

Capital Diplomacy: Consular Activity in Amsterdam and New York, 1800-1940

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Introduction

Consuls are usually no heroes in literature. They often appear as intoxicated, indecisive, melancholic, cut loose from their roots—a sorry lot. The “Consul,” Malcolm Lowry’s protagonist in *Under the Volcano*, is a perpetual drunk. Charley Fornum, the “Honorary Consul” in Graham Greene’s book of the same name, suffers from the same quality and is a victim, rather than a creator of history. And yet the activities of these “literary losers” offer a window to assess the importance of the cities of Amsterdam and New York in the foreign policies of the United States and the Netherlands.¹ I am interested in the role played by the official diplomatic representatives in these two powerful cities to find out whether the cities were able to use diplomatic channels to promote their own interests. The position of consul general seemed to offer a local instrument to influence opinion and policy in another country.

The title of this essay “Capital Diplomacy,” refers to the role played by two capitals: Amsterdam and the unofficial “capital” New York, as well as to the importance of the financial sector in diplomatic relations. It searches for parallel developments in the consular history of these cities, set in a historical context. The effectiveness of consular representatives in the cities depended on a combination of international, national, and local factors. Internationally, the global trade network and geo-political clashes influenced the bilateral exchange of goods and services. Nationally, the economic policies of the respective nations, the organization of the diplomatic corps, and internal developments of nation building determined the role of the consuls. Locally, swings in economic fortune and city organization affected the position of foreign diplomats, making them more or less important according to the changing conditions.

Even less than fictitious consuls, real-life consuls found biographers. While ambassadors and ministers are frequent subjects of serious studies, consuls as individuals rarely see the limelight.² Whereas American historians have assessed the efficiency of their consuls abroad, a Dutch counterpart has not yet emerged beyond the footnotes in works on Dutch-American commercial and political relations.³

American Consuls in Nineteenth-Century Amsterdam

It would have been nice for this volume were I able to start with the statement that Amsterdam and New York were the locations of the first consulates in Holland and America, but they were not. The first American consul was not appointed to Amsterdam, but to Surinam, Curacao, and St. Eustatius, and did not come from New York. The first Dutch consul in the young United States was not from Amsterdam, neither did he settle in New York. He was not even a success, this Mr. J.H.Chr. Heineken, a flimsy son of a pastor at Elburg, who arrived in Philadelphia, the provisional capital of the United States in 1784.⁴

The first American consul appointed to Amsterdam, the Bostonian James Greenleaf (1765-1843) was not to be trusted with money or women. His noble wife proved his best asset, providing an entry into the Amsterdam moneyed circles through her relation to president Scholten van Aschat van Oud-Haarlem of the Amsterdam court.⁵ With this introduction he tried to raise money in Amsterdam for the purchase of 6,000 city lots in America’s new capital Washington, D.C., in the early 1790s.⁶ However, few banks joined in, judging it too risky after the revolution in France, leaving Greenleaf in a painful position amidst various contesting claims. This failure delayed the building of the capital city severely. This young speculator was more interested in strengthening his credit line and growing rich than in being a diplomat. Therefore, the task to shape the consular post in Amsterdam was left to his successor, Greenleaf’s business associate and fellow Bostonian Sylvanus Bourne (1761-1817).⁷

In Bourne, the consulate received a man with contacts in high places—he had been one of the messengers of Congress to George Washington to inform him of his election as president in 1789—

and some experience—Bourne had served as consul in Hispaniola since June 4, 1790 (also called Cape François /Santo Domingo). He was appointed vice consul on 29 May 1794 and was promoted to consul general in 18 June 1815.⁸

Despite his previous position, Bourne had no exact ideas about what his duties involved. His specific instructions were to protect the interests of American citizens and assist American sailors, but the circumstances inevitably moved him into diplomacy. His tenure between 1794 and 1817 covered a period of great upheaval and political tension in the Atlantic world. The appointment of John Quincy Adams as American Minister suspended Bourne's political tasks, but only temporarily, since during the majority of his stay the Netherlands was under French rule, no American political officer was stationed in The Hague, leaving Bourne the main U.S. representative in Amsterdam.⁹ Bourne found himself in an awkward position, especially towards the end of his term, when Holland and England fought France, but England fought the US as well in the War of 1812. Bourne was promoted to Consul-General in 1815, but suffered from poor health and died in the spring of 1817, leaving a widow and two teenagers. He had accomplished much for Dutch-American trade. He had founded and solidified the American consular presence in the Netherlands, made a connection between commerce and politics and had proven that the consulate was indispensable in establishing confidence in international trade with America. His early death was mourned by the English Reformed Church of Amsterdam, in which he had occupied a prominent place.¹⁰

In order to execute his tasks Bourne advised his superiors how to shape the consular service and urge his government to use the navy against aggressors, for instance the Emperor of Morocco, to protect American interests. He liked his job and lived up to the expectations. He realized his era was one of fundamental and positive change, "Revolutionary principles become daily more fashionable and the state of society in the old world is threatened with a total change—may this change advance the cause of human happiness."¹¹ At the same time he felt the consequences in his own pocket. He complained about the obstructions of commerce for American vessels in October 1794, while his other main concern, the discharge of crews of American vessels in foreign ports, made a serious dent into his income.¹² Despite his commitment to his consular status, Bourne could not live off the consular fees he collected for his services. They were infrequent and too small to cover his standard of living. Bourne had to be involved in business activities in partnership with Johann Wilhelm Lange, trading and selling ships for Baltimore merchants George Salmon and William Taylor.¹³

His two successors built on this foundation. They continued the tradition of a merchant banker who served for a lengthy period of time as consul—the next merchant-consul also served for two decades, but soon the spoils system thwarted this trend.¹⁴ With the exception of David Eckstein, the U.S. consular officers had no consular efficiency in the nineteenth century.

