.<sup>37</sup>

In the following two case studies, the first section will be about the consular tasks. The categorization of Mézin is used to indicate the duties of the consuls in Northern Europe. Secondly, the agency of the consul, his influence in policymaking of the Republic and on diplomatic relations with Russia, will be examined.

## I. The Consular Tasks

### *Informational functions*

As Van Deurs did not keep a copy book of outgoing letters, it is difficult to reconstruct with whom he was in contact, but the sources do give a clue. First of all, Van Deurs maintained contact with the Dutch envoys to the Danish court. During the period that he was consul, Robert Goes (1685-1718, 1721-1724), Willem Opdorp (1718-1721, 1724-1727, 1729), Willem van Assendelft (1727-1729) and Gillis Coymans (1729-1757) were the Dutch representatives at the court of Denmark.<sup>38</sup> Only Van Deurs' correspondence with Coymans has survived.<sup>39</sup> It is probable, however, that Van Deurs' correspondence with the other envoys had the same content. But what kind of information did Van Deurs send to the ambassadors?

The first category was maritime in nature. Movements of warships of the Republic and of other countries, the movements of convoys and (rumours of) the presence of privateers were

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<sup>35</sup> NA, S.G., inv. nr. 3799, *Gedrukte resoluties 1744* 275 (April 28), 380-381 (June 9); SAA, Archief van Burgemeesters Diplomatieke Missiven (A.B.D.M.), inv. no. 23, *Denemarken J. Le Maire (1657-1671), P. Hotton (1682-1683), R Goes (1693) en A. van Deurs (1698-1744)*, A. Van Deurs to mayors of Amsterdam (March 31, July 11 1744).

<sup>36</sup> The online index of the Amsterdam City Archives was used for this purpose. Since not all deeds have been indexed yet, the examples I have researched will probably not be exhaustive, but it does give an idea of Van Deurs' activities: <https://bit.ly/3lEtzZr> (Accessed on August 7 2021).

<sup>37</sup> SAA, Archief Familie Brandts en Aanverwante Families (A.F.B.A.F.), inv. no. 497, *Elseneur Arent van Deurs 1746*; SAA, A.F.B.A.F., inv. no. 979, *Elseneur Arent van Deurs 1724-1734*; SAA, A.F.B.A.F., inv. no. 1322, *Elseneur Arent van Deurs 1734-1741*.

<sup>38</sup> Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 245-248.

<sup>39</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans. Although it becomes clear in Deurs' letters that Coymans wrote to him regularly, these letters cannot be found in Coymans' copy books (NA, L.D., inv. no. 1-4). Only one letter from Coymans to Van Deurs can be found in Coymans' first copy book: NA, L.D., inv. no. 1, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven 1729-1732*, Coymans to Van Deurs (Feb. 28 1730).

reported.<sup>40</sup> Van Deurs also passed on complaints from skippers, and changes regarding the toll in the Sound to Coymans.<sup>41</sup> In addition, there were reports about the Danish and Swedish East India Companies.<sup>42</sup> And everything that could hinder shipping, such as storms and ice in the Sound, but also regulations that were issued in countries surrounding the Baltic Sea, received attention from Van Deurs.<sup>43</sup> Maritime information was most prominent in Van Deurs' letters.

A second category of information was military in nature. Van Deurs provided information about warships and (international) troop movements and where they would (probably) go, about naval battles and battles in and around the Baltic, and about preparations for war.<sup>44</sup> Third, Van Deurs sent political information, for example about the election of a new king in Sweden, uprisings in other countries, rumours of peace, or the presence of ambassadors or the Danish or Swedish king in the Sound.<sup>45</sup> And finally, Van Deurs sent information that had consequences for shipping through the Sound, such as the presence of infectious diseases in the Baltic, both among humans and among livestock, or a ban on grain exports.<sup>46</sup>

That Van Deurs was able to collect information about all these matters had everything to do with the location of the consulate, as all ships that had to go from the North Sea to the Baltic Sea and vice versa had to pass through the Sound. As a result, Van Deurs received a lot of information from skippers. In addition, newspapers were an important source of information for him.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Aug. 22 1729, July 16 1733, April 10 and 23, May 4, 6 and 10, June 9, Aug. 2, 5, 8, 14 and 16 1734, Aug. 2, 21 and 25 1735, July 10, Sept. 16, Dec. 20 1736, Aug. 12 and 19 1737, Sept. 28 1738, June 1, 7, 22, 24 and 26, July 5, Sept. 6 1739, Oct. 2 1740, April 21 and 27, June 7, July 17, Aug. 2, 13 and 15, Sept. 2, 18 and 20 1741, March 27, May 28, Aug. 5, 17 and 22, Sept. 2, Nov. 12, Dec. 8 and 12 1742, Feb. 4, April 17, May 1, 3, 4, 5, 15, 20, 21 and 27, June 12, 23 and 24, July 2, 21 and 30, Aug. 10, 27 and 28, Sept. 1, 19, 25 and 27, Oct. 1, 3, 5 and 21 1743, June 20, 24, and 25, July 1, 2 and 23, Aug. 6 and 28, Sept. 14, Nov. 5 1744, April 1, 3 and 10, May 5 and 11, June 29, July 7, 22 and 28, Aug. 1, 3 and 31, Sept. 1 and 18, Nov. 8 1745, Feb. 12, June 22, July 6, Aug. 16, Sept. 19, Oct. 7, Nov. 12, Dec. 6 and 17 1746, June 28 1747).

<sup>41</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Nov. 13, Dec. 24 1729, Aug 2 and 5 1734, July 2, 19 and 22, Sept. 28, Nov. 1 1738, May 13 1741, March 27 1742).

<sup>42</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (May 20 1734, Aug. 3 1739, Aug. 19 1741, July 1 1742, Jan. 1, Aug. 10 and 20, Sept. 1 1743, July 1, Sept. 14, Nov. 14 1744, March 18, May 5, Sept. 18, Nov. 8 1745, Jan. 27, May 16, Aug. 12 1746, Sept. 19, Dec. 6 and 17 1746).

<sup>43</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Dec. 18 and 30 1732, Feb. 27 1736, Jan. 22, 1737, Jan. 1 1739, Feb. 15 1740, Nov. 28 1742, Jan. 1, Feb. 18 1743, Jan. 28, March. 6, Sept. 14 1744, March 18 1745, Feb. 12, March 9 1746, Feb. 2 1747).

<sup>44</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (April 6, May 15 and 20 1734, Jan. 1, June 1, 7, 22, 24 and 26 1739, March 29, April 21 and 27, May 13, July 17, Aug. 10, 13 and 25 1741, Jan. 1, March 10 and 27, June 20, July 21, Sept. 25, Nov. 26, Dec. 12 and 22 1742, Feb. 18, March 26, May 1, June 12 and 24, July 21, Aug. 20, Sept. 7 and 19 and 25, Oct. 1, 13, 19 and 21 1743, June 20 1744, Jan. 27 and 28, March 9, April 3, May 15, Nov. 8 1745, April 20, May 16, July 6 1746).

<sup>45</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Sept. 27 1732, April 21, July 10 1736, July 19, Sept. 10 1738, April 21, Aug. 19 1741, Sept. 2, Nov. 22 1742, Feb. 4, March 26, April 17, May 20, June 23, July 2, 10 and 21, Aug. 10 and 25, Sept. 25, Oct. 3, 13 and 21, Nov. 7 and 19 1743, Jan. 28, Feb. 11, May 4 and 16, Aug. 6, Dec. 29 1744, March 18, May 5, July 18, 20 and 28, Aug. 1 and 31, Sept. 18, Oct. 8, Nov. 8 1745, Jan. 27, May 16, June 22, July 23, Aug. 27 1746, July 27 1747).

<sup>46</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (May 22, 25 and 31, July 10, Aug 12 and 19 1737, Nov. 14 1740, May 15, Oct. 8 1745).

<sup>47</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Dec. 30 1732, April 6 and 10, May 15, June 9, Aug 2 1734, Feb. 27 1736, June 7, July 17, Aug. 3, 10 and 25, Sept. 18 and 20 1741, March 27, June 20, July 1, Sept. 12, Oct.

In addition to the extensive correspondence between Van Deurs and the ambassadors, Van Deurs also corresponded with the States General. Because Van Deurs corresponded with the States General for 37 years, it was decided to analyse his correspondence in the years 1716, 1720, 1726, 1733, 1737, 1741 and 1744. Most of the letters that Van Deurs sent were an accompanying letter to the lists of ships that had crossed the Sound. Since 1698 this had been entrusted to the consuls at Elsinore.<sup>48</sup> In general, Van Deurs wrote to the States General on the same subjects as he wrote to Coymans.<sup>49</sup> However, the correspondence between Van Deurs and the States General is much less extensive and much less frequent than the correspondence Van Deurs maintained with Coymans.

The third correspondence partner of Van Deurs is the DOHR. Although, according to the accounts of the DOHR, Van Deurs received a fee for postage since 1717, there are hardly any letters from him in the archive.<sup>50</sup> In the letters that can be found, Van Deurs informed the DOHR about matters that concerned all Dutch shipping to the Baltic Sea, such as new customs introduced in the Sound.<sup>51</sup> However, it is likely that Van Deurs maintained a more extensive correspondence with the DOHR than has survived.

Finally, it is likely that Van Deurs also corresponded occasionally with the admiralties because he occasionally received letters from them when Dutch convoys sailed to the Baltic Sea.<sup>52</sup> However, the correspondence has not been found in the admiralty archive because of the fire in the archive, as mentioned earlier.

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22, Dec. 4 1742, May 1 and 27, June 12 and 23, Oct. 21 1743, July 1, 12 and 23, Nov. 14 1744, April 3 and 10, Aug. 3, Nov. 8, Dec. 31 1745, Jan. 28, April 20 May 16, July 6 and 24, Aug. 27 1746).

<sup>48</sup> NA, F.S., inv. no. 450, *Gedrukte resoluties 1698*, 556-557 (Oct. 20); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11276, *Brievenboeken 1716 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (May 2, June 9 and 30, July 18 and 28, Aug. 8, Sept. 8, Nov. 17, Dec. 12 and 22); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11288, *Brievenboeken 1720 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Jan. 2 and 27, March 23, May 7 and 18, June 8 and 29, July 9, Aug. 6, Nov. 9); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11288, *Brievenboeken 1720 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Jan. 12, April 9 and 27, May 25, June 15, Sept. 3, Nov. 2); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11330, *Brievenboeken 1733 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (May 16, Aug. 1 and 22, Sept. 19, Oct. 13); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11344, *Brievenboeken 1737 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Aug. 3, 10, 13 and 20, Dec. 10); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11359, *Brievenboeken 1741 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Jan. 14, May 1, Aug. 1, Nov. 4); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11368, *Brievenboeken 1744 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Jan. 14, May 27, July 7, Oct. 13).

<sup>49</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 11276, *Brievenboeken 1716 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Jan. 25, June 9 and 30, July 14, 18 and 28, Sept. 8, Nov. 14, 17 and 24, Dec. 12 and 22); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11288, *Brievenboeken 1720 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Jan. 6, March 23, April 13, May 7, 11, 14 and 18, June 8 and 29, July 9, Sept. 14, 17 and 28, Nov. 9, 12 and 16); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11307, *Brievenboeken 1726 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Feb. 16, April 27, May 4 and 25, June 15, Sept. 3, Nov. 2); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11330, *Brievenboeken 1733 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (May 9 and 16, Aug. 1 and 22, Sept. 19 and 22, Oct. 6, 13, 17, 24, Dec. 12); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11344, *Brievenboeken 1737 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (May 25, July 15, Aug. 3, 13 and 20); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11359, *Brievenboeken 1741 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Jan. 14, May 1, June 6, Aug. 1, 5, 12, 15, 19 and 26, Sept. 19 and 26, Oct. 28); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11368, *Brievenboeken 1744 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (March 24, May 27).

<sup>50</sup> See for example SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 69, *Jaarlijkse rekening en verantwoording van directeuren 1717-1761*, f. 1v (Feb. 2 1718), f. 3v (Feb. 8 1719), f. 6v (Jan. 23 1723), f. 7v (Jan. 24 1725), etc.

<sup>51</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 341, *Brief aan de directeuren van Arent van Deurs met mededeling dat hij 58 punten heeft opgesteld om in het nieuwe traktaat te bedingen*, 1723, Van Deurs to DOHR (Sept. 28); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 353, *Brief aan directeuren van Arent van Deurs te Elseneur betreffende de nieuwe regeling van de declaratie voor de tollén*, 1729, Van Deurs to DOHR (no date); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 361, *Brief aan directeuren van Arent van Deurs te Elseneur betreffende de opheffing van de uitzonderingspositie van de Hollanders*, 1731, Van Deurs to DOHR (Feb. 10).

