# DUTCH MERCHANTS IN ST PETERSBURG IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the seventeenth century, the main stream of Russia's foreign trade was conducted by way of the long northern route via the White Sea and Archangel, the country's only seaport, situated on the bank of the North Dvina river. 1 Russia exported mainly products of its forests (such as masts, tar and potash) and farms (such as leather, tallow, hemp and flax). It imported, besides gold and silver money, mainly military stores and luxuries: arms, expensive textiles, pearls and precious stones, wine, spices and other exotic foodstuffs.<sup>2</sup> Russia had no direct access to the Baltic, but a substantial part of its commercial traffic flowed through the Swedish-held ports of Riga, Reval and Narva, too, lining Swedish coffers with the tolls it yielded. When Peter the Great declared war on Sweden in 1700 and, thus, started the Great Northern War (1700-1721), one of his goals was to gain an opening to the Baltic.<sup>3</sup> He gained this object by conquering the ports of Riga, Narva, Reval, Viborg, Frederikshamn and some lesser Baltic ports. In addition, he founded St Petersburg as early as 1703 as a fort to guard the mouth of the river Neva, as a naval base, and as a new port for Russia's trade with Western Europe. The new town became the capital of Russia in 1712, when the tsar moved the government there. 4 Subsequently, Peter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>P. de Buck, 'De Russische uitvoer uit Archangel', 1988, p. 140; H.Klompmaker, 'Handel, geld- en bankwezen', 1980, pp. 111-112; J.R.Bruijn, 'Scheepvaart in de Noordelijke Nederlanden', 1979, 7, pp. 148-149; P.W.Klein, 'Handel, geld- en bankwezen', 1979, p. 170; J.R.Bruijn, 'Scheepvaart in de Noordelijke Nederlanden', 1979, 8, p. 224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>R.K.Massie, *Peter the Great*, 1981, pp. 293-294, 301, 323.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>R.Milner-Gulland and N.Dejevsky, Atlas van Rusland, 1989, p. 9, 88; Russen en Nederlanders, 1989, p. 97; J.W.Bezemer, Een geschiedenis van Rusland, 1988, p. 87, 93, 399; R.K.Massie, Peter the Great, 1981, p. 355, 358, 602; J.V.Th.Knoppers, Dutch trade with Russia, 1976, I, p. vi, 148, 174-175, 186;

started a resolute policy to reroute Russia's foreign trade from Archangel to his new capital, and St Petersburg evolved rapidly into one of the main international seaports of Russia, a gateway to the markets of Western Europe and the world.  $^5$ 

An important link in the commercial relations between Holland and Russia was formed by the community of Dutch businessmen and -women living at Archangel. They received and handled the commodities shipped from the Netherlands to Archangel, and sold them to Russian traders. Conversely, they received and handled Russian commodities supplied by Russian traders and shipped them to Amsterdam. They traded on their own behalf, as agents of foreign merchants abroad, and also mutually with these partners.<sup>6</sup> When St Petersburg sprang up as a commercial port, a number of Dutch businessmen settled there, too. Their economic function was very much the same as that of the Dutch merchants of Archangel: to link the markets of Russia and the Netherlands. Most of the foreign merchants of St Petersburg were commission agents. They traded with Russian merchants, who usually did not live in St Petersburg but in the region and in other Russian towns, and who arrived in St Petersburg every year in May and June to do business and went back home after they concluded their affairs. The foreigners sold their commodities on credit, usually with a twelve-month term. They paid in cash for the goods they bought; often, they did so in advance during the winter, agreeing on delivery in the next summer. 7 The imports were shipped from St Petersburg to Moscow by boat in summer and by sledge in winter. And by the same means, the exports were shipped to St Petersburg from all over Russia.8 Not all merchandise shipped via St Petersburg was actually traded in this town. Peter I granted the English certain advantages,

H.Kellenbenz, 'The economic significance of the Archangel route', 1973, p. 573; J.Lisk, *The struggle for supremacy in the Baltic*, 1967, p. 193-194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>R.Milner-Gulland and N.Dejevsky, *Atlas van Rusland*, 1989, p. 9, 88; R.K.Massie, *Peter the Great*, 1981, p. 602; H.Kellenbenz, 'The economic significance of the Archangel route', 1973, p. 573.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> J.W.Veluwenkamp, 'Familienetwerken binnen de Nederlandse koopliedengemeenschap van Archangel', 1993, p. 657.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>H.Kellenbenz, 'Marchands en Russie', 1970, pp. 614-615.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>H.Kellenbenz, 'Marchands en Russie', 1971, p. 104.

allowing them, for example, to send their commodities to Moscow and sell them there, just as the Russian merchants could.  $^9$ 

There is very little known about the Dutch merchants of St Petersburg. Who were they? How large were there numbers? Where did they come from? How did their community develop? To what extent and how long did they maintain their identity as Dutchmen? In this article, I shall try to shed some light on them.

## Dutch commercial shipping to St Petersburg

Peter the Great's policy of rerouting Russia's foreign trade from Archangel to St Petersburg was, at least on paper, rather drastic and erratic. In 1713, Peter ordered that one-half of the Archangel export trade be shipped via St Petersburg instead. This order was amplified and made more precise in 1714. Hemp, Russia leather, caviar, potash, woad-ashes and pigs' bristles were permitted to be exported via St Petersburg only. From 1715 on, the word was to send all Archangel exports via St Petersburg instead. But in 1718, the ban was partly lifted as Archangel was allowed to handle up to one third and St Petersburg two thirds of Russia's foreign trade. Then, three years later, permission was given to export via Archangel all goods from the North Dvina basin except grains. And in 1727, finally, the Archangel trade was restored to its former basis. A difference in toll levels was introduced instead. From the standard level of 5 %, the inland tolls to Archangel were raised to 7 % while those to St Petersburg were reduced to 3 %. <sup>10</sup>

The tsar's decrees were as ineffective as they were manifold. It is true, a convoy of over 40 Dutch and English merchantmen arrived at St Petersburg in 1716, and the number of ships calling at the new port climbed to 75 in 1720. 11 But the Baltic traffic remained largely obstructed during the War, and this very obstruction, in fact, caused the old Archangel trade to shoot up. 12 From 1693 to 1699, an average of about 47

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>H.Kellenbenz, 'Marchands en Russie', 1970, p. 615.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, Dutch trade with Russia, 1976, I, p. 149, 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>J.V.Th. Knoppers, 'De vaart in Europa', 1977, p. 241, 244, 249; H.Kellenbenz,

ships visited Archangel annually. During the following decade, the first ten years of the Northern War, this number jumped to 135, while for the years 1710 to 1718 it rose even higher, to 158. The high point was reached in 1716 when 233 ships arrived at Archangel. <sup>13</sup> Dutch merchants participated in the Archangel trade boom to a considerable extent. The annual number of merchant vessels sailing from Amsterdam to Archangel in the seventeenth century has been estimated at about 35, with variations that could be very large in individual years. <sup>14</sup> In 1703, 1709, and 1710, an estimated 50 vessels sailed from Archangel to Amsterdam, and between 1710 and 1719 this number amounted to an average of 53 per annum. <sup>15</sup>

Only by the end of the War, in 1721, did the Archangel trade boom collapse. The number of ships which sailed from Archangel to Amsterdam fell to an average of 22 between 1720 and 1729. It is hard to decide to what extent this was indeed the result of the Russian emperor's policy of fostering the St Petersburg commerce. For a large part, the decrease of traffic must have been the result of the return to the normal, pre-war level of business and the fact that the Russian Baltic ports became fully accessible after the War. The decline of Archangel as a commercial port continued after the 1720s. In 1745, the number of ships visiting the White Sea port totalled only 25. The Archangel traffic recovered in the second half of the eighteenth century, especially after the commerce of the White Sea port and St Petersburg had been legally equalized in 1762. From 1760 to 1763, the annual number of vessels calling at Archangel averaged 41, from 1773 to 1777, 133, and from 1793 to 1797, 141. These numbers remained small compared to the numbers visiting the Russian Baltic ports. But Archangel never lost significance as a commercial port. 16

The slump of the Archangel commerce after the Northern War

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The economic significance of the Archangel route', 1973, p. 570.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>S.Hart, 'De handelsbetrekkingen van Amsterdam met Archangel', 1969, pp. 66-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>P. de Buck, 'De Russische uitvoer uit Archangel naar Amsterdam', 1988, p. 131, 137-142; J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 222, 224, 227, 230, III, p. 787; H.Kellenbenz, 'The economic significance of the Archangel route', 1973, pp. 573-574, 581; A.F.Busching, *Nieuwe en volledige geographie*, 1790 p. 622.

coincided with the breakthrough of St Petersburg. Ever since the Peace of Nystad, which concluded the war in 1721, the number of ships calling at St Petersburg exceeded the amount of vessels visiting Archangel, jumping to 109 in 1722 and to 180 in 1724. And the number of ships sailing from St Petersburg to Western Europe continued to increase well into the eighteenth century. In 1721, only 28 ships coming from St Petersburg passed through the Sound, but this number jumped to 78 the following year and to 106 in 1723. And it climbed from an annual average of 100 ships in the 1720s to an annual average of 471 ships in the 1770s. Even so, St Petersburg did not become the dominant Russian port during most of the eighteenth century. Only in the last decade of the century did the shipping of the Russian capital surpass that of Riga.<sup>17</sup> The commodities shipped via St Petersburg were similar to those traded at Archangel. St Petersburg imported mainly cloth, jewels, and wine, and exported, among other things, leather, hemp, flax, linseed, lineseed oil, fur, tallow, wax, hops, iron, and caviar. 18

The Dutch had only a limited share in the increase of the sea traffic to and from St Petersburg during the eighteenth century. Knoppers has shown on the basis of the Sound Toll data that a fluctuating number of between 30 and 50 of the ships sailing from St Petersburg to Western Europe sailed annually to Holland, amounting to a percentage which decreased from about 30 % in the years from 1720 to 1750, to about 10 % in the 1770s and 6 % in the early 1780s. <sup>19</sup> The British dominated the St Petersburg and Riga trades, endeavouring to meet Britain's demand for raw materials needed for its industrialization. <sup>20</sup> England and Scotland were always the main destination for ships sailing from St Petersburg to Western Europe, attracting about one half of them yearly from 1720 to 1750 and almost two thirds from 1750 to 1780. The increase in the absolute number of these ships was enormous: from about 50 in the 1720s to about 300 in the 1770s. <sup>21</sup>

For the Dutch, St Petersburg never replaced Archangel. They stuck to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 151, 153-155, 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>H.Kellenbenz, 'Marchands en Russie', 1971, p. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, pp. 151-153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>H.Kellenbenz, 'The economic significance of the Archangel route', 1973, p. 581.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 155.