The spoils system, introduced by President Andrew Jackson in 1828, meant that consular posts became rewards to political supporters of the party that won the presidential election. The only Dutch citizen who served as U.S. consul, Jan Willem van den Broek of Amsterdam, was the first to experience this change. He had succeeded John Parker in 1839 after he had secured U.S. minister Auguste Davezac's approval and served satisfactorily until October 1842.¹⁵ In that month Van den Broek read in a New York newspaper that he had been unceremoniously replaced by Charles Nichols. In the future only American citizens would serve as consuls.¹⁶

As was to be expected, political appointments did not recruit the best and the brightest. Nichols failed to pay his debts, and his successor C. Goethe Baylor spent most of the time of his appointment in the United States, trying to establish direct trade relations between the Southern cotton planters and Dutch traders.¹⁷ He was forced to resign in March 1853 because he was hardly ever at his post in Amsterdam. His successor Robert G. Barnwell was single, lived on his own means and was recalled at the breakout of the Civil War since he fostered Southern sympathies.¹⁸

Between 1860 and 1893 a string of consuls carrying names such as Klauser, Marx, Mueller, Eckstein, and Schleier, showed that Amsterdam had become a prize for political supporters from German immigrant stock in the Midwest who had become loyal Yankees. Most of them had accepted the Amsterdam consulate because they could not get appointed to their preferred posts in German-speaking countries.¹⁹

The consuls complained as usual about their low salaries. The \$ 1000 offered for Amsterdam was half the amount of the consul's salary in Rotterdam. The Amsterdam post was ranked at the bottom of the consular posts, since the port was hardly called on by American ships in the 1860s.²⁰

The only outstanding consul was David Eckstein. He began his appointment in the summer of 1878 with a poor showing because he missed the opportunity to meet the most prominent American tourist in Holland of his time, former president Ulysses S. Grant (20-22 June 1878), because he was struck down with hemorrhoids. However, he made this up in the remaining 12 years of his posting. When he retired because of failing health in August 1890 he received unprecedented public praise from the Dutch captains of industry for his active promotion of Dutch-American trade.²¹ His success was the overture for the improved quality of American consuls in the early twentieth century. They needed this injection to successfully compete with Rotterdam as the center for Dutch-American commerce. The initiatives of the American consuls in the twentieth century greatly advanced the volume of trade.²²

Dutch Consuls in Nineteenth-Century New York

The first Dutch consuls in America were similar to the early American consuls in Amsterdam: experienced merchant bankers who already had strong ties with the country. The first consul in New York was an American merchant Herman Le Roy in 1784, who had learned his trade in various Amsterdam firms.²³ During the Batavian Republic (1800-1806) the consul general resided in Charleston, South Carolina. After the reconstruction of the Dutch state into a Kingdom, the first consul in New York was an American merchant with Dutch connections, Frederick Gebhard. He served for only a year, giving up his commission caused by to the frequent calls for financial assistance made by destitute Dutch immigrants.

The nineteenth century consular history is really the history of three gentlemen, who filled the post from 1816-1911, an average of 32 years each: Johannes C. Zimmerman, Rudolph C. Burlage and Jan Rutger Planten. These three Amsterdammers were paragons of stability.²⁴

The 27 year-old Zimmerman applied for the job in 1816 and served a record of forty years, dying in office in 1855. Nothing notorious happened during his long consular term. The main obstacle was the lack of a solid and reciprocal trade agreement since the validity of the 1782 commercial treaty was still in dispute.²⁵ The Americans requested equal treatment of their vessels in the East Indian colonies, but the Dutch feared that granting the Americans free access would thwart the profitability of the *Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij*. The negotiations failed and no commercial treaty was concluded. Only in 1839 did a separate tractate grant equal rights to ships from both countries while reducing the tariff to 20 per cent, but trade disagreement continued during the entire nineteenth century.²⁶

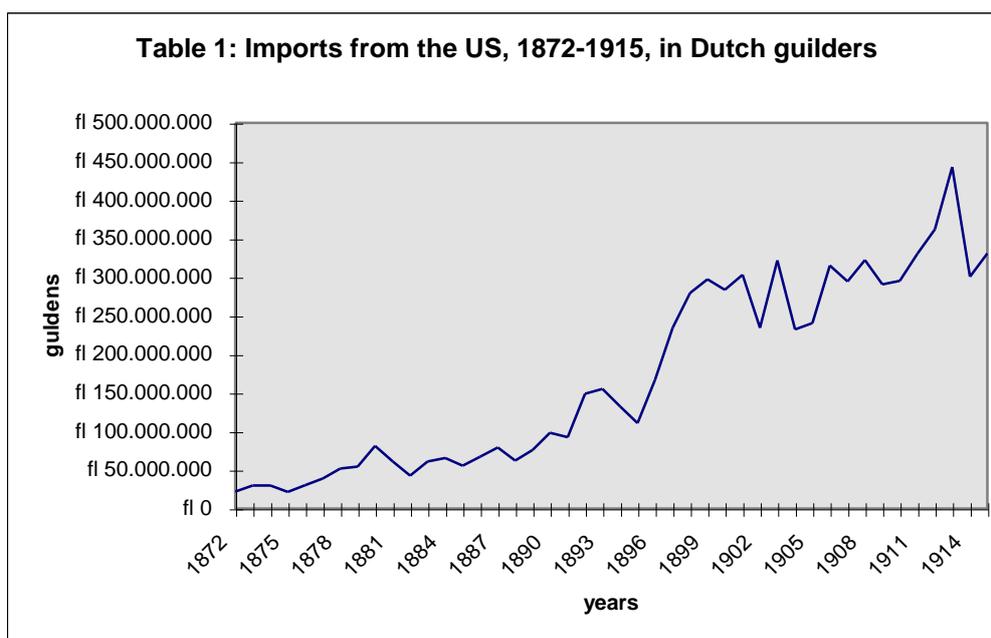
Despite the protectionist measures introduced in 1842, which especially hurt Dutch exports of coffee, tea, and gin to the United States, American exports at mid-century consisting mainly of staple crops such as tobacco, cotton, and grain continued to increase. After 1850 the export from America to the Netherlands increased eleven-fold over the next four decades.²⁷ The New York consulate therefore became an attractive post from the 1850s onwards. That showed in 1852 when this location was promoted to the level of consulate general. In 1855 the first consul general Zimmerman suddenly died and a real competition broke loose over his successor.²⁸ The first to be recommended was a fellow Amsterdammer Rudolph Christian Burlage, since he was well versed in commercial and shipping affairs and was of a respectable family.²⁹ Interestingly enough, Burlage's brother, also called Rudolph, with the middle name Wilhelm, had already expressed his desire for the same post earlier. Apparently RC was more decisive and likable than RW and he was endorsed by some Amsterdam commercial firms, while others recommended Wilhelm.³⁰ More applicants turned up so that nine names circulated for the job.³¹ In April 1855 an Amsterdam group of businessmen recommended R.C., a Rotterdam faction petitioned the foreign minister on behalf of R.W. and the largest petition signed by over 100 Amsterdam business men supported Zimmerman Jr., the 23 year-old son of the deceased.³² Apparently the family had built up some rights to this position. Unfortunately Zimmerman Jr. occupied a low business rank, had little knowledge of the Dutch and French languages, and a shallow understanding of business operations.³³ Dutch Foreign Minister Van Hall found a compromise by appointing Rudolph Christian as consul general and Zimmerman Jr. as vice-consul.³⁴ The Amsterdam lobby had won.

