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**BRITISH CONSULATES IN PORT CITIES
OF THE NORTHERN BLACK SEA AND AZOV REGION
OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th - EARLY 20th CENTURIES**

Summary. *The purpose of the research is to study the history of British consular offices in port cities of the Southern Ukraine at the times of the Russian Empire. The research methodology is based on search and comprehensive study of representative complexes of primarily sources on the history of the British consulates in the region, in particular, the annual consular reports to London. The scientific novelty: changes in the network of consulates of the British Empire and in the configuration of British consular districts in the region have been tracked; lists of consular representatives in each consular office have been composed; the specifics of the consuls' status, functions and working conditions have been researched. Conclusions.* *The development of the network of British consular offices in port cities of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region, which took place after the*

end of the Crimean War, unambiguously demonstrated the understanding by official London prospects of the deployment of economic ties with the region. During the second half of the 19th - early 20th centuries the consular district of Odessa turned into the largest British consular district on the territory of the Russian Empire in number of consular offices. Forming the consular staff, the British Empire for a long time preferred appointing «non-trading» consuls, or «consul de carriere», which required considerably more money, but allowed consuls to focus on their professional duties, while the majority of consular representatives of other countries in the region were engaged in business. On the other hand, approaches of official London to the formation of the consular staff, financing consuls and the regulation of their activities had a number of disadvantages, which ultimately led to a revision of these approaches. However, the dynamics of development of economic relations between ports of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region and the British Empire was affected by a wide range of factors, and, despite the efforts of the British consuls, this dynamics was not always positive. So, the consuls only had to report about such a state of affairs, recalling with nostalgia «better times» of British trade in the region.

Key words: consulate, consular district, the British Empire, the Russian Empire, port

БРИТАНСЬКІ КОНСУЛЬСЬКІ ПРЕДСТАВНИЦТВА В ПОРТОВИХ МІСТАХ ПІВНІЧНОГО ПРИЧОРНОМОР'Я І ПРИАЗОВ'Я ДРУГОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ ХІХ – ПОЧАТКУ ХХ ст.

Анотація. Мета роботи полягає у висвітленні історії британських консульських установ у портових містах Південної України за часів Російської імперії. **Методологія дослідження** базується на виявленні та комплексному опрацюванні представницьких джерельних комплексів з історії британських консульств в регіоні, і зокрема, щорічних консульських рапортів до Лондона. **Наукова новизна** полягає у простеженні змін в мережі консульств Британської імперії і в конфігурації британських консульських округів в регіоні, встановленні персонального складу консульських представників у кожній з консульських установ, в дослідженні специфіки їхнього статусу, функцій і умов праці. **Висновки.** Розбудова мережі британських консульських представництв у портових містах Північного Причорномор'я і Приазов'я, що мала місце після завершення Кримської війни, недвозначно демонструвала розуміння офіційним Лондоном перспективності розгортання економічних зв'язків із цим регіоном. Впродовж другої половини ХІХ – початку ХХ ст. Одеський консульський округ перетворився на самий великий за кількістю консульських установ консульських округів Великої Британії в Російській імперії. При формуванні персонального складу консулів Британська імперія довго робила ставку на «non-trading» консулів, або ж «consul de carriere», що вимагало значно більше коштів, але при цьому мало забезпечувати зосередженість саме на виконанні консульських обов'язків, тоді як абсолютна більшість консульських представників інших держав у регіоні основним заняттям мала бізнес. З іншого боку, підходи офіційного Лондона до формування складу консулів, їх утримання і регламентації їхньої діяльності мали цілу низку вад, що, зрештою, спонукали до перегляду цих підходів. Втім, на динаміку економічних зв'язків між портами Північного Причорномор'я і Приазов'я із Британською імперією впливав цілий комплекс факторів, тож, попри ті зусилля, що докладались британськими консулами у регіоні, ця динаміка далеко не завжди була позитивною. І консулам залишалось лише це констатувати, із ностальгією згадуючи про «кращі часи» британської торгівлі у регіоні.