Archangel; the old northern port remained the main Russian destination for their vessels. True, in all decades after the Peace of Nystad throughout the eighteenth century, with the exception of the 1770s, markedly more ships sailed from St Petersburg to Amsterdam than from Archangel to Amsterdam, even if the annual number of ships on both routes varied between 20 and 50. But the vessels arriving in Amsterdam from Archangel were much larger than the ships arriving from St Petersburg so that only in the 1730s and the 1740s did the total tonnage of the ships arriving from St Petersburg surpass that of the vessels coming from Archangel. In all, more cargo was carried to Amsterdam from Archangel than from St Petersburg during the whole period from 1720 to 1822. In most decades, about twice as much cargo came from Archangel; only in the 1730s and 1740s were the amounts of cargo arriving from St Petersburg and Archangel about equal in size. <sup>22</sup>

## The Dutch minority and the Dutch merchants of St Petersburg

St Petersburg was built on the unhealthy, swampy islands of the Neva delta by the forced labour of thousands of serfs, of whom many lost their lives during the construction. To populate the new town, Peter ordered hundreds of noblemen, high officials, and wealthy merchants to move there and build new houses. Merchants and shopkeepers came with them, and thousands of labourers who stayed on after having served the required time in building public works were engaged in building private houses, and built homes for themselves in St Petersburg. <sup>23</sup> From the very beginning, foreigners, too, settled in St Petersburg. The size and development of the Dutch community is reflected in the Dutch Reformed parish. The community and the parish were not necessarily identical. Not all Dutchmen living in St Petersburg were automatically members of the Dutch parish; and not all parish members were inevitably Dutchmen. The size of the parish, nevertheless, is the main indication available for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 151, 240-241; H.Kellenbenz, 'The economic significance of the Archangel route', 1973, p. 574.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Russen en Nederlanders, 1989, p. 97; R.K.Massie, Peter the Great, 1981, pp. 361-362.

size of the Dutch community. The parish was founded by a group of 36 people in 1717. After a period of initial growth, it stabilized at a level of about 190 members in the period from 1724 to 1743. By 1748, it had decreased to 176 members. <sup>24</sup> The Dutch formed a very small minority of the city's entire population, and of its foreigners, too. In 1750, St Petersburg had about 50.000 adult inhabitants. In addition, 247 foreign service people were counted in that year, besides 8.201 Russian travellers and 2.415 foreigners. <sup>25</sup>

The first Dutchmen who entered the Tsar's service and lived in St Petersburg seem to have been lodged initially in the Peter and Paul Fortress, which was completed in 1705. They acquired a small wooden church there, but soon, on the Tsar's orders and like the other foreigners in the Tsar's service, they moved to the Admiralty Island and settled there instead. Their church in the fortress was pulled down. Subsequently, the Dutch went to the church of the first Lutheran parish of St Petersburg, founded by the Dutchman, Cornelis Cruys, who had entered the Tsar's service as a vice admiral in 1698 and who was one of the builders of the Russian navy. In 1704, Cruys hired a pastor, named Willem Tolle, in Amsterdam to serve the Lutherans of St Petersburg. Tolle started his work in Cruys' home in St Petersburg in 1704, until, in 1708, the vice admiral erected a wooden church in the garden of his house, probably in the Great Million Street, the *Millionnaja ulitsa*, near the Winter Palace. <sup>26</sup>

The Lutherans shared their church and their pastor with the Dutch Reformed from the beginning. Then, in 1716, the Dutch Reformed called a pastor of their own. They hired Herman Gerard Grube, who arrived from Holland in 1717, the year the parish was founded. Grube died in 1724, and was succeeded by the Reverend Gerard Kramer. Both pastors

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 151; [B.Kruys], *De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg*, 1900?, pp. 4-10, 60, 230-234; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, pp. 56-57, 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>H.Kellenbenz, 'Marchands en Russie', 1970, p. 620.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>R.K.Massie, *Peter the Great*, 1981, p. 356; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 49, 50-51; J.Scheltema, *Rusland en de Nederlanden*, 1817-1819, II, p. 26, 215-216, IV, pp. 289-290.

preached in Cruys' church, but this building became too small as the Lutheran parish grew very fast as many foreign merchants from Archangel settled in St Petersburg and joined the parish in 1720. The Lutherans built a new church, the Church of St Peter, which was consecrated in 1730, and left the old church to the Dutch Reformed. This old church, however, was small and dilapidated and, apparently, had to be pulled down because its site was needed for other purposes. In 1733, therefore, the parish left it and consecrated a new church in the house it owned on the Moika. It had bought this house and its garden from its member Pierre Pousie in 1719, and from the time Pousie had moved out in 1720, the house had served as the parish school and the dwelling house of the schoolmaster. When this building was employed as a church in 1733, the parish bought another building on the Moika, from General Lefort, to house the school and the living quarters of the schoolmaster and the pastor. This building stood on the left, east side of The Perspective, the Nevskij Prospekt, probably between the old school house and the Bol'shaja Konjushennaja ulitsa, the Great Horse-stable Street. 27

In 1736, both buildings on the Moika, the church and the school, were destroyed by fire. The parish gave up the school and never started it again. To continue its religious services, it rented the French church, which it used until 1741. The burned buildings had been made of wood and the authorities only permitted new construction on the site in stone. By 1741, the parish had found the means to do so and constructed a new church of its own. For that purpose, the parish received considerable financial aid from the States General of the Dutch Republic and from the contributors to a collection held in Amsterdam. Besides the church, the new building contained the dwelling of the pastor. It stood on the Moika, on the corner of the Nevskij Prospekt. The parish still used the church in the 1770s. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 151; [B.Kruys], *De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg*, 1900?, pp. 4-12, 18-24, 32-34, 230-234; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, pp. 21-22, 26, 50-53, 56-57; J.Scheltema, *Rusland en de Nederlanden*, 1817-1819, IV, p. 290; GAAPA 6/104: letter of 18/29-4-1732 from the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg to the Directors of the Muscovy Trade in Amsterdam.

last service here was celebrated in 1832.<sup>28</sup>

The Dutch community of St Petersburg consisted only partly of merchants. The first Dutchmen arriving in the just-founded settlement were naval officers, ship masters, sailors and others who had entered the Tsar's service. And in the latter half of the 1730s, indeed, most parish members were in the Empress's service. Fourteen of the 36 founders of the parish (in 1717) are known by name. One can say with certainty of only three of them, Hendrik Bodisco, Bartholomeus Borst and Lambert Rutgers, that they were active merchants.<sup>29</sup> A few years later, nevertheless, the number of Dutch merchants was considerably higher. In 1722, a group of foreign merchants in St Petersburg established a "combination" to promote their interest in all common matters. Mulder cites the agreement of foundation, dated 14-12-1722, and the names of its 26 signatories, as well as the names of 33 members who signed as being present at a meeting of the Combination on 20-12-1722, among whom we encounter almost all of the 26 founding members. 30 Mulder also suggests that most, if not all, of the Combination's members were Dutch. Scheltema seems to date the establishment of the Combination to 1724 and gives the names of 43 members, all of whom were, according to Scheltema, Dutch.<sup>31</sup> In all three lists of names, the signatories were firms rather than individual merchants. In several cases, Scheltema mentions names which appear as partners in a firm in Mulder's lists. Scheltema's "Van Arp en Comp." and "Rolfink en Comp.", for example, may be encountered as "Arps en Rolfinck" in Mulder's rolls. Taking these instances into account, Scheltema's 43 names may be reduced to 35. Mulder cites all these 35 firms except one (Hendrik Razel), and gives the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>[B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, p. 30, 34-36, 38, 42; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 4, 28, 53-55, 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>V.N.Zacharov, 'Torgovlja zapadnoevropejskich kuptsov v Rossii', 1985, p. 186, 188, 202; [B.Kruys], *De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg*, 1900?, p. 10, 36; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 49, 51, 53; J.Scheltema, *Rusland en de Nederlanden*, 1817-1819, III, p. 272, IV, p. 139, 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>R.J.Mulder, 'Vriezenveen en St Petersburg', 1969, pp. 7, 40-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>J.Scheltema, Rusland en de Nederlanden, 1817-1819, IV, pp. 216-217.

names of two extra companies, namely those of Bartholomeus Volbregt and "Vreedenhuysen en van Hoeven". The number of known member firms of the Combination thus adds up to 37. In addition, there were at least ten foreign merchants of St Petersburg before 1750 who do not appear on the available Combination's member lists but who were either Dutch or in some way associated with the Dutch community of St Petersburg, so that, before 1750, there seems to have been a total of 47 St Petersburg merchants who shared a sense of Dutchness. 32

Certainly, not all of these 47 merchant houses were actually Dutch. The houses of Konauw & Poppe and Meijer & Sander, for example, came from Hamburg. 33 Roose, of Roose & Tamesz, was probably also a Hamburger.<sup>34</sup> And although Bacheracht & Warner was mentioned as a Dutch trading firm in St Petersburg in 1720, its name has a rather Hamburg ring, too. 35 Mariotti & Bustelli were Italians. 36 I suggest to consider as Dutch those merchants who were members of the Dutch Reformed parish, and those firms whose heads or partners were members of that parish. This applies with varying degrees of certainty to 14 of the mentioned 47 firms: Jan van Acker; Barts & Schuuring (of which Barts may have been the same as Jacob Barts); Hendrik Bodisco; Bartholomeus Borst; Jan Cruys; Jan Lups; Herman Meijer & Compagnie; Jean Pelletier; Hend. Rasch & Comp.; Lambert Rutgers; Karel Matthijs Schüffel (occurring as C.M.Schöffel as a church council member); Tamesz, Van der Sande & (Carel) Bouten (of which Tamesz may have been the same as Paulus Tamesz); Vredenhuys & Van Hoeven (of which Vredenhuys may have been the same as Cornelis Vredenhuis); and Johan Kaspar (Jan) Zollikofer.<sup>37</sup> In addition, there are five houses whose partners are not known to have been parish members, but were certainly Dutch: Bodisco

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>See Appendix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> V.N.Zacharov, 'Torgovlja zapadnoevropejskich kuptsov v Rossii', 1985, pp. 186-187, 201-202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>V.N.Zacharov, 'Torgovlja zapadnoevropejskich kuptsov v Rossii', 1985, p. 187; H.Kellenbenz, 'The economic significance of the Archangel route', 1973, p. 570.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>[B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, p. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>V.N.Zacharov, 'Torgovlja zapadnoevropejskich kuptsov v Rossii', 1985, p. 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>See Appendix.

& van Dort; Van Limburg & Bothling; Jean Tamesz; Nanning and Daniel Pell; (Salomon) Vernizobre & Brian(t). <sup>38</sup> Together with the fourteen mentioned above, this makes 19 Dutch merchant houses in St Petersburg before 1750. Each of these 19 firms consisted of perhaps two or three individual merchants, so that a tentative conclusion may be that perhaps some 48 individual Dutch merchants lived and worked in St Petersburg in the period before 1750; including their families and servants, this figure probably correspondends to about 144 people. <sup>39</sup> It is not entirely clear how this figure tallies with the number of 190 parish members in the period 1724 to 1743 mentioned above. Perhaps, not all Dutch merchants were members of the parish. And, probably, not all of them were active during the entire period up to 1750. Some may have stopped long before 1750, others may have started late in the period. This means that the number of active Dutch merchants was probably lower than 48 in any given year.