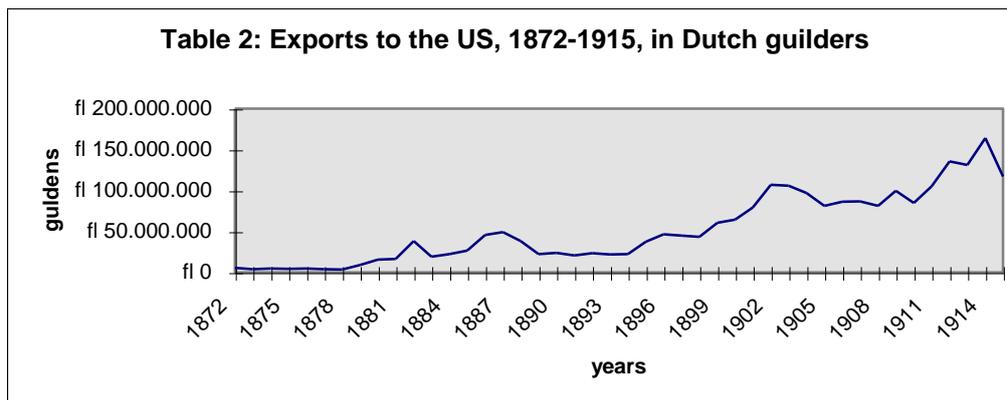
After the American Civil War the Dutch consular service began to modernize, publicizing occasional reports after 1867 and annual overviews after 1878 and stimulating new business ventures.³⁵ The most important issue of the tariffs was conducted in Washington by the legation.³⁶

Burlage reported the up and downs of the import of Dutch gin in the late 1870s circulating at the 1.3 million liters. The lines of transport were few and trade was not strong. In 1877 only five steamers made 26 trips to New York, in addition to seventeen sailing vessels. Most cargo from America to Holland was shipped under a foreign flag, which amounted to 116 ships. More than half of the ships coming from the Netherlands were in ballast, while the ships to the Netherlands were fully loaded. With business at a slow pace and low immigration, Burlage could not be overworked.³⁷

In 1873 and 1874, the Dutch parliament attempted to formulate a new policy for the consuls. The main point of debate was how to pay for the diplomatic service. Business interests sought to reduce the consular fees, but this meant an extra demand on the treasury. Some representatives pointed towards the US as a model for the payment of the costs involved by making the consular fees pay for the consul's salary, while a strict check on passing ships prevented fraud.³⁸ The skippers' interests won the battle over the fees, but a coherent commercial policy had to wait for three more decades. As a concession to the desires of the chamber of commerce a position of apprentice consul was created to prepare future personnel with training on the spot. However, the dependency on honorary consuls prevented a real career track, and discouraged qualified personnel from applying.

In 1878, Burlage published his first annual report with statistics covering the entire economy in the United States, describing the effects of the depression of 1873 and reporting signs of recovery. Though new Dutch consulates opened in the western parts of the country, which were not supervised by the New York consul general, the national trends were left to the New York post to be described. In 1883 John R. Planten succeeded Burlage. He had been born in Amsterdam, had acted as consul for nine years and was financially independent. His bid for the consulship was endorsed by influential Dutch-Americans in New York City who had noticed his generosity to destitute Dutch immigrants.³⁹ During his posting the exchange transportation from the Netherlands increased to over 90 arrivals in 1892, carrying almost 36,000 passengers. He also witnessed the birth of Dutch interest in the life insurance business in the United States, which he investigated to ascertain its commercial solidity. In 1901 he stopped submitting annual statistics because the figures became available too late, and instead he started to give an overall assessment of the American economic situation. Economic statistics showed that from 1869, the first year of the overview including the trade with North-America, till 1922, the trade balance between the United States and the Netherlands was always in favor of the first nation. During this half century the import from the U.S. and Canada was three to four times larger than the value of Dutch exports to North America (see tables 1 and 2). In percentages, U.S. imports accounted for 9-11 percent of total imports, while Dutch exports to the U.S. was valued between 3-4 percent of total Dutch exports. In 1877 the U.S. ranked sixth in the list of import countries and eighth in export destinations.⁴⁰





American Careers in Amsterdam in the Twentieth Century

In Amsterdam the series of German immigrant consuls changed into a succession of consuls from Anglo-Saxon stock, carrying names such as Downes, Corey, Hill, and Morgan. Their most publicized act was a constant warning against the hoax of rich estates left by deceased Dutch citizens two centuries ago, that could be claimed by their American descendants. For once the Americans sought their fortunes in the Old World. The rumors continued for two decades and were constantly refuted, even by official circulars.