<sup>52</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Sept. 7 and 19 1743); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 355, *Brieven aan de directeuren van C. van Gemert 1730*, Gemert to DOHR (Sept. 23).

Van Deurs' reconstructed correspondence shows his importance as a link in the information network of the ambassador and the States General. Of course, this does not mean that Van Deurs corresponded with no one else. For example, there are some letters in the archives of the mayors of Amsterdam, in which Van Deurs sought support from Amsterdam for the appointment of his son as consul after him, and he corresponded with various merchants.<sup>53</sup> With the latter category, it is not always clear whether Van Deurs wrote to them *ex officio* or as a 'normal' trader. For example, he sent letters confirming the arrival of a ship and requesting payment of the toll that Van Deurs had paid for, and he informed an owner of goods on a ship that had been taken by privateers of the actions he had taken to free that ship.<sup>54</sup>

#### *Navy-related functions*

According to Mézin, consuls had navy-related tasks for the navy and for commercial ships.<sup>55</sup> It has already been said that the consuls in southern Europe had to assist the Dutch warships. It was also customary in that area for a consul to make the first visit to the captain. When a captain demanded this first visit from Van Deurs in Elsinore in 1745,<sup>56</sup> Van Deurs was not aware of this custom. According to him, it was customary in Elsinore for a lieutenant to report the arrival of a ship to Van Deurs, after which he made a counter-visit.<sup>57</sup> But this example does show that in Elsinore there was contact between the consul and the Dutch warships as well. In Elsinore, Van Deurs took care of the correspondence between the ambassador, the captains of the warships and the admiralties in the Republic. This allowed the admiralties to send their orders to the captains via Van Deurs, who also passed on information to the captains that he had received himself, such as the presence of privateers in the area. Van Deurs was also involved in the visits the captains made to the commander at the castle in Elsinore. In addition, he provided pilots for the warships, with the help of Coymans. And finally, he had to keep track of whether there were any Dutch ships who wanted to sail with the Dutch convoy. Thus, in times of war, when Dutch convoys sailed out to the Baltic Sea, Van Deurs maintained regular contact with the Dutch warships in the Sound.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> SAA, A.B.D.M., inv. no. 23, *Denemarken J. Le Maire (1657-1671), P. Hottot (1682-1683), R Goes (1693) en A. van Deurs (1698-1744)*.

<sup>54</sup> SAA, A.F.B.A.F., inv. no. 497, *Elseneur Arent van Deurs 1746*, Van Deurs to Brants and Zn (Nov. 12 1746); SAA, A.F.B.A.F., inv. no. 1322, *Elseneur Arent van Deurs 1734-1741*, Van Deurs to Jan de Neusville (Nov. 18 1741).

<sup>55</sup> Mézin, 'La fonction consulaire', 45-46.

<sup>56</sup> Which is another argument that the title consul and commissioner had the same meaning, as Van Deurs' was appointed as commissioner.

<sup>57</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (July 20, 22 and 28 1745).

<sup>58</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (June 2, 4, 13, 15 and 20, Aug. 22, Sept. 2 and 25, Oct. 8, 21 and 22, Nov. 12, 22 and 26, Dec. 4, 9 and 12 1742, March 26, April 17, May 4, 5, 6 and 20, July 6, 18 and 21, Sept. 7 and 19, Oct. 19, Nov. 19 1743, May 16 and 26 1744).

In times of war Van Deurs also had to deal with Dutch ships that were captured, after which it was his task to do everything possible to get the ship free, such as calling on the director of the toll chamber in the Sound or other authorities and enlisting the help of Coymans. Van Deurs informed the owners of the captured ship and took care of the repatriation of sailors from Dutch ships that had been taken. In addition, even outside wartime, he was involved in the shelter of poor sailors and their repatriation. And in wartime, if the Republic needed (foreign) sailors, Van Deurs could send them to the Republic.<sup>59</sup>

Van Deurs was also involved in the handling of shipping accidents. If a ship had sunk or ran aground, Van Deurs could try to reclaim the goods. To this end, he had to make sure that the salvage wages were paid or, if the ship had sunk, the goods were retrieved. If a ship was wrecked on the beach, he had to try to sell it.<sup>60</sup> Sometimes Van Deurs needed Coymans' help for this. For example, Coymans had to request at the court that it was allowed to turn up goods from a sunken ship near Jutland, which was approved, after which Van Deurs sent a diver.<sup>61</sup>

In addition, Van Deurs sometimes had to intervene if skippers had to pay a fine or had caused any damage to other ships. Because skippers did not always have (enough) money with them, they could ask Van Deurs to pay for them, who in turn could ask the money back from the trader or ship owner. For example, a ship in the Sound had caused damage to an English ship, after which the skipper had signed a note that Van Deurs had to pay 25 rixdollar in compensation.<sup>62</sup> And finally, the skippers could turn to Van Deurs for advice and assistance. For example, he referred a skipper who had lost a rope to someone in Copenhagen.<sup>63</sup> In other instances it is not always clear whether Van Deurs performed the tasks because he was consul, or because he was a merchant as well. For example,

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<sup>59</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Sept. 6 1739, Oct. 2 and 9, Nov. 7 and 14 1740, Jan. 1, March 29, April 21 1741, March 30, April 20, May 4 and 16, June 20 1744); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11307, *Brievenboeken 1726 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Feb. 16); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11330, *Brievenboeken 1733 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Jan. 6); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11344, *Brievenboeken 1737 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Jan. 14); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11359, *Brievenboeken 1741 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Jan. 14 1741); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11368, *Brievenboeken 1744 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Jan. 14 1744). See for a specific case for example the case of Cornelis Janssen Groot: NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Nov. 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 25 Nov. 1741, Jan. 1, March 10 1742); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11276, *Brievenboeken 1716 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (May 2); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11359, *Brievenboeken 1741 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Nov. 14, 18 and 21); SAA, A.F.B.A.F., inv. no. 1322, *Elseneur Arent van Deurs 1734-1741*, Van Deurs to De Neusville (Nov. 18 1741).

<sup>60</sup> SAA, Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (A.N.S.M.), inv. no. 9292, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Authorization (Deed number: 46432, June 12 1720); SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 10069, *Johan Feitama Minuutacten*, Authorization (Deed number: 485163, Oct. 21 1732); SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9356, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Acquittance (Deed number: 170846, Feb. 19 1735), Authorization (Deed number: 159477, Feb. 19 1735); NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Dec. 8 1734, Jan. 6, 8 and 11, March 24, Aug. 17 and 21 1735, May 5 1743); SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9366, *Mattijs Maten de Jongen Minuutacten*, Authorization (Deed number: 191185, Oct. 2 1736).

<sup>61</sup> SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 12142, *Jeremias Walschaart Minuutacten*, Attestation (Deed number: 403728, Feb. 2 1743); NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Nov. 22 and 28, Dec. 21 1742).

<sup>62</sup> SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9351, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Sea protest (Deed number: 202640, Nov. 6 1733); SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 12134, *Jeremias Walschaart Minuutacten*, Sea protest (Deed number: 506012, July 20 1741).

<sup>63</sup> SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 10714, *Salomon Dorper Minuutacten*, Attestation (Deed number: 127130, Feb. 19 1745).

several charter contracts can be found in which it was stated that skippers in the Sound would be told by Van Deurs to which port in the Baltic Sea they should go, but it is unclear whether he received and carried out this task as consul or as trader.<sup>64</sup>

### *Judicial functions*

Van Deurs himself had no judicial functions, since 1733 he himself had even become subject to the jurisdiction of the city magistrate.<sup>65</sup> But Van Deurs could be authorized to settle matters either amicably or via courts. For example, Egbert Anthonisz. van den Bergh authorized him to arrest a ship and to demand 54 loads of rye from the skipper, because the skipper had breached the agreement they had.<sup>66</sup> In another case, Van Deurs had to reclaim money for Pieter Beltgens, amicably or via a court, from the heirs of Beltgens' deceased trading partner. Because some of the heirs were Swedish and they thus fell under another jurisdiction, Van Deurs advised Beltgens to write to Coymans as well in order to get his support, as the matter now had to be discussed in higher circles.<sup>67</sup> In other cases, Van Deurs had to conduct a trial, often on behalf of insurers from Amsterdam. He could litigate up to the highest court, the royal court. For example, skipper Fredericksen, had allegedly unloaded his ship on the coast of Norway, and then deliberately damaged the ship. The owner of the ship then claimed the insurance premium from the Amsterdam insurers, who didn't want to pay, and Van Deurs had to be their advocate. He had to call witnesses, have testimonies written down by a notary and submit all kinds of documents. The processes in which Van Deurs was involved could continue for years.<sup>68</sup>

### *The representation of the Dutch Republic and the defence of Dutch rights*

Van Deurs regularly stood up for (the privileges of) the Dutch skippers in Elsinore. For example, there were regularly problems with the lowering of the sails in the Sound, as a salute to the castle. If the

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<sup>64</sup> SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9292, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Charter contract (Deed number: 61904, Feb. 7 1720), Charter contract (56534, June 17 1720); SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9294, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Charter contract (Deed number: 62637, July 16 1722), Charter contract (Deed number: 59113, Aug. 27 1722); SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9295, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Charter contract (Deed number: 57048, June 23 1723); SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9306, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Charter contract (Deed number: 186352, March 4 1726); SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9350, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Charter contract (Deed number: 194076, Aug. 12 1733); SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9354, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Charter contract (Deed number: 204601, July 8 1734); SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9398, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Charter contract (Deed number: 190096, March 19 1743); SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9405, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Charter contract (Deed number: 202811, Dec. 28 1744).

<sup>65</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 20, *Stukken betreffende de aanstelling en de bevoegdheden van de commissaris Arent van Deurs te Elsenour*, Royal council to mayors of Elsinore (Aug. 8 1733).

<sup>66</sup> SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9095, *Jan Ardinois Minuutacten*, Authorization (Deed number: 149338, Jan. 17 1728).

<sup>67</sup> SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 8517, *Isaak Angelkot Minuutacten*, Authorization (Deed number: 501897, April 20 1734); NA, L.D., inv. no. 17, *Ingekomen brieven van handelaren en kooplui te Amsterdam*, Beltgens to Coymans (July 24 1734).

<sup>68</sup> See for example the case of Bucking and Fredricksen: NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (July 27, Dec. 14 and 30 1732, March 19, May 30, Dec. 12 1733). Or the case of Claas Jansz. Dass: SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9356, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Acquittance (Deed number: 170846, Feb. 19 1735), Authorization (Deed number: 159477, Feb. 19 1735); NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Dec. 8 1734, Jan. 6, 8 and 11, March 24, Aug. 17 and 21 1735). In this process, the claimant wanted to recover the damage from Van Deurs, but that did not happen: the claimant had to recover it from the insurers in Amsterdam.

ships failed to do this properly, the castle or guard ship fired a cannon, for which the skipper had to pay. Van Deurs received many complaints about this, because the wind or current made it sometimes impossible to lower the sails, and he tried to change the regulations by complaining to the commander of the castle and the captain of the guard ship about the regulations. In order to convey the skippers' complaints, Van Deurs had to maintain contact with the local authorities, such as the director of the toll chamber, the captain of the guard ship and the commander of the castle.<sup>69</sup>

### *Police functions*

According to Mézin, the consul had to provide publicity for edicts and ordinances.<sup>70</sup> On various occasions Van Deurs announced the resolutions of the States General to Dutch skippers, such as the order of the States General that ships first had to enter a Dutch port.<sup>71</sup> In addition, Van Deurs also announced orders of other nations to Dutch skippers who passed through the Sound. For example, together with the Swedish commissioner Abraham Grill, he announced that the port of St. Petersburg was blocked by the Swedes because war had broken out between Russia and Sweden.<sup>72</sup> Finally, Coymans forwarded decisions taken in Copenhagen relating to shipping in the Sound to Van Deurs, which Van Deurs made known in Elsinore.<sup>73</sup>

In addition to the categories mentioned above, Van Deurs also had other tasks, such as forwarding goods arriving in Elsinore to Coymans and forwarding letters to Dutch ambassadors in Sweden or Russia.<sup>74</sup> From the sources consulted here, it does not appear that Van Deurs had any notarial, civil administrative or religious functions.