About some of the Dutch merchant houses mentioned, a little can be added here to what is mentioned in the notes to the Appendix.

Jan van Acker exported hemp from St<br/> Petersburg in ships of Hendrik Bodisco in 1721.  $^{\rm 40}$ 

Bartholomeus Borst was one of the parish founders. His stature is illustrated by the fact that Peter the Great attended the burial of his wife in 1723. Like Van Acker, Borst exported hemp from St Petersburg in ships of Hendrik Bodisco in 1721. 41

Jan Lups must have been the son of the great Dutch Russia merchant, Jan Lups. In the years 1724-1726, he bought small amounts of tar from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>For further references to these houses, see below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> J.W.Veluwenkamp, 'Familienetwerken binnen de Nederlandse koopliedengemeenschap van Archangel', 1993, p. 659; J.W.Veluwenkamp, 'De Nederlandse gereformeerde gemeente te Archangel', 1993, pp. 40-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>V.N.Zacharov, 'Torgovlja zapadnoevropejskich kuptsov v Rossii', 1985, p. 188, 202

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>V.N.Zacharov, 'Torgovlja zapadnoevropejskich kuptsov v Rossii', 1985, p. 188, 202; [B.Kruys], *De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg*, 1900?, p. 10, 12, 18-20, 230; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 21, 51; J.Scheltema, *Rusland en de Nederlanden*, 1817-1819, III, p. 272 ff., IV, p. 139.

peasants from the Dvina and Kargopol districts. 42

Herman Meijer was a prominent Dutch merchant in Russia. In 1726, Empress Catharine, Peter the Great's widow and successor, was a witness at the christening of his son, Jan. 43

Jean and Paulus Tamesz, who were probably brothers, were active as merchants in Russia in the second and third decades of the eighteenth century. One of Jean's enterprises was the manufacture of linen in Moscow, in which business he became very prominent. After 1719, Jean Tamesz built a house in St Petersburg, but he kept on his "court" in Moscow.<sup>44</sup>

The native Swiss, Johann Kaspar Zollikofer, probably came via Holland to Russia. He called himself Jan and belonged to the Dutch merchant circles of Russia. In 1722, he was in St Petersburg.  $^{45}$ 

Van Limburg & Bothling is mentioned as a Dutch trading firm in St Petersburg in 1720.<sup>46</sup>

Nanning and Daniel Pell were probably the same as the Dutch brothers D. and A. Pel who occur in Russian sources as merchants in Russia. In 1710, they exported mainly Russia leather from Archangel. In the 1720s, they did business in Archangel as well as St Petersburg.<sup>47</sup>

Like Zollikofer's, Salomon Vernizobre's degree of "Dutchness" may be disputed, but he was certainly a member of the Dutch community of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>V.N.Zacharov, 'Torgovlja zapadnoevropejskich kuptsov v Rossii', 1985, p. 192, 201

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 20; J.Scheltema, *Rusland en de Nederlanden*, 1817-1819, III, p. 74, IV, p. 88, 218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>V.A.Kovrigina, 'Inozemnye kuptsy-predprinimateli Moskvy', 1994, pp. 192-193, 195, 197, 200-203; J.W.Veluwenkamp, 'Familienetwerken binnen de Nederlandse koopliedengemeenschap van Archangel', 1993, pp. 661-664; V.N.Zacharov, 'Torgovlja zapadnoevropejskich kuptsov v Rossii', 1985, p. 200; I.H. van Eeghen, *Inventaris van het familie-archief Brants*, 1959, p. 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>E.Amburger, *Die van Brienen*, 1936, p. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>[B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, p.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>V.N.Zacharov, 'Torgovlja zapadnoevropejskich kuptsov v Rossii', 1985, p. 186, 194, 197, 202.

Archangel in the 1740s. He had been a merchant at Archangel as early as 1715. 48 In between, he was apparently based in St Petersburg for some time

Many of the Dutch merchants of St Petersburg came from Archangel. They had lived and worked there until, by the end of the Great Northern War, Peter the Great's measures to transfer the Archangel trade to St Petersburg began to cause serious problems. Many of the Dutch would have wished to return to Holland, but felt compelled to stay in Russia to be able to attend to their outstanding debts. <sup>49</sup> They were loath to shift their trade from Archangel to St Petersburg and, initially, they continued to trade via Archangel virtually ignoring the new port. Nevertheless, by 1718, several sold their Archangel homes with great loss and moved to the new town on the Neva, where there was still a lack of just about everything, and found or built new homes and continued their business there. One of them was Hendrik Bodisco, one of the founders of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717. He was the son of Jacob Bodisco, who was a partner in the Archangel based firm of Bodisco & Van Dort. 50 "Andrej" being the name the Russians used for "Hendrik", he must have been the same as the Dutch merchant "A. Bodisk", who was one of the approximately 125 foreigners who did more than ten years business in Russia in the period 1695-1726. He was among the foreign merchants with the largest turnovers in Archangel in 1710, buying, among other things, Russia leather and tallow. In the years 1713-1716, he was one of the main buyers of grain in Archangel. In 1721, he traded in St Petersburg, exporting hemp. In the 1720s, he was one of the few foreigners who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> J.W.Veluwenkamp, 'Familienetwerken binnen de Nederlandse koopliedengemeenschap van Archangel', 1993, pp. 661-664; I.H. van Eeghen, *Inventaris van het familie-archief Brants*, 1959, p. 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>J.Scheltema, Rusland en de Nederlanden, 1817-1819, IV, p. 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>V.N.Zacharov, 'Torgovlja zapadnoevropejskich kuptsov v Rossii', 1985, p. 186; J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 148, 151, 224; J.Scheltema, *Rusland en de Nederlanden*, 1817-1819, IV, p. 56, 217; GAAPA 88/984: letters of .8-1-1723 and 23-8-1723 from Jacob Bodisco & Frans van Dort in Moscow and St Petersburg to David Leeuw in Amsterdam; GAAPA 6/103, letter of 19/30-10-1743 from the Reverend Thienen at Archangel to the Directors of the Muscovy Trade in Amsterdam.

did business in Archangel as well as in St Petersburg.<sup>51</sup>

After the War, the slump in the Archangel trade induced others, too, to leave the northern port. <sup>52</sup> In 1733, the council of the Dutch Reformed church at Archangel mentioned that families and companies had left Archangel because of the commercial decline, and that there were only few families left in town. <sup>53</sup> At least some of the ones that left settled in St Petersburg. <sup>54</sup> Among them were Jacob Bodisco and Frans van Dort, who transferred their business from Archangel to St Petersburg in 1723, as Jacob's son, Hendrik Bodisco, had done several years before. <sup>55</sup> Also in 1723, Ludolf Berens, probably of Hamburg, travelled from Hamburg to Archangel to liquidate what was left of his business in that town, which, according to him, no longer was any good for trade. He planned to travel to St Petersburg the next year to try and continue his business there. <sup>56</sup>

Dutch merchants, the above mentioned Jean Tamesz among them, must have moved to St Petersburg from Moscow, too. In 1718, Peter ordered the larger part of the prominent Dutch merchants living in Moscow to move to St Petersburg and continue their business there. In 1721, the Tsar increased the pressure and ordered all foreigners to transfer their bank balances to St Petersburg.<sup>57</sup>

It is quite understandable that the Dutch businessmen of Archangel only reluctantly transferred their businesses to St Petersburg. Many of them had lived and traded in Archangel for many years, Archangel was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>V.N.Zacharov, 'Torgovlja zapadnoevropejskich kuptsov v Rossii', 1985, p. 186, 188, 194, 197-198, 200, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>J.Scheltema, Rusland en de Nederlanden, 1817-1819, IV, p. 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> J.W.Veluwenkamp, 'De Nederlandse gereformeerde gemeente te Archangel', 1993, p. 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>J.Scheltema, Rusland en de Nederlanden, 1817-1819, IV, p. 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 224; GAAPA 88/984: letters of .8-1-1723 and 23-8-1723 from Jacob Bodisco & Frans van Dort in Moscow and St Petersburg to David Leeuw in Amsterdam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>GAAPA 88/984: letter of 10/21-10-1723 from Ludolf Berens at Archangel to David Leeuw in Amsterdam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>H.Kellenbenz, 'The economic significance of the Archangel route', 1973, p. 573; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 26.

the centre of their social, economic and commercial infrastructure. To them, St Petersburg offered no advantages. By contrast, the English merchants did not have to force themselves to please the tsar. Most of them had a shorter tradition in the Archangel commerce and their ties with the town were not so strong; they suffered harsh competition from the Dutch and gladly abandoned Archangel for St Petersburg.<sup>58</sup> addition, there must have been much more English than Dutch merchants without any ties with Archangel who settled in St Petersburg directly from their homeland. England's trade with Russia grew fast while the Dutch trade with Russia stagnated, so that there were good prospects for the British, but very little space for "new" Dutch merchants in the Russia trade. Nevertheless, there were a few new Dutch merchants. True, they did not arrive directly from Holland, but their introduction to the Russia trade did not stem from the commercial tradition of their family, but rather from their families' service ties to the Russian crown. One of them was Jan Cruys, the eldest son of the vice admiral Cornelis Cruys.<sup>59</sup>. He was born in Amsterdam and must have come with his parents to Russia. 60 Like his father, he initially entered the service of the tsar, and built the citadel St Jan near Kroonslot. He left Russia, entered the service of the Dutch States General, was appointed captain, and married Anna de Ferri, daughter of the commander or governor of Christiaansand in Norway. Jan Cruys subsequently returned to St Petersburg, set up in the commercial business and became a very rich merchant. He was a member of the Combination of 1722, and a member of the Dutch Reformed parish, serving in its council, repeatedly as an elder, for many years in the period 1720-1748. Jan Cruys was the founder of quite a dynasty. Three of his four daughters were married to prominent and rich St Petersburg merchants. Anna Cruys was married to Hendrik Christiaan Stegelman, and Christina Cornelia Cruys to Carsten Voogd, who was perhaps the same man as Carsten Voigt, member of the 1722 Combination, and perhaps related to Catharina Voogd, Cornelis Cruys's wife and his own wife's grandmother.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>J.V.Th.Knoppers, *Dutch trade with Russia*, 1976, I, p. 148; H.Kellenbenz, 'The economic significance of the Archangel route', 1973, p. 574.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>J.Scheltema, Rusland en de Nederlanden, 1817-1819, IV, p. 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>[B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, p. 231.

The third sister, Catharina Johanna Cruys, was wedded to Jacob Stelling. Their daughter in turn was married to the prominent St Petersburg merchant H.N. Molwö, who succeeded to the important commercial relations of the houses of both Cruys and Stelling.<sup>61</sup>

Lodewijk Hovy married the daughter of Jan Lups, the elder, and took over his father-in-law's business relations when Lups returned to the Netherlands. Hovy is not in the appendix, because I do not know any particular year in which he was active. He was a son of Jan Hovy, who had come to Russia as a personal surgeon of Peter the Great. Jan Hovy lived in St Petersburg by 1717, when he was among the 36 founders of the Dutch Reformed parish. He belonged to the Dutch elite of St Petersburg. In 1723, Peter the Great was a witness at the christening of his son, Peter. He of the Dutch elite of St Petersburg.

