

One Service, Three Systems, Many Empires: The U.S. Consular Service and the Growth of U.S. Global Power, 1789-1924

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In the long nineteenth century, the U.S. Consular Service (USCS) helped to enmesh the United States in a global network of trade dominated by the great imperial powers and concentrated in the world's major port cities. Working alongside one another in these cosmopolitan cities, consular officials representing governments from all over the globe advanced national and imperial interests by collecting customs duties for government coffers and protecting state sovereignty by restricting and channeling flows across geographic borders (see Appendix A). Yet consular officials also played a significant role in knitting the imperial world system together by smoothing the cross-border travels of goods, capital, and people. To this end, consular officials at major ports provided routine paperwork that could be trusted by other border officials. They also helped governments, commercial interests, and individuals cope with jarring disruptions to these flows, from natural catastrophes and shipwrecks to illnesses and other personal misfortunes. Their work was the stuff of both transnational and transimperial connections.

This major port-based consular system was distinct from the nineteenth-century diplomatic system, which was based in imperial and national political capitals. Some of those political capitals were also major ports, but diplomatic and consular officials operated separately and had distinct functions. Indeed, most governments had separate diplomatic and consular institutions in the nineteenth century, and the United States was ahead of the curve when it combined the USCS with the diplomatic service to create the U.S. Foreign Service in 1924. Diplomats dealt with high politics and representational functions, and governments were limited by international norms and laws to establishing one embassy or legation per empire or country.¹

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¹ On other countries' consular service, see Jörg Ulbert and Lukian Prijac, eds., *Consuls et Services Consulaires Au XIXe Siecle = Die Welt Der Konsulate Im 19. Jahrhundert = Consulship in the 19th Century* (Hamburg: DOBU, 2010); Ferry de Goey, *Consuls and the Institutions of Global Capitalism, 1783-1914* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014); Rudolf Agstner, *Austria (-Hungary) and Its Consulates in the United States of America since 1820: "Our Nationals Settling Here Count by the Millions Now"* (Zürich: LIT Verlag, 2012); and D. C. M. Platt, *The Cinderella Service: British Consuls Since 1825* (London: Longman, 1971). On the culture of nineteenth-century diplomacy, see Nicole M. Phelps, *U.S.-*

Consular officials, on the other hand, dealt with the everyday practicalities of keeping people, goods, and capital moving through the proper channels across national and imperial borders. Bilateral treaties allowed them to be posted wherever there was a perceived need, and the norm of fee-based remuneration and relatively low salaries facilitated their proliferation in the long nineteenth century (see Appendix B). Consular agents provided official representation not only in Europe but also in colonial entrepôts. The major port consular system was open to any government that wanted to engage in trade and was willing to abide by the rules and norms that had been initially developed in Europe. This consular system, with its emphasis on trade and aid to sailors and other travelers, is what comes to many people's minds when they think of consuls and, in the relatively sparse literature on consuls, it is what gets much of the attention.²

But in the long nineteenth century, this relatively open system of major port consular posts co-existed with two other consular systems that were far more exclusive. One of these systems operated in what the U.S. Department of State (DOS) referred to as "non-Christian countries," including the Ottoman Empire and China.³ Its defining feature was extraterritoriality, with sending governments having the right to exercise direct jurisdiction over their citizens or subjects in the host country. This system was explicitly unequal because the "non-Christian" governments did not have reciprocal rights in Europe or the Americas. It relied on interimperial cooperation for its maintenance. In the U.S. case, it also relied on cooperation with local employees to overcome significant language barriers. This consular system was especially fragile and prone to corruption because only a few people had the linguistic and cultural expertise to participate in and oversee this particular matrix of power and dependence. Nonetheless, like the major port consular system, it advanced U.S. interests and power.

The third consular system was that of informal empire. In this system, the rules of the major port system applied, rather than extraterritoriality. However, unlike in the major ports, only one government had a consular presence. The usual effect was to forge a bilateral relationship between the sending government and the host locality that sidelined imperial and national governments, but these consular posts could also help to generate interimperial alignments. The U.S. government used its consular service to gain access to rival empires and to strengthen its official and commercial presence more than rival states, particularly in the period between the U.S. Civil War and World War I (see Appendix C). A significant number of these informal empire posts were in Central America and the Caribbean, where, it should be noted, there was less formal empire with which to contend. Even more of these posts were in the British Empire, however, and especially in Canada. These posts were often operated by British subjects. In addition to expanding the U.S. economic foothold in the British dominion, USCS officials created and embodied an alignment of British and American interests that contributed to the post-Civil War rapprochement between the two countries.

Habsburg Relations from 1815 to the Paris Peace Conference: Sovereignty Transformed (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), chapters 1 and 2.

² See note 1, especially De Goey, *Consuls and the Institutions of Global Capitalism*. On the USCS, see Charles Stuart Kennedy, *The American Consul: A History of the United States Consular Service, 1776-1924*, revised 2nd ed. (Washington DC: New Academia Publishing, 2015). For an account that encompasses more than trade, see Bernadette Whelan, *American Government in Ireland, 1790-1913: A History of the US Consular Service* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

³ US Department of State (hereafter cited as DOS), *Regulations Prescribed for the Use of the Consular Service of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896).

The three consular systems, supplemented at times by the diplomatic system, furthered the transborder flow of people, goods, and capital that, in turn, generated U.S. economic, political, and cultural power. The United States used that power to acquire colonies, build an informal empire, and cooperate on an equal footing with other imperial powers to preserve and expand imperial structures. The fact that the USCS operated within the three different systems with an annual average of 713 posts in operation across the globe in the period from 1872 to 1906 made for an unwieldy institution that was difficult to govern from the center in Washington.⁴ The USCS functioned relatively well, especially when its officials stayed in at their posts long enough to acquire crucial knowledge of local conditions and gain experience with the specific consular functions required there. A significant reform effort in 1906 produced major changes that emphasized national sovereignty and knowledge of uniform, DOS-centered bureaucratic practices, rather than inter- and transimperial cooperation and local knowledge, but by that point, the United States had already reaped the benefits of those more cooperative nineteenth-century consular efforts.

THE GROWTH OF THE US CONSULAR SERVICE TO 1856

The USCS was not consistent in size, geographic distribution, or personnel structure over the long nineteenth century, nor did it engage consistently in the major port, extraterritorial, and informal empire consular systems. The history of the USCS can be broken into four periods: two periods of relative stability from 1789 to 1856 and 1872 to 1906, and two periods of change between 1856 and 1872 and 1906 to 1924. Trans- and interimperial engagement was most pronounced in the 1872 to 1906 period, when the USCS was actively engaged in all three consular systems and British and American interests intermingled more intensely, especially in Canada.