## II. The Agency of a Consul in Policymaking and Diplomacy

Van Deurs' importance as a link in the ambassador's information network has come to the fore in the tasks above. Furthermore, Van Deurs was able to call on the ambassador to put pressure on the Danish court, which already shows the contours of the consul's influence on the diplomatic process.<sup>75</sup> In

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<sup>69</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (July 13 and 17, Aug. 2 and 10, Nov. 13 1741, Feb. 12, March 6 1746), Migielzen to Van Deurs (July 6 1741); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11359, *Brievenboeken 1741 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Nov. 14).

<sup>70</sup> Mézin, 'La fonction consulaire', 43-44.

<sup>71</sup> SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 9416, *Mattijs Maten de Jonge Minuutacten*, Sea protest (Deed number: 189927, Aug. 24 1747); Sea protest (Deed number: 189197, Sept. 28 1747), Sea protest (Deed number: 194236, Sept. 28 1747), Sea protest (Deed number: 201401, Sept. 31 1747); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3802, *Gedrukte resoluties 1747*, 632-635 (Aug. 31).

<sup>72</sup> SAA, A.N.S.M., inv. no. 10707, *Salomon Dorper Minuutacten*, Sea protest (Deed number: 134674, Dec. 18 1742), Sea protest (Deed number: 114527, Jan. 11 1743); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11359, *Brievenboeken 1741 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (Aug. 12); NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Aug. 13 1741).

<sup>73</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Dec. 21 1742).

<sup>74</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Nov. 20 and Dec. 30 1735, Dec. 15 and 20 1736, May 13 and 22, Sept. 9, Dec. 15 1737, March 24 1739, Nov. 6 1740, Feb. 18 1743, July 18 1745); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11276, *Brievenboeken 1716 Duits register*, Van Deurs to States General (May 2, Sept. 8).

<sup>75</sup> See for example NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (July 13, Nov. 13 1741).

addition, Van Deurs had a lot of contact with the local authorities, and with the English and Swedish consuls in Elsinore, with whom he "always draw[s] one line"<sup>76</sup> in their dealings with events in the Sound.<sup>77</sup> This can already be classified as diplomacy on a low level, as Van Deurs, officially appointed by the state, deliberates with the local authorities and with state-appointed foreign consuls. The question that now remains is whether Van Deurs was also (in)directly involved in the policymaking of the Republic and in the diplomatic relationship between Denmark and the Republic at a higher level. A number of examples will show that this question must clearly be answered positively. At the same time, the examples show how complex the making of the Republic's policy was and how many actors were involved in this process. But this section will focus on the consul's role in the shaping of the foreign policy and diplomatic process between the Republic and Denmark.

The first example in which this becomes clear is in the response of Van Deurs to complaints that skippers made to him. The skippers had to pay money in the Sound for the fires on the Danish and Swedish shores on which the ships could orient themselves. But the skippers complained that the fires didn't work, but that they still had to pay. At the end of 1710 Van Deurs wrote to the Grand Pensionary with the request that Dutch ambassadors at both the courts of Denmark and Sweden should insist that the fires had to be properly maintained.<sup>78</sup> A few months later, Van Deurs repeated this request. Both times it was discussed in the States of Holland, and in early 1712 the States of Holland took action.<sup>79</sup> In the States General, on the advice of Holland, it was decided to order the resident H.W. Rumpf in Sweden and R. Goes in Denmark to request that both courts resumed their maintenance of the fires. The Danish and Swedish ambassadors in the Republic were asked to inform their court about this as well. And finally, the Dutch ambassador in England had to ask the English to also put pressure on the Danish and Swedish courts.<sup>80</sup> This first example shows that Van Deurs stood at the beginning of the diplomatic action that was carried out in the Republic and at the courts of Denmark and Sweden. Because the correspondence between Goes and Van Deurs is missing, it is unclear whether Van Deurs also requested immediate action from Goes. And the DOHR played in this case not yet a role in the process, as it was not even officially recognized by the Amsterdam city government at that time. In the following example the influence of the consul on those actors will be examined as well.

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<sup>76</sup> "Trecken altijd een lijn" in NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Dec. 24 1729).

<sup>77</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1748*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Dec. 24 1729, Feb 27, May 22 and 25 1737, July 22 1738, Oct. 25 1739).

<sup>78</sup> NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 145, *Gedrukte resoluties 1711 jan. 14 - dec. 19*, 26-27 (Jan. 21).

<sup>79</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3766, *Gedrukte resoluties 1711, 1295* (Nov. 3); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 145, *Gedrukte resoluties 1711 jan. 14 - dec. 19*, 564-565 (Nov. 6); NA, S.v.H., inv. no. 146, *Gedrukte resoluties 1712 jan. 6 - dec. 29*, 50-52 (Jan. 23).

<sup>80</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3767, *Gedrukte resoluties 1712*, 114-115 (Feb. 3); Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 245-247, 271-272.

The second example concerns a number of problems that occurred in the Sound in the years 1729-1730. The problems were about the Danish toll and about passports of Dutch skippers. The problem surrounding the toll was twofold. First of all, the toll officers in the Sound had introduced a new measure. Skippers arriving in the Sound had to go directly to the toll room, accompanied by soldiers, where they had to hand over their documents to the translator De With without first being allowed to consult with their correspondent there. This way of working was, according to Van Deurs, unheard of because skippers were now accompanied by soldiers, because De With asked more money for the translations while they often contained errors, and because the entire procedure caused delays for the ships. After Coymans had been informed about these new measures by Van Deurs, Coymans decided that he would address the Danish chancellor jointly with the English and Swedish ambassadors in Copenhagen, because it was a matter that did not only concern the Republic. Meanwhile Coymans had also informed the States General and the mayors of Amsterdam.<sup>81</sup> The chancellor however assured them that the king had not issued any orders, and that it had probably been the work of the toll clerks, who wanted to receive more money. But if Coymans wanted him to investigate the matter further, he had to present a memorandum about the problems.<sup>82</sup> The cooperation of the ministers at the Danish court did not take place without reason. Van Deurs had contacted the English and Swedish consul in Elsinore about the problems surrounding the toll, after which they all decided to write to their principals, the ambassadors, about the problems.<sup>83</sup> And Van Deurs had informed the DOHR of the situation as well, after which the DOHR decided to submit these complaints to the mayors of Amsterdam. The DOHR in turn asked Coymans whether he could plead for the abolition of the new measures, to which Coymans replied that he was already working to accomplish this.<sup>84</sup> Van Deurs had thus deployed various actors to achieve his goal.

Apparently the submitted memorandum and the conversation Coymans had with the chancellor had had their effect, because Van Deurs wrote to Coymans a few days later that De With did not ask for more money for his translations then was usual in earlier years. The skippers were also no longer accompanied by soldiers and they had the freedom to go to their correspondent on their

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<sup>81</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 1, *Kopieboeken van uitgaande brieven 1729-1732*, Coymans to States General (Oct. 25 1729), Coymans to mayors of Amsterdam (Oct. 25 1729); NA, L.D., inv. no. 21, *Stukken betreffende de translator J. de With*; NA, S.G., inv. no. 3784, *Gedrukte resoluties 1729*, 686 (Nov. 3); NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Ingekomen brieven van Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1747*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Nov. 13 1729); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 353, *Brief aan directeurs van Arent van Deurs te Elseneur betreffende de nieuwe regeling van de declaratie voor de tollén*, Van Deurs to DOHR (Unknown 1729).

<sup>82</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 1, *Kopieboeken van uitgaande brieven 1729-1732*, Coymans to Fagel (Nov. 1 1729); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 352, *Brieven aan directeurs van de resident G. Coymans te Kopenhagen 1729 - 1730*, Coymans to DOHR (Nov. 15 1729).

<sup>83</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Ingekomen brieven van Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1747*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Dec. 24 1729); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 353, *Brief aan directeurs van Arent van Deurs te Elseneur betreffende de nieuwe regeling van de declaratie voor de tollén*, Van Deurs to DOHR (Unknown 1729).

<sup>84</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 2, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeurs 1728-1732*, Nov. 4 1729; SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 353, *Brief aan directeurs van Arent van Deurs te Elseneur betreffende de nieuwe regeling van de declaratie voor de tollén*, Van Deurs to DOHR (Unknown 1729).

arrival.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, the complaints from skippers continued to increase, to which the DOHR wrote to Coymans again. Coymans answered that he needed more information, such as which skippers were involved and when the problems had occurred, before he could do anything.<sup>86</sup> That is why the DOHR wrote to Van Deurs asking if he wanted to make an overview of the complaints and send it to Coymans.<sup>87</sup>

In the meantime, the States General did not immediately do anything with the letters from Van Deurs and Coymans. First they were discussed in the States of Holland and in a committee for foreign affairs in the States General.<sup>88</sup> The letters were also discussed within the States of Holland by Rotterdam, Hoorn and Amsterdam.<sup>89</sup> After a few months it was also decided in the States General that Coymans had to inquire with the ministers of other powers in Denmark in order to work together to have these measures abolished. In addition, the resident had to commit himself on all occasions, by means of a memorandum or privately, to the abolition of the measures.<sup>90</sup> When Coymans had received these instructions, he requested a list of detailed complaints from Van Deurs, after which Van Deurs returned an extensive letter with complaints.<sup>91</sup> This was followed by a memorandum from Coymans for the Danish government.<sup>92</sup>

While this problem was still pending, a new problem had arisen: a royal decree was issued, which Van Deurs had sent to Coymans and the States General, stating that the Dutch ships in the Sound would henceforth lose their privileged position and that they would have to pay the same amount of toll as the other foreign ships. After receiving Van Deurs' letter, Coymans immediately informed the States General, Amsterdam and the DOHR.<sup>93</sup> The DOHR decided to discuss with the Grand Pensionary what means the Republic could use to force Denmark to back down.<sup>94</sup> A few weeks

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<sup>85</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Ingekomen brieven van Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1747*, Van Deurs to Coymans (Nov. 13 and 14 1729); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 354, *Brief aan directeurs van de resident G. Coymans te Kopenhagen over de behandeling van schippers in de Sont*, Coymans to DOHR (Jan. 31 1730).

<sup>86</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 2, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeurs 1728-1732*, Jan. 7 1730; SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 354, *Brief aan directeurs van de resident G. Coymans te Kopenhagen over de behandeling van schippers in de Sont*, Coymans to DOHR (Jan. 31 1730); NA, L.D., inv. no. 1, *Kopieboeken van uitgaande brieven 1729-1732*, Coymans to DOHR (Jan. 31 1730).

<sup>87</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 2, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeurs 1728-1732*, Feb. 7 1730.

<sup>88</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3784, *Gedrukte resoluties 1729*, 686 (Nov. 3); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3785, *Gedrukte resoluties 1730*, 7 (Jan. 4), 313 (May 6), 332 (May 16), 369 (June 6), 394 (June 20).

<sup>89</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 356, *Stukken betreffende de behandeling van de Deense zaken in de Staten-Generaal en Staten van Holland 1730*, July 9.

<sup>90</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3785, *Gedrukte resoluties 1730*, 100 (Feb. 13).

<sup>91</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 1, *Kopieboeken van uitgaande brieven 1729-1732*, Coymans to Van Deurs (Feb. 28 1730); NA, L.D., inv. no. 11, *Ingekomen brieven van Van Arent van Deurs 1729-1747*, Van Deurs to Coymans (March 9 1730).

<sup>92</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 1, *Kopieboeken van uitgaande brieven 1729-1732*, Coymans to mayors of Amsterdam (March 28 1730).

<sup>93</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3785, *Gedrukte resoluties 1730*, 313 (May 6); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 357, *Extract van een bevelschrift van de gedeputeerden over de Financiën van de koning van Denemarken aan de tollenaars betreffende de behandeling van de Hollanders*, April 1 1730; NA, L.D., inv. no. 1, *Kopieboeken van uitgaande brieven 1729-1732*, Coymans to Fagel (April 29 1730); Coymans to mayors of Amsterdam (April 29 1730), Coymans to DOHR (May 2 1730); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 352, *Brieven aan directeurs van de resident G. Coymans te Kopenhagen 1729 - 1730*, Coymans to DOHR (May 2 1730).