Another "new" Dutch merchant seems to have been Johannes Brouwer. I have found no decisive evidence that he was indeed a businessman, but his letters to the Directors of the Muscovy Trade in Amsterdam concerning the calling of a new pastor for the Dutch Reformed parish in St Petersburg, written in 1769-1770, breathe a commercial spirit. <sup>64</sup> Brouwer was a member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg, serving in its council, repeatedly as an elder, for many years in the period 1764-1793. He was born in St Petersburg about 1714, and died, probably there, almost 79 years old, in 1793. He never married. He came from a family of lockbuilders who had come to Russia in the service of Peter the Great. His father, the Dutch lock carpenter Anthonie Brouwer, arrived in Russia in 1702, built waterways for the Tsar, and died about 1718. His

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>[B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, p. 12, 14, 20, 32, 36-38, 42-44, 231; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 50; J.Scheltema, Rusland en de Nederlanden, 1817-1819, IV, p. 217, 292-294.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>J.E.Elias, De vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1903-1905, II, pp.962-963; [B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, p. 10, 232; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 18; J.Scheltema, Rusland en de Nederlanden, 1817-1819, III, p. 113, 233, 310, 312.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>GAAPA 6/104.

mother, Reina Ammers, was probably related to the Dutch lockbuilders Andriaan Ammers and his son Dirk who arrived in Russia under the same contract and in the same group as Anthonie Brouwer and, like him, built waterways for the Tsar. <sup>65</sup>

# The fading of the Dutch minority.

The Dutch Reformed parish had no pastor of its own from 1749 to 1770. The pastor of the French parish was hired to administer baptism and supper, but many members went over to the united French-German church or to the Lutheran church. The parish dwindled to only 23 members in December 1770. But as soon as a new pastor had arrived from Holland in 1770, the parish began to grow again. By April, 1772, it had increased to 26 male and 8 female members, and by April, 1774, to 40 male and 17 female members. The development of the parish is reflected in the number of births. In the period 1718-1724 119 Dutch babies were born, an average of 17 annually. In the period 1725-1743, this figure was 284, or 15 on average annually, in the period 1745-1748 33, or 8 on average. In the period 1770-1774 ten Dutch babies were born, an average of only two annually. 66 Of course, the decrease of the number of the births parallels the dwindling of the parish, but at the same time the birth rate decreased, too. Using the rather global figures given above, it appears that from 1725 to 1743, the birth rate was about 1 baby for each 13 members; about 1748, this rate was down to 1 for 22, and in the early 1770s it recovered slightly to 1 for 20. This development could, theoretically, be explained in several ways. Most likely, the parish aged in the first decades of its existance, while the recovery of the number of parish members after 1770 was due to the influx of young married couples.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> E.Amburger, Die Anwerbung ausländischer Fachkräfte für die Wirtschaft Russlands, 1968, p. 67; [B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, p. 18, 48-52, 54, 60-64, 76, 80, 84, 88, 231; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 20, 51-52, 56-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>[B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg. 1900?, p. 48, 60, 64-66; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, pp. 57-58, 60, 65.

The decrease of the parish was attended by a reduction of the mastery of the Dutch language among the parish members. The first two pastors, Grube and Kramer, had apparently both preached in Dutch; when they were appointed, there was no mentioning of the use of other languages. But by the time Kramer had died, in 1744, the parish had a number of French members, many of whom did not understand Dutch. For that reason, the church council sought a successor for Kramer who would be able to speek French. In 1745, however, it hired the Reverend Johan Frederik Carp, who probably preached only in Dutch, too. The appointment proved a mixed blessing, for, soon, trouble arose between Carp and the church council, which ended with Carp's departure or dismissal. The use of German, besides French, had increased among parish members, too, by the end of the 1740's. In the period 1749-1770, when the parish had no pastor, many members who understood better German than Dutch, went over to the united French-German church or to the Lutheran church. In 1764, there was talk of unification the Dutch and French parishes. But in 1769 the church council decided to call a new pastor of its own. Initially, the council stressed that the pastor had to be able to preach in Dutch as well as in French, but as that requirement proved hard to fulfil, it allowed the alternative of a command of Dutch and German. At the end the council contented itself with a pastor who only spoke Dutch, the childless widower Jacob Gargon, who up to then had served the parish of 's Gravenpolder in the Dutch province of Zeeland, and who was hired through the agency of the Directors of the Muscovy Trade in Amsterdam in August, 1770. The fact that Gargon only spoke Dutch caused some trouble, as the Dutch language was seldom used in St Petersburg, and it was not taught to the children. Some members had trouble understanding Gargon's sermons, as they had not heard a Dutch sermon for so many years. There seem to have been several Germans among the members in 1772, and even if perhaps 48 of the 57 members were of Dutch descent in 1774, many of these had lost the command of the Dutch language. As all the Dutch in St Petersburg understood German, there would have been no reason to call a pastor who could preach also in Dutch, apart from the wish to serve the Dutch ship masters and mates during the summer and to retain the right to have a Dutch church in St Petersburg. Thus, when, in 1774, the Reverend Gargon decided to return to the Netherlands 25 of 31 - male - parish members who cast their votes chose to call a new pastor who would be able to preach both in Dutch and German. The other six prefered a pastor who would only preach in Dutch. Gargon left St Petersburg in 1775, and his successor, the Reverend Johannes Henricus Laurentius Reuter, who met the requirements of the parish, took up his post in 1777. <sup>67</sup>

Its seems logical that the loss of the Dutch language was connected with the closing down of the parish school. The school existed only from 1720 to 1736. In the first three years, it had three schoolmasters in a row: Jacobus van der Schaaff, who had been hired for the parish in 1719 in Amsterdam and arrived in St Petersburg with his son in 1720, Leendert Janson Hermanides, and Abraham Maas. Maas stayed on until September 1723. The next schoolmaster, Hendrik Kok, was only hired, in Amsterdam, in 1727. He remained in service until 1736, when the school burnt down. After that, the parish gave up its school and never took it up again. The school had an average of about 7 pupils a year. <sup>68</sup>

The decrease of the parish and the loss of the Dutch language indicate that the Dutchmen in St Petersburg lost or, rather, changed their identity. The decrease of the parish seems to have come about as many members went over to the united French-German church or to the Lutheran church. Perhaps, they did so because the parish had no pastor of its own from 1749 to 1770. But then, they did not call a new pastor. Apparently, they felt no reason to maintain the Dutch Reformed parish. They were loosing command of the Dutch language. They felt at home in the German-speaking Baltic community of the metropolis into which St Petersburg evolved very rapidly. Even if they will not have begun to "feel" German, they clearly did not feel very Dutch anymore. It is true, Johannes Brouwer, one of the St Petersburger Dutchmen involved in the re-establishing of the Dutch Reformed parish in 1769, called himself "a genuine Dutchmen by descent, from parent to grandparent", and stressed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>[B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, pp. 4-10, 18-24, 38-42, 48-50, 54, 58, 60, 64-66, 68-70, 74-76, 78-80; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 4, 60-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>[B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, pp. 10-14, 20, 30, 32-34, 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>D.G.Harmsen, Vriezenveners in Rusland, 1966, p. 38.

that he could not but maintain "as long as I live, the best and most advantageous position for our Dutch nation and Reformed religion." But then, the Dutch nation and Reformed religion in St Petersburg certainly needed that in those years.

The dwindling and the fading of the Dutch community must have been at least partly an effect of the decline of the Dutch trade. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch had dominated the international trade. They had had the leading position in the West European trade with Russia, and they had been the largest single group within the foreign merchant community in Russia. By the middle of the eighteenth century, this commercial primacy was completely lost. The Dutch trade stagnated and, even if it did not decline absolutely, it dropped far behind the rapidly developing international trade of England and Hamburg. In St Petersburg, the English and North German merchants far outstripped their Dutch competitors. The influx of businessmen from Holland must have ceased or, at least, strongly decreased. Of the Dutch merchants of St Petersburg, several abandoned their position in Russia and went to Holland. Jan Lups was one of them, and his son-in-law, Lodewijk Hovy, followed suit by 1749. From that year to 1780, Hovy was one of the Directors of the Muscovy Trade in Amsterdam. Josua van Ouderkerk performed the same function during almost exactly the same period, from 1749 to 1781.<sup>70</sup> He had lived in St Petersburg and had been a member of the parish there, and had left in 1734.71 As these men left and few newcomers arrived, the commercial ties with Holland of the Dutch who remained in St Petersburg became weaker. Thus, in 1769, the Dutch St Peterburger, Johannes Brouwer, wrote in a letter in Dutch to the Directors of the Muscovy Trade, that the best and finest Dutch commissions were in foreign hands.<sup>72</sup> Among the 23 parish members that remained in 1770, there were four merchants and as many of their assistants. The merchants

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>I.H. van Eeghen, *Inventarissen van de archieven van de Directie van de Moskovische Handel*, 1961, p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>[B.Kruys,] De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, p. 34; GAAPA 6/104, letters of 20-1-1769 and 11-5-1769 from Johannes Brouwer in St Petersburg to Josua van Ouderkerk in Amsterdam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>GAAPA 6/104, letter of 3-2-1769 from Johannes Brouwer in St Petersburg to the Directors of the Muscovy Trade in Amsterdam.

belonged probably to the mere three or four families which were able to contribute financially to the parish, the other members being impecunious. All this points at a decrease of the number of Dutch merchants in St Petersburg. In the period before 1750, some 48 individual Dutch merchants may have lived and worked in St Petersburg; their number fell markedly in the decades that followed.

The re-establishment of the parish in 1769 and the subsequent increase of the number of parish members I have noted above runs counter to the notion of a dwindling and fading of the old Dutch community. The revival seems to have been connected with the arrival of tradesmen from the Dutch village of Vriezenveen, gaining momentum in the 1760s. Several of these Vriezenveners were involved in the re-establishment of the parish. The newcomers were of peasant descent, purchasers and small scale exporters of linen from their home region, Twente, in the eastern part of the Netherlands. At least initially, the established Dutch St Petersburgers did not regard them as equals. There were, indeed, distinctive social and cultural differences between both groups. This is illustrated by the fact that there were five Vriezenveners among the six parish members who opposed the calling of a bilingual pastor in 1774 and preferred one who would preach in Dutch alone: Claas Kruys, Jan and Johannes Engberts, Jan Hartog, Gerrit Smelt. They had their wives and families in Holland, and were not permanent residents of St Petersburg, but travelled there annually to do business.<sup>74</sup> Thus, the arrival of the Vriezenveners certainly blew new life into the Dutch community. Their stature, however, was very much different from that of the grand Dutch international merchants of the time of Peter the Great. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the great days of the Netherlands as a trading nation were over. And the Dutch merchant community of St Petersburg, as far as it had ever been great, had lost its glamour, too.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>[B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, pp. 54-56, 60; N.C.Kist ed., 'Historisch berigt aangaande de Hollandse gereformeerde kerken in Rusland', 1852, p. 65; GAAPA 6/104, letter of 11-5-1769 from Johannes Brouwer in St Petersburg to Josua van Ouderkerk in Amsterdam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>R.J.Mulder, 'Vriezenveen en St Petersburg', 1969; D.G.Harmsen, Vriezenveners in Rusland, 1966, pp. 37-42; [B.Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente te St Petersburg, 1900?, pp. 52-54, 70, 72.