From 1789 to 1856, the USCS was characterized by a steady growth in size and a primary engagement with the major port system (see Appendix D). In 1790, there were nineteen posts across the globe: Canton (Guangzhou) in China; Marrakesh, Mogador, and Tangier in the Barbary States; Lisbon in Portugal and Fayal and Funchal in the Azores and Madeira, respectively; Bordeaux, Havre, Marseilles, Nantes, and Rouen in France; the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg; London, Liverpool, Cowes, and Dublin in the British Isles; Cap-Haitien and Martinique in the French Caribbean; and Paramaribo in Dutch-controlled Surinam. By 1856 there were 269 posts, with a particular concentration around the Mediterranean. The British Empire hosted 62 posts, or 23 percent of the total, including 7 posts in Canada.

The growth of the service reflected the expansion of the U.S. economy and the importance of maritime trade and customs duties to the federal budget, but its pace and placement also reflected domestic political constraints on official U.S. interactions with the wider world. Generations of politicians took

⁴ Statistics regarding service size and post placement are derived from the annual *Register of the Department of State*, which began in 1869, and its successors, the *Foreign Service List* and *Key Officers of Foreign Service Posts*; Walter Burges Smith, *America's Diplomats and Consuls of 1776-1865: A Geographic and Biographic Directory of the Foreign Service from the Declaration of Independence to the End of the Civil War* (Arlington: Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, 1986), which is drawn primarily from the DOS's file of consular cards, supplemented by other sources; and the U.S. Government's *Official Register of the United States*, which was published on a roughly biannual and then annual basis from 1816. These sources are almost entirely in agreement when it comes to Senate-confirmed and/or salaried posts. Data on agencies is more elusive, as the US *Register* only listed them during some administrations. To the best of my knowledge, none of these sources were published in 1890 and 1904, and in 1921, 1922, 1923, and 1924 the US *Register* refers people to the DOS *Register* for the full DOS listing, but the DOS *Register* was not published in those years.

George Washington's 1796 Farewell Address advice to heart and minimized political engagement with European empires, keeping the Washington-based DOS staff and the diplomatic service small. President Washington had also advised commercial expansion, though, and that enabled the growth of the USCS. Many American politicians hoped to break into European-based mercantile empires via trade rather than diplomacy, and the exchange of consular officials was much easier and less expensive than exchanging diplomats.

Consular officials were much less expensive than diplomats before 1856 because they did not receive government salaries. They worked for fees, and so a consular official's income could vary dramatically depending on where he was posted.⁵ The fee system—which other governments also employed—was vulnerable to corruption, as standard prices were rarely published and the DOS and Treasury did not yet pay careful attention to the accounts.⁶ Before 1856, consular officials were also allowed to engage in their own private business pursuits. Part of the compensation of the job was the prestige of the title in the local community and the possibility of improved access to commercial information, but the most significant advantage may have been the convenience of not needing to seek out a consular official to complete the paperwork necessary for the transborder shipment of goods and people.

Despite the lack of financial remuneration, the functions performed by consular officials were essential to the movement of goods, capital, and people across imperial and national borders. Indeed, the need for consular services was so great that it outweighed concerns about the nationality of the people performing them, and governments—including that of the United States—frequently appointed citizens or subjects of other governments to consular posts in an effort to make sure the necessary work got done. The work of enabling global flows was fundamentally cooperative.

Before 1856, there was one place where U.S. consular officials received government salaries: the Barbary States.⁷ There, European and American activities were governed by the capitulation system, which had been formalized between the Ottomans and the French in 1500, largely out of a European desire to protect Christians from Islamic rule. European and American governments—as represented by consular officials—exercised direct jurisdiction over their subjects or citizens, shielding them from the host government. This was not a reciprocated right: Ottoman consular officials did not have extraterritorial privileges in European and American countries. For states with extraterritorial privileges, an effective judicial system required a jail, a court with a salaried marshal, and usually at least one reliable—one might substitute “salaried” for “reliable”—interpreter. In the USCS, the marshal and interpreter could be paid directly by the U.S. government, but the expenses of the jail and the court came out of the consular official's salary.

⁵ In the long nineteenth century, consular officials were men. On occasion, wives and daughters might fill in or assist, and after midcentury women might have clerical positions, but the positions listed in official registers were all held by men.

⁶ Data on other countries' services comes from the various files in 19: Reports on the Consular Service of Foreign Countries, 1897, Inventory 15, Record Group 59: General Records of the Department of State, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD (hereafter cited as NARA); the DOS-created ledger that is Volume 2 in 883: Analyses of Reports on Consular Establishments of Foreign Powers, 1907, Inventory 15, NARA; and the section of the DOS *Register* that lists foreign consular posts in the United States. See also note 1.

⁷ The US government established relations with Morocco in 1786. Treaties with Algeria, Tripoli, and Tunis followed in 1795, 1796, and 1797, respectively.

The basic USCS approach to exercising extraterritorial rights was later copied in other, similar places. After establishing relations with the Ottoman government in 1830, the U.S. government operated a consular court in Constantinople. Following the 1844 Treaty of Wanghia, the USCS grew its presence in China, operating courts at various times in Amoy (Xiamen), Chinkiang (Zhenjiang), Foochow (Fuzhou), Hankow (Hankou), Shanghai, Swatow (Shantou), and Tientsin (Tianjin). There was a consular court in Bangkok, Siam from 1856 to 1921, and the extraterritorial system was extended to Japan from 1858 to 1899.⁸ The USCS presence in the Barbary States, Ottoman Empire, China, and Japan was not limited to posts with consular courts. Consular officials in posts without extraterritorial courts funneled cases to the courts as needed. Depending on their specific location, these other officials participated in the trade-focused activities of the major port and informal empire systems, or concentrated their efforts on protecting American (and, at times, European) Christian missionaries and their converts, helping to carve out a distinct legal and cultural status for these individuals in the host country.⁹