In terms of personnel, the quality of the post improved after 1900, but the great impetus for consular reform came in 1906, when President Theodore Roosevelt, a longtime supporter of Civil Service reform, succeeded in changing the consular service into a career service.⁴¹ The new system provided a biennial review of the consuls, introduced efficiency ratings based on consular reports, which were submitted for review to the newly created Department of Commerce and Labor. President and Secretary personally reviewed the files of the candidates up for promotion to better posts or consulates general. A diplomatic historian has drawn a parallel with the assembly line innovation in industrial production: “Like the officers themselves, the consulates were also beginning to resemble interchangeable parts in a large mechanism.”⁴² The inspection was a useful instrument to professionalize the service by rewarding efficient officers, recruiting junior staff, and—if necessary—closing a consular office when the consul was hopelessly ineffective. By 1924 consuls and diplomats were absorbed into one Foreign Service.

The inspection reports offer a detailed view of the operations at the posts. When Inspector Horace Lee Washington brought the first inspection visit to the American consulate at Amsterdam on 23 October 1906, he found a small two-room office at Keizersgracht 766. He met consul Frank D. Hill, stationed since 1899, assisted by a vice consul, two messengers, and a very loyal Dutch clerk who had served under five successive consuls since 1877. Washington rated Hill as excellent, thanks to the consul’s command of the Dutch language, his first-hand knowledge of business transactions, and his close contacts in the community.⁴³

Unlike many other American consuls who were occupied with registering American vessels and taking care of destitute sailors, the Amsterdam office had little to do in this field. Before World War I, hardly any American ship sailed from the port of Amsterdam. In 1906, trans-Atlantic shipping was conducted by 48 Dutch ships and a few foreign ones. After the Great War this pattern changed. In 1920, one percent (i.e. twelve) of all ships calling on Amsterdam were American-owned, and this rate rose to meet a level of 25 per cent of all ships in the mid-1920s. The situation in Rotterdam had been similar to Amsterdam in 1906, where the liners of the Holland America Line dominated the trade, with an occasional American flag ornamenting the port. But during the Great War American ships gained ground in the Rotterdam port. In 1916 they counted for 10 per cent of the America-bound ships (36 of a total of 379) and three years later for more than 50 per cent: 379 ships against 314 others.⁴⁴ In 1923 Amsterdam consul Carl Kuykendall admitted “Amsterdam is decidedly inferior to Rotterdam as a port of general activity.”⁴⁵ The number of American citizens in the Dutch capital remained at a low level till the 1930s, when it increased from a handful to 50 in the city and 600 in the entire district.

The inspection reports actually improved the efforts of mediocre personnel, as Frank W. Mahin, who occupied the post between 1910 and 1924, experienced. He was temporarily suspended for abusing postal privileges for personal correspondence and seeking petty pecuniary profits at the government's expense, but was reinstated because of his new-found efficiency.

In the 1920s the dominance of diamonds in the Amsterdam exports to the U.S. dwindled and the consulate became more involved in trade promotion. Trade opportunities with the Netherlands increased, but to effectively trigger new contracts much personal attention was needed.⁴⁶ In 1924 the Amsterdam post was recognized for its future potential. No other than the consul general residing in Rotterdam suggested a transfer of the consulate-general to Amsterdam, because Amsterdam offered much better contacts with the business community, cities close to Amsterdam became industrialized, the American Chamber of Commerce was located there, as well as all the other foreign consuls-general. The strong international banking activities in the city also requested close American attention. Adding a personal note, the consul general added that the social and cultural life in Rotterdam was depressing.⁴⁷ And so it happened that Amsterdam became the center for trade with America once more. Its position was strengthened even more with the promotion of two Batavia consul generals to the Amsterdam post in the 1930s, indicating an increase in American interest in trade with the Dutch colonies. At the end of the decade the Amsterdam post became very important for scrutinizing the flow of German capital and immigrants. So as in the beginning of the consular system, a temporary political role for the consul emerged. After World War II the Amsterdam consul general continued to have a political function, gauging the political climate through his contacts in local society.

Professionalization in New York, 1911-1940

Meanwhile the professionalization of the Dutch consular service diminished the Amsterdam influence in New York, because the foreign ministry demanded that its officers became more active and began routinely transferring its officers. The celebration of Planten's 25th anniversary as Consul in New York in 1909 was the occasion to seriously consider the installation of a professional consul, since Planten openly hinted at his own retirement.⁴⁸ Two years later his successor, lawyer A. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, became the first paid consul in the United States.⁴⁹ This late appointment was caused by the long-held opinion in the Dutch foreign office that government should not interfere with business in order not to disrupt free trade by introducing tariffs. Dutch businessmen operating internationally called on the consulates for information about business opportunities and tariffs to protect their manufacturing. Disappointed with the slow pace of the Dutch government in building a strong service, the business clubs founded an office for trade information in Amsterdam in 1903.⁵⁰

At the turn of the century, Dutch Foreign minister Willem H. de Beaufort (1897-1901) was in the best position to assess the consular service. A patrician, he identified three problems with the service. It offered no opportunities for advancement to able young officers, while it demanded high expenses for social events. The consuls represented a small European country, which had little leverage and few new commercial relations could be established. Moreover, the consuls had to deal with fellow countrymen of a lower class. De Beaufort concluded that the generation that had enthusiastically joined the foreign service after the reorganization of 1875 had grown disappointed and the lack of appealing prospects had prevented the influx of able young officers.⁵¹

Consulships demanded more from the civil servants than a position in the Netherlands. The culture and expectations of foreign countries and reciprocal relations in the international community influenced the importance and efficacy of the Dutch consulates to a large degree. De Beaufort advocated the appointment of diplomats in the Near East because these attributed much prestige to a title. Consuls frequently compared their own position with their immediate colleagues representing other countries.