#### **Abbreviations**

GAAPA:Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Particulier Archief (Amsterdam Municipal Archive, Private Archive).

### Sources

Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Amsterdam Municipal Archive):

Particulier Archief 6, Archief van de Directie van de Moscovische Handel (Private Archive 6, Archive of the Direction of the Muscovy Trade).

Particulier Archief 88, Familie-archief Brants (Private Archive 88, Family Archive Brants).

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## Appendix

## Dutch merchants and their social environment in St Petersburg in the eighteenth century

## Key

\*:persons who have been positively identified as merchants;

**bold face**: members of the Combination of 1722;

Italic: members of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg;

underlined: Vriezenveners.

The numbers in each box refer to the year(s) within the decade that the name occurs in the documentation.

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
* Jan van Acker <sup>i</sup>		8	0,4-6, 8-9	0	8					
Allamand ii								4		
Reina van Ammers <sup>iii</sup>		4,9	0	2						
* Jan van Ankeren Abrahamsz <sup>iv</sup>			2							
Ary-Baas <sup>v</sup>			0							

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
* Arps & Rolfinck vi			2							
* Bacheracht & Warner vii			0							
* Jan Bartholomeus and Comp. viii			2							
Jacob Barts ix			5-7		3,6-8		9	4		
Pieter Bartsz x								4		
* Barts & Schuuring xi			2							
Andreas Becker xii								2		
Pieter Cornelis van Beijeren <sup>xiii</sup>				2						
Johan van Belcamp <sup>xiv</sup>				2	3,6-8					
Jan Best xv				4						
Jacob de Bie <sup>xvi</sup>		7-8								
Gijsbert Blom <sup>xvii</sup>							9	0		
* Hendrik Bodisco xviii		7	3,6-8	1-3,5	8		4	2,4		

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Hendrik Bodisco xix								4		
* Bodisco & Van Dort **			2-3							
Herman van Boles <sup>xxi</sup>		3-9	0,3		8					
* Bartholomeus Borst xxii		7,8	1-9	3						
Jacob Borst xxiii								5		
Sophia Charlotta Borst xxiv				1-2						
* Borst & Bodisco xxv			0,2,5- 6	2,3						
Philip Bouman xxvi			8	2,3						
Moses Braggaar xxvii								3		
Maria Anna Broenland xxviii								2		
Hendrik van Bronkhorst xxix		7	0,4-6							
* (Otto) Arnoud & Jan Brounland xxx			2							
Anthonie Brouwer xxxi		4								

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Johannes Brouwer xxxii		4					4,6-9	0-9	0-9	0-3
Laurents Brouwer xxxiii								4	5-7	3
The Widow Brouwer xxxiv			0							
Brouwer & Bagge xxxv										3
Brouwer, Bagge & Co. xxxvi								6		
La Brun <sup>xxxvii</sup>				2						
Elisabeth la Brun xxxviii				2						
Brunland xxxix			0							
Johan Frederik Carp <sup>xl</sup>					5-9			4		
Abraham Cöller <sup>xli</sup>			7-9							
De Coulon <sup>xlii</sup>		7	0	0-2						
Peter Couwenhoven xliii		9								
Pieter Kouwenhoven xliv										1

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Willem Couwenhoven xlv		9	1							
The Widow W. Kouwenhoven xlvi			9							
The Widow Kouwenhoven xlvii			0							
Anna Cruys <sup>xlviii</sup>										
Catharina Johanna Cruys <sup>xlix</sup>										
Christina Cornelia Cruys <sup>1</sup>										
Cornelis Cruys <sup>li</sup>	4-8	7-9	0-7							
* Jan Cruys <sup>lii</sup>			0,2,4- 5	5	3,6-8					
Johan Godfried Cruys <sup>liii</sup>			6							
Johanna Christophora Cruys <sup>liv</sup>										
A. Curtius <sup>lv</sup>								4		
J.J. van Dannenberg <sup>lvi</sup>				7	0, 3					
A.L. van Deneken <sup>lvii</sup>								4		

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
L.F.A. Diltheij lviii							4			
Van Distelaar Lange <sup>lix</sup>			0							
Zeger van Dort <sup>lx</sup>			7							
Van Eesten <sup>lxi</sup>			0							
P. Elders <sup>lxii</sup>			0							
Jan Engberts lxiii								0,2,4		3-7
Janis Engberts lxiv								2		
Johannes Engberts lxv								4	7	1-3, 5-6
* Michael and Jochem Finck lxvi			2							
Isaac Fleschel lxvii			0							
Bernhard Fock lxviii					0			4		
C.A. Fok lxix								2		
C.C. Fok lxx								2		

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Jacob Gargon lxxi								0-5		
Peter van Gent <sup>lxxii</sup>		9								
(Willem?) van Gent <sup>lxxiii</sup>		9								
Jan Gerrits lxxiv								0, 2		
Jan Philipp Grootten <sup>lxxv</sup>										3
Jan Hendrik Grube lxxvi			0					2,4		
Herman Gerard Grube <sup>lxxvii</sup>		7-9	0-4							
Jan Hartog lxxviii								0,2,4		
Lambert Harwig lxxix								2		
P.W. Harwig lxxx								2		
Coenraad Heijneman <sup>lxxxi</sup>									0	9
Hendrik Heijneman <sup>lxxxii</sup>										1,3,8
Helot lxxxiii			0							

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Cornelis Helot lxxxiv		7								
Georg Wilhelm Henning lxxxv		2, 7	5							
Leendert Janson Hermanides lxxxvi			1							
J.W. Hogguer lxxxvii										3
't Hooft <sup>lxxxviii</sup>			5							
Jan Hovy <sup>lxxxix</sup>		7	0,3, 5-6	2,3						
Peter Hovy xc			3							
Hulshoff <sup>rxci</sup>							9			
Jan Hulshoff <sup>racii</sup>								0, 2		
A. van der Hulst xciii			0,4-5							
Mad. Jager xciv								2		
Wiggert Jans xcv							9			
Jan Jansen xcvi									7	

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
<u>Lucas Jansen</u> xcvii									7	1-9
Abraham Keijzer xcviii			0							
* Kasper Kherwieder **cix			2							
Frans Klaasz (Claassen) °					6			2		
Van Kleeff <sup>ci</sup>							4			
* Johan Kleve <sup>cii</sup>			2							
Hendrik Kok <sup>ciii</sup>			7-9	0-8						
* Konauw & Poppe civ			0,2							
Gerard Kramer <sup>cv</sup>			4-9	0-9	0-4					
Johannes Kramer <sup>cvi</sup>				2						
<u>Claas Kruys</u> <sup>cvii</sup>								4		3
G. Künen <sup>cviii</sup>								4		
Elisabeth Petronella von Küssmer <sup>cix</sup>								9		

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Ulrich Kuhn <sup>cx</sup>					3-6					
P.F. Lacoste <sup>cxi</sup>								4		
Jan de Lange <sup>cxii</sup>			5-7,9	0-3						
Henricus Leenders exiii								2		
Wouter Leenders exiv								0		
P. Lefort <sup>cxv</sup>			0,2,8	2,3						
* Van Limburg & Bothling cxvi			0,2							
* Steffen Lindeman cxvii			2							
* Jan Lups <sup>exviii</sup>			9	0-1						
Abraham Maas <sup>cxix</sup>			1-3							
Mardeveld <sup>cxx</sup>			0							
* Mariotti & (Gio) Bustelli <sup>cxxi</sup>			2							
Aletta Martens exxii								2		

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Marie Martens <sup>cxxiii</sup>								2		
Martha Martens exxiv								2		
Pieter Martens exxv							9	2,5,8		1-9
Sara Martens <sup>cxxvi</sup>								2		
Matthijs <sup>cxxvii</sup>		7								
Johan Meijbohm <sup>exxviii</sup>					6-8		4,9			
* Benjamin Meijer <sup>exxix</sup>			2							
* Herman Meyer <sup>cxxx</sup>			4-8	2-5	8					
* Herman Meijer & Compagnie exxxi			0,2							
* Meijer and Sander cxxxii			2							
Jan Meyer <sup>cxxxiii</sup>			6							
Peter Meyer <sup>cxxxiv</sup>			4							
Mr. Daniel van Meinertshagen <sup>cxxxv</sup>							4			

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Mad. Meiwood <sup>cxxxvi</sup>								2		
Miljaud <sup>cxxxvii</sup>			5							
Jacob Minne cxxxviii			5-6							
* Herman Coenraed Mitzen cxxxix			2							
*H.N. Molwö <sup>cxl</sup>										
Jacob Morison <sup>exli</sup>					6-8					
Coenrad Mulder <sup>exlii</sup>							9	2		
* Hans Tobias Neuman <sup>exliii</sup>			2							
* Gio Baptista Nolij <sup>cxliv</sup>			2							
* Adam Oldenburg <sup>cxlv</sup>			2							
* Andreas Oom <sup>cxlvi</sup>			2							
François van Ouderkerk <sup>exlvii</sup>				0-2,4						
Jozua van Ouderkerk <sup>cxlviii</sup>				4						

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
J.V. Palariet <sup>exlix</sup>								4		
Peter Palot cl					7		4	4		
* Nanning and Daniel Pell cli			2							
* Jean Pelletier clii			2	1-3						
* Casper Poorten cliii			2							
Catharina Port <sup>cliv</sup>				1				0		
Cornelis S. Potter clv		8	4-5							
Pierre Pousie clvi		7, 9	0							
Cornelis Prins <sup>clvii</sup>								2,4		
Jan Prins <sup>clviii</sup>							9	0-9	0-9	0-1
Stephania Ram <sup>clix</sup>					4, 6			2		
Hendrik Rasch <sup>clx</sup>		7	0,4-7	1-3						
* Hend. Rasch and Comp. clxi			2							

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
* Hendrik Razel <sup>clxii</sup>			2							
Johannes Henricus Laurentius Reuter								7-9	0-9	0-8
The Widow J.H.L. Reuter clxiv										8-9
Mrs. van Roon <sup>clxv</sup>		7								
* Roose(n) & Tamesz clxvi			2							
* Lambert Rutgers clxvii		7	2							
Alexander Philip van der Sande <sup>clxviii</sup>				5						
Jac. van der Sande <sup>clxix</sup>				5						
Jacobus van der Schaaf <sup>clxx</sup>			0,1							
Martinus van der Schaaff <sup>clxxi</sup>							9	2		
Simon Cornelis van der Schaar clxxii							4	2,5,8		
Jan Scholl clxxiii							9			
* Karel Matthijs Schüffel clxxiv			2-3							