<sup>94</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 2, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeurs 1728-1732*, May 8 1730; SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 2, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeurs 1728-1732*, May 23 1730.

later, the mayors of Amsterdam also sent a request to the DOHR for their advice on possible retaliatory measures.<sup>95</sup>

Meanwhile, Van Deurs and Coymans did not sit still. Van Deurs had vainly filed a number of complaints in Elsinore and Coymans had presented a memorandum about the royal decree in Copenhagen. Coymans even went to Elsinore to get further information about the problem.<sup>96</sup> After the presentation of the memorandum, a conversation with the grand chancellor followed, whereupon the chancellor made it clear to Coymans that the toll treaty between the Republic and Denmark had long been expired, as a result of which the Dutch had lost their privileged position.<sup>97</sup> It turned out that the problem therefore could not be solved immediately, and according to Coymans this could only happen with a new treaty. Due to the death of the Danish king at the end of 1730 and changes in the royal council, he expressed the hope that a new treaty could now be drawn up to resolve all of the problems. And indeed, a new toll treaty was signed in 1731. The effort of Van Deurs thus led to renewed attention for a toll treaty.<sup>98</sup>

The second problem during this period was about the passports to be presented in the Sound. The problem was that the admiralties used numbers in the passports, while the treaty required that letters had to be used. The toll clerks in the Sound had therefore informed Van Deurs that he should write about this to Holland in order to change this. Van Deurs then wrote to the DOHR, who, after receiving the letter, decided to discuss the problem with the mayors of Amsterdam.<sup>99</sup> The mayors forwarded the DOHR to the pensionary of the city, Jan de la Bassecourt, but neither he nor the grand pensionary Simon van Slingelandt had received any knowledge of the problem from Coymans or Van Deurs yet, so they did not want to take any action.<sup>100</sup> Van Deurs had not sent a letter to the States General or Coymans until a few weeks after he had informed the DOHR. When Coymans had received his letter, he sent the States General a copy of Van Deurs' letter.<sup>101</sup> Now that the States General had been informed in various ways about the problem, it was soon decided to instruct the admiralty colleges to take the necessary measures to ensure that the numbers would be written down in letters in the passports again.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 2, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeuren 1728-1732*, May 23 and 24 1730.

<sup>96</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3785, *Gedrukte resoluties 1730*, 369 (June 6), 394 (June 20); NA, L.D., inv. no. 1, *Kopieboeken van uitgaande brieven 1729-1732*, Coymans to pensionary of state Slingelandt (May 2 1730).

<sup>97</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3785, *Gedrukte resoluties 1730*, 476-477 (July 24).

<sup>98</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 352, *Brieven aan directeuren van de resident G. Coymans te Kopenhagen 1729 - 1730*, Coymans to DOHR (Nov. 28 1730); P.N. Muller, 'De Zondsche tol', *De Gids* 19 (1855) 444-464, there 454.

<sup>99</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 2, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeuren 1728-1732*, Aug. 28 1730.

<sup>100</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 2, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeuren 1728-1732*, Sept. 19 1730.

<sup>101</sup> SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 2, *Uitgewerkte kladnotulen van directeuren 1728-1732*, Sept. 19 1730; SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 356, *Stukken betreffende de behandeling van de Deense zaken in de Staten-Generaal en Staten van Holland 1730*, Van Deurs to States General (Copy Sept. 9), Coymans to Fagel (Copy Sept. 12.); NA, L.D., inv. no. 1, *Kopieboeken van uitgaande brieven 1729-1732*, Coymans Fagel (Sept. 12 1730).

<sup>102</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3785, *Gedrukte resoluties 1730*, 588-589 (Sept. 19); SAA, DOHR, inv. no. 355, *Brieven aan directeuren van C. van Gemert te 's-Gravenhage over de Deense zaken 1730*, Van Gemert to DOHR (Sept 22 and 23).

In these examples it becomes clear that Van Deurs stood at the beginning of high-level diplomatic interaction. It also shows how Van Deurs managed to mobilize various actors to bring about the desired changes. First, he wrote directly to the States General. He also wrote to the DOHR and Coymans. Coymans in turn maintained contact with the States General, the DOHR and Amsterdam. The DOHR knew how to use the information they received from Van Deurs and Coymans to give advice to the mayors of Amsterdam, who were represented in the States of Holland and the States General. Finally, with the problem surrounding the passports, Van Deurs was able to immediately implement a (minor) policy change in the Republic.

In addition to the examples in which Van Deurs had (in)direct influence on the diplomatic process, there is also an example in which Van Deurs conducted diplomatic negotiations himself. When Goes was appointed as ambassador in 1720 he had to renew the toll treaty and come to a solution about mutual money claims.<sup>103</sup> The Danish wanted to get the overdue subsidies for the Danish troops in the service of the Republic, and the Dutch wanted compensation for Dutch ships taken by Denmark during the Great Northern War (1700-1721). Although Goes had already started drawing up a list of the ships and goods taken by the Danish, he appointed Van Deurs, together with Goes' secretary, Willem Opdorp, to conduct the official negotiations in 1721. Van Deurs and Opdorp, together with a number of Danish commissioners, had to examine the evidence on which the demands were founded and they had to discuss how an agreement could be reached. After each meeting they had to report to the Dutch ambassador.<sup>104</sup> Because the Danish commissioners were not fully authorized to discuss all matters and because commissioners from both sides needed many documents that still had to be acquired in order to check the accounts and control the requests for money, the negotiations regularly came to a standstill.<sup>105</sup> Van Deurs and Opdorp remained involved in the negotiations under various ambassadors. Finally, in 1737, Coymans took the negotiations back into his own hands, at the request of the States General.<sup>106</sup> Although the negotiations went on for a

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<sup>103</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3777, *Gedrukte resoluties 1722*, 17 (Jan. 7); NA, S.G., inv. no. 12464, *Instructieboeken 1720-1730*, 97-102v (Feb. 12 1721); Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 246.

<sup>104</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 20, *Stukken betreffende de aanstelling en de bevoegdheden van de commissaris Arent van Deurs te Elseneur*, Dec. 25 1721; NA, L.D., inv. no. 40, *Stukken betreffende de aanspraken van Hollandse onderdanen ten aanzien van aangehouden en verbeurd verklaarde schepen, 1702-1732*, "Dient tot narigt" (No date); NA, L.D., inv. no. 1, *Kopieboeken van uitgaande brieven 1729-1732*, Coymans to Fagel (Feb. 12 1732); Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*, 247, 260-261. See for the reports NA, L.D., inv. no. 40, *Stukken betreffende de aanspraken van Hollandse onderdanen ten aanzien van aangehouden en verbeurd verklaarde schepen, 1702-1732*.

<sup>105</sup> NA, L.D., inv. no. 40, *Stukken betreffende de aanspraken van Hollandse onderdanen ten aanzien van aangehouden en verbeurd verklaarde schepen, 1702-1732*, Jan. 12, June 25 1726; NA, L.D., inv. no. 1, *Kopieboeken van uitgaande brieven 1729-1732*, Coymans to Fagel (Nov. 27 1731, Feb. 12, March 25 1732), Coymans to States General (April 8, July 29 1732).

<sup>106</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3792, *Gedrukte resoluties 1737*, 31-32 (Jan. 18); 69-70 (Feb. 9).

long time and were not brought to an end by Van Deurs, he did, together with Opdorp, conduct direct diplomatic negotiations with Danish commissioners.<sup>107</sup>

In the 37 years that Van Deurs was consul, there are many more examples in which the consul was an actor with agency in the diplomatic relations between the Republic and Denmark and in the policy of the Republic. However, it goes too far to discuss them all. One should remember that there were many actors involved in the policy making of the Dutch Republic and in its diplomatic relations, but that does not alter the fact that Van Deurs, as consul in Elsinore, was able to directly influence the policy of the Republic and its diplomatic relations.<sup>108</sup>

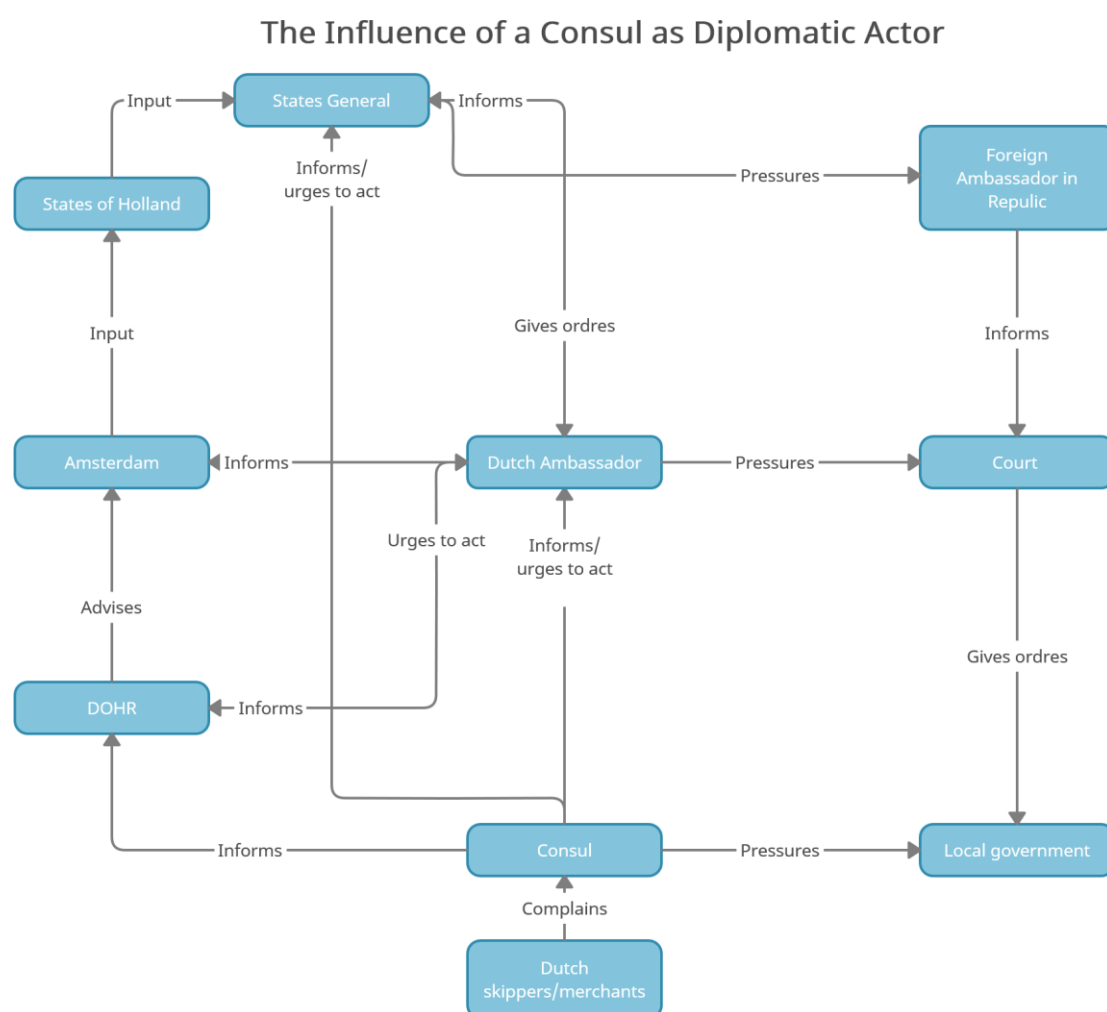


Figure 6: The Influence of a Consul as Diplomatic Actor

In figure 6, the examples mentioned above have been reduced to a schematic overview of the influence that the consul could have as a diplomatic actor. Based on complaints of Dutch skippers and merchants, or bases on his own initiative, a consul could influence the policy and diplomatic relations

<sup>107</sup> One can say that Van Deurs acted here in his position as secretary cum commissioner, but it is good to keep in mind that the Danes did see him as consul. See for example NA, L.D., inv. no. 40, *Stukken betreffende de aanspraken van Hollandse onderdanen ten aanzien van aangehouden en verbeurd verklaarde schepen, 1702-1732*, May 18 1726.

<sup>108</sup> Ebben, 'Uwer Hoog Moogenden Onderdaenigsten Dienaers', 671-672.

of the Dutch Republic in various (in)direct ways. First of all, the consul could pressure the local government. Secondly, the consul could inform the Dutch ambassador at the court about the complaints and urge him to act upon the arisen problems. The ambassador could then inform the States General and ask for instructions, and he could put pressure on the foreign government, for example by handing over a memorandum. Thirdly, the consul could write to the States General about the problems and ask the Dutch government to act in order to resolve the problems. The States General could then give instructions to the ambassador and they could discuss the problem with the foreign ambassador in the Republic. And lastly, the consul could inform the DOHR about certain problems. The DOHR could in turn write to the ambassador at the court, and the DOHR could give advice to the mayors of Amsterdam or to the States of Holland or the States General directly.