De Beaufort realized that managers of substantial firms which had sufficient funds to explore, invest, and wait for profits were in a better position to start new business than consuls. He feared that the consulates found only the second bests to fill their vacancies, since successful merchants stayed in business. Another problem was the lack of career advancement, since the consular hierarchy was restricted to four levels with no prospects to move to so-called better places. This lack of quality caused the Dutch Chambers of Commerce to advocate the transfer of the role of advancing commerce to businessmen, thereby weakening the function of the consulates even more.

Pressure from without and within the government resulted in the announcement of the reorganization of the consular service in 1906. However, the internal dispute about responsibilities between the foreign office and the newly created ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Trade prevented an efficient organization. The Foreign Office supervised the personnel, but was mainly interested in the standard bureaucratic and diplomatic functions. Trade and Industry had the expertise knowledge, but could not touch trade relations. The compromise that the Trade Department edit and distribute the consular reports worked too slow for launching new business ventures and was abandoned. Only in the 1920s did trade relations become an integrated part of the consular service, while the foundation of professional organizations for consuls reduced their isolation.⁵² By that time the consular service had come of age. After World War II New York became part of the career pattern of the Dutch foreign service, while Amsterdam became an American post that was held for an average of three years.

Conclusion

The consulates in Amsterdam and New York had no special relationship with each other, nor strong ties with the municipal authorities. However, the posts were important anchorages for commercial activities and offered first-hand experience of national and international developments. In the course of two centuries the consular representation in both cities showed many parallels: the first generation of consuls were merchant bankers with strong local contacts and personal interests in maintaining the commercial relation. The control by Amsterdam interest groups in the nineteenth century was much stronger than the New York interest. In fact, the interest of the Boston/Baltimore commercial elite in Amsterdam was stronger than New York.

After 1840 the trends diverged. For sixty years (and ten consuls-general) the United States administrations used consular appointments as part of the patronage system. The Dutch opted for continuity and let their officers serve almost for life. At the end of this period the services in both countries began to converge again in their efforts to professionalize. The reorganization of the American consular corps was far-reaching and transformed the corps into an efficient operation. The Dutch reforms were piece-meal and far less rational. In both cases the influence of Amsterdam in New York and vice versa disappeared.

The history of the Dutch and American consular representations in New York and Amsterdam reveals the important role of consuls in the processes of integration of commerce and government, of the bureaucratization of diplomatic relations, and of the globalization of trade and traffic. Apart from this, they supplemented important additional political information in the absence of diplomats.

Appendix 1: American consuls in Amsterdam, 1793-2003

2-21 March 1793	James Greenleaf
1797-1817	Sylvanus Bourne
1818-1839	John W. Parker (vice consul, in 1820 consul) since 1802 in Holland,
1839-Oct 1842	Willem van den Broek
Oct. 1842-1849	Charles Nichols (Connecticut)
March 1851-8 March 1853	C. Goethe Baylor (Kentucky-born, from Texas)
Sept. 1853-4 Nov. 1861	Robert G. Barnwell (South Carolina)
4 Nov. 1861- 23 Aug. 1863	F. J. Klauser (German-born from Ohio)
28 Sept. 1863- 6 Sept. 1866	Joseph E. Marx (native of Baden, from Ohio)
27 Oct. 1866- June 1878	Charles Mueller (German by birth, from Ohio)
26 June 1878-Oct. 1890	David Eckstein (Bavaria, from Cincinnati, Ohio)
Nov. 1890-6 July 1893	Theodore M. Schleier (born in Prussia, from Tennessee)
1 Aug. 1893-10 Dec. 1897	Edward Downes (Connecticut)
10 Dec. 1897-8 July 1899	George Corey
12 July 1899-June 1907	Frank D. Hill
1907-July 1910	Henry H. Morgan
5 July 1910-1 July 1924	Frank W. Mahin (with interruption between 1913-Dec. 1915)
1925-Oct. 1927	William H. Gale (consul general)

18 Oct. 1927-June 1934	Charles L. Hoover (Iowa)
20 June 1934-Oct. 1937	Kenneth Stuart Patton (Virginia)
5 Jan. 1938-1941	Frank C. Lee (Nebraska)
2 July 1945	Albert M. Doyle
Nov. 1947	Jesse F. Van Wickel
Oct. 1949-1954	Frederik van den Arend
Aug. 1954-1956	Elvin Seibert
July 1956-1958	Robert P. Chalker
June 1959-1961	G. Edward Clarke
Jan. 1962-1964	Byron E. Blankenship
Aug. 1964-1967	Warde M. Cameron
Sept. 1967-1971	Harold E. Howland
Sept. 1971-1974	Eugene M. Braderman
July 1974-1976	Alexander J. Davit
Nov. 1976-1979	Henry A. Lagasse
June 1979-1983	S. Morey Bell
June 1983-1985	Hawthorne Q. Mills
Jan. 1986-1987	Thomas R. Reynders
Aug. 1987	Jake M. Dyels, Jr.
Oct. 1989	Kenneth Longmyer
Oct. 1990-1994	Roger D. Pierce
Aug. 1994-1997	John W. Shearburn
Febr. 1997-2000	Dianne M. Andruch
July 2000-2003	Arnold H. Campbell