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Johannes Schutselaar clxxv				2-5	8					
Egbert Smelt clxxvi										3,7-9
Gerrit Smelt clxxvii								4		
J.D. Spies clxxviii								4		
* Hendrik Christiaan Stegelman clxxix										
* Jacob Stelling clxxx										
Van Suchtelen <sup>clxxxi</sup>										6
J.J. de Swart <sup>clxxxii</sup>							4,9	0-2, 4-9	0-9	0-3
Marcelis de Swart <sup>clxxxiii</sup>		9	0-9	0-9	0-9	0-9	0			
* Jean Tamesz clxxxiv			0							
* Paulus Tamesz clxxxv					3-6					
* Tamesz, Van der Sande & (Carel) Bouten clxxxvi			2							

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Lucas Tromp clxxxvii		7	6							
Johan Troost clxxxviii								4		
* (Salomon) Vernizobre & Brian(t)			2							
Abs. van der Vliet <sup>exc</sup>								2,4		
Eph. Pieter van der Vliet <sup>exci</sup>								4		
* Jan van (der) Vliet <sup>excii</sup>								2,4-5		
Pieter van der Vliet <sup>exciii</sup>								2,4,9	5-7	3-7
H. Voetius <sup>exciv</sup>								2		
Willem Voetius excv		7,9	4-5							
* Carsten Voigt exevi			2							
* Bartholomeus Volbregt exevii			2							
* Carsten Voogd <sup>exeviii</sup>										
Catharina Voogd <sup>excix</sup>		8	8							

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Cornelis Vredenhuis <sup>cc</sup>			1,4-7, 9	0-1						
* Vredenhuys & Van Hoeven cci			0,2							
W.L. de Vries <sup>ccii</sup>								2,4		
Wagenaar <sup>cciii</sup>										3
David Warner cciv			8-9	0	3,6			4		
H. Warnar <sup>ccv</sup>			0							
Jan Jacob Warner <sup>ccvi</sup>				5						
Jacob Wekkers <sup>cevii</sup>								2		
Wever <sup>ccviii</sup>				3						
Gerrit Roelofse de Wever <sup>ccix</sup>			0							
Swerus Egberts de Wever <sup>ccx</sup>			0							
Carel Frederik de Wilde <sup>ccxi</sup>			5							
Willem de Wilde <sup>ccxii</sup>			0-5							

name	1700 -'09	1710 -'19	1720 -'29	1730 -'39	1740 -'49	1750 -'59	1760 -'69	1770 -'79	1780 -'89	1790 -'99
Abr. van Woensel cexiii								4		
Anton van Woensel ccxiv								4		
* Christiaan Wolff ccxv			2							
Jacob Wolff ccxvi			0							
Mad. Wolf <sup>ccxvii</sup>								2		
François van Zanten cexviii							9	0-2,4		
Zijp <sup>ccxix</sup>				3						
* Johann Kaspar (Jan) Zollikofer ***			0,2,7- 9							

## Notes

## Key

A: Amburger, *Die Anwerbung* (1968). E: Elias, *De vroedschap* (1903-1905) II. Kr:[Kruys], De Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente (1900).

GAAPA: Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Particulier Archief. M:Mulder, 'Vriezenveen' (1969).

H:Harmsen, *Vriezenveners* (1966). Ki:Kist, 'Historisch berigt' (1852). Kn:Knoppers, *Dutch trade* (1976) I. S:Scheltema, Rusland (1817-1819). V:Veluwenkamp, 'Familienetwerken' (1993). VE:Van Eeghen, Inventaris (1959). Z:Zacharov, 'Torgovlja' (1985).

i.Born in Leiden (Kr 230). Merchant in St Petersburg in 1721 and the 1720s (Z 188, 202). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council of St Petersburg in 1718, 1724-1726, 1728-1730 (Kr 26, 230). Donor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). Was in Amsterdam in 1727 (Kr 30). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1748 (Kr 46).

ii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

iii.Probably related to Andriaan Ammers and his son Dirk, lockbuilders who arrived in Russia in 1702 to build waterways for the Tsar (A 67). Moved from Moscow to St Petersburg in 1714 or before (Kr 18, 88, 231; K 51-52, 56-57). Her son Joh. Brouwer was born in St Petersburg about 1714 (Kr 18, 88, 231; Ki 51-52, 56-57). Married, as widow of Anthonie Brouwer, Herman Gerard Grube on 5-4-1719 (Kr 18; Ki 57). Married, as widow of Herman Gerard Grube, Cornelis Vredenhuis (Kr 26). Married, for the 4th time, as widow of Cornelis Vredenhuis, Pieter Cornelis van Beijeren in 1732, before a Roman Catholic priest (Kr 26). Mother of Joh. Brouwer and Jan Hendrik Grübe (Kr 18; Ki 51-52, 56-57).

iv.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

v.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

vi.Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

vii.Dutch trading firm at St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 16).

viii.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

ix.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 230). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council of St Petersburg in 1725-1727, 1743, 1746-1748 (Kr 38, 42-46, 230). Elder of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1747 and 1748 (Kr 42-46). Former elder of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1769 and 1774 (Kr 52-54, 70).

x.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

xi.Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

xii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64).

xiii,Married Reina van Ammers in 1732, before a Roman Catholic priest (Kr 26).

- xiv.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 230). Elder or deacon of the Dutch Reformed church of St Petersburg in 1732 (Ki 21). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council of St Petersburg in 1732, 1743, 1746-1748 (Kr 36-38, 230). Dead by 1748 (Kr 44).
- xv.Donor of the Dutch reformed church of St Petersburg in 1734, when he left (Kr 34).
- xvi.Born in Nantes on 1-4-1681 (S IV 274). Son of Jacob de Bie, Dutch Consul in Nantes, and Catharina Brissac (S IV 274). The family fled to the Netherlands after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (IV 274-275). Raised in The Hague (S IV 275). Married Sara Maria van Domburg; all their children died young (S IV 276). Appointed as secretary of the Dutch Minister in Hamburg, Van Haarsolte van den Cranenburg, in 1700 (S IV 275). Appointed as Dutch Resident in Russia in 1711 (S IV 276). Dutch Resident in Russia in 1717 and 1718 (Kr 4; S IV 16, 35). One of the 36 founders of the Dutch reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10). Fell into disgrace with Peter the Great and returned to the Netherlands in 1718 (S IV 16, 35).
- xvii.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 230). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council of St Petersburg in 1769-1770 (Kr 230). Deacon of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1769 (Kr 52-54, 230, 233).
- xviii.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 230). One of the 36 founders of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10). Merchant in St Petersburg in 1721 and the 1720s (Z 188, 202). One of the 30 donors of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1723 (Kr 16, 30, 36, 46-50, 64, 70). Was in Amsterdam in 1727 (Kr 16, 30, 36, 46-50, 64, 70). Elder or deacon of the Dutch Reformed church of St Petersburg in 1733 (Ki 21-22). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council of St Petersburg in 1726-1728 and 1731-1733 (Kr 230). Received insurance premium from the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1735 (Kr 16, 30, 36, 46-50, 64, 70). Former member of the Dutch Reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1748 (Kr 16, 30, 36, 46-50, 64, 70). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1764, 1772 and 1774 (Kr 16, 30, 36, 46-50, 64, 70).
- xix.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).
- xx.Dutch merchants in St Petersburg in 1723 (Kn I 224; GAAPA 88/984: letters of .8-1-1723 and 23-8-1723 from Jacob Bodisco & Frans van Dort in Moscow and St Petersburg to David Leeuw in Amsterdam). Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).
- xxi.Born in Moscow (Kr 230). Harmen van Boles, carpenter, was hired in 1713 in Amsterdam by the Russian envoy Kurakin, to work in Russia; he built all drawbridges over the canals of St Petersburg and erected the spire of the Peter and Paul Cathedral in the Fort and, in 1719, the spire of the Admiralty (A 86). Dutch carpenter and spire builder, worked for the Russian State in 1723 in St Petersburg (A 170-171). Donor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). Former member of the Dutch Reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1748 (Kr 46).
- xxii.Born on Ceylon (Kr 230). Dutch merchant in St Petersburg (Ki 51; S III 272, IV 139). Dutch merchant in St Petersburg in 1721 and the 1720s (Z 188, 202). His wife was sister-in-law of vice admiral Sievers (S III 272, IV 139). His wife was burried in St Petersburg in 1723 (S III 272, IV 139). Member of the Dutch reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1717, 1722, 1724-1729 (Kr 10, 230). Elder of the Dutch reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1718 and 1724 (Kr 12, 18-20; Ki 51). Elder or deacon of the Dutch Reformed church of St Petersburg in 1733 (Ki 21).
- xxiii.Former elder of the Dutch Reformed church in St Petersburg (Ki 67).
- xxiv.Married Gerard Kramer on 7-11-1731; their son: Johannes Kramer; she died on 10-9-1732 (Ki 57).

- xxv.Dutch trading firm in St Petersburg in 1720; donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1725; took money in deposit from the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1726; returned the money they had in deposit from the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1732 and 1733 (Kr 16, 26, 28, 32). Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).
- xxvi.Took money in deposit from the Dutch reformed church of St Petersburg in 1728; returned the money he had in deposit from the Dutch reformed church of St Petersburg in 1732 and 1733 (Kr 30, 32).
- xxvii.Of Leiden; pupil at the naval hospital of St Petersburg in 1773; accepted as a member of the Dutch Reformed church of St Petersburg in 1773 (Kr 66).
- xxviii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64).
- xxix.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 231). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1717, 1724-1725 (Kr 10, 231). Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). Let a house to the church council for the lodging of pastor Gerard Cramer in 1724 (Kr 24). Took money in deposit from the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1726 (Kr 28).
- xxx.Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).
- xxxi.Dutch lock carpenter, arrived in Russia in 1702 to build waterways for the Tsar (A 67). Moved from Moscow to St Petersburg in 1714 or before (Kr 18, 88, 231; Ki 51-52, 56-57). His son Joh. Brouwer was born in St Petersburg about 1714 (Kr 18, 88, 231; Ki 51-52, 56-57). Married Reina van Ammers (Kr 18; Ki 57). Died about 1718 (A 67; Kr 18; Ki 57).
- xxxii.Born in St Petersburg about 1714 (Kr 88, 231). Son of Anthonie Brouwer and Reina Ammers (Kr 18, 88, 231; Ki 51-52, 56-57). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish in St Petersburg in 1764 and 1771-1772 (Kr 48-52, 60-64). Elder of the Dutch Reformed parish in St Petersburg in 1769, 1772 and 1778 (Ki 20, 51; Kr 54, 80). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish council in St Petersburg from 1766 to 1793 (Kr 76, 84, 231). Dies 12-5-1793, unmarried, almost 79 years old (Kr 88).
- xxxiii.Born in St Petersburg (Kr 231). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish in St Petersburg in 1774 and 1793 (Kr 70, 92). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1785-1787 (Kr 82, 231).
- xxxv.In St Petersburg in 1793; lent 1.200 rubel to the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1793 (Kr 76, 88).
- xxxvi.In St Petersburg in 1776 (Kr 76).
- xxxvii.Ki 20.
- xxxviii.Daughter of La Brun; born in 1732 (Ki 20).
- xxxix.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).
- xl.Third pastor (1745-1749) of the Dutch Reformed parish at St Petersburg (Kr 229). Married Stephania Ram, widow of Gerard Kramer, in St Petersburg on 20-7-1746 (Kr 42). After 1749, he became medical doctor in Holland, entered the service of the Russian crown and established himself at Croonstad (Ki 58-60).
- xli.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish council at St Petersburg in 1727-1729 (Kr 231).