#### IV. Case Study: Carl Johan Bagge, Anthony Menssendijk and Thomas Zuckerbecker in Russia

The last case study will be a combined case study of three consuls in Russia, Carl Johan Bagge (St. Petersburg and Kronstadt), Anthony Menssendijk (Arkhangelsk) and Thomas Zuckerbecker Junior (Riga). Zuckerbecker was the first to be appointed consul on March 22 1791, Bagge on September 5 1791 and Menssendijk on April 11 1792.<sup>109</sup> According to the *Nieuwe Nederlandse Historische en Astronomische Almanak* of 1808, the three consuls were all still active as consul in 1808.<sup>110</sup> But because there was a political revolution in the Republic in the beginning of 1795, which brought the Republic to an end, this case study ends at the end of 1794.

As can be read in chapter one, Zuckerbecker was appointed before Hogguer, the Dutch ambassador in Russia, had established himself in St. Petersburg and the other two were soon appointed. As these consuls worked under the same instructions, they will also be investigated together. Bagge's sources are best preserved as he took over the de facto representation of the Republic in Russia from early 1795 onwards when Hogguer resigned his ambassadorship, as a result of which the sources are included in the embassy archives.<sup>111</sup> However, there is no correspondence between Bagge and Hogguer, because they lived in the same city. However combining Bagge's sources with the sources that are left from Zuckerbecker and Menssendijk complement each other. Using Bagge's sources it is possible to reveal the network of a consul, and Menssendijk and Zuckerbecker's

<sup>109</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12294, *Commissieboeken 1791-1794*, ff. 6v-7v (March 22 1791), ff. 41-42v (Sept. 5 1791), ff. 61v-62v (April 11 1792).

<sup>110</sup> A. Moetjens and H. Scheurleer, *Nieuwe Nederlandse, historische en astronomische almanak voor het jaar 1808* (Amsterdam 1808) See: "Lyst der ambassadeurs, envoyés, ministers, enz."

<sup>111</sup> P. Van der Poll, 'Een consul in moeilijke tijden: Carl Johan Bagge 1791-1806', in: E. Waegemans and H. van Koningsbrugge eds., *Noord- en Zuid-Nederlanders in Rusland 1703-2003* (Groningen 2004) 73-92, there 80-83; T.H.P.M. Thomassen and M. Zaaijer, *Inventaris van het archief van de Legatie in Rusland, (1710) 1720-1810* (Den Haag 1994) 7. NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Menssendijk (Feb. 26, April 2 1795); Hogguer to Zuckerbecker (Feb. 27, April 3 1795).

correspondence with Hogguer fill in the main gaps in order to give a full overview of the activities of Dutch consuls in Russia.

## I. The Consular Tasks

### *Informational functions*

In order to analyse the information-related tasks of the consul, the copybook of outgoing correspondence Bagge had written *ex officio*, is used to reconstruct with whom Bagge was in contact as a consul (figure 7).<sup>112</sup>

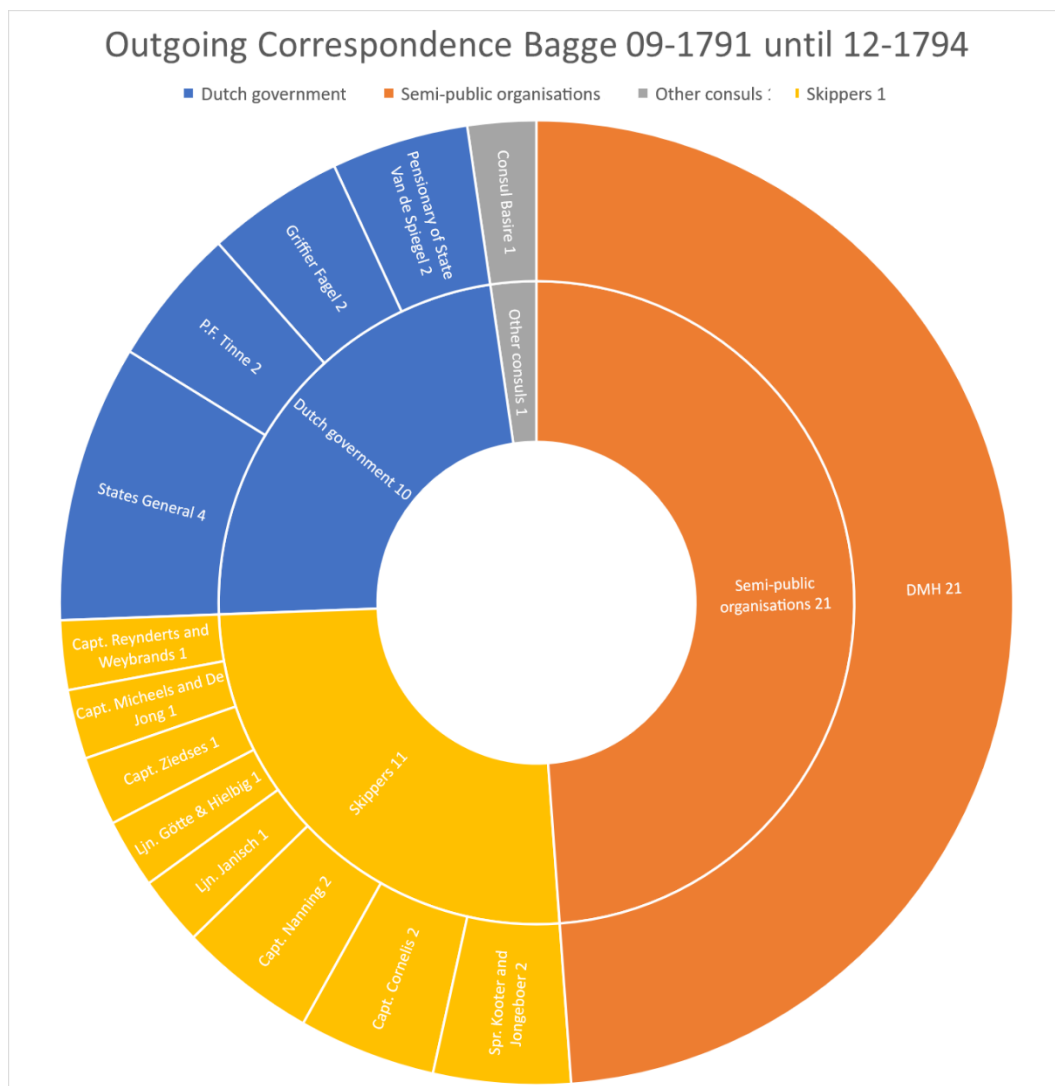


Figure 7: Outgoing correspondence Bagge 09-1791 until 12-1794. Source: NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*.

This figure shows that a large part of Bagge's letters was addressed to the DMH. In addition, he occasionally sent letters to the Dutch government, skippers and one letter to another consul. At the same time, an important correspondence partner is missing from this overview, namely ambassador

<sup>112</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*.

Hogguer. However, this gap is filled by the correspondence of Zuckerbecker and Menssendijk, who frequently corresponded with Hogguer, as with the DMH.<sup>113</sup> But what sort of information did the consuls send to whom?

The information the consuls provided to the DMH can be divided into three categories. First of all, they sent financial information. Bagge wrote in almost every letter about the exchange rate with Amsterdam, London and Hamburg, and he gave information about the interest rates that one got on government bonds.<sup>114</sup> The second category of information was about (Dutch) shipping to Russia. If Dutch ships arrived in their districts, or if ships remained in the Russian ports in the winter, the consuls made notion of them in their letters. And if rivers were frozen, making navigation impossible, they also let the DMH know. Lastly, they annually sent lists of the amount of (Dutch) ships arriving in Russian ports.<sup>115</sup> The third category is commercial in nature. For example, they informed the DMH about the various prices of goods. In addition, the consuls reported on the goods (and their value) that were annually imported and exported to and from their districts. They informed about goods that were no longer allowed to be imported and about the tolls on certain goods. And they provided updates on the caravan trade between Russia and China.<sup>116</sup> The fact that Bagge had a more extensive correspondence with the DMH than the other two consuls is because Hogguer had given him the task of informing the DMH about commercial matters.<sup>117</sup>

The correspondence consuls conducted with the Dutch government was of a formal nature only. For example, Bagge thanked the States General, the *griffier*, the Grand Pensionary and P.F.

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<sup>113</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*; NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*; SAA, DMH, inv. no. 39, *Brieven aan directeurs van Carl Johann Bagge 1792-1797*; SAA, DMH, inv. no. 40, *Brief aan Th. Zuckerbecker 1792*; SAA, DMH, inv. no. 41, *Brieven aan directeurs van Anthony Menssendijk 1793-1794*.

<sup>114</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 5 Bagge to DMH (Jan. 23 1792), f. 7 Bagge to DMH (Aug. 24 1792), ff. 7-8 Bagge to DMH (Nov. 30 1792), f. 12 Bagge to DMH (Nov. 25 1793), ff. 15-16 Bagge to DMH (Oct. 31 1794); SAA, DMH, inv. no. 39, *Brieven aan directeurs van Carl Johann Bagge 1792-1797*, *Changes de St. Petersburg en 1794*.

<sup>115</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 5 Bagge to DMH (April 27 1792), 7-8 Bagge to DMH (Nov. 30 1792), f. 10 Bagge to DMH (April 29 1793), f. 14 Bagge to DMH (April 21 1794); SAA, DMH, inv. no. 39, *Brieven aan directeurs van Carl Johann Bagge 1792-1797*, *Verzeichniss der ausgeschiften Waaren von St. Petersburg 1794*; SAA, DMH, inv. no. 41, *Brieven aan directeurs van Anthony Menssendijk 1793-1794*, *Menssendijk to DMH (Aug. 12 1793)*, *Lijst der schepen die er in Archangel zijn A: 1793*; SAA, DMH, inv. no. 40, *Brief aan directeurs van Th. Zuckerbecker 1792*, *Zuckerbecker to DMH (March 27 1792)*.

<sup>116</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 5 Bagge to DMH (Jan. 23 1792), ff. 8-9 Bagge to DMH (Feb. 15 1793), f. 10 Bagge to DMH (April 29 1793), f. 12 Bagge to DMH (Dec. 6 1793), Bagge to DMH (Nov. 25 1793), f. 13, Bagge to DMH (Dec. 13 1793), Bagge to DMH (Dec. 27 1793), f. 14 Bagge to DMH (June 23 1794), ff. 15-16 Bagge to DMH (Oct. 31 1794), ff. 16-17 Bagge to DMH (Dec. 1 1794); SAA, DMH, inv. no. 39, *Brieven aan directeurs van Carl Johann Bagge 1792-1797*, *Verzeichniss aller eingeführten Waaren zu St. Petersburg im Jahr 1792*; *Liste de toutes les marchandises, exportées des ports de la Russie en 1793*; *Verzeichniss der ausgeschiften Waaren von St. Petersburg 1794*; SAA, DMH, inv. no. 41, *Brieven aan directeurs van Anthony Menssendijk 1793-1794*, *Menssendijk to DMH (Aug. 12 1793)*, *Menssendijk to DMH (Sept. 23 1793)*, *Menssendijk to DMH (Feb. 24 1794)*, *Menssendijk to DMH (June 24 1794)*, *Lijst der aangevoerde goederen in Archangel A: 1793*; *Lijst der uitgevoerde goederen van Archangel A: 1793*, *Prys-courant van Russe goederen in Archangel (Feb. 24 1794)*, *Lijst der goederen die er van Archangel in 1793 afgescheept zijn*.

<sup>117</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 173, *Correspondentie met Nederlandse particulieren in de Republiek*, DMH to Hogguer (April 20 1793), Hogguer to DMH (Feb. 18 1793).

Tinne<sup>118</sup> for his appointment<sup>119</sup>, wished them a Happy New Year<sup>120</sup>, and confirmed the receipt of resolutions sent to him by the States General.<sup>121</sup> Why the consuls in Russia, unlike Van Deurs, did not correspond directly with the States General is unclear.