Ключові слова: консульство, консульський округ, Британська імперія, Російська імперія, порт

The problem statement. Whereas Ukraine is on a course of European integration and the country develops regional smart specialisation strategies, it is important to explore deeper the previous experience of collaboration of Ukrainian regions with European states, including the cooperation that carried out with the help of foreign consular offices. In times when a large part of Ukrainian lands belonged to the Russian Empire, the sea ports of the Southern Ukraine, from Odessa on the west to Mariupol on the east, played a special role in such

cooperation. They were real «windows on Europe» for the Empire, ensuring the specialisation of the region in export of mainly agricultural products and raw materials. Such specialisation, on the one hand, largely caused the establishment of foreign consular offices in ports of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region, and, on the other hand, was developed with assistance of these offices. Among countries which demonstrated remarkable activities here, the British Empire was: being «mistress of the seas», Great Britain logically showed a primary interest in the coastal regions. The study of the history of British consular offices in port cities of the Southern Ukraine at the times of the Russian Empire is **the purpose of the research.**

The analysis of recent researches. Despite the apparent significance of the history of foreign consulates in Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire in the 19th – early 20th centuries, until recently only a few monographs and candidate's theses on this issue have appeared, and none of them is devoted precisely to the history of consular offices of the British Empire in port cities of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region (Adadurov; Agstner; Halm; Lyman, 2018 a; Vovchuk). Under these conditions, we began to study biographies of the British consuls in the port city of Berdyansk. As a result, several articles on the personalities of the consuls (Konstantinova; Lyman, 2015 a, b, 2016 a, b, 2017 a, 2018 c), monographs «British consul and industrialist John Edward Greaves» (Lyman, 2017 b) and «British consuls in the port city of Berdyansk» (Lyman, 2018 b) have been published. However, Berdyansk is just one of the port cities in the region, where a consular office of the British Empire acted, and not the most significant one. Therefore, it is advisable to study the entire network of British consular offices in the port cities of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region.

Statement of the basic material. The interest of the British Empire, as well as other Western European countries, in the ports of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region was closely connected with the consequences of the industrial revolution and the substantial growth of the population of these countries, which led to an increase in the demand for grain imports. Steppes of the Southern Ukraine could offer this grain. The number of vessels under British flag which visited the ports of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region, as well as the quantities of grain they had exported from there, increased dramatically after 1846, when Great Britain had canceled the import duty on this product (Sartor, p. 159, 160). The Eastern (Crimean) war interrupted British trade through the ports of the region, and shortly after the capitulation of the Russian Empire official London began to prepare the ground for the expansion of the network of consular offices in the «Russian» port cities of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Temporarily, consuls of Denmark provided assistance to British subjects there.

The year of 1858 became significant for the development of the consular network of the British Empire; it is no accident that the Foreign Office required to make comparisons with this year in later consular reports. New consular offices were established on the territory of the district of the consul general in Odessa, which had been founded in 1804 (Adadurov, p. 117). In particular, on January 12, 1858, Queen Victoria appointed consuls to several points on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov coast, where consulates of her empire were held: one to Sukhum-Kale and Redut-Kale, and another to Berdyansk. Then Robert William Cumberbatch became the consul in the latter (Foreign-Office, January 12, 1858). The British consulate was arranged in Kerch, and in 1858 the vice-consul in Theodosia, the consular agent in Yenikale and the guardian in Sevastopol were subordinated to it (Accounts and Papers, p. 87).

In 1861, in addition to the consulate general in Odessa, there were consulates in Kerch and Berdyansk, vice-consulates in Kherson and Theodosia (*Annuaire Diplomatique de l'Empire de Russie*, p. 57–58).

As of 1871, the jurisdiction of the British consulate general in Odessa was extended from the Danube to Poti, the distance between which along the coastline of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov reaches 1500 miles. In the Ukrainian lands under the jurisdiction of the consulate general there were consulates in Nikolaev, Kerch and Berdyansk, as well as the vice-consulate in Theodosia, beyond these lands – the consulates in Taganrog and Poti (*Accounts and Papers*, p. 93).