Appendix 2: Dutch Consuls in New York, 1784-2003

1784-1815	Herman LeRoy
1815-1816	Frederick Gebhard
1816-1855	J.C. Zimmerman
1855-1883	R.C. Burlage
1883-1911	J.R. Planten
1911-1915	Mr. A. van de Sande Bakhuyzen
1916-1919	H. Spakler
1920-1921	Van Steyn Parvé
1922-1923	Mr. D.H. Andrae
1923-1939	W.P. Montijn
1939-1942	J.A. Schuurman
1942-1945	T. Elink Schuurman
1945-1947	Jhr. Mr. G.R.G. van Swinderen
1947-1951	Mr. W. Cnoop Koopmans
1951-1956	Mr. J.A.G. Baron de Vos van Steenwijk
1956-1960	Jhr. Mr. M.Th. A.M. van Rijckevorsel
1960-1964	Mr. B.J. Slingenberg
1964-1966	Mr. J.I.M. Welsing
1966-1972	Mr. D.A. van Hamel
1972-1977	W.S.J. Campagne
1977-1983	Jhr. L. Quarles van Ufford
1983-1986	Mr. C.J.M. Kramers
1986-1989	Mr. A.F. Tieleman
1989-1994	Mr. C.W.A. de Groot
1994-1997	Mr. Tj.T. van den Hout
1997-2003	Drs. B. Hiensch

¹ The minutes of the Amsterdam city council show no direct dealings with foreign consuls. If connections were made this was done through the services of the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce. Gemeentearchief entry 5287, inv. 69. Dutch author Arnon Grunberg's description of his meeting with a Dutch consul in New York also confirmed the poor reputation of the consul as being shallow and self-centered. Arnon Grunberg, "Ontmoetingen met consul Pierre P. van der Velden II," *Hollands Maandblad* 38.5 (1997): 3-5.

² C.A. van Minnen, *American Diplomats in the Netherlands 1815-1850* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993). Hans Krabbendam, "Mooie woorden. Het geletterde leven van Henry van Dyke, 1852-1933," in E.F. van de Bilt and H.W. van den Doel, eds., *Klassiek Amerikaans. Opstellen voor A. Lammers* (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2002), 103-124. Willem Melching, "I have the honor to report". De Amerikaanse consulaire reportage uit Nederland, 1940-1941," *Oorlogsdocumentatie '40-'45. Vierde Jaarboek van het Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* (Amsterdam 1993), 65-88; Hans Krabbendam, "Valentine's Days: The Experiences of Marshall Mission Chief Alan C. Valentine in the Netherlands, 1948-1949," in Tity de Vries, ed., *Dynamics of Modernization: European-American Comparisons and Perceptions* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1998), 121-134.

³ A brief general overview is H.J. de Muy-Fleurke and S. Plantinga, "Hulp in het buitenland. De consulaire dienst," in R.E. van Ditzhuyzen a.o., eds., *Tweehonderd jaar Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken* (Den Haag: Sdu, 1998), 124-142. Albert Kersten, *Buitenlandse Zaken in ballingschap. Groei en verandering van een ministerie 1940-1945* (Alphen aan den Rijn: A.W. Sijthoff, 1981), 74-129, 157-175, 198-248. A revealing memoir about the internal working of the Dutch foreign service offers H.N. Boon, *Bagatellen uit de diplomatieke dienst: herinneringen van 35 jaar Buitenlandse zaken* (Rotterdam 1972). The New York Consulate-General published a commemorative booklet in 1984: *200 Years of Consulates of the Netherlands in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, 17 September 1784-1984*; Charles S. Kennedy, *The American Consul: A History of the United States Consular Service, 1776-1914* (New York 1990). Henry E. Mattox, *The Twilight of Amateur Diplomacy: The American Foreign Service and Its Senior Officers in the 1890s* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1989). Richard Hume Werking, *The Master Architects: Building the United States Foreign Service 1890-1913* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1977). The only biographical article is from M.C. Vernon, "General Benjamin Butler and the Dutch Consul," *Civil War History* 5 (1959): 263-275; G.J. Kloos, *De handelspolitieke betrekkingen tussen Nederland en de Vereenigde Staten van Amerika 1814-1914* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1923); Walter Salzmann, *Bedrijfsleven, overheid en handelsbevordering. The Netherlands Chamber of Commerce in the United States, Inc. 1903-1987* (Leiden, 1994) 36-42; Rob van Vuurde, *Engeland, Nederland en de Monroeleer, 1895-1914* (Amsterdam 1998); George M. Welling, *The Prize of Neutrality: Trade Relations between Amsterdam and North America 1771-1817: A Study in Computational History* (Amsterdam 1998) 188-227; J.C. Westermann, *The Netherlands and the United States: Their Relations in the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1935); P.J. van Winter, *Het aandeel van den Amsterdamschen handel aan den opbouw van het Amerikaansche Gemeenebest* 2 vols. ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927-1933). Frances Gouda with Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, *American Visions of the Netherlands East Indies/Indonesia: US Foreign Policy and Indonesian Nationalism, 1920-1949* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002).

⁴ Van Winter, *Het aandeel*, vol 2:283. He quotes a letter from John Quincy Adams to the Secretary of State, 25 September 1796. NA, RG 59, Despatches from United States Ministers to the Netherlands, 1794-1906, Microfilm M 42 roll 2: frame 215. Van Winter, *Het aandeel*, vol. 1: 93. He left his post in 1797, vol. 2: 82.

⁵ He married baroness Antonia Cornelia Elbertin Scholten van Aschat van Oud-Haarlem. Greenleaf accepted his appointment in a letter dated 10 May 1793. Allen C. Clark, *Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City* (Washington, DC: Press of W.F. Roberts, 1901), 79-90.

⁶ J. Rogge, *Het handelshuis Van Eeghen. Proeve eener geschiedenis van een Amsterdamsch handelshuis* (Amsterdam: Van Ditmar, 1949), 125.

⁷ Bob Arnebeck, *Through a Fiery Trial: Building Washington 1790-1800* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1991), 232-238.

⁸ For a list of appointments see Microfilm M587 List of U.S. Consular Officers, 1789-1939, reel 1 (Amsterdam).

⁹ John Quincy Adams presented his credentials on November 6, 1794 and presented his recall in June 20 1797, his successor William Vans Murray left on September 2, 1801. Bourne was the highest ranking diplomat till William Eustis arrival in 1815. A letter took two months to reach Washington or Philadelphia from Amsterdam. J.C. Westermann, *The Netherlands and the United States: Their Relations in the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1935), 97-108.