xlii. Kolonel, one of the 36 founders of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10). Generaal, donor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). Generaal, member of the Dutch Reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1730-1732 (Kr 231).

xliii.Son of Willem Couwenhoven; born in 1719 (Ki 18).

xliv.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Peterburg in 1791 (Kr 84).

xlv.His son Peter was born in 1719 in St Petersburg (Ki 18). In 1721, he hired two sawyers from Holland, for his enterprise in St Petersburg (A 100).

xlvi.Took money in deposit from the Dutch reformed church in St Petersburg in 1729 (Kr 30).

xlvii.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

xlviii.Daughter of Jan Cruys (S IV 293). Married Hendrik Christiaan Stegelman (S IV 293).

xlix.Daughter of Jan Cruys (S IV 293). Married Jacob Stelling (S IV 293).

1.Daughter of Jan Cruys (S IV 293). Married Carsten Voogd (S IV 293).

li.Born in Stavanger on 14-6-1657 (Ko 50). Equipagemeester in Amsterdam in 1697 (Ki 50). Married the Dutchwomen Cathariena Voogd when he was still in Dutch service (Ki 50). Entered the service of the tsar as vice admiral in 1698 (Ki 50). Hired the Reverend Willem Tolle to serve the Lutherans of St Petersburg in 1708 (Ki 50; S IV 289). Had a Lutheran church built in St Petersburg in 1708 (Ki 50). One of the 36 founders of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10). Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717-1727 (Kr 14, 16, 26). Died on 14-6-1727, 70 years old (S IV 292). Died in 1728 (Kr 16).

lii.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 231). Eldest son of the vice-admiral Cornelis Cruys (S IV 292). Built the citadel St Jan near Kroonslot (S IV 292). Entered the service of the Dutch Staten-Generaal and was appointed captain (S IV 292). Married Anna de Ferri, daughter of the commander or governor of Christiaansand in Norway (S IV 292). Returned to St Petersburg where he entered the trade and became a very rich merchant (S IV 292-293). Donor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217). Elder of the Dutch Reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1724-1725, 1735, 1743, 1746, 1748 (Kr 20, 42-44). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1724-1725, 1735, 1743, 1746, 1748 (Kr 36-38, 231).

liii.Sexton of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1726 (Kr 28).

liv.Daughter of Jan Cruys (S IV 293). Married Daniel van Meynertshagen (S IV 293).

ly. Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

lvi. Lieutenant J.J. van Dannenberg (Ki 22-23).

lvii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

lviii.Pastor of the French and Dutch parishes of St Petersburg in 1764 (Kr 48-52).

lix.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

lx.Received money of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg to take care of the huisschriften of the school court in 1727 (Kr 28-30).

lxi.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

lxii.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

lxiii.Born in Vriezenveen (Kr 60, 231). Admitted as a member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1770 (Kr 60). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772, 1774 and 1793 (Kr 64, 70, 92).

Member of the Dutch Reformed parish council in St Petersburg in 1793-1797 and 1802-1803 (Kr 64, 70, 92).

lxiv.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64).

lxv.Born at Vriezenveen (Kr 231). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1787, 1791-1793, 1895-1796 and 1801-1802 (Kr 82, 231). Deacon of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1793 (Kr 86).

lxvi.Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

lxvii.Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 232).

lxviii.From Holstein; master gardener at *Peterhof* by 1740 (A 120). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

lxix.Sister of C.C. Fok (Kr 64). Accepted as a member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772; they had to be taught in German, because they did not sufficiently understand Dutch (Kr 64).

lxx.Sister of C.A. Fok (Kr 64). Accepted as a member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772; they had to be taught in German, because they did not sufficiently understand Dutch (Kr 64).

lxxi.Fourth pastor (1770-1775) of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg (Kr 58-62, 66, 229; Ki 64, 67). Arrived from Holland in St Petersburg in 1770, and returned to Holland in 1775 (Kr 58-62, 66; Ki 64, 67).

lxxii.Son of *capitein* (Willem?) van Gent; born in 1719 (Ki 18; S III 287).

lxxiii. Capitein (captain) Van Gent, perhaps the same person as Willem Van Gent, son of admiral Willem Joseph van Gent (Ki 18; S III, 287).

lxxiv.Of Vriezenveen; admitted as a member of the Dutch Reformed parish in St Petersburg in 1770; member of the Dutch Reformed parish in St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 60, 64).

lxxv.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish in St Petersburg in 1793 (Kr 92).

lxxvi.Half-brother of Joh. Brouwer; son of Herman Gerard Grube and Reina van Ammers, born 7-8-1720; member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 and 1774 (Kr 18, 64, 70; Ki 51-52, 56-57).

lxxvii.First pastor (1717-1724) of the Dutch reformed parish at St Petersburg (Kr 229; Ki 51-52, 56-57). Arrived in St Petersburg from Holland in 1717 (Kr 4-10; Ki 51-52, 56-57). Married Reina van Ammers, widow of Anthonie Brouwer, 5-4-1719; their son: Jan Hendrik Grube (Kr 18; Ki 51-52, 56-57). Died in 1724 (Kr 18; Ki 51-52, 56-57).

lxxviii.Of Vriezenveen; admitted as a member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1770; member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 and 1774 (Kr 60, 64, 70).

lxxix.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64).

lxxx.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64).

lxxxi.Sexton of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1780 and 1799 (Kr 82, 100).

lxxxii.Precentor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1791; member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1793; member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1798 (BK 92, 98).

lxxxiii.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish at St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

lxxxiv.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 232). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10, 232).

lxxxv.From Siegen (A 57). Hired by the Russian state as a fire-worker in 1698 in Amsterdam (A 57). Builder of the St Peterburg foundry in 1712 (A 57). Chief of the Olonec works in 1713 (A 57). Founder of the arms factory Sestoreck in 1721 (A 57). Chief of the Ural works in 1722-1734, founder of Ekaterinburg (A 57). Travelled to Poland, Germany and Holland to hire specialists for the Russian melting-furnaces and the arms factories in 1719-1720 (A 103). Kolonel, one of the 36 founders of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10). (Gen.) Majoor, donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 and 1725 (Kr 14, 26).

lxxxvi.Schoolmaster of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1721 (Kr 14).

lxxxvii.Envoy of the Netherlands at the Russian court in 1793; appointed as patron of the Dutch reformed church of St Petersburg in 1793 (Kr 88).

lxxxviii. Schout-bij-nacht, donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1725 (Kr 26).

lxxxix.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 232). Surgeon of Peter the Great (Ki 18). Married Stephania Ram (Kr 38, 42; Ki 58). One of the 36 founders of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10). Donor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). Peter the Great was wittness at the christening of his son Peter in 1723 (Ki 18). Took money in deposit from the Dutch Reformed parish in 1725-1726 (Kr 26, 232). Returned the money he had in deposit from the Dutch Reformed parish in 1732 and 1733 (Kr 32). Died before 1744 (Kr 38; Ki 58).

xc.Son of Jan Hovy (and Stephania Ram?); born in 1723 (Ki 18, 58; S III 113, 233).

xci.Probably a member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1769 (Kr 52-54).

xcii.Of Vriezenveen; admitted as a member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1770; member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 60, 64).

xciii.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 232). Donor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). Elder of the Dutch Reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1724 (Kr 20). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1724-1725 (Kr 232).

xciv.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64).

xcv.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1769 (Kr 52-54).

xcvi.Brother of Lucas Jansen; member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1787 (Kr 82).

xcvii.Born at Vriezenveen (Kr 232). Brother of Jan Jansen (Kr 82). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1787 (Kr 82). Deacon of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1793 (Kr 86). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1791-1801, 1806, 1810, 1812-1815 (Kr 98-100, 232).

xcviii.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

xcix.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

c.Sexton and precentor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1746; member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 46, 64).

ci.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1764 (Kr 52). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1764 (Kr 232).

cii.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

ciii.Schoolmaster of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg from 1727 to 1736 (Kr 30).

civ.Dutch trading firm in St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 16). Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

cv.Second pastor (1724-1744) of the Dutch reformed parish at St Petersburg; arrived in St Petersburg in 1724; married Sophia Charlotta Borst in St Petersburg on 7-11-1731, their son: Johannes Kramer; remarried, in St Petersburg on 22-1-1744, Stephania Ram, widow of Jan Hovy; died in (probably February) 1744 (Ki 57-58; Kr 18-24, 32-42, 229).

cvi.Son of Gerard Kramer and Sophia Charlotta Borst, born on 10-9-1732; he lived in Moscow in 1770 (Ki 57).

cvii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 and 1793 (Kr 70, 92). Vriezenvener (H 38).

cviii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

cix.Married the Reverend Johannes Henricus Laurentius Reuter in St Petersburg on 5-11-1779 (Kr 82).

cx.Born in Prussia (Kr 232), Consul and Commerce Councillor in St Petersburg in 1743 (Kr 36-38), Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1743-1746 (Kr 36-38, 232).

cxi.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

cxii.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 233). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1725 (Kr 26). Elder or deacon of the Dutch Reformed church of St Petersburg in 1733 (Ki 21). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1725-1727, 1729-1731, 1732 (Kr 233).

cxiii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64).

cxiv.Of Vriezenveen, Admitted as a member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1770 (Kr 60).

cxv.Born in Moscow? (Kr 233). Chamberlain in St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). Donor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). Generaal majoor, sold a house to the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1732/1733 (Kr 32; Ki 21, 53). Generaal in St Petersburg in 1728 and 1733 (Ki 21, 53, 55).