In 1887, in frames of the consular district of Odessa, the Foreign Office received reports of the consul general in Odessa, the vice-consuls in Nikolaev, Sevastopol, Kerch, as well as in Poti and Batumi (*Foreign Office, 1887, Annual Series, # 115*). The same year, official London received «Report for the Year 1886 on the Trade of the Ports of the Sea of Azoff», which included reports of a British consul in Taganrog and a vice-consul in Berdyansk (*Foreign Office, 1887, Annual Series, # 80*).

Already since 1888, in frames of the consular district of Odessa, in addition to the reports of the vice-consuls in Nikolaev, Sevastopol, Kerch, Poti and Batumi, reports were also submitted of a vice-consul in Berdyansk and a representative of the British vice-consulate in Kerch in the port of Novorossiysk (*Foreign Office, 1888*). Since the next year reports of a vice-consul in Kiev and a consular agent in Evpatoria were also added to the report of the consul general in Odessa (*Foreign Office, 1889*).

In 1890 – 1896, reports of the consul general in Odessa were accompanied by reports from Nikolaev, Sevastopol and Kiev, in 1890, 1892, 1902, 1903, 1905 – 1908 – also from Evpatoria, in 1897 – 1908 – from Theodosia; since 1907 reports from Kherson were added.

Since 1890, when only part of the ports of the region remained in direct accountability to the consulate general in Odessa, reports of vice-consuls in Kerch and Berdyansk began to be submitted in frames of the consular district of Taganrog (*Foreign Office, 1890*). From 1892, reports of a vice-consul in Rostov-on-Don were also added. In 1894 – 1902, in addition to the above mentioned, a consul in Taganrog also sent reports of a consular agent in Genichesk, and since 1897 – of a vice-consul in Mariupol.

Since 1903 reports from most of the ports of the Sea of Azov London already received in frames of the consular district of Rostov-on-Don. It refers to the reports of consuls in Rostov-on-Don, vice-consuls in Kerch, Mariupol and a consulate agent in Genichesk. In 1904 and 1908, the reports of a vice-consul in Taganrog were added to them, in 1908 – the report of a vice-consul in Berdyansk, whereas in 1907 and 1908 reports of a consular agent in Genichesk were no longer submitted.

Reports of the consular district of Odessa for 1908, which were compiled and published in 1909, were already much more numerous than before: they included reports from Odessa, Kerch, Nikolaev, Berdyansk, Evpatoria, Kherson, Mariupol, Sevastopol, Theodosia, as well as Kharkov, Rostov-on-Don and Taganrog (*# 4295, Annual Series*). So, now all the lands of the Southern Ukraine were again under the direct jurisdiction of the consulate general in Odessa. In the same composition, reports of the consular district of Odessa were submitted in subsequent years, besides, reports from Kiev were added to them.

The above changes in the representation of consular reports compiled in the cities of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov for the Foreign Office were due in part to changes in the network of consular offices in the region. In particular, in 1871, Peter Barrow, the consul in

Kerch, who at that time had a vice-consul in Theodosia in his subordination, reported that the only point in which the consular post was abolished after 1858 was Yenikale (Accounts and Papers, p. 89). However, Keith Edward Abbott, the consul general in Odessa, in the same 1871 in response to the similar request from the Foreign Office did not mention the liquidation of the consular post in Yenikale, while pointing out that since 1858 such posts on the territory of his consulate general were abolished only in Sukhum-Kale and Kherson (Accounts and Papers, p. 98). As for the latter, the British consular office, as well as all other foreign consular offices, was closed there in 1866, which was directly interconnected with the termination of foreign trade through the port of Kherson that year. Instead, in the same 1866, the British consulate was opened in Nikolaev, where a consul from Kherson was transferred (The National Archives). By that time the port in Nikolaev was open for foreign vessels for already four years. But a year before the opening of the port for foreign vessels Nikolaev, where a part of the Navy of the Russian Empire was dislocated, had no one foreign consulate (*Annuaire Diplomatique de l'Empire de Russie*, p. 49–68). In Mariupol, the vice-consulate was opened only in 1896 (# 1736. *Diplomatic and Consular Reports*, p. 1). Prior to that, from 1858 to 1876, the British subjects living in Mariupol or visiting this city were under protection of a consul in Berdyansk. When in 1876 the consulate in the latter was reorganized into the vice-consulate, Mariupol was transferred under the jurisdiction of the consulate in Taganrog. As for Berdyansk, the activities of the vice-consulate in this port city were interrupted from 1903 to January 1, 1908 (# 4027. *Annual Series*, p. 11). In the same year of 1908, on August 12, the activities of the British consular office in Kherson resumed (# 4295. *Annual Series*, p. 81). This was preceded by the opening of the port in Kherson and the connection of the city with the railway network.