¹⁰ A. MacIntosh, D.D., *An Address, at the Internment of Sylvanus Bourne, Esqr, Consul-General of the United States in the Netherlands, Who died 25th April 1817. Aged 56 years* (Harlem: John Enschedé & Sons, 1817) 16 pp. Microfilm M42, *Despatches from United States Ministers to the Netherlands, 1794-1906*, Reel 6.

¹¹ Bourne to Secretary of State, Amsterdam, 25 september 1794 and 21 April 1795, Reel 1 of M446.

¹² *Ibid.*, 6 August 1795.

¹³ Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Notarieel Archief ingang 5075, inv. Nrs. 17333/345, 17338/140 (J.H. Zilver). Sale of his properties by Claude Crommelin, after his death: 17362/380 to benefit his under age sons: George Salmon Bourne, 18 years, and William Taylor Bourne, 16 years.

¹⁴ In 1820 the new consul John W. Parker, who had lived in Holland since 1802, had a partnership with exporters in Boston and Amsterdam in the trade firm Van Baggen, Parker & Dixon. This firm was the largest firm trading with America, which counted 27 ships from the U.S. calling at the port of Amsterdam in 1832. See Joost Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen: The Amsterdam Money Market During the First Half of the 19th Century* (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1996), 199; Rogge, *Handelshuis Van Eeghen*, 173-4; J. Rogge "Inlichtingen omtrent een aantal handelshuizen in Amsterdam, in het najaar van 1816 verstrekt door de firma Van Eeghen & Co.," *Economisch historisch jaarboek* 22 (1940-1942): 193-195.

¹⁵ John Parker to Secretary of State, 21 February 1839, NA RG 59, Despatches from United States Consuls in Amsterdam, Netherlands, 1790-1906, M446 reel 2.

¹⁶ Correspondence Van den Broek to Christopher Hughes, who forwarded the letter with his comments to Daniel Webster, 17 October 1842, M446 reel 2.

¹⁷ *New York Times*, 4 November 1851, and Baylor to Secretary of State, 13 August 1852, M446 roll 3. In 1858 and 1859 he tried to establish a cotton staple market in Belgium in his capacity as American Consul in England in an effort to help Georgian merchants to circumvent the Northern middlemen. See H. Coppejans-Desmedt, "De overzese expansie van de Belgische katoonindustrie. Van het afsluiten van de Nederlandse koloniale markt tot het uitbreken van de Amerikaanse Secessieoorlog," in *De Belgische expansie onder Leopold I (1831-1865). Verzameling Studies* (Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen) [1965], 98-105.

¹⁸ Likely he was related to a member of the Confederate Senator Robert W. Barnwell. He later asked for his remainder of the balance and claimed to have been a loyal citizen.

¹⁹ Microfilm collection M873: Letters of Application and Recommendation, Presidents Polk and Fillmore, reel 6, Goethe Baylor, applied for a German consulate. Baylor later recommended Robert G. Barnwell, see Microfilm collection M967: Letters of Application and Recommendation, Presidents Pierce-Buchanan, reel 2. Microfilm collection M650: Letters of Application and Recommendation, Presidents Lincoln to Johnson, reel 27, Dr. F.J. Klauser, 13-26 March 1861, and reel 32, J.E. Marx, 1 September 1863. The latter wrote that "ere long this cursed rebellion will be entirely crushed" but he had to deal with a lot of ignorance in the Netherlands about the stakes in the Civil War, (Marx to William Hunter, 4 May 1865, M 446 reel 3).

²⁰ The diplomatic reform act passed by Congress in 1856, categorized the consulates in B and C (A being reserved for diplomatic posts), with B consuls entitled to a salary between \$ 1000 to \$ 7,500, and could not participate in trade, while they had to hand over the fees. The 40 consuls in category C, could be commercially active, but could not keep the fees, Kennedy, *American Consul*, 83.

²¹ Microfilm M446, *Despatches from United States Consuls in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 1790-1906*, reel 6, 15 December 1890. Eckstein monitored all kinds of products and trade opportunities in the Netherlands.

²² Consul George J. Corey presented lectures on the history and current conditions of Holland to American audiences in June 1899 (M466, reel 7, frame 249.) Frank D. Hill received praise from the *Algemeen Handelsblad* on 7 March 1901 for his efforts to find American trade partners. See his article on American trade in the Netherlands in the *New York Times*, 1 January 1900. He also promoted the idea of a Dutch Chamber of Commerce in New York, see *New York Times*, 20 December 1901. Reprinted in a Dutch translation in het *Tijdschrift der Nederlandsche Maatschappij ter Bevordering van Nijverheid* (1 June 1902).

²³ Van Winter, *Amsterdam en de opbouw van Amerika*, vol. 1: 12.

²⁴ A.E. Zimmerman, *De consul generaal der Nederlanden te New-York Johannes Christian Zimmerman, 1789-1855, en zijne nakomelingen: genealogische aantekeningen* [S.l. : s.n., ca. 1917].

J.C. Zimmerman was a member of the firm Ruysch & Zimmerman at Amsterdam. R.C. Burlage was a partner in the banking and trading firm of Bunge, Burlage and Company of New York (Gustav Bunge of Köln), (Veenendaal, *Slow Train to Paradise*, 72). J.R. Planten was proprietor of a pharmaceutical firm. H.J. Kiewiet de Jonge, "Levensbericht J.R. Planten," *Levensberichten Maatschappij Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, 1914, 152-153.

²⁵ Westermann, *Netherlands and the United States*, 224-225.

²⁶ Kloos, *Handelspolitieke betrekkingen*, 38.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

²⁸ Nationaal Archief, 2.05.01 Ministerie van buitenlandse zaken, 1813-1896, inv. 3025 aanstelling consulaire ambtenaren, Folder "Consulaat-generaal te New York" 1855-1870.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Amsterdam, 11 April 1855, letter by Mr. Bunge to the Dutch Foreign Minister Van Hall.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, J.C. Gevers to Van Hall, 27 March 1855.