Consuls did conduct extensive correspondence with Hogguer. The difference in content Zuckerbecker and Menssendijk offered is striking in this regard. Menssendijk reported to Hogguer the same kind of commercial information that the DMH received from the consuls.<sup>122</sup> Hogguer was also informed about the arrival and departure of Russian warships and admirals, and the presence of naval ships from other countries in the area.<sup>123</sup> Although Zuckerbecker's correspondence also contained commercial information, he informed Hogguer on a wider range of topics.<sup>124</sup> For example, he wrote about the battles and progress of Russian troops in Poland and about military movements in Riga, about internal conflicts in Courland between the nobility, duke, merchants and craftsmen, and even about riots in Rome.<sup>125</sup> And finally, both consuls send information about their governor when a new governor was appointed in their district.<sup>126</sup>

That the consuls maintained the most extensive correspondence with Hogguer and with the DMH is not surprising given the order in their commission and instruction to correspond with them regularly.<sup>127</sup> Hogguer in turn was also actively seeking political and maritime, but especially commercial information about what was happening in and around the Russian Empire. Certainly when the mail began to arrive in St. Petersburg less regularly, information from the consuls became even more important for him.<sup>128</sup> Consuls were therefore an important link in the information network of the ambassador and the DMH.

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<sup>118</sup> P.F. Tinne is the director of the foreign correspondence: NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 2 Bagge to Tinne (Sept. 23 1791).

<sup>119</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 1 Bagge to States General (Sept. 19 1791), f. 1 Bagge to Pensionary of State Van de Spiegel (Sept. 19 1791), f. 2 Bagge to Griffier Fagel (Sept. 19 1791), f. 2 Bagge to Tinne (Sept. 23 1791); NA, C.F., inv. no. 5105, *'Brieven van ministers' aan de griffiers Fagel 1792*, Menssendijk to Fagel (July 2).

<sup>120</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 4 Bagge to Pensionary of State Van de Spiegel (Dec. 30 1791), ff. 4-5 Bagge to Griffier Fagel (Dec. 30 1791), f. 4 Bagge to Tinne (Dec. 30 1791).

<sup>121</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 7 Bagge to States General (Oct. 1 1792), f. 9 Bagge to States General (Feb. 18, March 4 1793).

<sup>122</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Menssendijk to Hogguer (Oct. 29, Dec. 17 1792; Jan. 28, Feb. 11, June 24, Aug. 5 and 12, Sept. 9, 16 and 23, Dec. 23 1793; Jan. 27, Feb. 24, April 7, May 19, June 16 and 30, July 14, Aug. 4, Sept. 1 1794; Jan. 26, Feb. 9 1795).

<sup>123</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Menssendijk to Hogguer (Dec. 23 1793; March 10, June 16 and 30, Sept. 1 and 22, Oct. 6 1794).

<sup>124</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (May 6, July 14 1791, no date 1792, Jan. 12 1793).

<sup>125</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (June 15, No date, 12 Oct., 1792; No date 1793, March 10 1795).

<sup>126</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Menssendijk to Hogguer (June 3, Sept. 16, Dec. 23 1793; Sept. 1, Dec. 3 1794), Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (No date 1793).

<sup>127</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 12294, *Commissieboeken 1791-1794*, ff. 6v-7v (March 22 1791), ff. 41-42v (Sept. 5 1791), ff. 61v-62v (April 11 1792).

<sup>128</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Zuckerbecker (April 29 1791; Jan. 16, April 20 1792, May 17, Dec. 3 1793, March 7, April 11, May 16, June 27, July 11, Aug. 8 and 25, Sept. 4 1794), Hogguer to Menssendijk (Sept. 29, Dec. 6 1792, April 10 1794).

### *Navy-related functions*

While there is no indication that the consuls in Russia had anything to do with the Republic's naval ships, they did have to do with commercial shipping. First of all, since 1792, Dutch ships arriving in Russian ports had to report to the consul with their papers within 24 hours of arrival, so that the consuls could check whether the ships were lawfully flying the Dutch flag.<sup>129</sup>

In addition, consuls also maintained contact with skippers in their district (figure 7), in which the mediating role of consuls emerges. For example, there was a captain who refused to pay his cook his wages and let him leave with his stuff, even though they had agreed upon his leave beforehand.<sup>130</sup> And another time, a captain refused to give money to the crew to buy supplies they had lost in a ship accident.<sup>131</sup> Bagge wanted to resolve these conflict amicably and tried to solve conflicts when both parties were present in person, as he wanted to hear both sides of the story.<sup>132</sup> Menssendijk and Zuckerbecker were also involved in resolving disputes between the captain and his crew.<sup>133</sup>

Besides between crew and captain, consuls also had to mediate between skippers and merchants. For example, Bagge mediated between a captain and a freighter. When a freighter could not supply enough wood to fill the ship, the captain went to fetch wood himself. This resulted in a formal protest on the account of the freighter. Bagge maintained contact with both sides, but did not consider it necessary to make a counter-protest, showing that Bagge was also involved in formal protests between captains and traders.<sup>134</sup>

Zuckerbecker was involved in a formal protest. A sailor of a ship wanted to get married and stay in Riga, but the captain did not want to let him go and thus did not pay his wages, after which the sailor sued the captain. The magistrate of Riga ruled in the sailor's favor because it was by the law of Riga possible that shipmen who wanted to get married could be released from their contract. Zuckerbecker then submitted an official memorandum to the governor, in which he argued that that law only applied to Russian nationals, because otherwise everyone could get off the ship on the pretext of wanting to get married, leaving ships unnavigable. In addition, Dutch ships had to comply with Dutch, not Russian law. The consequence of this memorandum was that the judgment of the

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<sup>129</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3856, *Gedrukte resoluties 1792 januari - juni*, 457 (June 4); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3857, *Gedrukte resoluties 1792 juli - december*, 721 (Sept. 11); NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (No date 1792).

<sup>130</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 6 Bagge to Nanning (June 11 1792).

<sup>131</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 11 Bagge to Cornelis (July 14 1793).

<sup>132</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 8 Bagge to Kooter and Jongeboer (Dec. 6 1792 and Dec. 14 1792).

<sup>133</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (No date 1792); Menssendijk to Hogguer (May 6 1793).

<sup>134</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 3 Bagge to Reynderts and Weybrands (Oct. 23 1791).

magistrate was overruled and that the sailor had to return to the ship.<sup>135</sup> If the magistrate does not comply with the ruling, Hogguer would immediately address the ministers at court about it.<sup>136</sup>

Consuls could therefore settle matters amicably, but if necessary they also helped a skipper in court, and thereby following the customs of that place, in accordance to their instructions. Yet they had no jurisdictional powers.<sup>137</sup>

### *Notarial functions*

The third category of tasks a consul had in Russia were notarial tasks. The consuls often had to draw up certificates. For example, Bagge had to record that a skipper had been fined by customs for importing prohibited goods,<sup>138</sup> that a notary was resident in St. Petersburg,<sup>139</sup> and draw up confirmations of cargo receipt.<sup>140</sup> Skippers requested that the consuls signed the attestations with “Consul of such and such”<sup>141</sup> and with a seal of state, because otherwise they thought the attestation would not be respected.<sup>142</sup> The attestations could be required in various languages.<sup>143</sup>

### *Police functions*

Providing publicity for edicts and ordinances concerned, in the case of the Republic, the announcement of the resolutions of the States General to skippers.<sup>144</sup> These resolutions included the announcement that skippers had to immediately report to the consul after their arrival in Russian

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<sup>135</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (Oct. 12 1792).

<sup>136</sup> NA, L.R., *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Zuckerbecker (Dec. 10 1792).

<sup>137</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Menssendijk to Hogguer (Sept. 6 1792).

<sup>138</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 8 Bagge to Teunis (Sept. 25 1792). See also NA, L.R., inv. no. 172, *Ingekomen brieven van en minuten van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse particulieren in Rusland*, Teunis to Hogguer (Sept. 22 1792).

<sup>139</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 8 Bagge to Arango & C. (Ovt. 12 1792), f.11 Bagge to E.J. Smith & C. (June 21 1793).

<sup>140</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 11 Bagge to J.H. Stuhl (July 25 1793), Bagge to P. Jagodnikoff C. & Zoonen (July 25 1793), f. 12 Bagge to J.H. Busk (Nov. 1 1793), f. 15 Bagge to Paulsen (Aug. 10 1794), Bagge to Atjes (Aug. 11 1794). See also: NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (June 15 1792).

<sup>141</sup> “Consul van die en die” in NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (July 1 1791).

<sup>142</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (July 14 1791); NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 8 Bagge to Teunis (Sept. 25 1792).

<sup>143</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 12 (Nov. 15 and Nov. 16 1793).

<sup>144</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 8 Bagge to States General (Oct. 1 1792), f. 9 Bagge to States General (March 4 1793); NA, L.R., inv. no. 173, *Correspondentie met Nederlandse particulieren in de Republiek*, DMH to Hogguer (Feb. 3 1793); NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Menssendijk to Hogguer (March 4 and 18 1793), Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (March 19 1793). NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Zuckerbecker (Feb. 18, March 4 1793), Hogguer to Menssendijk (March 7 1793).

ports, that war with France had broken out and English and Dutch ships were put under embargo in the French ports.<sup>145</sup>

Not only resolutions from the Republic were announced to the skippers. Hogguer also sent ukases, an edict of the Russian government, to the consuls several times. For example, some ukases were about which goods were no longer allowed to be exported from or sold in Russia. The consuls had to communicate these edicts to the skippers and merchants.<sup>146</sup>

In addition to the tasks that fit into these categories, the consuls in Russia also performed other tasks. For example, they had to forward mail for Hogguer a number of times.<sup>147</sup> Zuckerbecker had also selected a coachman for Hogguer and sent him to St. Petersburg.<sup>148</sup> And lastly the help for strangers who arrived in their district is mentioned.<sup>149</sup> All the tasks mentioned above make it understandable that consuls had to have a great knowledge of languages, which had come to the fore as qualification. One had to be able to communicate with Dutch skippers but also with the local authorities and merchants, one had to be able to translate documents that came out in a certain language and one had to be able to write certificates in several languages.

In the correspondence of the consuls no mention is made of any religious functions. Also, consuls had no jurisdictional powers, they were not required to maintain the civil administration of the nation of merchants or represent that nation. This makes sense as there were no problems around religion, Dutch consuls did not have any jurisdiction in Christian Europe and in the ports where the consuls were active in Russia there were hardly any (communities of) Dutch traders.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 173, *Correspondentie met Nederlandse particulieren in de Republiek*, DMH to Hogguer (Feb. 9 1793), Hogguer to DMH (Feb. 18 1793); NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Menssendijk to Hogguer (May 6 1793); NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Zuckerbecker (Sept. 28 1792, April 16 1793, April 3 1795), Hogguer to Menssendijk (Sept. 29 1792, April 17 1793, April 2 1795); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3857, *Gedrukte resoluties 1792 juli - december*, 721 (Sept. 11); NA, S.G., inv. no. 3858, *Gedrukte resoluties 1793 januari - juni*, 182-189 (Feb. 20).

<sup>146</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 13 Bagge to DMH (Dec. 27 1793), f. 14 Bagge to DMH (June 23 1794); NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (March 19 1793), Menssendijk to Hogguer (June 3 1793, July 14 1794); NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Zuckerbecker (April 29 1791, Feb. 18, May 17 1793, June 27 1794), Hogguer to Menssendijk (May 18 1793, June 27, July 31 1794).

<sup>147</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Zuckerbecker (Dec. 10 1792, Oct. 24 1794).

<sup>148</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (Jan. 12 1793); NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Zuckerbecker (Dec. 10 1792, Feb. 4 1793).

<sup>149</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Menssendijk to Hogguer (Sept. 6 1792).

<sup>150</sup> Wertheim, *Manuel A L'Usage Des Consuls Des Pays-Bay*, 262-263; V.N. Zakharov, 'Foreign Merchant Communities in Eighteenth-Century Russia', in: V.N. Zakharov, G. Harlaftis and O. Katsiardi-Hering eds., *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period* (London 2012), there 114-118.; NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (March 13 1793). Not without reason Veluwenkamp finishes his book about the Dutch in Archangel in the last quarter of the eighteenth century: J. W. Veluwenkamp, *Archangel: Nederlandse ondernemers in Rusland, 1550-1785* (Amsterdam 2000) 197-202.

## II. The Agency of a Consul in Policymaking and Diplomacy

The analysis of the activities of the consuls reveal a glimpse of the interdependence of consuls with the diplomatic service. The consuls were important providers of information to Hogguer, in addition consuls had to perform tasks for him, such as Bagge communicating with the DMH about commercial matters, or consuls passing messages from Hogguer to skippers.<sup>151</sup> Thirdly, the consuls come forward as executors of the policy of the Republic, in the form of announcing resolutions to skippers. But merely carrying out policy or orders from the diplomatic service does not make the consul a diplomatic actor. The contact that the consuls had with the local authorities does show the diplomatic agency of a consul, albeit on a local or regional level, for example when Zuckerbecker had submitted the memorandum to the governor. But the consul as an actor with agency in the making of policy and in the diplomatic relations of the Dutch Republic has yet to emerge.