The full heuristics of consular reports from the region of the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries gave an opportunity to find out that the port cities of the Southern Ukraine had such British consuls:

Odessa (consuls general): Grenville Murray (1855 – 1868), George Benvenuto Mathew (1858), Frederic Cortazzi (vice-consul, 1866 – 1874), Keith Edward Abbott (1870 – 1873), Robert Stuart (1874), Stanley (1875 – 1883), Gerald Raoul Perry (1884 – 1888), Webster (vice-consul, 1885), Stevens (vice-consul, 1887), Thomas B. Sandwith (1889 – 1890), P. Stevens (acting consul general, 1891 – 1892), A. W. Woodhouse (acting consul general, 1892 – 1893), C. E. Stewart (1893 – 1898), H. G. Mackie (acting consul general, 1896 – 1899), C. S. Smith (1900 – 1913), James Frederick Roberts (1916);

Berdyansk: Robert William Cumberbatch (1858–1864), William George Wagstaff (1864 – 1865, 1874 – 1876), James Ernest Napoleon Zohrab (1865 – 1874), Harvey Robert Lowe (1877 – 1903), Greene (acting vice-consul, 1893), Spirs Gabriele (acting vice-consul, 1896, 1898, 1902), John Edward Greaves (1908 – 1918);

Kerch: Jackson Eldridge (1858 – 1863), Robert Ch. Clipperton (1864 – 1866), Peter Barrow (1866 – 1879), Colledge (1880 – 1883), Stevens (1884), Hunt (1887 – 1895, 1902), Henry (1892), Wardrop (1896 – 1902), Waite (acting vice-consul, 1903), Costala (acting vice-consul, 1904), Michell (1906 – 1908), H. E. Dickie (1909 – 1913), M. Мегалос (M. Megalos) (1916);

Theodosia: Charles Clipperton (1862), Edward B. B. Barker (1863 – 1874), Rees (1896 – 1906), Liebmann (acting vice-consul, 1902), Carassarini (acting vice-consul, 1908 – 1909), W. C. W. von Stürler (1910 – 1916);

Kherson: Stevens (1865 – 1866), E. W. Caruana (1909 – 1913);

Nikolaev: George Stevens (1866 – 1876), Cicognani (acting consul, 1872, 1873), Charles Lawton (1876 – 1877, 1884), William George Wagstaff (1876 – 1884), Arthur Woodhouse (1885 – 1905), Sigismund Gorzher (proconsul, 1902 – 1903), Vivian H. C. Bosanquet (1905 – 1906), John Picton Bagge (1906 – 1917), Henry James Brown (till 1918);

Sevastopol: Samuel Henry Harford (1875 – 1876, 1882 – 1884, 1887 – 1890), Moffat (1878), Stiffel (1879), Grierson (1885), Mallison (acting vice-consul, 1890), P. W. I. Stevens (1891 – 1892), Owen (acting vice-consul, 1892), A. P. Murray (1893 – 1898), A. W. Woodhouse (acting vice-consul, 1894), C. E. Stewart (1893 – 1894), C. J. Cooke (1898 – 1901), Mackie (1902 – 1903), Erskine (1904 – 1908), K. Ringeling (acting vice-consul, 1909), Young (1910), John Lowdon (1912 – 1916);

Evpatoria: H. J. B. Martin (consular agent, 1889 – 1916);

Genichesk: Costala (consular agent, 1894 – 1916);

Mariupol: William Sherrington Walton (1896 – 1917).