Everywhere the USCS participated in the extraterritorial system, it followed in the steps of European imperial powers that had gone before, and cooperation among those powers was crucial in keeping the system of sharp inequalities in place. Even as they exercised the privileges of extraterritoriality, however, USCS personnel were dependent on locals for the operation of the system, because the United States did not produce sufficient numbers of Americans who were fluent in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, or Thai. The DOS introduced a “student interpreter” program in 1906 in an effort to build linguistic capacity, but supply rarely kept up with demand, and those U.S. efforts paled in comparison with the training provided by other governments through institutions like the Austrian Consular Academy or the on-the-ground training afforded to British and French colonial officials. Although local employees helped the USCS overcome its language deficiencies everywhere where English was not the primary language, the deficit was greater in the extraterritorial countries. The combination of interimperial cooperation to enforce the inherent inequality of the extraterritorial system and the USCS dependence on locals for that system’s daily operation made for a particularly fragile system that was vulnerable to corruption. A variety of generally successful anti-corruption reforms in the USCS over the course of the nineteenth century had the least impact in extraterritorial posts, especially in China.¹⁰

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE TRANSIMPERIAL SERVICE, 1856 TO 1906

The expansion of the extraterritorial system into China, Japan, and Siam coincided with a variety of other changes in the USCS that fundamentally altered the institution and its relationship to imperial power. The combination of reform legislation in 1856 and the Civil War from 1861 to 1865 prompted significant change, including a sharp increase in the overall size of the service and a marked expansion into the British Empire. Throughout the 1856-1872 transition period and on to 1906, the emphasis in the USCS remained on cooperation: maintaining cross-border flows was more important than expressions of national sovereignty.

⁸ The U.S. and Siamese governments opened relations in 1833, but that original treaty did not include extraterritorial provisions.

⁹ Ruth Kark, *American Consuls in the Holy Land, 1832-1914* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994).

¹⁰ The lack of change in China resulted in special investigations that were not paralleled in other parts of the world. See, for example, 136: Reports of Treasury Agents on U.S. Consulates, 1870-1873; and 889: Records Relating to Charges against John Goodnow and Robert McWade, 1902-1906, both in Inventory 15, NARA.

The 1856 reforms were designed to improve the quality of the USCS by reducing corruption and expanding the pool of potential candidates; they were a first step on the road to professionalization. The chief reform was to remove some posts—especially the most lucrative ones in the major ports—from the fee system and instead provide those consular officials with a government salary. Those salaried officials were no longer allowed to engage in private business.¹¹ The fees they collected needed to be accounted for in detail, and any fees beyond \$250 per quarter had to be forwarded to the Treasury. The 1856 legislation tied ranks and salaries to specific posts. London, for example, was a consulate general at the maximum salary of \$7,500 per year and Leipzig was a consulate at \$1,500 per year.¹² As it had before 1856, the Senate confirmed nominees for specific posts, rather than to ranks, so they could not be moved from post to post without additional Senate confirmation. Salaried posts were supposed to go to U.S. citizens, but the legislation allowed the employment of non-U.S. citizens when necessary.

As the 1856 legislation—and the augmented paperwork it required—was being implemented, the Civil War began. The Union needed friends on the ground all over the world to monitor and hopefully scuttle Confederate attempts to secure supplies and diplomatic recognition. Embracing their belief in the potential of the federal government and benefitting from the absence of Southerners in Congress, the Union government roughly doubled the size of the USCS, from 282 posts in 1860 to 497 in the peak war year of 1864 (see Appendix D). Some of this was done by creating more salaried positions, but the bulk of it was done by adding scores of “consular agents” to the ranks. Agents worked for fees and could pursue private business interests. They only had to be U.S. citizens when it was practical; it usually was not. They also did not have to be confirmed by the Senate, so appointing them was easy, and they were largely immune from the patronage system.¹³ With little incentive to replace them, agents often remained in their posts for years, providing substantial institutional stability and local knowledge.¹⁴ In essence, employing agents allowed for the combination of the flexibility of agents with the stricter administrative practices of the 1856 reform, continued USCS engagement with all three consular systems, and the possibility of developing large stores of local knowledge.

The war swelled the USCS all over the world, but the most dramatic increases were in the Portuguese and British empires. The USCS bloomed in the Portuguese Empire, with the five posts in 1860 surging to thirty-six posts during the war and then falling to a postwar annual average of nineteen posts in operation. The wartime expansion was not spread evenly throughout the empire: it was concentrated on the European mainland and in the Azores. This arrangement certainly made it difficult for Confederate ships to enter the Mediterranean unobserved. The bulk of the posts were agencies operated by Portuguese subjects, raising the question of their motivations. Potentially, the Union tapped into networks of observers who had been aiding in the enforcement of the ban on Portuguese slave trading and activists who advocated

¹¹ Officials on “Schedule B” drew salaries between \$1,500 and \$7,500, depending on the post, and they could not engage in private business. Those on “Schedule C” drew significantly smaller salaries—not more than \$1,000—and could still engage in business.

¹² In addition to consulates general and consulates, there were a handful of free-standing vice consulates, commercial agencies, and consular agencies. Consuls general were nominally in charge of lesser consular officials in their country/empire, but that does not appear to have been universally observed.

¹³ For descriptions of the types and qualifications of consular officials, see DOS, *Regulations*, 4-18.

¹⁴ In 1903, the 376 agents for which appointment data is available had served an average of nine years at post; fifty-five of them had been at their post for twenty years or more. The average length of service would likely be longer if the 1872-1906 period is considered as a whole, because many of the agents who signed on during the Civil War or in the 1870s had died shortly before 1903 after serving for decades. DOS, *Register* (1903).

for the extension of Portugal's 1761 abolition of slavery in the metropole to the entire empire; that extension came in 1869.¹⁵

As it had in Portugal, the USCS presence in the British Empire expanded during the Civil War. Unlike Portugal, however, that expansion was sustained and even increased after the war had ended. In the British Isles, 16 new posts were created during the war, joining the 29 that already existed. In the British Caribbean, the Antipodes, and Africa, the USCS presence grew, from twenty total posts to twenty-nine. The most dramatic change, though, came in Canada, where the eight posts that had been created since the establishment of a post at the major port of Halifax in 1830 were joined by forty-four new wartime posts. Immediately following the war, there was an initial effort to reduce the size of the USCS again, but the Ulysses Grant administration opted to reverse that trend, keeping the service large. In the period of relative institutional stability from 1872 to 1906, the USCS averaged 713 posts in operation globally in any given year. An average of 247, or nearly 35 percent, were in the British Empire, and an average of 116, or nearly 16 percent of the total, were in Canada (see Appendix E). In terms of numbers, the peak USCS penetration of the British Empire came in 1896 and 1899, when 136 posts were operational.¹⁶