The first example for this comes from Zuckerbecker. In his district there had come ships that pretended to be Dutch, but actually came from Sweden or Pomerania. Not only did they put Dutch skippers at a disadvantage, who were left without cargo, but the insurance costs for Dutch ships also increased as these non-Dutch skippers were involved in more incidents, causing insurance premiums to rise. To tackle this problem, Zuckerbecker thought it would be a good idea if all Dutch skippers would come directly to him on arrival to show their sea certificates. To this end, he requested the local government to order customs that skippers flying the Dutch flag first had to show him these certificates. Zuckerbecker, however, got the answer that it would be better if this was handled at a higher political level: Hogguer had to submit a memorandum to Count Osterman, the Russian Prime Minister.<sup>152</sup> At Zuckerbecker's request, Hogguer subsequently filed a memorandum, but the request was declined. It was feared that this would lead to much delay for the ships. But as response to the memorandum, Zuckerbecker was allowed to indicate which ships were sailed illegally under the Dutch flag, and to notify the governor about it, in order that the skipper would remove the Dutch flag.<sup>153</sup> Hogguer forwarded this reply to the other consuls, so that they could act accordingly.<sup>154</sup> In addition to the memorandum, Hogguer sent a letter to the States General, in which he presented the problem and Zuckerbecker's proposal to impose an obligation on all skippers in the Baltic to come to the consul of the state after their arrival in a port and to show their certificates there.<sup>155</sup> The States General then

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<sup>151</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 6 Bagge to Micheels and De Jong (June 4 1792), f. 8 Bagge to Kooter and Jongeboer (Dec. 14 1792).

<sup>152</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (No date 1792); De Langen, 'Jan Willem Hogguer', 60.

<sup>153</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Zuckerbecker (April 20, June 9 1792).

<sup>154</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Menssendijk (July 29 1792).

<sup>155</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3856, *Gedrukte resoluties 1792 januari - juni*, 456-457 (June 4); NA, S.G., inv. no. 11644, *Brievenboeken 1792 Duits register*, ff. 572-578 (May 16).

decided that skippers sailing to Russia at a port where a consul of the state was present had to report to the consul within 24 hours.<sup>156</sup> Because skippers now had to report to the consul, Zuckerbecker could actually keep track of who did not have Dutch certificates and report them to the governor. An additional advantage was that it was also possible to keep a better view of the import and export on Dutch ships.<sup>157</sup> The resolutions were then distributed to the Dutch consuls in Russia, who had to implement the new policy.<sup>158</sup> Hogguer had informed the DMH of the proposal as well, but in this case it does not appear that the DMH has given any advice to the mayors of Amsterdam about it.<sup>159</sup>

This example shows that Zuckerbecker made a proposal to the local government on his own initiative. At the same time, Zuckerbecker committed Hogguer to his cause, with which Zuckerbecker not only initiated a diplomatic process, namely the memorandum that Hogguer submitted to Osterman, but also directly influenced the policy of the Republic: his proposed solution was adopted one-on-one by the States General.

Another example in which a consul directly influenced the policy of the Republic comes from Menssendijk. He commented on the instruction the States General had given to a convoy bound for Archangel. For example, according to the instruction, places had to be visited where no Dutch ships had sailed for a long time. In addition, the convoy had to leave earlier, because firstly merchants had to get their goods to market early, and secondly because full ships had more difficulty moving forward, so if the convoy waited too long and the weather would be bad, the convoy would disintegrate more quickly. Menssendijk then presented improvements for the instructions for a next convoy.<sup>160</sup> Hogguer subsequently copied this report by Menssendijk to the States General. However, because no more convoy is going to Archangel this year, Menssendijk's plan is saved for the future.<sup>161</sup>

These are not the only plans the consuls have made. For example, Menssendijk has drawn up instructions for the skippers in response to the above-mentioned resolution, which stated what they had to report to him upon arrival at Archangel.<sup>162</sup> Bagge had also presented a plan to Hogguer about

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<sup>156</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3857, *Gedrukte resoluties 1792 juli - december*, 721 (Sept. 11).

<sup>157</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Zuckerbecker to Hogguer (No date, June 15 1792).

<sup>158</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Zuckerbecker (Sept. 28 1792), Hogguer to Menssendijk (Sept. 29 1792); NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, f. 7 Bagge to States General (Oct. 1 1792).

<sup>159</sup> NA, L.R. inv. no. 173, *Correspondentie met Nederlandse particulieren in de Republiek*, Hogguer to DMH (June 11 1792).

<sup>160</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Menssendijk to Hogguer (April 7 1794).

<sup>161</sup> NA, S.G., inv. no. 3860, *Gedrukte resoluties 1794 januari - juni*, 526 (June 17), 566 (June 27); NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Menssendijk to Hogguer (Sept. 1 1794); NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Menssendijk (April 25, July 31 1794).

<sup>162</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 171, *Ingekomen brieven van Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Menssendijk to Hogguer (May 6 1793).

possibilities to promote Dutch shipping, so that Dutch ships would be used more often to transport freight. But unfortunately nothing can be found about this plan.<sup>163</sup>

In all these examples the consul comes to the fore as an actor with agency in the making of policy and in the diplomatic relations of the Dutch Republic. In their plans, they collaborated with Hogguer, who was committed to promote these plans at the Russian court and to the States General. Hogguer had namely been instructed by the States General to, among other things, work to promote Dutch commerce with Russia, to promote the interests of the residents of the Republic and to assist them.<sup>164</sup> The consuls, whom he had desired to have in important ports, were an important means for him to achieve this goal as he told them that “the great object to be observed is to give preference to the Dutch flag”.<sup>165</sup> For Hogguer, the consuls are therefore inextricably linked to the tasks he had been given as ambassador. As a result, consuls became involved in the policy of the Republic and in diplomatic relations with Russia, as information providers for and implementers of the policy of the States General and Hogguer, and as actors with influence on the policy and the diplomatic process of the Dutch Republic. Figure 6 therefore also applies to the Dutch consuls in Russia. But unlike Van Deurs, the consuls in Russia did not directly influence policy because they hardly wrote to the States General nor entered into direct negotiations with official representatives of the Russian court. They did have an indirect influence on the diplomatic relationship between the Republic and Russia and on the policy of the Republic through Hogguer. At a lower level, they did engage in direct diplomacy, by presenting memoranda to the local government.

## V. Conclusion

A consul's commercial qualifications were most important, as can be seen in the applications and letters of recommendation. The vast majority of consuls were merchants at the time of application. The commercial importance of a consulate is also reflected in the duties performed by the consuls. The consuls in Northern Europe do not seem to have performed all the tasks the consuls in the Mediterranean area performed, as described by Mézin. But the tasks they did perform can be reduced to these categories. The differences can be explained by the different conditions in the Mediterranean and in the Baltic as each consulate had to deal with different circumstances and different needs of merchants. The Dutch consuls in Northern Europe therefore performed no different tasks than other consuls elsewhere in Europe. This makes the answer to the second question in this chapter, whether

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<sup>163</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 185, *Kopieboek van uitgaande brieven, 1791-1806*, ff. 3-4 Bagge to DMH (Nov. 28 1791).

<sup>164</sup> NA, L.R., inv. no. 175, *Benoemingsbesluit van de Staten-Generaal, paspoort, instructie, acte van indemniteit, 1790-1791*, Instruction Hogguer (Jan. 31 1791).

<sup>165</sup> “Het groote object dat men in acht moet neemen is dat men de Neederlandsche vlag de voorkeur laat geeven.” in NA, L.R., inv. no. 170, *Afschriften van uitgaande brieven aan Nederlandse consuls in Rusland en Danzig 1791-1795*, Hogguer to Menssendijk (Dec. 6 1792).

a consul had any agency in the policy of the Republic and in diplomatic processes, even more important. Because if the Dutch consuls in Northern Europe in the tasks they perform resemble the consuls of other countries in other parts of Europe, and if the Dutch consuls in Northern Europe had agency in the diplomatic process, then it is likely that this is also the case for consuls in other parts of Europe, although this would of course require further research.

Although the commercial usefulness of the consul is emphasized in the commission and instructions with which the state appointed the consul, the state also recognized the importance of information acquisition by the consuls: the consuls had to send information to the States General, ambassador and the DMH or the DOHR. But although the provision of information in itself is already an important element of the consul's influence on policy, since, for example, the DOHR provided advice to the government on the basis of that information and the government took action on the basis of that information, this was only a very indirect way in which the consul influenced policy and diplomatic processes. The case studies show that the consul was also more directly involved in the high-level diplomatic process between the Republic and other nations. Figure 6 shows the different ways in which a consul as a diplomatic actor could influence the diplomatic process: via the DOHR and the DMH, via the ambassador at the court and via the States General directly. Both case studies show that consuls initiated various high-level diplomatic processes, influenced the policies of the Republic, and maintained contact at the local level with the authorities and other consuls.

Although the consuls were appointed for commercial reasons they became subsequently active in the diplomatic process. The consuls indeed had diplomatic agency, i.e. influence on the relations between the Dutch Republic and other countries. Too much focus on the ambiguous place that consuls had in international law has obscured the influence that the consuls had on the policy of the Republic and on the diplomatic process between the Republic and other countries.

In addition, this chapter also highlighted the usefulness of the consul for the ambassador and the state. Although consuls were mainly appointed at the request of merchants, thus emphasizing the usefulness of the consul for trade, the state and ambassador also recognized the usefulness of a consul. Thanks to the expanding network of consuls in Northern Europe, the state and the ambassador received a lot of military, political and financial information, as well as information about shipping and trade. In addition, the state and ambassadors could give orders to the consuls which they had to carry out. The Dutch ambassador Hogguer was so aware of the usefulness that consuls could have for him that he wanted to have consuls appointed in several Russian ports. The state was therefore initially only a facilitator in the consular service, but when a consul was appointed, the state and the ambassador also made use of them.



## Conclusion

This thesis has studied the Dutch consular service and the diplomatic agency of Dutch consuls in Northern Europe. The first aim of this thesis was to show how and why the Dutch consular service was established in Northern Europe. While in Danzig and Elsinore, two posts which would become consulates in the eighteenth century, a Dutch envoy was already present in the seventeenth century, the title of consul was only used for the first time in Northern Europe with the arrival of a Dutch consul in Bergen in 1693. In the same century, the number of consuls continued to increase, especially in the last quarter of the century. This was relatively late, compared to the expansion of the Dutch consular service in the Mediterranean, where there were already consuls in the first half of the seventeenth century. This can be explained by the relative safety of the seas. The North and Baltic Seas were relatively safe in the seventeenth century, the Republic could send large fleets to defend its interests and curb the expansion drive of other states. This situation became more complicated in the last quarter of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century, when the precarious financial state in which the Republic found itself was one of the reasons that the Republic became a second-class power. The Republic could no longer defend its interests militarily. As a result, the seas in Northern Europe became more unsafe for Dutch merchants due to wars and the presence of hostile privateers. That is why the Dutch consular service in Northern Europe only really developed in the eighteenth century. In addition, local circumstances played a role in the places where consuls were appointed. For example, the Navigation Act made the appointment of consuls in Sweden redundant. And the attitude of the actors involved influenced the development of the Dutch consular service. The DOHR and the DMH were important actors in the consular service because of the advice they could give to the authorities about consular appointments. Their advice was adopted in many cases in the States General. And these actors were both reluctant to establish new consulates, because trade had already flourished without consuls having been appointed.

That consuls were active in Northern Europe was not due to vigorous action by the state. The initiative for a consulate had to come from the merchants or from those aspiring to become consul. The requests that have led to the development of the consular service therefore testify to a bottom-up development. Merchants, skippers and insurers had various reasons to ask for a consul in a specific place, such as commercial considerations, war and the presence of consuls from other nations in Northern Europe. The requests had to be discussed at multiple levels of government. The States of Holland, and in particular the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Hoorn, had a decisive influence in this appointment process. And the DOHR and the DMH could give advice on consular appointments, which advice was mostly adopted. The multitude of actors involved, the reticent attitude of the DOHR

and the DMH towards new consulates, and the fact that appointments had to be discussed at multiple governmental levels resulted in many requests for consular appointments getting stuck and dying a silent death in the process. The fact that Van Arp's application to appoint a consul in Copenhagen, with which this thesis started, was never further processed is a good example of this.