It should be emphasized that, as consuls and vice-consuls noted in their reports to London, the consular offices in the region had mainly economic, commercial functions, which were determined by roles of the port cities in which they were located. In this context, the remark of consul James Ernest Napoleon Zohrab is indicative: «Politically, Berdiansk is of no importance whatever» (Accounts and Papers, p. 72). At the same time, Peter Barrow, the consul in Kerch, noted: «The character of this consulate is, generally speaking, commercial, but might, at any given moment, become political, owing to the annual sojourn of the Imperial Court at Yalta» (Accounts and Papers, p. 87). Only the assessment of the character of his consulate by the consul general in Odessa Keith Edward Abbott was fundamentally different from the others. Abbott, noting that he did not receive any instruction from London for a precise definition of the character of his consulate, considered the functions both political and commercial. Moreover, the commercial functions, with the exception of the management of the shipping business, were not numerous, and «the nature of the correspondence from this office is more political and general than commercial» (Accounts and Papers, p. 95). At the same time, it is indicative that the British consul in the Russian capital Thomas Michell generally considered that it was impossible to believe that any paid consulate had no political functions (Accounts and Papers, p. 112).

The last remark is related to the fact that for the long time the British Empire adhered to the approach according to which its consular representatives should be in the state service without combining their duties with trade or other business.

In this regard James Ernest Napoleon Zohrab noted that, among all the foreign consuls in Berdyansk, only he and the consul of Italy were «non-trading» or «consuls de carrière», the rest were «trading» or «consuls honoraire» (Accounts and Papers, p. 74–75). At that time, the consul general in Odessa reported that on the territory of his consular district, from Odessa to Poti, there was not any unpaid British consul (Accounts and Papers, p. 98).

The situation changed considerably in the late 19th – early 20th centuries, when representatives of business appeared on various consular positions in the region. One of them was John Edward Greaves – the founder and chairman of the board of the joint-stock company «Etablissements industriels de Berdiansk John Greaves et C^o, Société anonyme», which owned the largest in Europe plant of reapers manufacturing (Lyman, 2017 b). It is interesting that three decades before he became British vice-consul, this subject of the British Empire offered his candidacy for the post of German consul in Berdyansk, but Berlin chose another challenger (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts).

The fact that for a long time in frames of the period under study the British consuls had the status of «non-trading» caused the situation when the vast majority of them represented interests of the British Empire exclusively. However, the yearbook «Almanach de Gotha. Annuaire généalogique, diplomatique et statistique» during the years of service of Robert William Cumberbatch in Berdyansk mentioned his surname in the list of not only British but also Prussian consuls. But the study of consular documents of Secret State Archives of Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz) in Berlin gives us reasons to assert that this was a mistake, and the Prussian consul in Berdyansk in the relevant years was Johan Haemmerle (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz).

The incompatibility of posts by British consuls contradicted to the extremely widespread practice in the region, when one person was a consul of several states at once. This practice was predetermined primarily by the fact that in many cases, first of all in small towns a country did not have its subjects, capable and willing to perform consular duties for free, and the volume of consular work was not significant.

As for the British «non-trading» consuls in the region, they were almost unanimous in arguing that their salaries and money for office allowance were insufficient, which allowed them to live in a very modest way, while their status demanded additional expenses.

In reports to London, the British consuls noted that in this part of the Russian Empire they did not have privileges compared with their foreign counterparts. The consul in Kerch was even more categorical: «There are no privileges or jurisdiction enjoyed or exercised by my colleagues, any more than by myself. I know of no country where the position of Consuls stands so low as in this part of Russia. We are treated simply as commercial agents – are refused any privilege but what is enjoyed by foreigners generally, and are scarcely recognized as public functionaries» (Accounts and Papers, p. 89).