This extensive network of posts allowed for voluminous exchange of people, goods, and capital between the British Empire and the expanding U.S. empire, integrating their economies, aligning their interests, and contributing to the postwar rapprochement and subsequent "special relationship."¹⁷ The considerable number of British subjects who operated USCS posts as agents carried this alignment even further, making them embodiments of transimperial cooperation.¹⁸ The British subjects in the USCS were not matched by a network of Americans serving as British consular officials, nor were there a comparable number of British consular posts in the United States and its empire. The massive U.S. consular presence in Canada tipped into the realm of U.S. informal empire. From the comparative data available, it appears that no other government had such dense consular representation anywhere. The USCS did not have such a presence even in its southern neighbor, Mexico, where posts were distributed across states, rather than concentrated at the border.¹⁹

CONSULAR FUNCTIONS, 1872-1906

By looking at activity in USCS posts in Canada in the 1872-1906 period, we can see what consular officials at major ports and informal empire posts did on a day-to-day basis to keep people, goods, and capital flowing across imperial and national borders. Consular officials needed to strike the right balance between

¹⁵ The Portuguese government banned its slave trade north of the equator in 1815 and south of the equator in 1842.

¹⁶ See note 4.

¹⁷ Entry points into the scholarship on Anglo-American relations include Stuart Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981); and Kathleen Burk, *Old World, New World: Great Britain and America from the Beginning* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008).

¹⁸ In 1903, there were 148 British subjects serving in the USCS, of which 139 were agents; 124 were serving in the British Empire, and 120 of those were agents. Of those in the British Empire, fifty-eight were in Canada and thirty-one were in the British Isles. DOS, *Register* (1903). The figures here include the few people whose place of birth was listed, but not their place of appointment; their citizenship status is not entirely clear, but they have been counted as what is most likely.

¹⁹ See note 6. An interactive map of U.S. posts in Canada and Mexico is available at:

https://drive.google.com/open?id=1G3VT_rscp6jHmz8LXsUXz7PMmRc&usp=sharing

keeping the system moving and making sure that the government's sovereign rights—including its right to have borders—were respected. Ultimately, they occupied positions of trust, providing documentation and information that other people—be they U.S. or foreign officials or private citizens—could use to shape the transborder flows of interest to them.

Certainly, one of the two major port system functions—aid to seamen—was important along the Canadian coasts and presumably on the Great Lakes as well. Seamen who developed health problems too severe to allow them to remain on board ship were entitled to food, clothing, shelter, and medical treatment at U.S. government expense, organized by consular officers, if they were U.S. citizens or in service on U.S. vessels. Expenses for the relief of seamen were supposed to be recorded in a dedicated account ledger and submitted quarterly to the Treasury. The effects and bodies of those who died fell to consular officials, who either worked with executors or arranged the logistics of burial and sale of effects themselves.²⁰ Consular officials also helped to monitor and regulate labor conditions aboard vessels, refereeing complaints and ensuring wages were paid consistently with U.S. law and the ship's articles. They checked to make sure that the people who were supposed to be aboard a ship actually were aboard, guarding against unlawful death, impressment, desertion, and stowaways.²¹

Consular officers' certification of the list of people aboard a ship was one of the many documents a ship's master needed so the vessel could clear U.S. Customs upon arrival in the United States. Preparing people and goods to go through U.S. Customs was the other fundamental consular function in the major port system. Consular officials, along with the Revenue Cutter Service, combined with the Customs Service to form and police the commercial borders of the United States.²² This trio of institutions was created early in the government's history and was well funded, seeing as they ensured the collection of customs duties, which formed the main source of federal revenue prior to the introduction of the income tax in 1913.

In terms of paperwork, the bare minimum needed to bring more than \$100 worth of goods into the United States was an invoice and a shipper's declaration, both certified by a U.S. consular official. Invoices had to be triplicate originals, with one copy staying in the consular archives, the second going with the shipper, and the third posted by the consular officer to the collector of customs at the intended port of entry; the collector's copy was supposed to arrive before the actual goods. In some cases, additional certified materials could be required, such as product samples—also to be collected in triplicate—documentation of disinfection, and special declarations regarding artworks. The packaging in which goods were transported also needed separate paperwork in certain circumstances, and consuls were supposed to attest that the labels stating goods' place of origin and/or manufacture were accurate. Consular officials who suspected wrongdoing in any of this were supposed to gather evidence and forward it on to the

²⁰ Consular officials performed these services for U.S. citizens who were not seamen as well. DOS, *Regulations*, 154-64.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 61-141. On consular management of ship-board labor, see Matthew T. Raffety, *The Republic Afloat: Law, Honor, and Citizenship in Maritime America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); and Brian Rouleau, *With Sails Whitening Every Sea: Mariners and the Making of an American Maritime Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).

²² Although not mentioned by the authors, consular officials could be characterized as part of the "government out of sight" or the "outward state." Brian Balogh, *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Andrew Wender Cohen, "Smuggling, Globalization, and America's Outward State, 1870-1909," *Journal of American History* 97, no. 2 (2010): 371-98.

customs officer, who would decide whether something illegal had been done; in the most flagrant, clear-cut cases, consular officials could refuse to issue the necessary certified documents.²³

Goods that moved from place to place outside the United States before they entered it typically required documentation from the consular officials in each stopping place along the route. Those stops could be intentional, but they could also be accidental. For instance, if a ship had to put into a port because of storm, the consular official at that port could provide a certified form that explained the circumstances and ensured that the shippers did not face extra duties as a result of their unexpected stop. Consular officers were the ones to document the journey of goods—and people—in ways that could be understood and trusted by U.S. officials at the border.

The U.S.-Canadian trade relationship did have unique features that influenced the number and placement of USCS posts. The 1872-1906 period was a time in which Canadian goods did not enjoy free access to the United States or lower tariff rates, and high, Republican protectionist tariffs were in effect for much of the time. These policies incentivized U.S. authorities to make sure the necessarily high volume of Canadian goods entering the United States did so legally. The 1871 Treaty of Washington complicated matters, because it allowed the duty-free transshipment of certain British and Canadian goods through specified U.S. ports of entry, as well as mutual duty-free transshipment rights along the waterways that connected the Great Lakes and the Atlantic.²⁴ Although some goods were allowed to move along these paths duty-free, shippers needed the paperwork to prove they had the right to do so. The movement of goods from Canada to the United States by rail was also governed by a special set of rules. Consular officers were allowed to seal railroad cars at inland posts in Canada—Stratford, Ontario, for example—and provide them with the necessary paperwork so they could travel all the way to inland U.S. customs entry points such as St. Louis, Missouri without stopping at the geographic border between the two countries.²⁵ This system contributed to the proliferation of posts, especially in Southern Ontario, and it reduced the challenges of integrating the Canadian and American economies, helping to align Anglo-American interests.