cxvi.Dutch trading firm in St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 16). Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217). cxvii.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217). cxviii.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 233). Dutch Russia merchant (Z 192, 201; S III 310, 312). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish council of St Petersburg in 1729-1731 (Kr 233). cxix.Schoolmaster of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1721-1723 (Kr 14). cxx. Baron, Envoyé of Prussia, donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). cxxi.Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217). cxxii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64). cxxiii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64). cxxiv.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64). exxy.Born in St Petersburg (Kr 233), Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1769, 1772 and 1778 (Kr 52-54, 64, 80). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1772, 1775 and 1791-1805 (Kr 76, 98. 233). Elder of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1793 (Kr 84-86). cxxvi.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64). exxvii. Sexton of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 12). exxviii.Born in Bremen (Kr 233). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council of St Petersburg in 1746 (Kr 233). Deacon of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1747-1748 (Kr 42-46). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1764 and 1769 (Kr 52-54). cxxix.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217). cxxx.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 233; S III 74, IV 88, 218). Father of Peter Meyer, christened in St Petersburg in 1724 (Ki 18-19; S III 74, IV 88, 218). Father of Jan Meyer, christened in St Petersburg in 1726 (Ki 20; S III 74, IV 88, 218). Contributes scheepsgelden to the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1725 (Kr 26; S III 74, IV 88, 218). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1726-1728, 1733-1735 (Kr 233; S III 74, IV 88, 218). Elder or deacon of the Dutch Reformed church of St Petersburg in 1732 (Ki 21; S III 74, IV 88, 218). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1748 (Kr 46; S III 74, IV 88, 218). cxxxi.Dutch trading firm in St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 16). Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217). cxxxii.Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217). cxxxiii.Son of Herm. Meyer; born in 1726 (Ki 20). cxxxiv.Son of Meyer; born in 1724 (Ki 18-19).

cxxxv.Married Johanna Christophora Cruys (S IV 293-294). Minister of the Dutch Republic at the Russian court until 1764 (S IV 294). Envoyé in St Petersburg in 1764 (Kr 50-52). Patron of the Dutch Reformed church in St Petersburg in 1764 (Kr 50-52).

cxxxvi.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64).

cxxxvii.Surgeon, testator to the Dutch reformed parish in 1725 (Kr 26).

cxxxviii.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 233). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1725-1726 (Kr 26-28, 233).

cxxxix.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

exl.Married a daughter of Catharina Johanna Cruys and Jacob Stelling (S IV 294). Prominent merchant in St Petersburg (S III 12). Succeeded in the prominent commercial relations of the houses of Cruys and Stelling [JWV: namely the house of his wifes' father and grandfather (Jan Cruys)?] (S IV 293-294).

exli.Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1746 (Kr 233). Deacon of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1747-1748 (Kr 42-46).

cxlii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1769 and 1772 (Kr 52-54, 64).

cxliii.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

cxliv.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

cxly.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

cxlvi.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

exlvii.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 233). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1730-1732 (Kr 233). Donor of the Dutch reformed parish in 1734, when he left (Kr 34).

cxlviii.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish in 1734, when he left (Kr 34). Director of the Muscovy Trade in Amsterdam in 1769 (Kr 56).

cxlix.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

cl.Bought a plot from the Dutch Reformed parish council in 1747, situated near the church, on the corner of the Nevskij Prospekt and the Bol'shaja Konjushennaja ulitsa; member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1764 and 1774 (Kr 42-44, 48-50, 70).

cli.Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

clii.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1731-1733 (Kr 233). Elder or deacon of the Dutch Reformed church of St Petersburg in 1732 (Ki 21). Lived in 1733 in the house the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg bought from Lefort (Kr 34).

cliii.Employee of Nanning and Daniel Pell in St Petersburg, 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

- cliv.Wife of *Vice-admiraal* Van Bredall, also referred to as Pieter van Breedal (Ki 56; S III 287, IV 382-383).
- clv.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 233). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish council in St Petersburg in 1718 and 1724-1725 (Kr 233).
- clvi.Member of the Dutch Reformed church council of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10, 233). Sold the house in which he lived, on the Moika in St Petersburg, to the Dutch Reformed parish in St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).
- clvii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 and 1774 (Kr 64, 70).
- clviii.Born in St Petersburg (Kr 233). Became a deacon of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1769 (Kr 52-54). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1769-1791 (Kr 62, 76, 233). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64).
- clix.Widow of Jean Hovy in 1744 (Kr 38). Remarried Gerard Kramer on 22-1-1744 (Kr 38; Ki 58). Remarried Frederik Carp on 20-7-1746 (Kr 42; Ki 58). Died at Croonstad in 1772 (Ki 58).
- clx.One of the 36 founders of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10). Donor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1724-1727 and 1731-1733 (Kr 233).
- clxi.Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).
- clxii.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).
- clxiii.Fifth pastor (1777-1798) of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg; born at Lingen, Westphalia, 12-11-1751; hired as pastor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in Amsterdam in 1776; married Elisabeth Petronella von Küssmer in St Petersburg on 5-11-1779; died on 23-7-1798, aged 46 (Kr 78-82, 88, 92-94, 98, 229).
- clxiv.Probably Elisabeth Petronella von Küssmer (Kr 82, 98). Her husband, the Reverend Johannes Henricus Laurentius Reuter, died on 23-7-1798 (Kr 98). She lived with her children in St Petersburg in 1799 (Kr 100).
- clxv.One of the 36 founders of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10).
- clxvi.Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).
- clxvii.Member of the Dutch Reformed church council of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10, 233). Elder of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717 (Kr 10). Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).
- clxviii.Son of Jac. van der Sande; born in 1735 (Ki 20).
- clxix.Ki 20.
- clxx.Schoolmaster of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg from 1720 to 1721 (Kr 12-14).
- clxxi.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1769 and 1772 (Kr 52-54, 64).

clxxii.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 233). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1764, 1772 and 1778 (Kr 48-50, 64, 80). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1764, 1772 and 1775 (Kr 76, 233).

clxxiii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1769 (Kr 52-54).

clxxiv.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1722 (Kr 233). Deacon of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1723 (Kr 16). Dies in 1723 (Kr 16).

clxxv.Born at Cranenburg (Kr 233). Elder or deacon of the Dutch Reformed church of St Petersburg in 1732-1735 (Kr 233; Ki 21). Member of the Dutch Reformed church of St Petersburg in 1748 (Kr 46).

clxxvi.Born at Friezenveen (Kr 233). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1793 (Kr 92). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1797-1801 (Kr 98, 233).

clxxvii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70). Vriezenvener (H 38).

clxxviii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

clxxix.Prominent and rich merchant in St Petersburg (S IV 293-294). Married Anna Cruys (S IV 293).

clxxx.Prominent and rich merchant in St Petersburg (S IV 293-294). Married Catharina Johanna Cruys (S IV 293).

clxxxi.Patron of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1796 (Kr 94). Johann Peter van Suchtelen, engineer, was hired for service in Russia in the Netherlands in 1783; in Russia, he worked in Russia for a long time as a civil engineer and in the army as well (A 129-130).

clxxxii.Born at Bergen op Zoom (Kr 234). Secretary of the legation of The Netherlands to the Russian Court in 1764 (Kr 48-50). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1764 and 1772 (Kr 48-50, 64). Elder of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1764, 1769 and 1774 (Kr 54, 66). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council of St Petersburg in 1769-1772 and 1774 (Kr 54, 66). Became Resident of The Netherlands to the Russian Court in 1774 (Kr 66). Patron of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774-1793 (Kr 78, 88).

clxxxiii.Was appointed as secretary of the Dutch Resident in St Petersburg, De Wilde, in 1719 (S IV 222). Secretary of the Dutch Resident in St Petersburg, De Wilde, in 1724 (S IV 220-222). Succeeded De Wilde as Dutch Resident in St Petersburg when De Wilde died or left, and remained Resident until 1760 (S IV 222). Died in 1663 (S IV 222). Dutch Resident at St Petersburg in 1744 and 1747-1748 (Kr 40-46; Ki 60).

clxxxiv.Dutch merchant in Russia (V 663-664; VE 98). Donor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

clxxxv.Dutch merchant in Russia (V 663). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish council in St Petersburg in 1743-1746 (Kr 36-38).

clxxxvi.Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

clxxxvii.Precentor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1717 and 1726 (Kr 12, 28).

clxxxviii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

clxxxix.Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217). cxc.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 and 1774 (Kr 64, 70). cxci.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

excii.Dutch merchant; member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 and 1774 (Kr 64, 70; Ki 67).

cxciii.Born at Archangel (Kr 82, 234). Married in St Petersburg in 1779 (Kr 82). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772, 1774 and 1779 (Kr 64, 70, 82). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1785-1787, 1793-1797 (Kr 82, 234). Elder of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1793 (Kr 86).

exciv.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64).

cxcv.Born in Amsterdam (Kr 234; S III 115). Originally a joiner (Ki 18; S III 115). He, as a joiner, and his wife, as linen supervisor, were hired in Amsterdam in 1717 for service in Russia (A 96; S III 115). Became father of a son, baptised in St Petersburg in 1719 (Ki 18; S III 115). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1717 and 1724-1725 (Kr 10, 234; S III 115).

cxcvi.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

excvii.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41).

excyiii.Prominent and rich merchant in St Petersburg (S IV 293-294), Married Christina Cornelia Cruys (S IV 293).

cxcix.Dutchwomen, married vice-admiraal Cornelis Cruys (Ki 50). Donor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1718 (Ki 50; Kr 12). Moved to Amsterdam in 1728, after her husband Cruys had died (S IV 292; Kr 32). cc.Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1721, 1724-1727, 1729-1731 (Kr 234). Deacon of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1725 (Kr 26). Husband of Reina van Ammers, widow of the

late pastor Grube, in 1731 (Kr 26). Died in the winter of 1731-1732 (Kr 26).

cci. Dutch trading firm at St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 16). Merchants in St Petersburg, members of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41).

ccii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 and 1774 (Kr 64, 70).

cciii.Organist of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1793 (Kr 84-86).

cciv.Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1728-1730, 1743, 1746 (Kr 36-38, 234). Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

ccv.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

ccvi.Member of the Dutch Reformed church council of St Petersburg in 1735 (Kr 234).

ccvii.Burried in St Petersburg by the Dutch pastor probably in 1772 (Kr 64-66).

ccviii.Hairdresser, rented a part of the house the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg bought of Lefort in 1733 (Kr 34).

ccix.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

ccx.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

ccxi.Son of Willem de Wilde (Ki 18-20). Born in 1725 (Ki 18-20).

ccxii.Dutch Resident at St Petersburg from 1720 (Kr 14-16; S IV 88-89). Dutch Resident at St Petersburg in 1724 (S IV 220). Married 16-4-1721 Mrs Helot (Kr 16). A child of his was baptized in St Petersburg in 1725 (Ki 20).

ccxiii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

ccxiv.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1774 (Kr 70).

ccxv.Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217).

ccxvi.Donor of the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14).

ccxvii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1772 (Kr 64).

ccxviii.Member of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1769, 1772 and 1774 (Kr 52, 64, 70). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1770-1772 (Kr 62, 234).

ccxix.Tailor, rented a part of the house the Dutch reformed parish of St Petersburg bought of Lefort in 1733 (Kr 34).

ccxx.Donor of the Dutch Reformed parish of St Petersburg in 1720 (Kr 14). Merchant in St Petersburg, member of the Combination of 1722 (M 40-41; S IV 217). Member of the Dutch Reformed church council in St Petersburg in 1727-1729 (Kr 234). See for Zollikofer's name: E.Amburger, *Die van Brienen*, 1936, p. 17.