The working hours of the consuls were not limited by the official office hours (according to reports, the consulate general in Odessa worked daily from 10:00 to 15:00, the consulate in Berdyansk – from 10:00 to 12:00 and from 14:00 to 17:00, the consulate in Kerch – from 10:00 to 12:00 and from 14:00 to 16:00, having a day off on Sunday). The consul general in Odessa noted that his own official duties «occupy a much longer time», and the main problem was the absence, unlike in 1858, the position of a vice-consule in the staff of the consulate general. The consul in Berdyansk stated that despite the schedule, he received shipmasters at his office at whatever hour. The consul in Kerch reported that the above schedule concerned only the receiving of local residents, while shipmasters and travelers could be served from 6:00 to 24:00 (Accounts and Papers, p. 73–74, 88, 97).

According to reports of the British consuls in the region, their responsibilities included: drawing up contracts, administer oaths; notarization of documents; record of baptism, wedding and death; visiting British subjects – patients in hospitals and prisoners; protection of interests of British subjects in courts, including the provision of translation services; participation in the resolution of conflicts between shipmasters, sailors, and merchants; providing shelter to British subjects who had been unjustly persecuted; ordering and attesting various reference information (Accounts and Papers, p. 88); taking care of cargo of British vessels shipwrecked; management of the salaries of discharged seamen; answering written requests from British subjects, regardless of which place of the world these requests came from; receipt and management of the state fees; correspondence with the Foreign Office and other government institutions of the British Empire, with other consulates, representatives of local authorities etc. (Accounts and Papers, p. 97).

If we talk about the volume of documents and work done, then, say, in the British consulate general in Odessa in 1871, in addition to the annual report on trade and quarterly reports, 468 dispatches, letters and returns were received and sent; 12 surveys were ordered and registered; 97 protests were noted and extended; 162 bills of health were issued; 29 logs were inspected, certified and extracted; 39 orders of arrest, hospital orders and boarding-house orders were processed; 269 ship articles were signed; 6 ship registers and logs were endorsemented; 194 fee lists were given for shipping, 9 births, 4 marriages and 3 deaths, 6 general business, 269 ships entered and 267 ships cleared were registered; 18 passports were granted or vised; 17 official certificates were issued; 91 signatures were attested; 24 copies of documents, 11 swearing affidavits, 7 cases of desertions of seamen were certified; cases of 26 discharged and 19 engaged seamen were solved. In general, during 1871 the consulate general compiled and processed 2047 documents, while in 1858 – only 775, of which 541 concerned registration of ships entered and ships cleared (Accounts and Papers, p. 97). In the same 1871 (until November), the British consulate in Berdyansk compiled and processed only 90 documents (in 1858 – 100) (Accounts and Papers, p. 73), the British consulate in Kerch – 129 (in 1858 – 147) (Accounts and Papers, p. 88).

Additional difficulties in fulfilling these responsibilities were that for many of them it was impossible to find instructions or precedents (Accounts and Papers, p. 88).

Conclusions. The development of the network of British consular offices in port cities of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region, which took place after the end of the Crimean War, unambiguously demonstrated the understanding by official London prospects of the deployment of economic ties with the region. During the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries the consular district of Odessa turned into the largest British consular district on the territory of the Russian Empire in number of consular offices.

Forming the consular staff, the British Empire for a long time preferred appointing «non-trading» consuls, or «consul de carriere», which required considerably more money, but allowed consuls to focus on their professional duties, while the majority of consular representatives of other countries in the region were engaged in business. On the other hand, approaches of official London to the formation of the consular staff, financing consuls and the regulation of their activities had a number of disadvantages, which ultimately led to a revision of these approaches.

However, the dynamics of development of economic relations between ports of the Northern Black Sea and Azov region and the British Empire was affected by a wide range of factors, and, despite the efforts of the British consuls, this dynamics was not always positive. So, the consuls only had to report about such a state of affairs, recalling with nostalgia «better times» of British trade in the region.

Perspectives of further research of this issue are the continuation of the series of books «History of foreign consulates in the South of Ukraine» and the multi-volume edition «The Ukrainian South as viewed by consuls of the British Empire (19th – early 20th centuries)», initiated by us.

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