Inanimate objects were not, of course, the only things that had to go through U.S. Customs. The trade in animals across the U.S.-Canadian border was also substantial, and consular officers inspected, quarantined, and certified those animals according to U.S. law, which varied by the species of animal and the purposes for which the animal would be used in the United States.²⁶ Providing a large number of consular posts, rather than trying to move large quantities of animals across at a few places, may have aided in keeping the animals well-nourished and healthy.

Animals also accompanied immigrants across the border. There was a special form to certify that teams of animals used to transport migrants and their personal belongings were allowed to cross duty free, though any horses involved that had been or would be used for racing were not exempt from duties.²⁷ It

²³ DOS, *Regulations*, 276-317. See also Robert E. May, "Culture Wars: The U. S. Art Lobby and Congressional Tariff Legislation during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era," *Journal of the Gilded Age & Progressive Era* 9, no. 1 (January 2010): 37–91.

²⁴ Great Britain and the United States, Treaty of Washington (1871), articles XXIX-XXX.

²⁵ DOS, *Regulations*, 298-99.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 153, 300-301. See also Kristin Hoganson, "Meat in the Middle: Converging Borderlands in the U.S. Midwest, 1865–1900," *American Historical Review* 98 (January 2012): 1025–51.

²⁷ DOS, *Regulations*, 301.

is not hard to imagine that consular officers located right at the border provided paperwork to people who had tried to enter the United States and failed, not knowing what documents they actually needed to get themselves and their belongings across the border.

As the U.S. federal government developed new, exclusionary immigration laws and an institutional apparatus to enforce them, consular officers were called upon to assist. They had already been providing weekly health and sanitation reports to the Treasury Department so the Marine Hospital Service—reformed and strengthened in 1871—could establish quarantines. With the introduction of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, passports were required for the select categories of Chinese people who could enter the United States, and consular officials provided one route by which passports could be obtained. Consular involvement in the inspection of potential migrants and the issuing of passports and visas intensified as exclusionary laws multiplied, with the most significant growth in this area coming after 1906.²⁸ Migration-related consular work was particularly heavy at the major points of entry into Canada, where U.S. consular officials provided services for both U.S. citizens and non-U.S. citizens who aimed to travel through Canada to the United States. USCS personnel worked alongside significant numbers of other countries' consular officials at Montreal, Halifax, St. John (New Brunswick), Toronto, Quebec City, Vancouver, St. John's (Newfoundland), and Victoria.²⁹

People also crossed the border in the other direction for a variety of reasons. The relative ease of crossing from the United States into Canada and the lack of a comprehensive extradition treaty encouraged American fugitives to flee to Canada, and consular officials participated in efforts to track them down.³⁰ Unlike U.S. consular officials operating in the extraterritorial system, those posted to Canada and most other countries did not have any judicial authority over U.S. citizens in the area. They could render assistance to U.S. citizens who were arrested, which might include things like monitoring prison conditions or recommending a local attorney, but the DOS cautioned consular officials against taking more dramatic steps.³¹ In practice, consular officials often advised people who had been released pending a trial to leave the country, thus eliminating the need to mount a defense.³²

Tourism also drew Americans to Canada, though it is not clear that any USCS posts were created to deal primarily with tourists, as was the case with European spa towns like Carlsbad in Austria. At those European posts, consular officials were frequently called on to put their foreign language and social skills to work to smooth over disputes regarding hotel bills and similar matters. Americans undoubtedly got into the same kind of arguments in Canada, but, outside Quebec, language was less of an issue. Throughout the 1872-1906 period, the Thousand Islands and Niagara Falls were certainly tourist draws, and, as time went on, destinations served by the Canadian Pacific Railway and its related luxury hotels drew more visitors, especially to the Canadian Rockies and Pacific coast.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 49-61.

²⁹ In 1897, there were at least fifteen countries with consular posts in Montreal; Halifax, St. John, and Toronto had eleven; Quebec City had ten, Vancouver had nine, and St. John's and Victoria had seven each. 19: Reports on the Consular Service of Foreign Countries.

³⁰ Katherine Unterman, "Boodle over the Border: Embezzlement and the Crisis of International Mobility, 1880–1890," *Journal of the Gilded Age & Progressive Era* 11, no. 2 (April 2012): 151–89.

³¹ DOS, *Regulations*, 166-67.

³² For examples, see Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations*, chapter 3.

Consular officials were frequently visited by U.S. citizens who had come to Canada looking for work, were traversing Ontario as the shortest route between New England and Michigan, or, around 1896, were attempting to enrich themselves via the Klondike gold strike. If they fell into financial difficulties, they often asked consular officials for assistance. Officials often helped, though they did so from their own resources; unlike most European governments, the U.S. government did not have a public fund for this purpose. The U.S. government did, however, have a public fund for paying pensions to Civil War veterans, widows, and orphans. Consular officials participated in that system by hearing and certifying the required annual oath from those pensioners living abroad that proved they were still alive. They helped connect recipients with the correct authorities in the United States, frequently putting in a good word for applicants— who would, of course, be a continued drain on the consular official's personal finances if they remained in the district. They also helped to answer questions about pensions and smooth over problems that arose through unexpected circumstances that were no fault of the pension recipient.³³

Just as members of the public could call on consular officials with questions or problems, so, too, could U.S. government agencies. These could be one-time requests, such as the query from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) about whether Pilsner beer had to be made in the Bohemian town of Pilsen, Austria to be legitimately called Pilsner.³⁴ Consular officials also provided regular flows of information upon which U.S. government agencies acted. The Treasury received monthly reports on currency values, and the USDA received reports on local agricultural conditions, also monthly and frequently with accompanying samples of plants and seeds. The DOS received annual reports on local commercial conditions for publication in *Commercial Relations* and encouraged monthly reports for inclusion in its *Consular Reports* series.

These commercial reports were made available to the public in the hopes that they would help stimulate trade, providing businesses with news of potential opportunities to seize and pitfalls to avoid. Consular officials at major ports and especially at informal empire posts were also supposed to actively promote trade by cultivating relationships with locals. How specific officials attempted this depended on individual circumstances, but one common approach was to maintain a publicly accessible library of U.S. commercial publications, especially trade journals and directories. In some consulates, the library was large enough to be a formal reading room; others were far more modest.