The fact that the merchants were the impetus of the development of the consular service already indicates the commercial usefulness of the consuls. It also appears from the letters of recommendation, requests and instructions that the merchants were mainly concerned with the commercial usefulness of a consul. In addition, the tasks that the consuls performed in practice show that they often engaged in commercial tasks. And finally, those who became consuls also often had a background in commerce, and it was not forbidden to continue trading while one was a consul. That the consul was a “mere merchant” according to Wicquefort thus seems to be correct. Yet his following conclusion that the consul was not an actor on the diplomatic stage falls short when looking at the diplomatic agency of a consul in reality.

Although the consul occupies an ambiguous position in international law or in treaties, which theorists of international law have discussed since the seventeenth century, this research into the diplomatic agency of the consul, in which the practical actions of the consul have been examined, shows that in practice the consul was indeed an important actor in diplomacy. The consul could mobilise various actors to bring about the desired change. He could influence the policy and foreign relations of the Dutch Republic indirectly via the DOHR and the DMH, via the ambassador at the court, or directly via the States General and negotiations with the local government. The consul maintained contact with local authorities and with consuls from other countries. Through this contact at a lower level, the consul was able to discuss and resolve matters, such as complaints from merchants. Sometimes, however, this did not work. Then the consul was able to initiate high-level diplomatic negotiations through his contact with the ambassador and with the States General. And lastly, consuls could enter into direct negotiations with a foreign power, as evidenced by Van Deurs' role in the negotiations with Denmark. Both case studies show that consuls initiated various high-level diplomatic processes, influenced the policies of the Republic, and maintained contact at the local level with the authorities and other consuls. It thus becomes clear from this thesis that consuls do indeed deserve a place on the diplomatic stage.

The last point of this conclusion is about the usefulness of the consul for the state. Although the state initially appeared as a mere facilitator of the merchants' wishes, only appointing the consuls and paying some of them, it did make use of these consuls once they were appointed. First of all, the consul had an informative task, both towards the state and towards the officials of the state, i.e. the ambassadors. The consuls maintained the most extensive correspondence with them. Consuls

informed the ambassadors and the state of commercial, political, military and navy-related matters. Secondly, the consul could carry out resolutions for the state, and the consul could carry out the ambassador's orders. The fact that Hogguer was happy to have Dutch consuls appointed in some Russian ports shows that the ambassador was convinced of the usefulness that the consuls could offer him. Until now, the focus in consular research has been on the commercial role and utility of the consul, but this research shows that the historiographical debates about the consul can be supplemented with a new perspective: the utility of the consul for the state and her public servants.

The new perspectives for the existing debates that emerge in this study provide starting points for further research. First, consular research needs to be placed in a transnational perspective. The international comparison with consular services of other countries shows that the French model, where the state had a much more direct influence in where the consuls were appointed, does not seem to be representative of the Dutch consular service and of consular services elsewhere in Europe. The overwhelming focus on the French consul in the consular historiography should thus be supplemented and corrected by transnational research.

Secondly, the Dutch consular service is in many respects very similar to the consular services of other countries, for example the consular service of Prussia, Sweden and Denmark. As the Dutch consul was an important actor in the diplomatic process, it might be that consuls of other nations also have agency in the diplomatic relations of their nations. The fact that the Dutch, English and Swedish consul in Elsinore worked together and that they all urged their respective ambassador to act upon a problem seems to indicate that this hypothesis should be positively confirmed. Further research should therefore focus on whether consuls from other countries also had any influence on their country's diplomatic processes and policies.

Thirdly, the tension between the merchants, state and consuls has come to the fore in this study, both in the way in which the consular service has been formed and in the way in which merchants could influence the foreign policy and diplomatic relations of the Republic through the consuls. This once again reminds us that the consular service has grown organically and that we must always bear in mind the multiplicity of actors involved in shaping the Republic's foreign policy.

And finally, no research into the history of diplomacy or into the history of a diplomatic service should ignore the consul any longer. No longer are the consuls merely “auxiliaries rather than actors”<sup>1</sup> on the international stage. Consuls could perform international negotiations and initiate diplomatic processes both direct and indirect. The fact that it is precisely these diplomatic processes and the role of low-state actors that are central to new diplomatic history mean that the consul, who was

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<sup>1</sup> Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy*, 92.

previously seen only as a Cinderella service, can, in the words of Marzagalli and Ulbert, leave behind her grey rags and reveal her true beauty in the field of International Relations.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Marzagalli and Ulbert, 'Présentation', 9.

## Appendix

### A. List of active consuls in Northern Europe 1693-1795

Country	Place	Name	Date of appointment	Period active
Russia	Arkhangelsk	Anthony Menssendijk	1792	1792-?
Norway	Bergen	Tewis Dominicus	1693	1693-1704
Norway	Bergen	Niels Sanderssen Weinwich	1720	1720-1738
Norway	Bergen	Hendrik Jansz. Fasmer	1739	1739-1780
Norway	Bergen	Jan Hendrik Fasmer	1780	1780-1791
Norway	Bergen	Hendrik Jan Fasmer	1791	1791-1810
Norway	Christiansand	Daniel Isaachsen	1793	1793-1810
Polen	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Coenraat Scholten	1682	1682-1697
Polen	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Dirck van Domburgh	1697	1697-1712
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Dirck van Bleyswijk	1712	1712-1753
Polen	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Dirck van Bleyswijk	1712	1712-1753
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Hendrik Soermans	1754	1754-1775
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Jacob Ross	1775	1775-1807
Denmark	Elsinore	Jan van Deurs	1677	1677-1710
Denmark	Elsinore	Arend van Deurs	1710	1710-1747
Denmark	Elsinore	Jean Christoffer van Deurs	1747	1747-1781
Denmark	Elsinore	Stephan Arend van Deurs	1781	1781-1791
Denmark	Elsinore	Joost Jacob van Aller	1792	1792-1810
Germany	Heligoland	Johan Jacob Frederiks Blüssener	1774	1774-1792
Russia	Kronstadt	Carl Johan Bagge	1791	1791-1806
Russia	Libau	Abraham Boudon	1794	1794-?
Latvia	Riga	Thomas Zuckerbecker Junior	1791	1791-?
Russia	St. Petersburg	Carl Johan Bagge	1791	1791-1806

Table 1: List of active consuls in Northern Europe, 1693-1795. Source: NA, S.G., *Gedrukte resoluties*; NA, S.v.H., *Gedrukte resoluties*; Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*.

### B. List of temporary vice-consulates 1781 in Northern Europe

Country	Place	Name	Date of appointment
Norway	Christiansand	Daniel Isaachsen	1781
Norway	Egersund	Torger Reyersen	1781
Norway	Kragerö	Henr. O Biorn	1781
Norway	Risør	Johannes Dödlöf Fürst	1781
Norway	Trondheim	Hans Knudtzon	1781
Sweden	Gotenberg	Lars Kahne	1781
Sweden	Marstrand	M. Peterssen	1781
Sweden	Marstrand	H. Hinrichson Walgren	1782
Sweden	Varberg	Peter Gerl. Liedberg	1781

Table 2: List of temporary vice-consulates 1781 in Northern Europe. Source: Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*; NA, S.G., inv. nr. 11558, *Brievenboeken 1781 Duits register*.

### C. List of vice-consulates in Northern Europe, 1693-1795

Country	Place	Name	Date of appointment	Period active
Germany	Rendsburg	Carel Thalbitzer (Ghalbitzer)	1794	1794-?
Russia	Windau	Vice-consul of Abraham Boudon	1794	1794-?

Table 3: List of vice-consulates in Northern Europe, 1693-1795. Source: NA, S.G., *Gedrukte resoluties*; NA, S.v.H., *Gedrukte resoluties*; Schutte, *Vertegenwoordigers in het buitenland*.

D. List of requested or proposed consulates in Northern Europe, 1693-1795

Country	Place	Name	Date of appointment
Russia	Arkhangelsk	Barend Johan Rodde	1765
Norway	Bergen	Hildebrand Harmans	1791
Norway	Bergen	Clamer Meltzer	1791
Norway	Bergen	Hans Tank	1791
Norway	Bergen	Frederik Ludwig Konow	1791
Norway	Christiansand	Daniel Isaachsen	1781
Norway	Christiansand	General request, no specific person nominated	1792
Denmark	Copenhagen	Frederik de Coninck	1781
Denmark	Copenhagen	Jean Christoffer van Deurs	1781
Denmark	Copenhagen	Jan de Coninck	1785
Denmark	Copenhagen	General request, no specific person nominated	1792
Denmark	Copenhagen	Frederik de Coninck	1792
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Carel Rumpf	1712
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Rutger Abraham Hoyman	1754
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Matthys van Collen	1754
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Jan Anthony Jansonius van Waasbergen	1754
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Leonard de Vogel	1754
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Andries de Ruyter	1754
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Pieter Pott	1754
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Hendrik vander Hellen	1754
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Willem Theodorus Houwens	1775
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Nathanaël Warnsman	1775
Poland	Danzig (Gdańsk)	Carel Sittig	1775
Poland	Elbing (Elbląg)	Abraham Boudon	1785
Norway	Elsinore	Jacob Frederik van Deurs*	1791
Sweden	Gotenburg	General request, no specific person nominated	1783
Sweden	Gotenburg	Jonas Malm	1790
Sweden	Gotenburg	Hendrik Breukelman	1793
Germany	Heligoland	Johan Heinrich Muller	1792
Russia	Königsberg (Kaliningrad)	General request, no specific person nominated	1715
Russia	Königsberg (Kaliningrad)	Abraham Boudon	1785
Lithuania	Memel (Klaipėda)	Abraham Boudon	1785
Russia	Pillau (Baltiejsk)	Abraham Boudon	1785
Estonia	Reval (Tallinn)	Request Hogguer	1791
Latvia	Riga	Dirk Timmermans	1716
Russia	St. Petersburg	Carl Johan Bagge	1781
Norway	Trondheim	Hans Knudtzon	1782
Norway	Trondheim	Herman Hoë	1782
Norway	Trondheim	General request, no specific person nominated	1792
*Frederik van Deurs was appointed vice-consul by his brother, Stephan Arend van Deurs, on his deathbed. The States-General wanted him to be consul in Copenhagen and Aller to be consul in Elsinore because of the experience of Van Deurs in Copenhagen. But Van Deurs didn't want to be consul in Copenhagen and declined the appointment.			

Table 4: List of proposed or requested consulates 1693-1795. Source: NA, S.G., *Gedrukte resoluties*; NA, S.v.H., *Gedrukte resoluties*; NA, S.G., *Ingekomen requesten*;

## Sources and Bibliography

### Abbreviations (archival collections)

NA	Nationaal Archief (National Archive, The Hague)
C.R.S.	Inventaris van de Collectie Resoluties van de Staten van Friesland, Gelderland, Groningen, Holland, Overijssel, Utrecht en Zeeland, 1532-1807 (Inventory of the Resolutions Collection of the States of Friesland, Gelderland, Groningen, Holland, Overijssel, Utrecht and Zeeland, 1532-1807, 1.12.01)
C.F.	Collectie Fagel (Collection Fagel, 1.10.29)
F.S.	De familie Fagel: Supplement (The family Fagel: Supplement, 1.10.94)
F.S.V.T.	Familiearchief Slingelandt (van) de Vrij Temminck (Family archive Slingelandt (van) de Vrij Temminck, 3.20.52)
L.D.	Legatiearchief Denemarken (Legation archive Denmark, 1.02.12)
L.R.	Legatiearchief Rusland (Legation archive Russia, 1.02.13)
S.G.	Staten-Generaal (States General, 1.01.02)
S.v.H.	Staten van Holland (States of Holland, 3.01.04.01)
SAA	Stads Archief Amsterdam (City archive of Amsterdam, Amsterdam)
A.B.D.M.	Archief van Burgemeesters Diplomatieke Missiven (Archive of Mayors Diplomatic Letters, 5072)
A.F.B.A.F.	Archief Familie Brandts en Aanverwante Families (Archive family Brandts and Related Families, 88)
A.N.S.M.	Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam (Archives of the Notaries in Amsterdam, 5075)
DMH	Directie van de Moscovische Handel (Board of Muscovian Trade, 6)
DOHR	Directie van de Oostersche Handel en Reederijen (Board of Eastern Trade and Shipowners, 78)
Tresoar	Tresoar (Friesland)
G.B.V.F.	Gewestelijke bestuursinstellingen van Friesland 1580-1795 (Provincial administrative institutions of Friesland 1580-1795, 5)
WA	Westfries Archief (West Frisian Archive, Hoorn)
O.A.S.H.	Oud archief stad Hoorn 1356-1815 (Old archive city of Hoorn 1356-1815, 0348)

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