³¹ An Amsterdam Jew connected with a Swedish firm, the young son of Zimmerman, who had acted as vice-consul, the firm of Kerkhoven recommended Cornelis Buijs, Crommelin supported a mr. Alofsen, who had powerful relations. Stadnitski gave a reference to J.W. Van der Horst Kuyt. *Ibid.*, Gevers aan Van Hall, 2 April 1855.

³² Ibid., Petitions of 20, 22, and 24 April 1855.

³³ Message of R.C. Burlage to Dutch Secretary of State D.J. Gevers van Endegeest, 24 March 1857. The respect for the Zimmerman family was so high that Roest van Limburg proposed an unusual promotion of Zimmerman to vice consul general in 1860. But his career ended sudden with his death in 1874. Letter of 12 Mach 1860 to Foreign Secretary of State Baron van Gollstein, the promotion was effectuated on April 13. Zimmerman died in Egypt in 1874 (2.05.13. Gezantschap VS, inv nr 67 R.C. Burlage to B. Westenberg, 4 March 1874).

³⁴ Ibid., 21 June 1855, Van Hall to Dutch minister in Washington Gevers.

³⁵ *Verzameling van consulaire en andere verslagen en berichten over nijverheid, handel en scheepvaart*, 1865-1893. Uitgegeven door het Ministerie van Landbouw, Handel en Nijverheid. *Consulaire verslagen en berichten*, 1894-1906. Uitgegeven door het Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken. *Economische verslagen van Nederlandsche diplomatieke en consulaire ambtenaren*, 1907-1936. Uitgegeven door het Ministerie van Landbouw, Nijverheid en Handel, met medewerking van het Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken.

³⁶ Ben Schoenmaker, "Berichten uit de Bondshoofdstad. Politieke rapportage van de Nederlandse gezant te Washington, 1893-1917" (M.A. thesis Leiden University, n.d.[1987]) 10.

³⁷ *Verzameling van consulaire en andere berigten en verslagen over nijverheid, handel en scheepvaart*. 1878: 524-530, and berigten till 1883. See also the failure for the largest Dutch international commercial firm to create a foothold in New York: W.J. Wensink, "Te billijk en te nauwgezet. De mislukte poging van de Nederlandse Handelmaatschappij om een Agentschap te vestigen in New York 1879-1882," *Aanzet* 11 (April 1993): 21-30.

³⁸ *Het Nederlandsch Consulaatwezen*, p. 24.

³⁹ 2.05.13. Gezantschap VS, inv nr 67 R.C. Burlage to B. Westenberg, 4 March 1874.

⁴⁰ *Statistiek van den in-, ui- en doorvoer* ('s-Gravenhage: Departement van financiën, 1877-1915). *Statistiek van den handel en de scheepvaart van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* ('s-Gravenhage: Departement van financiën, 1869-1876). Preceding the U.S. as exporters were Prussia, Belgium, Great Britain, Russia, the East Indies, while these five and Hamburg and Italy imported more from the Netherlands.

⁴¹ Kennedy, *American Consul*, 217. Thanks to an able testimony of Elihu Root, the Senate accepted the bill but left the promotion to the president and removed the examination process. The House added the need for approval of the Senate in transfers of consuls of equal rank. What was left of the reform was a seven-layered scale for consul generals, a nine-layered one for consuls, American citizenship as a condition for consul earning more than \$ 1,000, and a biennial inspection. Roosevelt added by executive order an examination for all lower ranks. Furthermore, Congress paid for the transportation of the consuls. In 1915 promotion could also take place by upgrading the rank and not by transfer to a place with a higher rank. The first inspection officer for the Dutch foreign service was appointed in 1954.

⁴² Richard Hume Werking, *The Master Architects: Building the United States Foreign Service 1890-1913* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1977), 111.

⁴³ Frank D. Hill had a law degree from National Law School of Washington DC, had practiced law in Minneapolis, and read Spanish, French, Portugese, Dutch and some German. Hill to Assistant Secretary of State, 1 July 1906, M446 Reel 7.

⁴⁴ National Archives, Washington DC. RG 59, Inspection Reports of Foreign Service Posts, 1906-1939. Rotterdam, 1913, 1916, 1920, 1923, microfilm edition Roosevelt Study Center (RSC).

⁴⁵ NA RG Inspection Reports of Foreign Service Posts, 1906-1939. Amsterdam 1923, 12. (microfilm edition RSC)

⁴⁶ Onno de Wit, "From Europe to the United States and Back Again? Two Centuries of Inward Investments in the Netherlands" (October 31, 2003) published at <www.bintproject.nl/textfiles/two_centuries.pdf>. American products included technological inventions such as the telephone, typewriter, photo camera, sewing machine and the petrochemical industry.

⁴⁷ Letter form the American consul general George E. Anderson to the Secretary of State, 27 February 1923 (inspection report 1923) microfilm RSC.

⁴⁸ NA 2.05.38, inv. 1753. Letter of R. de Marees van Swinderen to Hr. Hanneman, 15 July 1909, see also the letter of 11 May 1909.

⁴⁹ Salzmänn, *Bedrijfsleven, overheid en Handelsbevordering*, 38.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 46.

⁵¹ W.H. de Beaufort, "Twee rapporten over het consulaatwezen," *De Economist* 52 (1904): 5-21. J.P. de Valk and M. van Faassen, eds., *Dagboeken en aantekeningen van Willem Hendrik de Beaufort 1874-1918*, part 1 (Den Haag: Instituut Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1993).

⁵² NA 2.05.13 Plaatsingslijst van het archief van het Nederlands gezantschap in de VS 1814-1940, inv. 383 "1919-1925". The consulate moved to the Kerr Building and hosted the trade attaché. The staff was well adapted to the American situation (Jhr. Mr. De Beaufort to Mr. J. Nederbragt, chief of the departement of Economic Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 9 December 1921).