It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of consular trade promotion activities, but scholars have typically found them wanting.³⁵ It is worth bearing in mind, however, that a U.S. consular official's very presence in a locality could raise awareness of the possibility of trade with the United States. Much more importantly, the presence of the consular official lowered the costs associated with that potential trade by being on hand to provide all the necessary paperwork and, hopefully, to answer questions about American markets, tastes, and regulations. In Canada—and especially Anglophone Canada—where knowledge of language, culture, markets, and financial systems was shared across the border or at least easy to come by, ready access to consular officials significantly reduced the remaining, largely

³³ In 1903, the DOS surveyed its consular officials about requests for aid. The responses are contained in 885: Reports of Consuls on Aid to U.S. Citizens, 1903, Inventory 15, NARA. See also DOS, *Regulations*, 178-79.

³⁴ According to the Austrians, it did need to come from Pilsen (Plzeň). Acting Secretary of Agriculture to Secretary of State, Washington, 6 April 1911, file 611.634/3, decimal file 1910-29, NARA.

³⁵ See, for example, de Goey, *Consuls and the Institutions of Global Capitalism*; and David M. Pletcher, "Rhetoric and Results: A Pragmatic View of American Economic Expansionism, 1865-89," *Diplomatic History* 5, no. 2 (April 1981): 93-106.

bureaucratic obstacles to trade, facilitating the integration of key aspects of the Canadian and U.S. economies.³⁶ USCS efforts helped to orient the Dominion of Canada toward the United States, rather than its imperial metropole in Britain.

REFORMS AND NATIONALIZATION, 1906-1924

Having consular officials close at hand made it easier for people to access the services they provided and enhanced the U.S. government's ability to exercise its full sovereign rights. However, with nearly eight hundred posts operating in any given year, a staff of citizens and non-citizens with relatively frequent turnover, and the unique demands and geographies of the major port, extraterritorial, and informal empire systems, the USCS was difficult for the Consular Bureau and the rest of the Washington-based DOS staff to keep track of, let alone actively manage. That the service functioned at all was something of a minor miracle, especially given the lack of training and instruction for consular officials. The USCS, like most of the world's nineteenth-century consular services, muddled through with an army of the willing, despite the fact that serving resulted in financial hardships for many officials. Individual officials may not have benefitted much financially, but the United States benefitted tremendously from consular officials' labor and local knowledge. Through USCS engagement in major port-based trade, penetration of "non-Christian countries" via the system of extraterritoriality, and the cultivation of an informal empire, the United States expanded its political, economic, and cultural reach across the globe by the end of the nineteenth century.

Having accomplished that global expansion, the United States was the first major power to reform its consular service so as to make it smaller and more responsive to the center of government authority. While the British, French, and German governments continued with modest growth and the Italian and Austrian governments initiated substantial expansions designed to maintain connections with their migrants abroad, the 1906 reform legislation in the United States began a gradual contraction in the number of consular posts (see Appendix F).³⁷ The 1906 reform also began to erode the sense of three distinct consular systems, and, with the 1924 Rodgers Act, the distinct roles for the consular service and the diplomatic service were erased entirely in favor of a single U.S. Foreign Service (USFS). The reforms were undertaken in the name of professionalization and efficiency, not nationalization, but, in practice, they had a nationalizing effect, removing non-U.S. citizens from the ranks and emphasizing rotation among posts rather than the cultivation of local knowledge and relationships. From the perspective of DOS officials in Washington, the USCS did become more efficient. Those efficiencies, however, relied on a combination of technological changes—themselves partially a result of consular labor—and the concentration of political, economic, and cultural power that nineteenth-century consular officials had been so instrumental in achieving. Out of choice or necessity, people in need of consular services had to bear greater costs in reaching U.S. consular officials, rather than relying on those officials' proximity.

The most important aspect of the 1906 reform law was the creation of consuls general at large (CGALs). The five CGALs were each assigned to a specific region of the world, and they traveled from post to post, gathering information on employees and local practices, instructing consular officials in the performance of their duties, and making recommendations to the DOS about promotions and severances, post closures, and other changes to consular practices. This system of inspection was designed to be permanent, as

³⁶ In *Consuls and the Institutions of Global Capitalism*, de Goey argues that, in general, nineteenth-century consuls fed global capitalism by reducing transaction costs.

³⁷ See note 6.

opposed to the handful of ad hoc inspection tours that had been done since the Civil War.³⁸ It was the most effective tool the DOS had yet possessed for fostering uniformity of practice and scrupulous attention to directions from Washington. The CGALs preached esprit de corps and the adoption of state-of-the-art scientific management practices, with an eye toward being able to move consular officers from post to post smoothly. The CGALs envisioned a USCS in which consular officers were much more clearly agents of the US DOS, rather than people of indifferent nationality who worked to keep goods and people moving through specific places.

The chief casualties of the 1906 reforms were consular agents. The CGALs recommended raising some agencies to salaried consulates. By this point, salaried offices were almost entirely in the hands of U.S. citizens, and non-U.S. citizens would not be hired for new salaried positions, so a few agents were out of a job. The CGALs recommended closing some agencies, either because they were no longer needed or because they thought the incumbent was not doing a satisfactory job and there was no reasonable prospect of finding a U.S. citizen to take over the agency. More research into these closures is needed, but it appears that agents who were not regarded as Anglo-Saxons were immediately let go, regardless of the length or quality of their service. By contrast, agents in Canada—many of whom had been serving since the Civil War or shortly thereafter—were left in place until they chose to retire or they died. Besides post status changes and closures, several agents quit their jobs after the CGALs criticized their work or demanded that they do more—without, of course, receiving any additional financial compensation for their expanded efforts.³⁹

World War I accelerated the process of standardization and efficiency, eradicating many of the long nineteenth century's norms surrounding the exchange of personnel and dealing a death blow to the capitulation-based system of extraterritoriality. The experience of performing emergency consular services for many of the world's governments during the war encouraged DOS officials to value efficiency—and border control—to an even greater extent.⁴⁰ Beyond the collapse of the German, Austrian, Russian, and Ottoman empires, World War I had a profoundly destabilizing effect on European empires, even as they expanded to encompass more territory, particularly in the Middle East. The war destabilized the U.S. empire as well, prompting a complete overhaul of its citizenship and immigration laws.⁴¹ Nation-states gradually replaced empires as the main constituent actors in "international" affairs, and politicians—especially American politicians—emphasized the equality of those nation-states in their rhetoric.⁴² The symbolism surrounding diplomats was re-purposed to meet the demands of this new

³⁸ CGAL reports and correspondence are spread throughout the DOS archives; a key collection is 865: Inspection Reports on Foreign Service Posts, Inventory 15, NARA. Earlier, ad hoc inspection reports can be found in files 869-872, Foreign Service Inspection Records; and in 136: Reports of Treasury Agents on U.S. Consulates, Inventory 15, NARA.

³⁹ See, for example, the numerous recommendations and responses contained in 874: Correspondence of Inspector Alfred L. M. Gottschalk, Inventory 15, NARA.

⁴⁰ Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations*, chapter 3.

⁴¹ Christopher Capozzola, "Legacies for Citizenship: Pinpointing Americans during and after World War I," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 4 (September 2014): 713–26.

⁴² On the transition to a new nation-state system, see Eric D Weitz, "From the Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (December 2008): 1313–43; Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-*

system, particularly through the elimination of ranks for chiefs of diplomatic missions; everyone was now an ambassador. After the Rodgers Act merged the USCS and diplomatic service in 1924, some consulates remained open, but as extensions of embassies, not as distinct institutional spaces. Among career U.S. Foreign Service officers, the “consular track” that emerged in the twentieth century did not include trade at all; instead, it emphasized passports, visas, and emergency aid to U.S. citizens abroad. Officials who had worked to minimize the obstacles presented by borders in the long nineteenth century’s global imperial system devoted ever more effort to border maintenance in the twentieth century’s nation-state system.

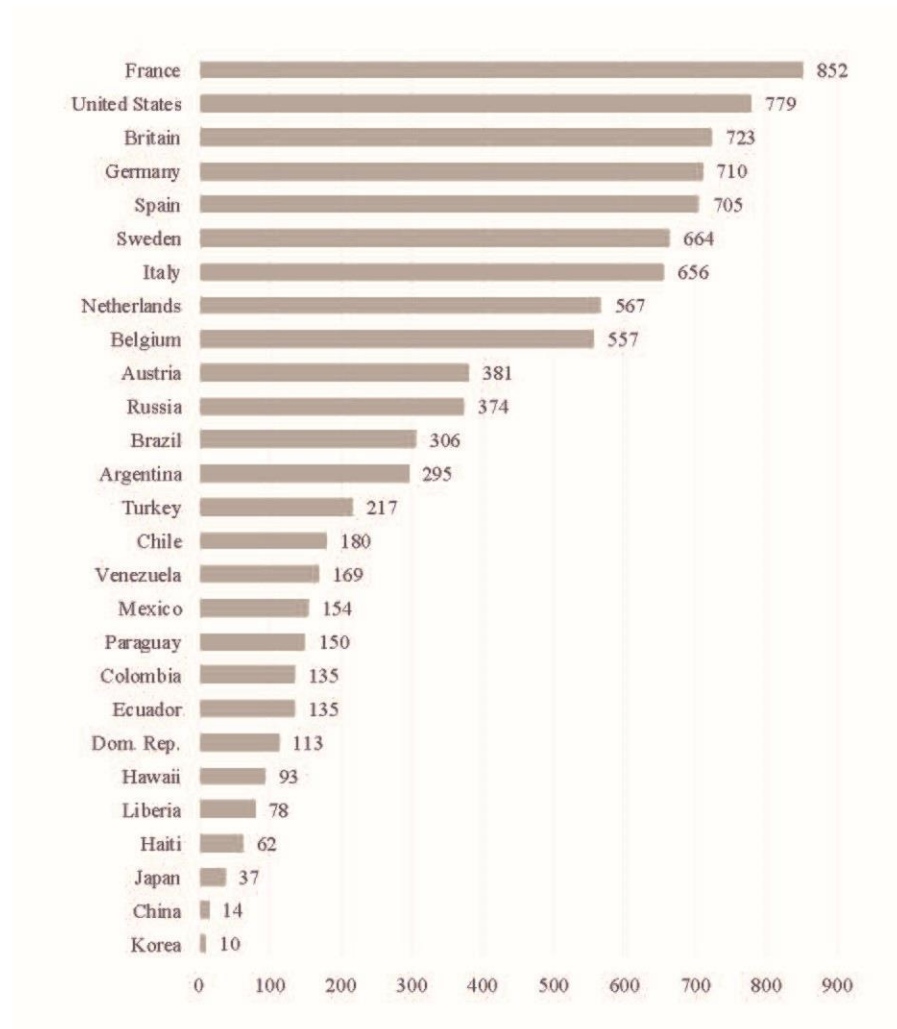
Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations*.

The tables and figures that will appear in the final version of the chapter are presented here as appendices. They are in the raw format requested by the publisher.

APPENDIX A. Cities with the Most Consular Officials, ca. 1897. See note 6.

CITY	NUMBER OF CONSULAR OFFICIALS
London	25
New York City	25
Liverpool	24
Marseilles	24
Hamburg	24
Paris	23
Berlin	23
Genoa	23
Antwerp	23
Lisbon	23
Barcelona	23
Cadiz	23
Glasgow	22
Havre	22
Bremen	22
Malaga	22
Christiania (Oslo)	22
San Francisco	22
Cardiff	21
Copenhagen	21
Amsterdam	21
Naples	21
Palermo	21
Venice	21
Ghent	21
Havana	21
Valencia	21
Boston	21
Liege	20

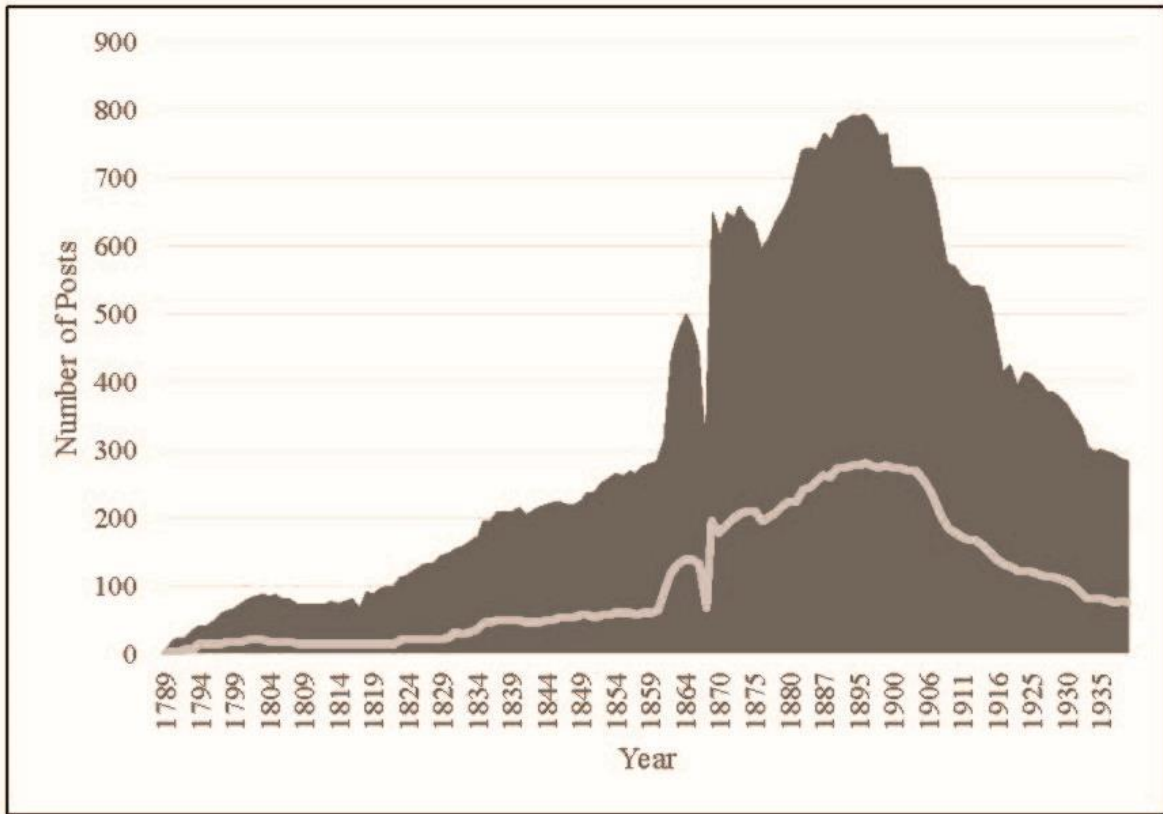
APPENDIX B. Size of Consular Services, 1897. See note 6.



APPENDIX C. Consular Services with the Most “Informal Empire” Posts, ca. 1897. “Informal empire” posts are defined as those at which only one government is represented. See note 6.

COUNTRY	INFORMAL EMPIRE POSTS	TOTAL CONSULAR POSTS	PERCENTAGE OF INFORMAL EMPIRE POSTS
United States	197	779	25%
Spain	115	705	16%
Sweden	86	664	13%
Italy	78	656	12%
France	100	852	12%
Argentina	33	295	11%
Britain	70	723	10%

APPENDIX D. Number of US Consular Service Posts By Year, 1789-1939. The light line indicates the number of posts in the British Empire and Commonwealth. Based on data from the *Register of the Department of State* and its successors, the *Official Register of the United States*, and Smith's *America's Diplomats and Consuls of 1776-1865*. See note 4.



APPENDIX E. Locations of US Consular Posts in Canada, 1872-1906. A US consular official was posted to these places at some point in the 1872-1906 period. Posts marked with an * were opened before 1861. The list reflects present-day, rather than historical, town and province names. See note 4. An interactive map is available at:

https://drive.google.com/open?id=1G3VT_rscp6jHmz8LXsUXz7PMmRc&usp=sharing

Alberta

Calgary
Lethbridge

British Columbia

Chemanius
Cumberland
Fernie
Nanaimo
Nelson
Rossland
Union Bay
Vancouver (Granville)
Victoria

New Brunswick

Bathurst
Campbellton
Campobello Island
Edmundston
Frederickton
Grand Manan
McAdam (Junction)
Moncton
Miramichi (Newcastle)
Richibucto
St. Andrews
St. George
St. John*
St. Stephen
Woodstock

Newfoundland

Bay Bulls
Harbor Grace
Port-aux-Basques
St. John's*
St. Vincent

Nova Scotia

Annapolis Royal
Antigonish
Arichat
Barrington
Bridgewater
Canso
Cheverie
Cornwallis
Cow Bay
Digby
Glace Bay
Guysborough
Halifax*
Kempt
Kingsport
Lingan
Liverpool
Lockport
Louisburg
Lunenburg
North Sydney
Parrsboro
Pictou*
Port Hastings
Port Hawkesbury
Port Joggins
Pugwash
River Herbert
Shelbourne
Sydney*
Windsor
Wolfville
Yarmouth

Manitoba

Deloraine
Emerson
Gretna
Wakopa

Winnipeg

Ontario

Amherstburg
Arnprior
Barrie
Belleville
Brantford
Brockville
Carleton Place
Chatham
Clifton
Clinton
Coburg
Collingwood
Cornwall
Courtwright
Deseronto (Mill Point)
Duart
Elliot Lake (Algoma)
Fort Erie
Fort William
Galt
Gananoque
Goderich
Gore Bay
Guelph
Hamilton
Kenora (Rat Portage)
Kingston
Lindsay
London
Midland
Morrisburgh
Napanee
Niagara Falls
North Bay
Orillia
Oshawa
Ottawa

Owen Sound
Palmerston
Paris
Parry Sound
Peterborough
Picton
Thunder Bay (Port Arthur)
Port Hope
Port Rowan
Port Stanley
Prescott
Sarnia (Port Sarnia)
Sault Ste. Marie
Smith's Falls
St. Catherines
St. Thomas
Stratford
Sudbury
Toronto*
Trenton
Wallaceburg
Walton
Waterloo
Waubauskene
Whitby
Warton
Windsor
Wingham

Prince Edward Island

Alberton
Cascumpec
Charlottetown*
Georgetown
Souris
St. Peter's Bay
Stanley's Bridge
Summerside

Quebec

Arthabaska
Cabano
Vallee-Jonction (Chaudiere)
Chicoutimi
Clarenceville
Coaticook

Cookshire
Coteau-du-Lac
Farnham
Frelighsburg
Gaspé*
Georgeville
Grand Mère
Grenville
Hemmingford
Hereford
Hinchinbrook
Hochelaga (and Longeuil)
Huntington
Lachine
Lacolle
Levis
Lineboro
Magdalen Islands
Megantic
Montreal*
Paspebiac
Point Levi
Potton
Quebec City
Rimouski
Riviere du Loup
Sherbrooke
Sorel
St. Hyacinthe
Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu (St. John's)
Stanbridge East
Stanstead (Junction)
Sutton
Trois-Rivières (Three Rivers)
Victoriaville

Saskatchewan

North Portal

Yukon

Dawson City

APPENDIX F. Size of Select Countries' Consular Services, 1897 and 1907. See note 6.

